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Euripides' *Hippolytos* in Aristophanes: Εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζειν through Ἰππολυταριστοφανίζειν.

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Abstract

Aristophanes' paratragic and parodic relationship with Euripides has long been discussed in classical scholarship mainly due to the numerous references to Euripides and his tragedies in Aristophanes' comedies. This article focuses on the use and re-use of the myth of Hippolytos in Aristophanes, as it is found in Euripides' extant play. The references to Hippolytos found in Aristophanes' extant and fragmentary plays will be discussed. One of the main purposes of this paper is to bring into attention not only the references to Euripides' *Hippolytos* in the extant plays but also in the fragments, which have been rather interesting in terms of their scale and nature as they are very different to the ones found in the extant plays, where the focus of the parody is mainly the character of Phaidra. Aristophanes is donning Euripides' costumes to serve his purposes and scenarios. The present essay navigates through how Aristophanes used the same Euripidean disguise not just to εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζειν but specifically to ἰππολυτίζειν within his *oeuvre*.

Keywords

Euripides; Hippolytos; Aristophanes; ancient drama; parody

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Introduction

The numerous references to Euripides encountered in Aristophanes' comedies prove that the comic poet had a particular preference for Euripides.¹ As I discuss in this article, Euripides, his works, and heroes are frequently mentioned in Aristophanes' plays, often in a parodic way. Bakhtin seems right on the spot when he suggests that every elevated genre (such as tragedy) had its parodic counterpart and that parody was an essential element in Greek Comedy's structure.² This article focuses on how Aristophanes used Euripides' *Hippolytos* across his *oeuvre*, both in fully preserved and fragmentary plays. This is the main contribution and originality of the present work.

Before I examine those paratragic instances closely, it is necessary to offer a brief overview of the scholarship on ancient paratragedy and parody. Aristotle first spoke of parody (*παρωδία*) in his *Poetics*, referring to Hegemon of Thasos, one of the first parodists.³ He discusses the different ways of representing various characters in different art forms and comments on the fact that the characters appear either better (e.g. in Homer) or worse (e.g. in Hegemon) than they actually are. Householder argues that Aristotle presents this parody and its relation to epic as an analogue to comedy's relation to tragedy.⁴ Lelièvre also refers to Aristotle and divides parody into two kinds: the simpler and the more sophisticated. His work explores instances of parody in Greek and Roman literature, too.⁵ Highet's monograph is a rich volume covering parody and satire across different genres and times, exploring its sophisticated nature, forms, and functions.⁶ Parody, as a definition, is a dynamic term that has developed and changed over time. Indeed, Rose discusses the term's etymology, starting with Greek literature, and offering an overview of the scholarly debate over it. She uses various examples from literature, such as epic parody and the *Batrachomyomachia*.⁷ Epic and tragedy were common targets of parody because of the characters' nature. As Beye argues, these genres' characters often risked being viewed as caricatures due to their exaggerated one-dimensional attitude and actions. Thus, they qualified perfectly as victims of ridicule.⁸ So did the characters in *Hippolytos*, with their absurd characteristics and actions,⁹ to illustrate an example.

Phaidra fell for her stepson (among all other available options), who happens to be sworn to chastity. She went as far as to commit suicide after his rejection, although there was no risk of him revealing the truth to his father or anyone, as he had taken an oath of silence. Then, there is a Theseus who just takes Phaidra's accusations at face value, without giving a chance to Hippolytos to explain, and actually wishes for his only son's death! Even the nurse seemed to be acting out of proportion when, instead of trying to bring her mistress to her senses, she convinced her to try and win Hippolytos' love. This plot bears many comic elements as it is, and as soon as the approach of the author is changed, it could be turned into a comedy.

Aristophanes' paratragic and parodic relationship with Euripides has long been discussed in classical scholarship, mainly due to the numerous references to Euripides and his tragedies in Aristophanes'

¹ Schwinge, 2002; Medda, Mitto, and Pattoni, 2000; Miles, 2017: 177.

² Bakhtin, 1981. Scholars have engaged with Bakhtin's theory of carnival (e.g. Hutcheon, 1985) and some (including myself) disagree with his simplistic definition of parody as burlesque, for example, see Rose, 1993: 164; Silk, 2000: 299.

³ Arist. *Poet.* 48a12.

⁴ Householder, 1944.

⁵ Lelièvre, 1954.

⁶ Highet, 2015.

⁷ Rose, 1993.

⁸ Beye, 2019: 174.

⁹ Cf. Orth, 2020: 488–490.

comedies. To name but a few modern works, one of the pioneering works on the matter was Rau's, who discusses specific scenes of parody throughout Aristophanes' plays and works in an index of paratragic scenes extending beyond Euripides.¹⁰ Sell describes the literary appropriation of other genres by Greek Comedy as "a means of raising the public profile of the individual (comic) poet and the genre as a whole" on the first page of his introduction.¹¹ Aristophanes takes a world, a tragic world, and turns it 'Upside Down' using his sophisticated parodic techniques and creating a special relationship between the parodist and the parodied, as well as having an important effect on the audience.¹² The comic poet employs these techniques in the two mechanisms of parody and paratragedy, through which Aristophanes' particular interest in the experimenting Euripides is revealed.¹³ Aristophanes' technique of making comedy using the serious, high-brow genre of tragedy was part of a personal competition between himself and the tragic poet.¹⁴ Indeed, a multi-faceted intertextual relationship exists between the two playwrights, which also involves an element of admiration that Aristophanes demonstrates towards Euripides through imitation.¹⁵

In the course of this article, it will become evident that Aristophanes' parody is a type of imitation that goes beyond mere copying, as we also see in Euripides' paratragic and parodic references in *Thesmophoriazousai*,¹⁶ which is a comedy that arguably best depicts the Aristophanic parody of Euripides.¹⁷ Euripides was Aristophanes' favourite target¹⁸ and, as he was notorious for the negative portrayal of his women, choosing the myth of Hippolytos, where Phaidra featured, would suffice to attack Euripides as a poet through ridicule, parody, and mockery. In this case, Aristophanes is trying to teach his audience how to think and act through mockery directed at Euripides, on the one hand, and his audience, on the other, as an eye-opener servant of his *polis*. Let us not forget that the audience had awarded Euripides the first prize for this tragedy.¹⁹

This article focuses on the use and re-use of the myth of Hippolytos in Aristophanes, as it is found in Euripides' *Hippolytos*. The title indicates precisely this: how Aristophanes imitates Euripides and brings the tragic poet and his play(s) to the audience's mind (i.e. εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζειν: *Euripidaristophanising*)²⁰ through the numerous references to a specific play, *Hippolytos*. Hence, Aristophanes is *Hippolytaristophanising* (ἵππολυταριστοφανίζειν: imitating and using this specific tragedy) in his comedies to serve his own purposes, which I am exploring below. The numerous references to *Hippolytos* throughout Aristophanes' career indicate a long-standing tradition of ἵππολυταριστοφανίζειν, which does not seem to have faded away or been affected by time. The references to this tragedy found in Aristophanes' fully and fragmentarily preserved plays will be discussed, as well as their reception and recognition by the audience. Aristophanes achieved this

¹⁰ Rau, 1967.

¹¹ Sells, 2019.

¹² Goldhill, 1991.

¹³ Silk, 1993; 2000.

¹⁴ Lauriola, 2010: 115–132.

¹⁵ Gil, 2013.

¹⁶ Zeitlin, 1996: 387–408.

¹⁷ Nesselrath, 1993: 186; Diamantakou-Agathou, 2007: 177–183.

¹⁸ Cf. Schwinge (2002: 6–7), who argues that Aristophanes shows a clear preference towards Euripides and his poetry as he uses him broadly in his comedies (only in his fully preserved comedies he quotes forty-six Euripidean tragedies), something that also demonstrates that Aristophanes acknowledged his high poetic value.

¹⁹ Cf. Taillardat, 1965: 264–267; Slater, 2002: 51–58; Lauriola, 2016: 91.

²⁰ The term is found in Cratinos (fr. 342 K-A). Several personal attacks such as this were part of the competition between the comic poets. The rivalry between Aristophanes and Cratinos is best represented in the former's *Knights*, where Cratinos is said to be an old drunk (ll. 526–36). Further on the term and fragment, see Nesselrath, 1993: 185; O'Sullivan, 2006.

either explicitly by mentioning the tragedy and its characters by name or implicitly through the context or the linguistic adoption of the tragic style. Thus, one of the primary purposes of this paper is to bring to attention not only the references to Euripides' *Hippolytos* in Aristophanes' plays that have survived in full but also in fragments. Indeed, the latter are rather interesting in scale and nature as they are very different from those found in the fully preserved plays, where the focus of the parody is mainly the character of Phaidra. In his effort to parody the Euripidean play, Aristophanes is imitating, copying, and using the tragedian's ideas in his plays.²¹ In a spirit of competition, he uses Euripides' ideas to show that he is better; one could say he uses his rival's weapons against himself.²² In other words, he rejects Euripides's work by adopting and adapting it.²³ Aristophanes dons Euripides' costumes to serve his own purposes and scenarios, as he puts it in his *Acharnians* (ll. 430–478). The present essay navigates through the ways in which Aristophanes used the same Euripidean disguise not just to εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζειν (*Euripidaristophanizein*) but specifically to ἵππολυταριστοφανίζειν (*Hippolytaristophanizein*) within his *oeuvre*.

The paper is divided into two sections according to the clarity of paratragic/parodic references found in Aristophanes' works, which is greatly affected by the state of their preservation. Thus, in the first section, I examine the fully preserved plays, whose complete form allows for a clear overview and examination of each paratragic reference within its context. In the second section, I discuss the paratragic references found in Aristophanes' fragmentary plays, which are traced in isolated fragments and can be inferred from what we know about the now-lost play through other sources. The first section is further divided into two subsections, the first of which includes the most prominent cases of *Hippolytaristophanizein* found in the fully preserved plays. Those are indisputable cases of paratragic references to Euripides' tragedy, mentioning the play, author, characters, and using the Euripidean text with only slight alterations. The second subsection includes the paratragic references in the fully preserved comedies, which are not as straightforward or explicitly presented as in the first subsection. Those are briefer, and often Aristophanes interfered more; however, they still demonstrate enough elements to qualify as paratragic references. Both sections contribute significantly to our understanding of how Aristophanes used *Hippolytos* in his plays, mainly because the comic poet adopts different techniques. In the fully preserved plays, the paratragic references are embedded in an independent scenario, generally irrelevant to the original plot of the tragedy. In contrast, in the fragmentarily preserved play *Anagyros*, Aristophanes seems to be going to much greater lengths with his *imitatio/aemulatio*, following, at least in broad strokes, the tragic scenario.

An Overview of Euripides' *Hippolytos*

It would be helpful to start with an overview of the plot of the Euripidean tragedy and move to the corresponding references in Aristophanes' comedies, the most important of which perhaps being *Anagyros*, as it appears to follow a very similar scenario, according to the *testimonia*.²⁴ The Euripidean

²¹ Of which he has also been accused during his time (Pl. *Ap.* 19c; Cratin. fr. 342 K-A); cf. Schwinge, 2002: 16.

²² Cf. Lauriola, 2010: 18.

²³ For an extensive analysis of the technique *praeteritio* in Aristophanes, see Lauriola, 2012.

²⁴ *Proverbia Coisliniana* 30; Suda *a* 1842. See the discussion below on the evidence of *Hippolytos* in *Anagyros*. Henderson, 2008: 129. Aristophanes has produced several plays with mythical subjects, many of which are likely to have been composed as parodies of specific tragedies, such as *Polyeidos*, *Daidalos*, *Kokalos*, *Aiolosikon*, *Anagyros*, *Lemnian Women*.

Hippolytos was produced in 428 BCE and chronologically came first.²⁵ The play starts with Aphrodite explaining the grim story the audience is about to witness (ll. 1–57). She justifies her vengeful plan to destroy Hippolytos through the *eros* she instigates in his stepmother, Phaidra (ll. 27–28), by blaming Hippolytos for his *hybris* against her (ll. 10–23). Thus, according to Aphrodite, Hippolytos' refusal to honour the goddess is what brings about his imminent death. Hippolytos appears in the next scene, where his comrade advises him on the proper behaviour towards Aphrodite (ll. 88–120). The scene with the Troizenian *chorus* and a sick Phaidra follows (ll. 121–175). The nurse engages in a dialogue with Phaidra in an attempt to discover the cause of her illness, but Phaidra has not yet offered a clear answer (ll. 176–266). The *chorus*, equally unable to find an explanation, expresses their concern to the nurse, who remains incapable of convincing Phaidra to reveal the cause of her toils (ll. 267–303). The nurse then proceeds to a second attempt to unveil the truth (ll. 304–336). They are left alone, and Phaidra finally reveals the pain that devours her life from within (ll. 337–352).

In the next part, the nurse shares with the *chorus* her despair at hearing of Phaidra's godsent plight (ll. 353–372). Phaidra also addresses the *chorus* and unfolds her thoughts on how to fight the love she feels. However, she has been helpless, and death seems to be the only solution. She also expresses her contempt towards adulterers. The *chorus* responds, showing their admiration for her wise words (ll. 373–432). The emphasis is clearly placed on Aphrodite's agency, and the nurse hurries to lift any blame from her mistress and prevent her from taking her own life, claiming that it is preferable to save her life than her decency. The nurse convinces the sceptical Phaidra that she knows the solution to her condition (ll. 433–524).

A *stasimon* follows where the *chorus* sings of Eros' destructive power (ll. 525–564). The second episode commences with a *stichomythia* between Phaidra and the *chorus*. Phaidra is in distress once again as she understands that Hippolytos is now aware of her feelings for him (ll. 565–600). The nurse reveals the terrible secret to Hippolytos in a desperate attempt to help her mistress. Hippolytos, then, reacts in the worst possible way, feeling appalled and ashamed (ll. 601–668). Phaidra now blames her nurse for the new misery she brought upon her. She dismisses her and turns to the *chorus*, the only ally she can confide in and rely on their silence. Phaidra, having uttered her last ominous words, leaves (ll. 669–731). Then, in the second *stasimon*, the *chorus* sings of Phaidra's arrival, wedding, and death (ll. 732–775).

The third episode starts with a lamenting *chorus* and a nurse tending to Phaidra's body. Theseus arrives and, as soon as the *chorus* leader informs him of his wife's death, he joins the rest in their lament. Theseus demands to know the reason for her death but to no avail, until he discovers the letter Phaidra wrote to him blaming Hippolytos for rape (ll. 776–865). Despite the *chorus*' attempt to dissuade him, the outraged Theseus prays to Poseidon for his son's death. Hippolytos arrives to see his father, who orders him to exile. Hippolytos tries unsuccessfully to sway his father's mind (ll. 866–1101). After a brief choral song about Hippolytos' exile, the messenger arrives. Theseus' prayer has been answered and he is about to receive his son half-dead. Before the last encounter of father and son, the *chorus* sings again of Eros and Aphrodite's powers (ll. 1162–1281). Artemis, as the *dea-ex-machina*, reveals Aphrodite's plot to Theseus and thus restores Hippolytos' honour in his eyes (ll. 1282–1341). The tragedy ends with the reconciliation between father and son before Hippolytos' death (ll. 1342–1466). With the plot of the tragedy presented, we can now proceed to highlight the uses of the play in Aristophanes, discussing first those Aristophanic works that survive in full.

²⁵ For a more sceptical opinion on whether the fully surviving version was the winning version, see Gibert (1997: 90, n. 20), who also questions the generally accepted order of plays.

Hippolytos in Aristophanes' Extant Plays

Aristophanes refers back to *Hippolytos* many times in his extant plays, even though these references serve an utterly original scenario that has nothing to do with the plot of the Euripidean play. Subsequently, the instances where Aristophanes uses the tragedy in his surviving plays are presented and discussed, starting with those which include a striking paratragedy. In the following pages, I navigate through the paratragic references to *Hippolytos* that are encountered in Aristophanes' comedies, analysing the mechanics and purposes of those cases of intertextuality.²⁶ I first present the original text of the Eurippidean play along with the Aristophanic use; then, I discuss the case.

I. Aristophanes, *Knights*

	ΝΙΚΙΑΣ πῶς ἂν σύ μοι λέξειας ἀμὲ χρὴ λέγειν; ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ ἀλλ' εἰπὲ θαρρῶν, εἶτα κἀγὼ σοὶ φράσω. ΝΙΚΙΑΣ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔνι μοι τὸ θρέττε. πῶς ἂν οὖν ποτε εἴποιμι' ἂν αὐτὸ δῆτα κομψευρικῶς; ²⁷
ΦΑΙΔΡΑ πῶς ἂν σύ μοι λέξειας ἀμὲ χρὴ λέγειν;	
PHAIDRA If only you could speak the words that I must speak! Eur. <i>Hipp.</i> 345	ΝΙΚΙΑΣ If only you could speak for me the words that I must speak! DEMOSTHENES Come, have courage and speak, and then I will tell you what I think. ΝΙΚΙΑΣ I dare not. How could I ever express my thoughts in the refined Euripidean ways? Ar. <i>Eq.</i> 14–18

In this segment of *Knights* (produced in 424 BCE), which comes from the play's prologue, the two slaves of Demos appear complaining about Paphlagon, the new slave who has been the cause of their suffering since the day he arrived at their home. Aristophanes uses Phaidra's difficulty in expressing her love towards her stepson in the slaves' dialogue, explicitly bringing Euripides into the audience's mind by mentioning his name (κομψευρικῶς). Aristophanes picked up on this specific element of a Euripidean hero, who appears rather unheroic in the sense that the main hero of a play should be upfront and express their true mind. Phaidra's lack of courage to reveal the real reason for her death to Theseus has diminished her to the status of a slave; a true hero should be brave enough to speak the truth.²⁸ Thus, we have the two slaves using Euripides' words when they discuss their dire misfortunes

²⁶ All translations of the original texts belong to the author.

²⁷ Cf. Lauriola (2016: 84, 89–90), who suggests that the initial scene of the prologue can be seen as a parody of the Nurse-Phaidra exchange in the tragedy (ll. 310–351), and especially his argument on the connotations of κομψευρικῶς, referring to Euripides' clever reworking and restaging of a more acceptable version of his Phaidra even if the main plot remained unchanged.

²⁸ Another typical accusation by Aristophanes towards Euripides was the degrading of his heroes, cf. Lauriola, 2012: 78. Similar references are found in Ar. *Ach.* 410–438 and *Vesp.* 840–849, 1063–1064.

under a horrible master, Demos. It is difficult and inappropriate for Phaidra to speak of her lust for her stepson, just as it is inappropriate for a slave to speak ill of their master. Aristophanes quotes the Euripidean line but does not rely solely upon the audience's memory; rather, he explicitly states that those words are the Euripidean way of speaking.

This seems to be the first instance of a parody of *Hippolytos* among the extant plays of Aristophanes. Lauriola supports that this is a reference to the second version of the play (*Hippolytos Stephanephoros*, the play that has survived in full), while the rest of the parodic references are connected to the shameless Phaidra of the first (the fragmentary *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos*).²⁹ However, this differentiation is not necessarily as apparent in the comic references, as (a) we know that both Phaidras are bad,³⁰ and (b) we cannot be absolutely certain that the line did not exist in the lost play too. It does seem that the first Phaidra was much more shameless than the second.³¹ However, their actions make them equally wrong, albeit possibly much more openly and explicitly in the first version.

II. Aristophanes, *Thesmophoriazousai*

In the next case, the nurse appears desperate after Hippolytos' rejection and reaction to her revelation about her mistress's lust toward him and seeks some mortal or divine help:

ΤΡΟΦΟΣ

τίς ἂν θεῶν ἀρωγὸς ἢ τίς ἂν βροτῶν
πάρεδρος ἢ ξυνεργὸς ἀδίκων ἔργων
φανείη;

NURSE

What god, what mortal shall appear to help me,
sit at my side, and lend hand to my unjust deeds?

Eur. *Hipp.* 675–677

ΧΟΡΟΣ

τίς οὖν σοι, τίς ἂν σύμμαχος ἐκ θεῶν
ἀθανάτων ἔλθοι ξὺν ἀδίκοις ἔργοις;

CHORUS

And what immortal god
would protect you for your crime?

Ar. *Thesm.* 715–716

In *Thesmophoriazousai*, Euripides learns that the women are fed up with his accusations against them in his plays and are planning to decide on a punishment for him. Euripides' plan to affect the outcome of the women's council is to infiltrate it using his kin, Mnesilochos, who is to attend the women's council disguised as a woman. However, the women become aware of the fraud and threaten both Euripides and Mnesilochos. The *chorus* is addressing Mnesilochos, whose disguise has been revealed and is trying to escape, having seized a woman's baby. Only a few lines before, the *chorus* advocates the existence of gods and claims that no one should ever doubt their existence, another concealed attack on Euripides (ll. 668–685). The chorus once again opposes Euripides and his friend who have worked together against them, bringing back to memory the nurse's seeking of an ally to unjust deeds, just like Mnesilochos has been Euripides' accomplice in the comedy.

²⁹ Lauriola, 2016: 82.

³⁰ Gibert (1997: 95) questions the generally accepted order of the plays in his article.

³¹ Phaidra tries to seduce Hippolytos and possibly but not certainly offers him his father's power. Hippolytos turns his face away and covers it as a reaction to the shameless words he hears. Cf. Webster (1967: 65–71), who discusses the reconstruction of specific scenes of the lost play, which have also taken into account Seneca's *Phaedra* as well as other sources that refer to the Euripidean plays. Another suggestion behind Hippolytos' gesture is the shame he feels because he has given in to his stepmother's advances; see Roisman (1999), who discusses the reconstructions of the lost play.

The *Thesmophoriazousai* were produced seventeen years after *Hippolytos*, therefore Aristophanes needs to make sure that the audience will be able to pick up on the paratragic references. He achieves this by not only making Euripides his central character but also by mentioning his Phaidra by name a few lines earlier, when Mnesilochos attempts to defend his kin, as we can see in the next segment, which contains a reference to Euripides' Phaidra and what he did *not* do with her:

ΜΝΗΣΙΛΟΧΟΣ

εἰ δὲ Φαίδραν λοιδορεῖ,
ἡμῖν τί τοῦτ' ἔστ' ; οὐδ' ἐκεῖν' εἰρηκέ πω,
ὡς ἡ γυνὴ δεικνῦσα τάνδρι τοῦγκυκλον
τύπ' αὐγὰς † οἶόν ἐστιν, ἐγκεκαλυμμένον
τὸν μοιχὸν ἐξέπεμψεν, οὐκ εἰρηκέ πω.

Ar. *Thesm.* 497–501

ΜΝΗΣΙΛΟΧΟΣ

But if he abuses Phaidra,
what's it to us? Nor has he spoken about that,
how the woman, while showing her husband her cloak
to see in daylight, with his head covered
sent the adulterer away, he hasn't spoken about that.

Here, Mnesilochos is trying to defend Euripides by arguing that he did not present such a shameful image of women, although he does bring to the audience's mind his Phaidra, probably of the previous play, *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos*, if we take into account the choice of the word *ἐγκεκαλυμμένον*.³² Aristophanes here promotes the use and effectiveness of his work by arguing that, although Euripides tried to speak of the women's utter shamelessness, he did not manage to do it satisfactorily. In contrast, Aristophanes' comedy mentions and criticises their unacceptable behaviour and presents things realistically and in their actual dimensions. In other words, Aristophanes' character manages to mention the women's mischievous actions to a full extent, whereas Euripides' character only manages to understate them and thus misrepresents them. Aristophanes' comedy succeeded where Euripides' tragedy failed.³³

Phaidra is mentioned elsewhere in *Thesmophoriazousai* always as the exemplary negative portrait of a woman: e.g. "All without exception are Phaidras" (Ar. *Thesm.* 550), where she is mentioned as the paradigm of vile women in contrast to all the chaste and good women such as Penelope.³⁴ Similarly, Phaidra is referred to as a whore by Aischylos in the *Frogs*:

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ

ἀλλ' οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐ Φαίδρας ἐποίουν πόρνας οὐδὲ Σθενεβοίας.³⁵

Ar. *Ran.* 1043

³² In the extant play, Phaidra appears with her head covered by her veil (ll. 243–244), an indication of the shameful state she is in, of which she is fully aware.

³³ Cf. Cowan, 2008: 319–320. For an opposing view, according to which what we actually have here is the reconciliation between Euripides and comedy and not the second's triumph over the first, see Karamanou, 2013: 159–160.

³⁴ Cf. Lauriola, 2016: 75–77.

³⁵ As Webster (1967: 65) argues, if Aristophanes is including Phaidra in the whore kind, he must have had in mind the shameless Phaidra of the first *Hippolytos*, who would have been much more forward in her advances and perhaps even completed the union with her stepson. That said, even just her intention for such a union might have just as well placed her in the said group of women.

AISCHYLOS

But by God, I never created whores like Phaidra and Stheneboia.

In this part of the comedy, we are in the middle of a debate between the two tragic poets, where each one is trying to prove that his poetry is better by scorning his opponent's work. In his speech, Aischylos accuses Euripides of being a lousy teacher who based his plays on deplorable, unworthy characters occupying a central place on stage. Euripides brought terrible examples for the new generation (ll. 1053–1056), whereas he used noble role models such as the hero Lamachus (1039).³⁶ Aischylos also mentions the nurse's role in *Hippolytos* as the procuress (προαγωγός) in a long list of Euripides' bad female roles:

οὐ προαγωγὸς κατέδειξ' οὗτος;

Ar. *Ran.* 1078

Didn't he show pimps?

The following line from *Hippolytos* is quoted in parodic contexts and with some alterations in the *Thesmophoriazousai* and the *Frogs*. In the tragedy, we are at the point when the nurse has sworn Hippolytos to silence and has revealed Phaidra's feelings to him. The nurse reminds Hippolytos of his oath and implores him not to break it, while this is his immediate response:

ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ

ἢ γλῶσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ἢ δὲ φρήν ἀνώμοτος.

HIPPOLYTOS

It was my tongue that swore it, not my mind.

Eur. *Hipp.* 612

ΜΝΗΣΙΛΟΧΟΣ

μέμνησο τοίνυν ταῦθ', ὅτι ἢ φρήν ὤμοσεν,
ἢ γλῶττα δ' οὐκ ὀμώμοκ': οὐδ' ὠρκωσ' ἐγώ.

MNESILOCHOS

Remember this, it's the heart that has sworn and not the tongue; for the oaths of the tongue do not concern me.

Ar. *Thesm.* 275–276

At this point in the *Thesmophoriazousai*, Euripides has convinced Mnesilochos to dress as a woman to infiltrate the women's council at the Thesmophoria and defend him. Mnesilochos agrees but makes Euripides swear that he will run to his aid should he need him. And in the *Frogs*, we come across a similar *locus* twice. The first one appears at the beginning of the play, where Dionysos explains to Heracles his plan to travel to the underworld to bring back a creative poet who uttered lines like the one quoted from Euripides.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ

γλῶτταν δ' ἐπιορκήσασαν ἰδίᾳ τῆς φρενός.

Ar. *Ran.* 103

³⁶ Although this is an Aristophanic fabrication and not what actually Aischylos could have had in mind, given that Lamachus was a general between 430–414 BCE; cf. Marshall, 2020: 70. For a discussion on Lamachus and how Aristophanes used him in his plays, see McGlew, 2002, esp. 83–84.

DIONYSUS
and tongue that swears without the mind's consent.

The second reference comes towards the end of the play, where Dionysos chooses Aischylos, admitting that it is what his soul desires despite what his tongue swore to Euripides.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ
αὕτη σφῶν κρίσις γενήσεται:
αἰρήσομαι γὰρ ὄνπερ ἢ ψυχὴ θέλει.

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΗΣ
μεμνημένος νυν τῶν θεῶν οὓς ὤμοσας
ἢ μὴν ἀπάξειν μ' οἴκαδ', αἰροῦ τοὺς φίλους.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ
ἢ γλῶττ' ὀμώμοκ', Αἰσχύλον δ' αἰρήσομαι.

Ar. *Ran.* 1468–1471

DIONYSOS
This will be my decision for them:
I'll choose the one my soul desires.

EURIPIDES
Remember now the Gods by whom you swore
to take me home, and choose your friends.

DIONYSOS
My tongue did swear, but Aischylos I choose.

Hippolytos actually kept his oath, unlike Dionysos, although he mentions the importance of the mental disposition in an oath, which does not always agree with the spoken words. Aristophanes seems to be criticising this ambiguity in Euripides' words and perhaps also Euripides' character, as it has been argued.³⁷ Using the Euripidean line, Dionysos' actual choice makes more sense as he indeed does the opposite of what he promised in words. This makes the scene funnier and serves the purpose of parody very well. Aristophanes produced his *Frogs* more than two decades after Euripides produced *Hippolytos*. Therefore, Aristophanes needed to point out every line from Euripides to ensure that the audience would understand every reference, as he could not rely solely on the audience's memory.

In *Hippolytos*, Phaidra expresses her love for the hero not directly but indirectly when she speaks of her love for horses (ll. 217–221, 227–231),³⁸ a love that she shares with Hippolytos (l. 581), hence it is something that brings her closer to him.³⁹ Hippolytos had just returned from hunting and announced that he would train with his horses; Phaidra's wish to be with the horses is her wish to be where Hippolytos is. Phaidra's concealed way of expressing her genuine emotions for her stepson is

³⁷ Marshall, 2020: 92.

³⁸ Roth, 2015: 103. See also Mastromarco-Totaro (2006: 453, n. 26) for the sexual connotations of the otherwise referring to horses' word (κελητιζω).

³⁹ Cf. Lauriola, 2016: 76.

also apparent enough for the audience to connect with Hippolytos, whose life is intertwined with the horses, including his name. Aristophanes picked up on this and decided to parody the corresponding lines in the *Thesmophoriazousai*. Euripides' initial thought is to ask Agathon to go to the Thesmophoria in order to defend him. At the beginning of the *stichomythia*, Agathon and Mnesilochos are discussing Agathon's poetry. Agathon argues that a poet must assume his heroes' characters and habits regardless of gender. Hence, Mnesilochos' following comment is that he needs to make love like a horse if his hero is Phaidra, who apparently loves horses.

MNHΣILOXOΣ
Οὐκοῦν κελητίζεις,⁴⁰ ὅταν Φαίδραν ποιῆς;

Ar. *Thesm.* 153

MNESILOCHOS
Wouldn't you assume the lovemaking horse position, when you compose a Phaidra?

III. Aristophanes, *Acharnians*

In the *Acharnians*, there is another slightly distorted line from *Hippolytos* in the dialogue between the chorus and the nurse, where the chorus asks about the reason behind Phaidra's condition. However, the context here is very different: this is the scene with the Megarian's reaction when the informer arrives and interrupts his transaction with Dikaiopolis, during which he was trying to sell his two daughters as pigs to Dikaiopolis. Aristophanes uses the exact phrase, but in Attic not Doric dialect (as in the Euripidean text), as in the comedy they are uttered by the Megarian, whom the informer denounces and treats as a public enemy.⁴¹ In *Hippolytos*, the chorus refers to the troubles of Phaidra, not its own. One could perceive Phaidra as the enemy of morality wanting to break her marital vows on the one hand and seeking union with her stepson on the other (that is, if we disregard entirely the divine agency in the tragedy). She is the negative example that should be denounced by the Athenians, just like the Megarian in the *Acharnians*. The comedy was produced only three years after *Hippolytos*, therefore it was relatively fresh in the audience's mind. Euripides is explicitly an object of ridicule in the comedy (ll. 393–489) and the audience would have been able to pick up on textual paratragic references.

ΧΟΡΟΣ
οὐδ' ἦτις ἀρχὴ τῶνδε πημάτων ἔφου;
ΜΕΓΑΡΕΥΣ
τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν', ἴκει πάλιν
ὄθενπερ ἀρχὰ τῶν κακῶν ἀμῖν ἔφου.

CHORUS
she wouldn't even say what the beginning
of her troubles was?
MEGARIAN
there it is again, the beginning of our troubles.

Eur. *Hipp.* 272

Ar. *Ach.* 821

⁴⁰ See *LSJ*, s.v. κελητίζω.

⁴¹ Cf. Olson (2002: 277), who also notes the tragic tone of the verse.

In the same comedy, there is another slightly altered line from the messenger's description of Hippolytos' death to the hero's father:

ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ

σποδούμενος μὲν πρὸς πέτραις φίλον κάρα
θραύων τε σάρκας, δεινὰ δ' ἐξαυδῶν κλύειν.

MESSENGER

smashing his dear head against the rocks
and tearing his flesh to pieces, uttering things
dreadful to hear.
she wouldn't even say what the beginning of
her troubles was?

Eur. *Hipp.* 1238–1239

ΘΕΡΑΠΙΩΝ ΛΑΜΑΧΟΥ

καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς κατέαγε περὶ λίθῳ πεσῶν,
καὶ Γοργόν' ἐξήγειρεν ἐκ τῆς ἀσπίδος.
πτίλον δὲ τὸ μέγα κομπολακύθου πεσὸν
πρὸς ταῖς πέτραισι, δεινὸν ἐξηύδα μέλος.

SLAVE OF LAMACHOS

broke his head falling on a stone,
while his Gorgon shot far away from his shield.
his large braggadocio helmet plume fell down
towards the rocks, he uttered these dreadful
words.

Ar. *Ach.* 1180–1183

Lamachos appears as the warmonger neighbour of Dikaiopolis. Lamachos seeks to continue the ongoing war between Athens and Sparta, while Dikaiopolis plots to end it through a secret personal peace treaty. Dikaiopolis was preparing for a feast while Lamachos was preparing for a battle. Towards the end of the comedy, Dikaiopolis appears joyful, whereas Lamachos is ridiculed for his silly fall while jumping over a ditch. Aristophanes seems to be borrowing Euripides' words to describe the funny fall and injury of Lamachos in the same tragic set-up in which Hippolytos died, albeit under much more horrible circumstances.⁴²

IV. *Hippolytaristophanizein*: The Other References

So far, we have explored the most striking cases of paratragic and parodic references to Euripides' *Hippolytos* in the Aristophanic extant plays, i.e., *Knights*, *Thesmophoriazousai*, *Frogs*, *Acharnians*. In those instances, Aristophanes makes his point of reference sufficiently clear, either by explicitly mentioning the name of Euripides and his characters, embedding characteristic Euripidean segments in his comedies, or both. The rest of this section includes less direct cases of *Hippolytaristophanizein* in the extant plays, which still contain elements deemed subtle parodies of *Hippolytos*.

In the following example, what starts as a philosophical question overnight becomes a question about someone's gluttony in *Knights* and ornithology in *Frogs*.

ΦΑΙΔΡΑ

ἤδη ποτ' ἄλλως νυκτὸς ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ
θνητῶν ἐφρόντισ' ἢ διέφθαρται βίος.

Eur. *Hipp.* 375–376

PHAIDRA

Before now on another occasion during the night's long time,
I have pondered how it is that the life of mortals is destroyed.

⁴² Note especially the elevated word ἐξηύδα, which does not appear in other comedies, and the word μέλος, which reinforces the paratragic tone of the Slave's speech, as it refers to the lament sung by tragic heroes and heroines (Olson, 2002: 355).

In *Hippolytos*, this is the point where Phaidra has just confessed her plight and speaks to the chorus of her nocturnal philosophical thoughts regarding human nature. She then unfolds her train of thought, leading to her decision to die as the only resolution left. As Roth has noted,⁴³ in these lines, Phaidra seems to be applying earlier thoughts to her current situation in a way that is reminiscent of a typical introduction to a debate. This is similar to how a speaker refers to earlier experiences to emphasise the specificity of the present situation or his competence. For a direct analogy, we can follow Thucydides (3.37.1): πολλάκις μὲν ἤδη ἔγωγε καὶ ἄλλοτε ἔγνων δημοκρατίαν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἑτέρων ἄρχειν, μάλιστα δ' ἐν τῇ νῦν ὑμετέρᾳ περὶ Μυτιληναίων μεταμελεία.⁴⁴ In Phaidra's situation, the question seems to regard the cause of man's destruction as being divine or human since the chorus and nurse have just spoken about Aphrodite's agency.

The relevant segment from the *Knights* comes towards the end of the play, after the Sausage-Seller has won the debate and has kicked Cleon out of Demos' house. Then, the chorus mentions a couple of examples of Athenian figures who deserve mockery. In the *Frogs*, the same lines are encountered at the beginning of the *agon* between Aischylos and Euripides. Euripides is belittling Aischylos' poetry, pointing out that he creates unnecessarily complex words, one of which apparently had puzzled God Dionysos in the past, who interestingly discusses it using Euripidean lyrics. This was a reference to the yellow hippo-rooster, which Aischylos right away explains that it was a symbol engraved on ships.⁴⁵

ΧΟΡΟΣ

ἢ πολλάκις ἐννουχίαισι
φροντίσι συγγεγένημαι,
καὶ διεζήτηχ' ὅπόθεν ποτὲ φαύλωσ ἐσθίει
Κλεώνυμος.

CHORUS

Many times, nocturnal thoughts weigh on me,
and I wonder whence comes this fearful
voracity of Cleonymos.

Ar. *Eq.* 1290–1294

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ

νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐγὼ γοῦν
ἤδη ποτ' ἐν μακρῷ χρόνῳ νυκτὸς
διηγρόπνησα
τὸν ξουθὸν ἱππαλεκτρύονα ζητῶν τίς ἐστὶν
ὄρνις.

DIONYSOS

By the gods,
Through one night I did stay sleepless the
whole time,
wondering what sort of bird the yellow hip-
porooster was.
towards the rocks, he uttered these dreadful
words.

Ar. *Ran.* 930–932

Cleonymos was an Athenian politician in the 420s and became an Aristophanic stock character who appeared in many of his comedies as a liar, glutton, and coward.⁴⁶ Cleonymos is explicitly mentioned in the *Knights* but could also be alluded to in the *Frogs* segment. He is also mentioned in comparison to a bird in the *Acharnians* (ll. 88–89), in the scene where the Persian ambassadors have reached the assembly and describe the rich feast they had at the Great King's court, part of which was a giant

⁴³ Roth, 2015: 131.

⁴⁴ Trans. I have often, on other occasions, thought a democracy incapable of dominion over others, but most of all now for your current repentance concerning the Mytilenaeans.

⁴⁵ For further discussion on the mechanics of parody of the Aischylian pompousness in this instance see Nikolaidou-Arabatzi, 2020: 266–267.

⁴⁶ For example, Ar. *Nub.* 353–354, 398–400, 670–680; *Pax* 444–446, 670–679, 1295–1297; *Av.* 1472–1481; *Eq.* 947–958; *Vesp.* 15–23, 822–823.

bird, thrice the size of Cleonymos, called Cheat (Φέναξ). In the *Birds* (ll. 287–290), he appears as a gluttonous bright-coloured bird.

In *Lysistrata*, there is a line that is reminiscent of two lines that are part of the description of Phaidra's condition and feelings in *Hippolytos* (ll. 239–249), as he describes them herself:

ΦΑΙΔΡΑ

κρύπτε: κατ' ὄσων δάκρυ μοι βαίνει,
καὶ ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃν ὄμμα τέτραπται.

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ

τί χρώς τέτραπται; τί δάκρυον κατείβεται;

PHAIDRA

cover it: the tears stream down from my
eyes and my gaze is turned to shame.

LYSISTRATA

Why has your colour changed? Why do you
weep?

Eur. *Hipp.* 245–246

Ar. *Lys.* 127

Phaidra gives a detailed account of her miserable fortune in the aforementioned verses of the tragedy. She describes how a superhuman power brought this *mania* and torture upon her, due to which she is in pain and feels ashamed. Hence, Phaidra requests her nurse to cover her head. In *Lysistrata*, the relevant line is attested in the heroine's revelation to the council of her plan to end the war through sexual abstinence; this is where she addresses the other women and describes their reaction to it (ll. 124–128).⁴⁷ Indeed, the setting of the two plays is very different; however, there are some significant similarities. In both cases, the lines are part of the core of their respective plays, where the main heroines describe the issue at hand. In fact, on the one hand, while Phaidra appears as the *polis'* enemy, acting opposite to its ethical code, Lysistrata, on the other hand, appears as the saviour of the *polis*. Even more so, Lysistrata acts to benefit all citizens (and *poleis*), as war is detrimental to all parties.⁴⁸ This should not have been a mere coincidence. If we would like to take it one step further, it is a case of paratragic reference that reinforces the intertextual dialogue between the two poets: Lysistrata is reacting to Phaidra's description of state, or Lysistrata asks and Phaidra responds. The positioning of the scene in the centre of the play, similar to that of the tragedy, the linguistic choices, and the stylistic changes attest to this. Finally, in both cases, the reason behind the tears is directly connected to love(making). *Lysistrata* was produced in 411 BCE., a few years after *Hippolytos*. However, Aristophanes' learnt audience would have been able to understand that reference relying on the context and the assumed lofty style of the verse, even if the play or character is not mentioned by name in this instance.

The *Hippolytaristophanizein* in *Lysistrata* continues in Kinesias' words, who misses his dearest wife and cannot enjoy anything without her, just like Theseus feels lost and cannot enjoy anything upon the news of his son's fate and Aphrodite's plan.

ΘΗΣΕΥΣ

ὄλωλα, τέκνον, οὐδέ μοι χάρις βίου.

Eur. *Hipp.* 1408

ΚΙΝΗΣΙΑΣ

ὡς οὐδεμίαν ἔχω γε τῷ βίῳ χάριτι

Ar. *Lys.* 865

THESEUS

I am lost, my son, I have no joy in life.

KINESIAS

I have no joy in life

⁴⁷ Questions written in the tragic style, cf. Landfester, 2019: 81.

⁴⁸ Cf. Schwinge (2002: 17), who interprets the figure of Lysistrata, the saviour of the *polis*, as a 'reversed' Phaidra.

This is a suitable choice by Aristophanes as both examples describe the loss of a person most dear to the characters. The former lost him literally and the latter metaphorically. Kinesias and Theseus have brought this loss upon themselves, even though a female agent is directly involved. Lysistrata's plan took Myrrhine away from Kinesias and Aphrodites' plan took Hippolytos (and Phaidra) away from Theseus. Yet, both characters share responsibility: Kinesias participated in the war, and Theseus wished for his son's death. Kinesias' reportedly tragic lament is comically dissolved by the obscene comic language in his last phrase ἔστυκα γάρ.⁴⁹

Hippolytos in Aristophanes' fragments

The play that presents great interest regarding the reception of *Hippolytos* by Aristophanes is *Anagyros*,⁵⁰ as it appears to have followed the plot closely. We cannot be sure of *Anagyros*' production date, but it was probably composed between 420 and 411 BCE.⁵¹ This time, Aristophanes used a different technique to invigorate the audience's memory by adopting the main elements of *Hippolytos*' plot. Unfortunately, the surviving fragments are too few to give us the complete picture of the play's plot. However, we do know the plot from the two testimonia. According to them, the local guardian "spirit" or "hero" punished an old man who cut down his holy grove.⁵² The punishment resembles the one inflicted by Aphrodite in the Euripidean play: the man's mistress fell in love with his son. The son rejected her advances, and then she decided to avenge him by denouncing him to his father as licentious. The enraged father mutilated his son and immured him to his house or banished him to a deserted island. The story now becomes grimmer than the tragic counterpart as what follows is the suicide of both the father and his concubine.⁵³ The element of the three deaths is not really a factor of differentiation but rather another allusion to Euripides' play, where the symbolic death of Theseus is added to the physical deaths of Phaidra and Hippolytos. Theseus feels completely ruined and lifeless after losing the two people dearest to him, so he does not surprise us when he includes himself in his account of the deaths caused by Aphrodite.

ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ

τρεις ὄντας ἡμᾶς⁵⁴ ὤλεσ', ἤισθημαι, Κύπρις.⁵⁵

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ

πατέρα γε καὶ σὲ καὶ τρίτην ξυνάορον.

Eur. *Hipp.* 1403–1404

⁴⁹ Kinesias' lament also reminds us of Admetos' lament over his lost wife, Alkestis, in the homonymous Euripidean drama (cf. Landfester, 2019: 185).

⁵⁰ For the most thorough and updated edition and analysis of the play, see Orth, 2017: 215–349.

⁵¹ Pellegrino, 2015: 58; Orth, 2017: 233.

⁵² Which is reminiscent of Erysichthon's story as it is recorded in Callimachos' *Hymn to Demetra*. According to the poet, Erysichthon and his comrades cut down Demetra's sacred grove, ignoring her warnings. The goddess punished Erysichthon so harshly that it cost him his life.

⁵³ The sources for these versions of the plot of *Anagyros* are Suda *a* 1842 and *Proverbia Coisliniana* 30. Suda also draws a connection with Euripides' *Phoinix*, an assessment supported by Demianczuk (1912: 13) and Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1962: 537–539), who use the reference to Phoinix's birthplace in fr. 54 as evidence. Gil (2010: 160–161), however, rejects it based on the absence of supporting elements in the rest of the fragments.

⁵⁴ Note: Here, this conjecture is followed as more convincing than 'μία'.

⁵⁵ For more on this see Roth's (2015: 340–341) notes on the line.

HIPPOLYTOS

She destroyed the three of us, even though she is one, I see it.

ARTEMIS

The father, you, and the wife.

The similarities between the two plays are apparent and go beyond the female agency and cause of all troubles, as is the case in the fully preserved plays.⁵⁶ Even though it is impossible to know the details of the character of the old man's second wife/concubine, the cause of the family's troubles is the old man's impious behaviour, who also happened to have an adulterous relationship. I would also like to suggest the following correspondence between the main characters of the two plays, to highlight the connection between them better:

Anagyros – Aphrodite
Mistress/Stepmother – Phaidra
Old Man – Theseus
Son – Hippolytos

Anagyros is the deity who was provoked and caused the destruction of a household similar to Aphrodite. The old man's mistress in the comedy fell for his son, just like Phaidra did. The old man, as another Theseus, seeks the punishment/destruction of his son. The son dies as an immediate consequence of the father's actions in both plays. Apart from the plot elements, two of the surviving fragments of the play draw an obvious connection to the tragedy:

ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ

ἀλλὰ χαιρέτω πόλις

καὶ γαῖ' Ἐρεχθέως· ὦ πέδον

Τροζήνιον,

ὡς ἐγκαθηβᾶν πόλλ' ἔχεις εὐδαιμόνα,

χαῖρ'· ὕστατον γάρ σ' εἰσορῶν

προσφθέγγομαι.

Eur. *Hipp.* 1094–1097

ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ

ὦ χαῖρε καὶ σύ, χαῖρε πολλὰ

μοι, πάτερ.

Eur. *Hipp.* 1453

χαίρειν μὲν Ἄλον τὸν Φθιώτην

χαίρειν δ' ἀτεχνῶς Ἀναγυρασίους.

Ar. *Anagyros* fr. 54 K–A

HIPPOLYTOS

farewell city

and home of Erechtheus; O

Troezenian land,

you offer so many blessings to pass

one's youth,

farewell; looking at you for the last

time I address you.

HIPPOLYTOS

And I bid you farewell

too, my father.

Farewell Fthiotic Alos

and simply farewell to you, too,

Anagyrasians.

In the tragedy, Hippolytos leaves after facing his father's accusations, resulting in his banishment from his land. In the comedy, we do not know who the speaker of the fragment is, but it could be the son,

⁵⁶ Cf. Lauriola, 2016: 75.

since, according to one of the versions transmitted in the *testimonia*,⁵⁷ the son was sent by his father to a desolate island. In l. 1453, Hippolytos departs from life after being reconciled with his father, whom he bids goodbye to. We cannot but notice the difference between the tragic and the comic 'farewells'. Aristophanes commences his 'farewell' in the same simple way as Euripides but then keeps it just as simple, adding a self-referential comment on it (ἀτεχνῶς), which could be seen in contrast to the more sophisticated and poetic way of Hippolytos' tragic goodbye.

The fragments of the play contain quite a few references to horses and horse equipment,⁵⁸ indicating that there was at least one such scene in the comedy,⁵⁹ just like in the tragedy,⁶⁰ such as the following characteristic examples:

<p>ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ καὶ καταψήχειν χρεῶν</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Eur. <i>Hipp.</i> 110–111</p>	<p>ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ψήκτραισιν ἵππων ἐκτενίζομεν τρίχας</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Eur. <i>Hipp.</i> 1174</p>	<p>ψῆχ' ἡρέμα τὸν βουκέφαλοντόν <τε> κοππατίαν.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Ar. <i>Anagyros</i> fr. 43 K–A⁶¹</p>
<p>HIPPOLYTOS and you must rub down</p>	<p>MESSENGER we were scraping down the horses' hair with the curry-combs</p>	<p>gently curry/groom/comb the bull-headed (horse) and the one branded with the letter koppa.</p>

Along the same lines is the following fragment from *Anagyros*, which refers to Phaidra's expressed love for hunting:

<p>ΦΑΙΔΡΑ πρὸς θεῶν· ἔραμαι κυσὶ θωύξαι καὶ παρὰ χαιταν ξανθὰν ῥίψαι Θεσσαλὸν ὄρπακ', ἐπίλογχον ἔχουσ' ἐν χειρὶ βέλος.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Eur. <i>Hipp.</i> 219–222</p>	<p>πρὸς θεῶν· ἔραμαι τέττιγα φαγεῖν καὶ κερκώπην θηρευσαμένη καλάμῳ λεπτῷ.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Ar. <i>Anagyros</i> fr. 53 K–A</p>
<p>PHAIDRA By the gods; I long to shout to the hounds and to fly past the blond hair a Thessalian javelin, holding a sharp weapon in my hand.</p>	<p>By the gods, I long to eat a cicada and a cricket after I've caught them with a thin reed.</p>

The parody of the Euripidean play is evident in a fragment which contains humoristic allusions to Athenian gastronomic preferences, shifting the emphasis from the metaphorical hunger for love to the

⁵⁷ *Proverbia Coisliniana* 30. According to the other version transmitted by Suda *a* 1842, the father mutilated and immured his son.

⁵⁸ Cf. the discussion above (Section II) regarding the implicit connection to Hippolytos' name and the connotations of Phaidra's expressed love for horses.

⁵⁹ Fragments 42, 43, 44, 61, 64, 66.

⁶⁰ For example, Eur. *Hipp.* 110–112, 229–231, 1173–1174, 1186–1189.

⁶¹ Spoken probably by the father or son addressing the servant. The son is suggested by Bergk *ap.* Meineke (1840: 961). Both suggestions (father or son) are discussed by Kock (1880: 403). The available evidence is hardly enough to make any secure assumptions on the matter. The same kind of expensive horses we find in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, mentioned by Strepsiades, who bought a horse with the letter *koppa* branded on its head for his son (ll. 23, 438).

literal craving for food.⁶² In the Euripidean tragedy, the speaker is Phaidra, who desires to hunt fawns. Again, we do not know the speaker of the fragment but judging from the similar excerpt in *Hippolytos*, in which Phaidra is the speaker, it could be the old man's mistress, who is hungry and would be happy with a cicada.⁶³ The comedy makes animals and weapons smaller; this could be interpreted as a way in which Aristophanes seeks to belittle and thus ridicule Euripides' poetry.⁶⁴

Another reference to the Euripidean tragedy that is not solely referring to Phaidra but also Theseus is found in Aristophanes' *Polyeidos*, where Theseus and Phaidra's marriage has been characterised as 'mixing fire with fire', therefore both are seen as equally dangerous and prone to trouble.

ιδού διδωμι τήνδ' ἐγὼ γυναϊκά σοι
Φαίδραν· ἐπὶ πῦρ δὲ πῦρ ξοιχ' ἤκειν ἄγων.

Er. *Polyeidos* fr. 469 K–A

There, I give you this woman,
Phaidra; though I do seem to have come bringing fire to a fire.

The speaker is probably Minos, who officially gives his daughter to Theseus to marry, even though he is aware of the risks that this union entails if we consider Theseus' previous treatment of Minos' other daughter, Ariadne, and their general history.⁶⁵ Arguably, Aristophanes is also bringing attention to Euripides' play, where this fear is confirmed in the worst possible way.⁶⁶

Conclusion

The multiple references to this particular tragedy evidence that it had some value to Aristophanes. It was one of his favourites, with the great king Theseus being deceived by a woman and torn to pieces emotionally and the house of the Attic hero being afflicted by an impure, quasi-incestuous love — all these things that everyone in the audience should avoid. It comes as no surprise that he chose to refer to it so much in his plays.

I argue that references to Euripides' *Hippolytos* abound in Aristophanes' works, even if it is not always clear which of the two versions he is picking at (i.e. the fragmentarily survived *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos* or the fully preserved *Hippolytos Stephanephoros*). However, this is not as important since both versions were composed by the same poet and referred to the same myth, a myth prevalent

⁶² Borthwick, 1967: 111; also, Rau (1967: 153 n. 46), who sees a reference to *Hipp.* 215–216, 219, 230 in Aristophanes' *Vesp.* 749–751. However, the linguistic similarities are not as obvious as in the rest of the examples in this article. This fragment was probably part of the scene depicted on a bell crater that shows a comedic depiction of the Phaidra-Nurse scene in *Hippolytos*, behind which Green (2013: esp. 121–124, 130) also suspects an Aristophanic model.

⁶³ Tsantsanoglou (1984: 82–84) connects this fragment with fr. 55 suggesting that out of extreme hunger, they would have to catch even mice to eat: κἂν μηδὲν ἔλης, στήσον μῦάγραν [trans. and if you catch nothing, set a mousetrap].

⁶⁴ Cf. Orth, 2017: 224, 290.

⁶⁵ For more details on Theseus' deeds, see Walker, 1995: 15–20.

⁶⁶ Another interesting point in reference to this passage is made by Sommerstein (2014: 178), who draws our attention to *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos* fr. 429: "a chorus of women describe womankind as ἀντι πυρός... ἄλλο πῦρ μείζον... πολὺ δυσμαχώτερον [trans. in place of fire... a different fire, greater and much harder to fight]. K-A on Aristophanes fr. 469 sees no connection ('minus apte comparatur'), but Collard and Cropp on Euripides fr. 429 take the Aristophanic fragment as 'almost certainly an allusion' to the *HippK* passage".

in Athens as it involved the great local hero Theseus. In this article, I examined the most striking references of paratragedy along with some less obvious ones, but they are still reminiscent of the tragic play linguistically. I have demonstrated that Aristophanes refers to the tragic myth in the *Knights*, *Frogs*, *Thesmophoriazousai*, *Acharnians*, *Lysistrata*, and the fragmentary *Anagyros* and *Polyeidos*.

Euripides' Phaidra speaks of words that should not be uttered (*Knights*) and is guilty of unjust deeds (*Thesmophoriazousai*). Phaidra is the leading example of an immoral woman (*Frogs*) who expresses her affection towards Hippolytos through references to horses (*Thesmophoriazousai*, *Anagyros*). Hippolytos', Mnesilochos', and Dionysos' mouthed vows do not match what is on their mind. In the *Acharnians*, the Megarian borrows the chorus' line to speak of the beginning of troubles which could be signalled by the presence of a woman like Phaidra and Hippolytos' tragic death is made comic through Lamachos' funny accident. Phaidra's philosophical wanderings are degraded to wanderings about gluttony and birds (in the *Knights* and *Frogs*). In *Lysistrata*, Aristophanes opens a dialogue between Phaidra and Lysistrata over the tears of the former, and Theseus and Kinesias appear to have lost what they held most dear to their life. Phaidra's hunting is minimised in *Anagyros*, a play that demonstrates that a comic author could easily handle a tragic myth, creating a parody of a tragedy at the same time.

In the *Knights*, Aristophanes uses Phaidra's words and ensures that the audience will pick up on them by mentioning the "elegant Euripidean ways." *Hippolytos* was produced four years before the *Knights*; therefore, Aristophanes wanted to be sure that everyone in the audience could draw the connection and remember the play's details. In the *Frogs*, the audience should bring and keep Euripides' work in mind as he is central to the plot; it is a comedy that contains a type of commentary on the tragedian's style and choice of characters. It was produced twenty-three years after *Hippolytos*, so Aristophanes had to be very clear regarding the paratragic references; everyone would remember the myth but not necessarily the details of the tragic script. A similar device is employed in *Thesmophoriazousai*, which was produced seventeen years after *Hippolytos* and in which Euripides is a main character again. The *Acharnians* were produced much closer to *Hippolytos*, only three years later, so it is possible that the audience would have been able to draw on the parodic references more easily. However, explicit reference to Euripides is made again by Aristophanes (*Ach.* 393–489). *Lysistrata*, produced seventeen years after *Hippolytos*, is a more challenging case of paratragedy for the contemporary audience acknowledgement, although Euripides and his portrayal of women as shameless is briefly mentioned here too (ll. 283, 368–369). *Anagyros*, produced approximately eleven years after its model, must not have been too hard to be recognised as a parody as it followed the original's plot closely, even though it is not possible to know the exact level of similarity between the tragic and the comic play. Finally, in its few surviving fragments, *Polyeidos*, produced at least fifteen years after *Hippolytos*, contains a parodic reference to the myth and a linguistic paratragic reference to *Hippolytos Kalyptomenos*.

Aristophanes refers to Euripides in a comic/parodic way and ridicules what the tragedian did by copying him in a way that effectively uses Euripides' creations/ideas in his comedies. In a spirit of competition and as part of the poetic discourse, the comic poet opposes Euripides through comic/parodic imitation. Whether by embodying Hippolytos' story in his comedies or dedicating a whole play to it through parody and ridicule, Aristophanes seeks to prove that he is better than his fellow playwright, elevating his work as more important and worthy of their attention.⁶⁷ He mocks Euripides to reveal his cheap tricks to his audience, who were easily tricked into giving him the first prize for the production of *Hippolytos*.

⁶⁷ Cf. Lauriola, 2010: 74.

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Abstract (Greek) | Περίληψη

Το παρόν άρθρο επικεντρώνεται στη επανειλημμένη χρήση του μύθου του Ιππόλυτου στον Αριστοφάνη, όπως αυτός απαντά στον *Ιππόλυτο* του Ευριπίδη. Ο τίτλος του άρθρου υποδηλώνει ακριβώς αυτό, πώς ο Αριστοφάνης μιμείται τον Ευριπίδη και ανακαλεί τον τραγικό ποιητή και τα έργα του στον νου του θεατή (δηλ. *Ευριπίδαριστοφανίζειν*) μέσα από τις πολυάριθμες αναφορές στο συγκεκριμένο έργο, τον *Ιππόλυτο*. Επομένως, θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε ότι ο Αριστοφάνης Ιππολυταριστοφανίζει (*Ιππολυταριστοφανίζειν*: μιμείται και επιστρατεύει δημιουργικά τη συγκεκριμένη τραγωδία) στις κωμωδίες του για να εξυπηρετήσει τους δικούς του σκοπούς, οι οποίοι και διερευνώνται εκτενώς στην πορεία αυτού του άρθρου. Συζητούνται οι αναφορές στον *Ιππόλυτο* που βρίσκονται στα πλήρως και αποσπασματικά σωζόμενα έργα του Αριστοφάνη, καθώς και η υποδοχή και η αναγνώρισή τους από το κοινό. Ο Αριστοφάνης το πετυχαίνει αυτό είτε άμεσα με την ονομαστική αναφορά στην τραγωδία και τους χαρακτήρες της είτε έμμεσα μέσω του περιεχόμενου και της γλωσσικής υιοθέτησης του τραγικού ύφους.

Το άρθρο ξεκινάει με το θεωρητικό υπόβαθρο και τον ορισμό της έννοιας της παραωδίας και της παρατραγωδίας, και πώς αυτές υλοποιούνται στα διάφορα λογοτεχνικά είδη της αρχαιότητας. Το έπος και η τραγωδία αποτελούσαν τυπικό στόχο παραωδίας λόγω της φύσης των χαρακτήρων που αναδείκνυαν. Οι χαρακτήρες αυτών των ειδών κινδύνευαν συχνά να θεωρηθούν καρικατούρες λόγω της υπερβολικής μονοδιάστατης συμπεριφοράς και των πράξεων τους. Έτσι, πληρούσαν άριστα τις προϋποθέσεις για να μετατραπούν σε θύματα γελοιοποίησης. Το ίδιο συμβαίνει και με τους χαρακτήρες του *Ιππόλυτου* με τα παράλογα χαρακτηριστικά και τις πράξεις τους. Η Φαίδρα ερωτεύεται τον θετό γιο της (ανάμεσα σε όλες τις άλλες διαθέσιμες επιλογές), ο οποίος τυχαίνει να έχει πάρει όρκο αγνότητας, και φτάνει στο σημείο να αυτοκτονήσει μετά την απόρριψή του (αν και δεν υπήρχε κίνδυνος να αποκαλύψει την αλήθεια στον πατέρα του ή σε οποιονδήποτε άλλον, καθώς είχε δώσει όρκο σιωπής). Έπειτα, ο Θησέας πιστεύει χωρίς δεύτερη σκέψη τις κατηγορίες της Φαίδρας, δεν δίνει την ευκαιρία στον Ιππόλυτο να δώσει εξηγήσεις και εύχεται τον θάνατο του μοναχογιού του! Ακόμα και η νοσοκόμα φάνηκε να ενεργεί παράλογα, όταν, αντί να προσπαθήσει να συνενώσει την κυρά της, την έπεισε να προσπαθήσει να κερδίσει την αγάπη του Ιππόλυτου. Πρόκειται για μια πλοκή που φέρει πολλά κωμικά στοιχεία ως έχει και που αν αλλάξει η προσέγγιση του συγγραφέα, θα μπορούσε να μετατραπεί σε κωμωδία.

Η τεχνική του Αριστοφάνη να συνθέσει κωμωδία χρησιμοποιώντας το σοβαρό, υψηλού επιπέδου είδος της τραγωδίας ήταν μέρος ενός προσωπικού ανταγωνισμού μεταξύ του ίδιου και του τραγικού ποιητή. Πράγματι, υπάρχει μια πολύπλευρη διακειμενική σχέση μεταξύ των δύο ποιητών, η οποία περιλαμβάνει επίσης ένα στοιχείο θαυμασμού που δείχνει ο Αριστοφάνης προς τον Ευριπίδη μέσω της μίμησης. Οι αναφορές στον *Ιππόλυτο* του Ευριπίδη αφθονούν στα έργα του Αριστοφάνη, ακόμη κι αν δεν είναι πάντοτε σαφές ποια από τις δύο ευριπίδειες εκδοχές επιλέγει (δηλαδή τον *Ιππόλυτο Καλυπτόμενο*, που έχει διασωθεί αποσπασματικά ή τον *Ιππόλυτο Στεφανηφόρο*, που έχει διασωθεί πλήρως). Ωστόσο, αυτό δεν είναι τόσο σημαντικό, δεδομένου ότι και οι δύο εκδοχές γράφτηκαν από τον ίδιο ποιητή και αναφέρονταν στον ίδιο ακριβώς μύθο, έναν μύθο που ήταν πολύ δημοφιλής στην Αθήνα, καθώς αφορούσε τον μεγάλο της ήρωα Θησέα. Σε αυτό το άρθρο εξετάζονται οι πιο πρόδηλες περιπτώσεις παρατραγωδίας μαζί με κάποιες λιγότερο προφανείς, που όμως εξακολουθούν να θυμίζουν γλωσσικά το τραγικό έργο. Συγκεκριμένα, συζητούνται οι σχετικές αναφορές στους *Ιππείς*, στους *Βατράχους*, στις *Θεσμοφοριάζουσες*, στους *Αχαρνείς*, στη *Λυσιστράτη* και στα αποσπασματικά σωζόμενα έργα *Ανάγυρος* και *Πολύειδος*.

Το κύριο μέρος του άρθρου αποτελείται από δύο ενότητες, στις οποίες μοιράστηκε το υλικό ανάλογα με τη σαφήνεια των παρατραγικών/παροδικών αναφορών που εντοπίζονται στα έργα του Αριστοφάνη, η οποία επηρεάζεται σε μεγάλο βαθμό από την κατάσταση διατήρησης του έργου. Έτσι, στην πρώτη ενότητα εξετάστηκαν τα πλήρως σωζόμενα έργα, των οποίων η ολοκληρωμένη κατάσταση επιτρέπει την επισκόπηση και εξέταση κάθε παρατραγικής αναφοράς στο πλαίσιο της. Στη δεύτερη ενότητα, εξετάζονται οι παρατραγικές αναφορές στα αποσπασματικά έργα του Αριστοφάνη, οι οποίες εντοπίζονται σε μεμονωμένα αποσπάσματα και μπορούν να συναχθούν από όσα γνωρίζουμε για το χαμένο πλέον έργο μέσω άλλων πηγών. Η πρώτη ενότητα διαιρέθηκε περαιτέρω σε δύο υπο-ενότητες, η πρώτη από τις οποίες περιλαμβάνει τις πιο εξέχουσες περιπτώσεις *Ίππολυταριστοφανίζειν* που απαντούν στα πλήρως σωζόμενα δράματα. Αυτές είναι αδιαμφισβήτητες περιπτώσεις παρατραγικών αναφορών στην τραγωδία του Ευριπίδη που αναφέρουν ρητά το έργο, τον συγγραφέα, τους χαρακτήρες και χρησιμοποιούν το ευριπίδειο κείμενο με μικρές μόνο τροποποιήσεις. Η δεύτερη υπο-ενότητα περιλαμβάνει τις παρατραγικές αναφορές στις πλήρως σωζόμενες κωμωδίες, οι οποίες δεν είναι τόσο σαφείς ή ρητά διατυπωμένες όσο στην πρώτη υπο-ενότητα. Αυτές είναι πιο σύντομες, ενώ ο Αριστοφάνης έχει παρέμβει αρκετά σε ορισμένες από αυτές. Ωστόσο, εξακολουθούν να παρουσιάζουν αρκετά στοιχεία ώστε να μπορούν να χαρακτηριστούν ως παρατραγικές αναφορές. Οι δύο ενότητες συμβάλλουν σημαντικά στην κατανόηση του τρόπου με τον οποίο ο Αριστοφάνης χρησιμοποίησε τον *Ίππολυτο* στα έργα του, κυρίως επειδή ο κωμικός ποιητής υιοθετεί διαφορετικές τεχνικές. Στα πλήρως σωζόμενα έργα, οι παρατραγικές αναφορές είναι ενσωματωμένες σε ένα ανεξάρτητο σενάριο, που γενικά δεν σχετίζεται με την πλοκή της τραγωδίας. Αντίθετα, στο αποσπασματικά σωζόμενο έργο *Ανάγυρος*, ο Αριστοφάνης φαίνεται να προχωράει σε πολύ μεγαλύτερης κλίμακας *imitatio* και *aemulatio*, ακολουθώντας (τουλάχιστον σε αδρές γραμμές) το τραγικό σενάριο.

Εν κατακλείδι, ο Αριστοφάνης αναφέρεται στον Ευριπίδη με κωμικό/παρωδιακό τρόπο και γελοιοποιεί αυτό που κάνει ο τραγικός αντιγράφοντάς τον, κατά κάποιον τρόπο, καθώς χρησιμοποιεί τις δημιουργίες/ιδέες του Ευριπίδη στις δικές του κωμωδίες. Μέσα σε ένα πνεύμα ανταγωνισμού και ως μέρος του ποιητικού διαλόγου, ο κωμικός ποιητής αντιπαρατίθεται στον Ευριπίδη χρησιμοποιώντας τις τεχνικές της κωμικής/παρωδιακής μίμησης με ιδιαίτερα ευρηματικούς τρόπους. Είτε ενσωματώνοντας την ιστορία του *Ίππολυτου* στις κωμωδίες του είτε αφιερώνοντας ένα ολόκληρο έργο σε αυτήν μέσω της παρωδίας και της γελοιοποίησης, ο Αριστοφάνης ανοίγει διακειμενικό διάλογο και παρουσιάζεται ως άξιος ανταγωνιστής των θεατρικών του σύσκηνων, το έργο του οποίου δεν στερεί σε τίποτα σε σχέση με το υψηλό λογοτεχνικό είδος της τραγωδίας.