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THOMAS JEROME SIENKEWICZ

Euripides' Trojan Women:
An Interpretative Study based upon
the Role of the Chorus
and Ironic Development

by

Thomas Jerome Sienkewicz

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University in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

Euripides' Trojan Women is often criticized for a
disjointed episodic structure whose unity depends entirely
on the existence of a connected trilogy. This thesis
rejects the possibility of a trilogic interpretation of the
play both on historical and thematic grounds and suggests
two unifying forces within the Trojan Women itself: the
chorus and irony.

The first chapter discusses the history of the con-
nected trilogy in the fifth century and derives a definition
of trilogic unity from the evidence of Aeschylus, the
probable inventor of the trilogy.

In the second chapter Euripides' Trojan tetralogy of
415 (Alexandros-Palamedes-Trojan Women-Sisyphos) is
considered in terms of these Aeschylean trilogic character-
istics and trilogic unity of the group is shown to be
virtually impossible.

Rather, the Trojan Women must be interpreted as an
independent play and the third chapter suggests that the
play must be understood essentially as the tragedy of Troy,
as a dramatic presentation of the sufferings of a once-
mighty city. Within the episodic structure, Euripides
unites his play primarily through the chorus of Trojan

women. The tragedy of the Trojan nation is reflected in the collective nature and themes of the chorus. The second unifying force is the literary mode of irony, which pervades every aspect of the play and which emphasizes the incongruous plight of Troy.

The remaining chapters (4-9) present a scenic analysis of the play in which particular attention is shown to the integration of the choral parts, often wrongly labelled detached, with the dramatic episodes. The analysis demonstrates how the chorus and irony work to create a single coherent tragedy about Troy.

CARISSIMAE
CONIUGI

Acknowledgements

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Chapter 1

The Connected Trilogy
in Fifth-century Athens

The <u>Trojan Women</u> is one of the few firmly datable plays of Euripides. The following notice, obviously didascalic in origin, appears in Aelian and is the sole source for the date of the play:

Κατὰ τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἐνενηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα Ἐξαίνετος ὁ Ἀκραγατῖνος στάδιον, ἀντηγωνίσαντο ἀλλήλοις Ξενοκλῆς καὶ Εὐριπίδης. καὶ πρῶτός γε ἦν Ξενοκλῆς, ὅστις ποτὲ οὗτός ἐστιν, Οἰδίποδι καὶ Λυκάονι καὶ Βάκχαις καὶ Ἀθάμαντι Σατυρικῷ. τούτου δεύτερος Εὐριπίδης ἦν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Παλαμήδει καὶ Τρωσὶ καὶ Σισύφῳ Σατυρικῷ.

To these facts Aelian adds the indignant comment:

γελοῖον δέ (οὐ γάρ;) Ξενοκλέα μὲν νικᾶν, Εὐριπίδην δὲ ἡττᾶσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα τοιούτοις δράμασι. τῶν δύο τοίνυν τὸ ἕτερον. ἢ ἀνόητοι ἦσαν οἱ τῆς ψήφου κύριοι καὶ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ πόρρω κρίσεως ὀρθῆς, ἢ ἐδεκάσθησαν. ἄτοπον δὲ ἑκάτερον καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἥκιστα ἄξιον.[1]

Not only does Aelian disclose that Euripides produced the <u>Trojan Women</u> in 415 and won only second prize to Xenocles, but he also supplies the titles of the <u>Trojan Women</u>'s companion plays: the <u>Alexandros</u> and the <u>Palamedes</u>, both from the Trojan cycle, and the satyr play <u>Sisyphos</u>. While the <u>Trojan Women</u> survives as a part of the ancient school selection of Euripides' plays, the other Euripidean productions for that year did not fare as well. Of the <u>Sisyphos</u> nothing is known except the title and one short fragment addressed to Heracles.[2] For the <u>Palamedes</u> only a few scattered fragments culled from ancient sources are

extant.

Knowledge of the Alexandros has been vastly improved in this century by the discovery of several lengthy papyrus fragments.[3] Scholars have added the new finds, often only barely decipherable half-lines, to the fragments previously attributed to the play and to the evidence derivable from the remains of Ennius' Alexander, and have made valiant attempts at reconstruction. Snell was the first to incorporate the Strasbourg papyri into a reconstruction of the play.[4] Although revised, contradicted, and improved upon by several scholars including Scheidweiler, Pertusi, and Webster,[5] Snell's reconstruction remains the fundamemtal work on the subject. The sharp dichotomy of opinion which has existed among these scholars concerning several crucial aspects of the play reflects the tenuousness of its reconstruction and the relative hopelessness, short of further papyrus finds, of establishing any certainty about the Alexandros beyond the general plot outlines for which consensus has been possible.

A further new papyrus find, however, has in fact recently been published and gives the bulk of an Alexandrian hypothesis of the play.[6] This text provides important new evidence for the Alexandros and resolves several troublesome uncertainties, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

The <u>Alexandros</u>, <u>Palamedes</u>, and <u>Trojan Women</u> follow
a broad chronological sequence based upon the Trojan war
cycle. The <u>Alexandros</u> takes place in Troy before the war
and depicts the recognition of Paris by Hecuba and Priam.
The next play turns to a myth that post-dates the <u>Alexandros</u>
by many years and occurs during the Trojan war; the plot
is the unjust condemnation of Palamedes by the Greeks for
treason. Between the <u>Palamedes</u> and the <u>Trojan Women</u> there
is another chronological lacuna and the <u>Trojan Women</u> is set
after the fall of the city. The basic mythological data
upon which Euripides built his plays do not suggest any
inherent association or unity between the plots of the three
plays outside their sequential place in the story of the
Trojan war. Rather, the three plays tell three separate
stories drawn from the Trojan epic cycle.

Nevertheless, many scholars have searched for thematic
and structural links between the three plays and have called
the dramatic sequence a connected trilogy. As early as the
turn of the century, Wilamowitz had spoken in terms of
"ein gewisser trilogischer Zusammenhang" in reference to the
<u>Trojan Women</u> and its companion plays and sought links between
the three tragedies.[7] Murray, too, was an early trilogic
advocate and his statement in <u>Greek Studies</u> that "the ac-
cepted view" is that "the Troades stands alone in its tragic
message" actually reflects the state of scholarship before

the publication of Snell's reconstruction.[8] That such a
view was no longer accepted twenty years later suggests the
strength of Snell's and Murray's own pro-trilogic convictions
and the importance of their views on the question for subse-
quent scholarship.

Since Murray's brilliant analysis of the trilogy and
Snell's reconstruction of the Alexandros, scholarship has
been nearly unanimous in its acceptance of the connected
trilogy. The most adamant recent supportor of this view
has been Webster, who believes that Euripides "exploited
the possibilities of the connected story and the Trojan
Women gains considerably (and is perhaps in one place only
intelligible) if the two preceding plays have just been
seen."[9]

Only recently have voices been raised in opposition.
Hanson rightly questions the unity of the Trojan group,
but his rejection of the connected trilogy is merely stated
in arguing a point in the reconstruction of the Alexandros;
it is not based upon careful analysis of the entire tetra-
logy.[10] Koniaris has made a much more serious attack on
the unity of the Trojan group.[11] In rigidly logical terms
he discusses the internal evidence of the plays, especially
their "intellectual atmosphere and purpose,"[12] and utterly
devastates Murray's and Webster's arguments for unity.

Since I am totally convinced that the Trojan group was

unconnected, I am in full agreement with Koniaris' essential

view. However, further historical perspective must be

added to Koniaris' arguments, which are based in the main

upon the play sequence itself. While he admits that "it is

time to make clear what 'connection' and 'connected' must

mean versus 'non-connection' and 'unconnected,'"[13] Koniaris

himself unfortunately does not provide such a distinction

in fifth-century terms.

Therefore, in this chapter I propose to consider the

general evidence concerning fifth-century trilogies and to

analyse the unifying characteristics of such groups. In

the following chapter, the fragments of the Alexandros

and the Palamedes will be compared to the Trojan Women

in terms of these fifth-century unifying characteristics

in order to suggest that the idea of trilogic unity in the

Trojan Women and its companion plays is unsound on historical

as well as internal grounds. This approach will entail

considerable refinement of Koniaris' arguments and several

additional points of internal disjunction among the plays.

Firm evidence concerning the connected trilogy in the

fifth century is meager and much of what has been said on

the subject is based upon inference and espérance. Didascalic

remains confirm the fact that the competitors at the Dionysia

always produced three tragedies and one satyr play, but it

is often impossible to tell how or to what extent these
plays were connected. Scholars in the 19th and early 20th
centuries upheld the belief based upon the survival of one
complete connected trilogy, Aeschylus' Oresteia, that play
groups as a rule were connected somehow in plot or theme.
Girard represents this view most succinctly with the state-
ment that "la trilogie libre,--si l'on peut se permettre
cette alliance de mots,--ou n'était point en usage, ou n'a
jamais paru, au Ve siècle, qu'à l'état d'exception."[14]
Girard's view is aptly expressed in an article hypothe-
sizing a unifying theme for the Iphigenia in Aulis and the
Bacchai. Insistence upon the universality of the connected
trilogy inevitably led to desperate attempts to discern
unifying principles where there were none. Murray's
attempted unification of the group that included Aeschylus'
Persai is another example of forced scholarship based on
trilogic bias.[15] Scholars have long ceased to find connec-
tion between the Phineus, Persai, Glaukos Potneios, and
the satyr play Prometheus, and now realize that the earliest
extant Greek tragedy, the Persai, must be interpreted as a
single historical play, without a trilogic link.

Thus it is today an undisputed fact, established by
careful study of the surviving didascalic notes, that
although Athenian dramatists presented four plays at a

festival, these tetralogies were not necessarily con-
nected. In fact, as Pickard-Cambridge notes,[16] the use
of either τετραλογία or τριλογία as dramatic terminology
is an anachronism until the Alexandrian period. The origin
of τετραλογία centers rather around rhetoric and perhaps
the Platonic dialogues and it was probably not until the
time of Aristarchus and Apollonius that this word and
τριλογία were applied to tragedy.

Such arguments ex silentio, however, are shaky ground
at best to divorce the meaning of these terms from fifth-
century usage. Several contemporary Athenian references
to dramatic productions employ title endings in -εια in
apparently collective contexts, such as the Oresteia or
"the Orestes saga," and imply that a concept of the trilogy
or tetralogy was alive at that time, even if the technical
terms τριλογία and τετραλογία were not yet in use.[17]
Whether -εια terminology consistently referred to connected
sequences or could also be applied to plays which were
produced at the same festival but were not connected is a
question which must be considered in the context of the
relevant dramatic groups.

The earliest datable plays for which a thematic con-
nection is probable are Aeschylus' productions for 467:
Laius, Oedipus, and the Septem, with the satyr play Sphinx.
The ravages of time have left only the Septem extant but

even the titles of the other plays are sufficient to suggest a construction similar to that of the <u>Oresteia</u> and centered around the ill-fated house of Laius. Aeschylus' Danaid trilogy, produced probably in 463 and composed of the extant <u>Suppliant Women</u> and the lost <u>Egyptians</u> and and <u>Danaids</u>, also reflects a similar connected sequence, within a shorter time span; the accompanying satyr play, <u>Anymone</u>, unlike the <u>Oresteia's</u> <u>Proteus</u>, could easily have formed the fourth part of a connected tetralogy.

Combined with the extant <u>Oresteia</u> of 458, the Theban and Danaid trilogies offer the best evidence for Aeschylus' trilogic characteristics. All three groups are clearly linked by a single mythological topos and chronological sequence. Both the Oresteian and Danaid trilogies, and possibly the Theban one, exhibit plot lines which are continuous; i.e., the situation of one play leads directly to that of the next.

Other hypothetical Aeschylean trilogies are only approximately datable and offer less firm evidence for unity. We know from the scholiast to the <u>Prometheus Bound</u> at 511 that this play was followed by a <u>Prometheus Unbound</u>. The third play of the group, the date of the plays, and even their Aeschylean authorship are still widely disputed today,[18] but the subject of the two known Prometheus plays

as well as their probable sequential arrangement suggests
a connected theme.

Webster cites a vase in Vienna as evidence for the
unity of another group centered around Achilles: Μυρμιδόνες,
Νηρεῖδες, and Φρύγες ἤ Ἕκτορος λύτρα.[19] Tl s arrangement
of titles implies a thematic and chronological unity ,
but one which cannot be proven conclusively, since the
plays are grouped together from the extant catalogue of
Aeschylean works solely on the evidence of this vase; there
is no other basis for their association.

A final group, Ἠδωνοί, Βασσαρίδαι, Νεανίσκοι, and
Λυκοῦργος Σατυρικός is referred to as Aeschylus' Lycurgeia
at Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazusai 134-5 and its scholium.
The plots implied by the titles, however, seem less clearly
connected in form than the Aeschylean groups discussed
above. The best that can be said about this sequence is
that "Aeschylus may have given two chapters of the Lykourgos
story with the Orpheus story interposed between them."[20]
Although Webster sees the unifying principle of the group
as "resistance to the Dionysios religion,"[21] it must be
admitted that these plays do not appear to offer the same
type of connected plot line or mythological unity implied
by the other Aeschylian trilogies. The titles of the in-
dividual plays, supplied by the scholium, confirm the

collective meaning of Aristophanes' use of the term Λυκούργεια, but the hypothesized plots of the individual plays argue for a free rather than connected trilogy or tetralogy. A subtle thematic unity such as Webster's anti-Dionysianism, of course, could have bound the plays, but why then was the Orphic element ignored and the group called the Lycurgeia? A feasible alternative is that the group was named after one of its more distinctive components, in this case the satyr play Lycurgos. Such use of the -εια ending would cast doubt upon its usefulness as an indication of a dramatically connected trilogy.

At any rate, the Lycurgeia does not offer sufficient evidence to confirm the use of a unified Aeschylean trilogy or tetralogy derived from two or more myths (i.e., Lycurgos and Orpheus), or to suggest that Aeschylus' concept of trilogic composition ever differed from that suggested by his other groups.

Only one contemporary non-Aeschylean group is documented, the Lycurgeia of Polyphrasmon, which was produced, according to the argument to Aeschylus' Septem, in the same year as the Theban trilogy.[22] The unity of this group is based solely upon the collective - εια ending and scholiastic use of the word τετραλογία; the titles of the individual plays are unknown. Trilogic unity is therefore

impossible to prove.

Thus the earliest surviving dramatic records suggest no connected trilogies before 467 and the production of Aeschylus' Septem. The Persai, produced five years earlier, was certainly not connected to its companion plays. At least five connected groups are attributable to Aeschylus; evidence for contemporary imitation of the form, although probable, is based on a single reference to a Lycurgeia by Polyphrasmon. It is then a plausible theory, advocated by Webster, that "the connected trilogy was essentially an Aeschylean form, well suited for his familial themes, indeed that this dramatic technique was an invention of Aeschylus."[23]

Webster has further argued convincingly that the connected trilogy lost favor soon after Aeschylus' death.[24] The only possible trilogy in the following decade, indeed the only one linked with the name of Sophocles, is the Telepheia dated by Webster as certainly before 442 B.C.[25] Otherwise, as will be seen, other fifth-century trilogic candidates are dated in the last quarter of the century.

Webster believes that the disappearance of the connected trilogy was perhaps the result of a change in the method of actor selection; that is, he hypothesizes that "the order of production was rearranged so that on each day three tragedies by three poets were produced and were

acted by the three leading actors allotted to the three poets."[26] The evidence for this change in the order of production is an obscure notice in the Suda on Sophocles: καὶ αὐτὸς ἦρξεν τοῦ δρᾶμα πρὸς δρᾶμα ἀγωνίζεσθαι ἀλλὰ μὴ τετραλογίαν.[27] Webster, arguing that "in ancient notices such changes are always ascribed to the poets rather than to the archon,"[28] interprets this phrase as a reference to the institution of the new dramatic procedure in the time of Sophocles. Pickard-Cambridge, however, sees this notice as a reference to Sophocles' "development of the independent single play."[29] The contrast established in the Suda phrase between δρᾶμα πρὸς δρᾶμα and τετραλογίαν [πρὸς τετραλογίαν] does imply competition between indivi-dual plays rather than groups of plays, but this does not neccessarily also suggest a change in dramatic procedure. If the Suda meant that Sophocles was the first to produce his plays in three days rather than the traditional one, that could have been less cryptically expressed. Pickard-Cambridge's interpretation is a simpler and less compli-cated reading of the text of the Suda.

How can such a reading of the Suda be reconciled with the history of the trilogy and its association with Aeschylus as outlined above? This passage may have been due to an inference, based on limited evidence, by the

Suda writer or his source that since Aeschylus, the writer of trilogies, was followed by Sophocles, who wrote only individual plays, Sophocles must have been the inventor of the unconnected sequence. Similar logic has been used in modern times and is, in fact, the basis of Pickard-Cambridge's interpretation of the Suda. Thus, Pickard-Cambridge's reading of the Suda is correct but must be suspect as historically inaccurate. At any rate, the corrupt Suda reference is poor evidence upon which to base Webster's provocative but otherwise undocumented revision of dramatic production.

Webster associates this change with a transition from poets acting in their own plays to actors supplied by the state. Such a rearrangement would adequately explain the demise of the connected trilogy, since the sequential effect would certainly be lost if the plays were performed over a span of three days with other plays intervening. However, the institution of state actors, probably linked to the introduction of a prize for acting at the Dionysia of 449,[30] could have been made without such a change in the order of production. According to Webster,[31] the tragic program for 431 would have been:

First day

1. Actor A in Euphorion's 1st play
2. Actor B in Sophocles' 1st play
3. Actor C in Euripides' Medea

Second day

1. Actor B in Sophocles' 2nd play
2. Actor C in Euripides' Philoctetes
3. Actor A in Euphorion's 2nd play

Third day

1. Actor C in Euripides' Diktys
2. Actor A in Euphorion's 3rd play
3. Actor B in Sophocles' 3rd play

This complicated procedure of production notably does not include the satyr plays that accompanied each group of tragedies and their addition would make Webster's system even more impractical.

For Webster a compelling argument in favor of his hypothesis is "the increased burden on the leading actor with the decrease of the choral part of tragedy"[32] that is evident in plays of the period. It would be very difficult, Webster reasons, for an actor to perform three demanding protagonist roles in a single day. Yet this argument is based solely on a subjective measurement of a Greek actor's endurance and cannot be proven.

The institution of state actors could more simply have been made under the following dramatic program, which

assumes a bit more stamina among the actors than Webster
allows:

<div align="center">

First day
Actor A
Euphorion's tetralogy

Second day
Actor B
Sophocles' tetralogy

Third day
Actor C
Euripides' tetralogy:
Medea, Philoctetes, Diktys, Theristai

</div>

The evidence is lacking for a definitive choice, but the
latter program is certainly less complicated and retains
the traditional assignment of one festival day to each
dramatic tetralogy. Under this system the connected trilogy
would still, of course, be dramatically feasible, and its
loss of favor must then be seen in its close affiliation
with the art of Aeschylus. Perhaps the technique was nei-
ther favored nor effective in the hands of Aeschylean
imitators. The dearth of known non-Aeschylean trilogies
even during Aeschylus' lifetime supports this argument.

Attribution of a connected trilogy to Sophocles rests
on a single inscription from Axione in which a certain
Epichares is said to have produced a Telepheia by Sopho-
cles.[33] Webster plausibly dates this production between
457 and 442.[34] The inscription itself does not state

the plays which composed the group, but three known Sopho-
clean titles possibly linked with the Telephos myth,
Aleadai, Mysians, and Assembly of Achaeans, have often
been proposed as tragic candidates, together with the
Telephos, assigned by Hesychius (1 p53) to Sophocles, as
the Telepheia's satyr play.[35]

Pickard-Cambridge, however, is reluctant to attribute
a connected trilogy to Sophocles and suggests rather that
"there is at least a possibility that Τηλέφεια may have
been a single play.[36] The Axione inscription unfortunately
does not use either of the collective terms "trilogy" or
"tetralogy" in reference to the production, but two titles
of -εια formation mentioned by Aristophanes and confirmed
as referring to groups of plays by the relevant scholia[37]
make Pickard-Cambridge's alternative interpretation morpho-
logically doubtful.

Telepheia is almost certainly a collective title.
The question remains whether it refers to a connected
trilogy. As noted above, Aeschylus' Lycurgeia was composed
of three Lycurgan components, 'Ηδωνοί, Νεανίσκοι, and
Λυκοῦργος σατυρικός,with an Orphic play, Βασσαρίδαι , between
the two tragedies,[38] and this tetralogy indicates that
not all plays in an -εια group of necessity referred to
the mythological context of the collective title. Thus

the series to which Telepheia refers could easily have

included play(s) from outside the Telephos myth.

The following didascalic notices

Πηλ?]έα Σοφοκλέους [
κ]αὶ Ἴβηρας καὶ σατυ[ρικὸν?

IGUrbRomae 223

and

]καὶ Ὀδυσσέ[α
σατυ]ρικὸν Τήλεφ[ον

IGUrbRomae 229

appear on inscriptions previously assigned to Rhodes and

now considered Roman and list reproductions of old dramas

at the Athenian Lenaia or possibly at Rhodes during the

fourth century B. C.[39] While Peleus? and Iberes of IGUrb-

Romae 223 were definitely written by a Sophocles, if not

the famous playwright himself,[40] IGUrbRomae 229 has left

no indication of the authorship of Odysseus and Telephos.

However, three known Sophoclean tragedies contain Odysseus

in their titles[41] and Heschyius' note that Sophocles wrote

a Telephos has already been mentioned. Since no other

ancient dramatist is known to have composed both a Telephos

and an Odysseus, Sophoclean association with the plays of

IGUrbRomae 229 is at least plausible.

Despite apparent links such as σατυ[in 223 and]ρικον in 229, the two fragmentary Roman inscriptions cannot be joined directly for epigraphical reasons: most compelling is the indication of a margin just to the left of IGUrb-Romae 229.[42] However, it remains a possibility, not discounted by Snell,[43] that IGUrbRomae 223 and 229 refer to the same tetralogy.

I suggest not only that the same dramatic group is mentioned in the two Roman inscriptions, but also that this sole ancient attribution of a group including a Telephos to Sophocles is actually the Telepheia of the Axione inscription.[44] The play titles of Sophocles' Telepheia are then determined from epigraphical evidence rather than from the mere conjecture, based upon projected trilogic unity, of the previous suggestions. Like Aeschylus' Lycurgeia, the title Telepheia was derived in antiquity from one of the Sophoclean group's more popular components, namely the satyr play Telephos.

If this anciently documentable group, Peleus?, Odysseus, Iberes, and Telephos, was indeed Sophocles' Telepheia, or even if only Telephos and Odysseus are retrievable parts of the group, then the productions must certainly be removed from the list of possible fifth-century connected trilogies and Pickard-Cambridge's effort to limit

the corpus of Sophocles to non-trilogic compositions is
proven sound.

Dramatic evidence down to 440, therefore, indicates
our relative ignorance of the fifth-century attitude to-
ward trilogies and their composition, but particular,
perhaps unique, association of the form with the career
of Aeschylus is probable. This situation suggests that it
is best to limit the use of the term trilogy to groups of
plays linked in the apparent Aeschylean sense of clear
chronological sequence, continuous plot line, and the same
mythological topos. Aeschylus' Theban, Danaid, and Ores-
teian groups all fit this definition well, as do the hypo-
thetical Prometheus and Achilles trilogies. However, the
Lycurgeia, with the intrusion of Orpheus into the Lycurgan
sequence, not only loses its chronological but its mytho-
logical unity as well. The possibility of thematic links
such as Webster has hypothesized for the Lycurgeia may
have existed between the plays, but the other known con-
nected Aeschylean groups suggest that such links do not
seem sufficient to prove that the playwright considered
such a group a unit. Indeed, the use of thematic argumen-
tation is often too vague to be sound when dealing with
lost plays. Under such circumstances, unity can be
projected where there was none, as Murray did for Aeschylus'

<u>Persai</u>, and Girard's belief in the connectedness of all Greek tragedies becomes plausible again.

The narrow definition of τριλογία suggested by the extant Aeschylean corpus receives some support from Aristarchus and Apollonius and their critical terminology. A scholion to Aristophanes' <u>Frogs</u> 1124 reads:

> τετραλογίαν φέρουσιν τὴν 'Ορέστειαν αἱ διδασκαλίαι
> 'Αγαμέμνονα Χοηφόρους Εὐμενίδας Πρωτέα σατυρικόν.
> 'Αρίσταρχος καὶ 'Απολλώνιος τριλογίαν λέγουσι
> χωρὶς τῶν σατύρων.

Wiesman's explanation of this passage reveals a distinction between tetralogy and trilogy which may underlie the scholiastic comment:

> Die vier Stücke gehören durch die gemeinsame
> Aufführung durchaus zusammen, inhaltlich
> aber sind nur die drei ersten Stücke zu einer
> innern Einheit verbunden, während das Satyrspiel
> für sich steht, zeitlich eigentlich zwischen
> Agamemnon und Choephoren zu stehen käme.[45]

The <u>Proteus'</u> relationship to its companion tragedies is not only out of dramatic chronology but its emphasis on Menelaus is tangental to the main plot of the group, i.e., the murder of Agamemnon and its familial consequences. The scholion suggests that the Alexandrian critics recognized this break between the satyr play <u>Proteus</u> and the

rest of the Oresteian group and called the three closely-related tragedies a trilogy.

Thus Aristarchus and Apollonius may have restricted their interpretation of τετραλογία to a collective term for the four plays of a dramatist's annual production without any unifying connotations, and used τριλογία to indicate plays connected by the same mythological topos in continuous plot line and chronological sequence.

This possible Hellenistic distinction between a tetralogical dramatic production and a unified (Aeschylean) trilogy is one which no modern scholar has accepted,[46] yet it is supported by the evidence: (1) I know of no other ancient use of τριλογία as a reference to specific dramatic groups. (2) Although the term τετραλογία appears in connection with Polyphrasmon's Lycurgeia[47] and Philokles' Pandionis,[48] there is no other evidence for the unity of these groups. (3) The Lycurgeia of Aeschylus[49] is also explicitly called τετραλογία in an ancient text but does not offer a sequence which can with certainty be termed unified in plot; rather, its title can be understood more broadly as a dramatic production of four unconnected plays including the satyr play Lycurgos.[50] (4) Nor is there any extant use of the word tetralogy in connection with groups in which the satyr play did seem to have some link

with the tragedies, such as, Aeschylus' Theban and Danaid productions.

The distinction between connected trilogy and not-necessarily-unified tetralogy derived from the above scholion shall therefore be accepted here for the sake of convenience and clarity of terminology.

In an argument based upon Aristotle's Poetics, Koniaris has stated that for the fifth-century Greeks "it is the tragedy which mainly (or even exclusively) forms a logical esthetic holon, a unity which has a beginning, a middle and an end" and that "not only for Aristotle but, so far as our evidence goes, also for the Greeks up to at least Aristotle's death, interest in the second dramatic unity, the tetralogical-trilogical, is minimal and at its best a side issue in aesthetics."[51]   Yet Gould[52] has shown that Aristotle's discussion of tragedy was severely biased toward a refutation of Plato's exclusion of the genre from his Republic and a certain caution is therefore necessary in dealing with Aristotle's tragic definitions and attitudes.   Furthermore, a survey of known fifth-century dramatic productions suggests that the reason why interest in the trilogy was "minimal" was precisely because of its close Aeschylean associations.   Koniaris' statement in reference to Aeschylus' Oresteian, Theban, and Danaid groups

that "the important unity in the mind of the poet is that
of the individual play even in case of an obviously "con-
nected" group, for ever here the independent play is written
in such a way that its independence in form and thought is
fully guaranteed" 53 does not do justice to the strong
historical (familial) connections that unite these plays.
These groups would not have shown such strong chronological,
mythological, and sequential unity if the trilogic content
was not important to the poet. The individual plays of
these trilogies can be performed as independent plays,
but their Aeschylean meaning, i.e., the meaning in the
context of the rest of the group is lost in the process.

Therefore it seems justified to accept the existence
of the trilogy in its peculiarly Aeschylean context and to
define trilogic unity in Aeschylean terms.

The Euripidean corpus has been a particulary popular
trilogic source book in the past. Otto Krausse in 1905
listed at least six groups of Euripides' plays which seemed
unified in some sense. He argued strongly in favor of the
Trojan trilogy as well as the unity of the group Οἰνόμαος,
Χρύσιππος, Φοίνισσαι and believed that "ceterae Euripidis
didascaliae, quae novimus, si non exhibuerunt continuum
argumentum, attamen materiae quadam similitudine, quae
per totam obtineret quaternionem, insignes fuisse

videntur."[54]   In these terms Krausse mentioned Euripides'
productions of 438 (<u>Cressas</u>, <u>Alcmaeon</u>, <u>Telephos</u>, and
<u>Alcestis</u>), "in mulierum virtutibus vitiisque illus-
trandis,"[55] of 431 (<u>Media</u>, <u>Philoctetes</u>, <u>Diktys</u>) "deque
peregrinorum condicione vel hospitii iure,"[56] and of post-
405 (<u>Iphigenia at Aulis</u>, <u>Alcameon</u>, <u>Bacchai</u>) "in condicion-
ibus insolitis permirisque, quae intercederent inter
parentes liberosque."[57]   To these Krausse added Wilamowitz'
hypothesized trilogy, <u>Aegius</u>, <u>Theseus</u>, and <u>Hippolytos I</u>.[58]
Such attempts at unification have generally been discarded
today and the only modern Euripidean trilogic candidates
have been the Trojan group of 415 and the <u>Phoenissai</u> and
its companion plays.[59]

The <u>Phoenissai</u> was placed by one of its medieval
hypotheses in the same cycle as the <u>Oinomaus</u> and <u>Chrysippus</u>
and this trio was frequently considered a trilogy.[60]
Webster has proven conclusively through a study of iambic
resolution that the <u>Phoenissai</u> could not have been paired
with these plays and suggests the <u>Antiope</u> and <u>Hypsipyle</u>
as alternative companion plays.[61]   The trilogic label is
retained for this new group, however, on the argument that
all three plays are part of Theban history.[62]   Webster
links the <u>Antiope</u> and <u>Hypsipyle</u> together by Dionysian
references and considers the latter play "an ill-omened

prelude" to the Phoenissai.[63] Yet, elsewhere he has ad-
mitted that "the incidents are very different in the three
plays and the themes are different."[64] There is no clear
chronological sequences or continuous plot line for these
plays, and the mythological topoi are certainly distinct
even if Euripides did incorporate allusions to the inevit-
able failure of the expedition of the Seven into the
Hypsipyle (apparently to delineate better the character of
Amphiarus). The sequence certainly does not exhibit the
characteristics of the Aeschylean trilogy. The thematic
links that Webster suggests between the plays cannot be
discounted, but they are nevertheless not central to the
dramatic force of the individual plays. The Phoenissai,
for example, does not mention or even assume Hypsipyle
and her fate is understandable without its companion
plays. The group ought not to be considered a trilogy.

Thus, the number of modern candidates for possible
trilogies after the death of Aeschylus are reduced to four:
Sophocles' Telepheia, whose inclusion in the list of
trilogies has already been questioned, Euripides' production
of 415, and two other groups, Philokles' Pandionis and
Meletos' Oidipodeia. Evidence for Pandionis' production
is the scholiast to Aristophanes' Birds 282: εἴη ἂν οὖν
τὸν ἔποπα ἐσκευοποιηκὼς τῇ Πανδιονίδι τετραλογία, ἣν καὶ

'Αριστοτέλης ἐν ταῖς Διδασκαλίας ἀναγράφει . And the Aristophanic allusion definitely dates the group pre-415 B. C. Meletos' Oidipodeia, which Webster dates in the last quarter of the fifth century,[65] has a similar scholiastic source, on Plato's Apology 18b: καὶ ὁ Μέλητος Οἰδίποδειαν ἔθηκεν, ὡς 'Απιστοτέλης Διδασκαλίαις . Both tetralogies apparently appeared in Aristotle's Didascaliai, which was the scholiasts' source, but individual play titles are lacking. Nothing, therefore, can be said about the actual trilogic composition, if any, of these groups. Further, the use of the word τετραλογία by the scholiast in reference to Philokles' group is not sufficient evidence of trilogic unity.

Despite the uncertainties of these two productions, Webster has used them, together with Euripides' Trojan group, to make a case for the reappearance of the trilogy about 415.[66] This dramatic revival is linked by Webster with a change, not documented before 341,[67] in the arrangement of the competition by which the three tragedians shared the three protagonists provided by the state. Since Webster's hypothetical change in the order of plays c.449, discussed above, rendered the trilogy dramatically impossible, the 415 revision would make a return to the traditional (i.e., pre-449) allotment of one playwright to each festival

day probable and necessary to restore the feasibility of
of trilogic construction. This complicated history is,
of course, simplified if the alternative distribution
suggested above for productions after 449 is accepted.
Then the allotment of one festival day for each dramatist
would never have been tampered with and there is no need
to rely upon imprecise dating for the sharing of the pro-
tagonists by the dramatists to restore the old order.

Furthermore, since Webster's only real evidence for
the dating of this procedural change is Euripides' pro-
ductions of 415 and 410 and the references to Philokles'
Pandionis and Meletos' Oidipodeia, about which we know
no play titles and certainly no principles of construction,
the bulk of the proof for trilogic composition after
Aeschylus' death rests upon Euripides. The Theban group
of 410 is of tenuous trilogic unity and the rest of the
Euripidean corpus offers groups of plays linked solely by
Webster's "principle of variation."[68] Only the Trojan
group of 415 has been consistently suggested as trilogic
and it is therefore on this production that Webster's
revival of the trilogy depends.

It is with this background to the Greek dramatic
trilogy that the Trojan Women and its companion plays
must be approached. There is no ancient reference to the

sequence as a trilogy; there is no use of the terms τριλογία or even τετραλογία in connection with <u>Alexandros</u>-<u>Palamedes</u>-<u>Trojan Women</u>-<u>Sisyphos</u> nor any extant collective title ending in -εια. Xenocles, against whom Euripides competed unsuccessfully in 415, produced in that year a non-trilogic group composed of an <u>Oidipous</u>, <u>Lykaon</u>, and <u>Bacchai</u>. Advocacy of trilogic composition for Euripides' Trojan group is entirely modern,[69] based in part upon the Strasbourg papyri fragments of the <u>Alexandros</u>, and partly upon a residual predilection toward trilogic composition. These plays form the only post-Aeschylean group for which sufficient evidence exists to consider the trilogy problem and therefore offer the only solid evidence for or against the trilogy after Aeschylus' death. A consideration of the evidence in terms of the Aeschylean trilogic characteristics follows in the next chapter.

Notes

1. Aelian, Varia Historia II, 8.

2. 673 N^2.

3. W. Cronert, Griechische Literarische Papyri aus
   Freiburg und Berlin I. "Der Alexander des Euripides,"
   Gott. Nachr. phil-hist. Kl. 1922.

4. Bruno Snell, "Euripides Alexandros und andere Strass-
   burger Papyri," Hermes Einzelschriften 5 (1937), 1-68.

5. F. Scheidweiler, "Zum Alexandros des Euripides,"
   Philologus 97 (1948), 321-335; A. Pertusi, "Il
   significato della trilogia troiana di Euripide,"
   Dioniso 40 (1952), 251-273; T. B. L. Webster, The
   Tragedies of Euripides (London, 1968), 165-174.

6. P. Oxy. inv. 42 5B 78/J (3-4)b; see R. A. Coles, "A
   New Oxyrhynchus Papyrus: The Hypothesis of Euripides
   Alexandros," BICS Supplement 32 (1974).

7. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, Griechische Tragödien
   Vol. III (Berlin, 1906), 259.

8. Gilbert Murray, "The Deceitfulness of Life," Greek
   Studies (Oxford, 1946), 128; but this statement
   originally appeared fourteen years earlier in his
   "The Trojan Trilogy of Euripides," Mélanges Gustave
   Glotz Vol. II (Paris, 1932), 646.

9. T. B. L. Webster, "Euripides' Trojan Trilogy," in M.
   Kelly (ed.), For Services to Classical Studies.
   Essays in honor of Francis Letters (Melboure, 1966),
   207-213.

10. J. U. de G. Hanson, "Reconstruction of Euripides'
    Alexandros," Hermes 92 (1964), 171-181.

11. George L. Koniaris, "Alexandros, Palamedes, Troades,
    Sisyphus--a connected tetralogy? a connected trilogy?,"
    HSCP 77 (1973), 85-124.

12. Koniaris, 115.

13. Ibid., 114.

14. Paul Girard, "La trilogie chez Euripide," <u>REG</u> 17 (1904), 150.

15. Gilbert Murray, <u>Aeschylus</u> (Oxford, 1940), 112-114.

16. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, <u>The Dramatic Festivals of Athens</u> 2nd ed. revised by John Gould and D. M. Lewis (Oxford, 1968), 80.

17. The scholion to Aristophanes' <u>Thesmophoriazusai</u> 135 reads: τὴν τετραλογίαν λέγει Λυκούργειαν,, Ἠδωνοὺς Βασσαρίδας Λυκοῦργον τὸν σατυρικόν. At <u>Frogs</u> 1124 the scholion reads: τετραλογίαν φέρουσι τὴν Ὀρέστειαν αἱ διδασκαλίαι Ἀγαμέμνονα Χοηφόρους Εὐμενίδας Πρωτέα σατυρικόν....

18. C. J. Herington, in <u>The Author of the Prometheus Bound</u> (Austin and London, 1970), 78-79, would draw a distinction between the Theban trilogy and the Danaid, Oresteian, and Prometheus groups. The former he labels unidirectional in movement, the latter strophic (strope-antistrophe-epode). However I think that all four are related on a more basic level by the close chronological sequences and the use of one mythological topos in each group.

19. T. B. L. Webster, "The Order of Tragedies at the Great Dionysia," <u>Hermathena</u> 100 (1965), 22 and 27 note 2: Vienna, University 505; CV pl. 24.

20. Webster, <u>Hermathena</u> 100, 22.

21. <u>Ibid.</u>

22. The relevant part of the argument reads: γ. Πολυφράσμων Λυκουργεία τετραλογία.

23. Webster, <u>Hermathena</u> 100, 22.

24. <u>Ibid.</u>

25. <u>Ibid.</u>

26. <u>Ibid.</u>, 24-25.

27. Minisius' emendation of τετραλογίαν for στρατολογεῖσθαι or στρατολογίαν is generally accepted.

28. Webster, _Hermathena_ 100, 23-24.

29. Pickard-Cambridge, _Festivals_[2], 81.

30. _Ibid._, 93.

31. Webster, _Hermathena_ 100, 25.

32. _Ibid._

33. IG II[2] 3091, the relevant passage of which reads
Ἐπιχάρης χορηγῶν ἐνίκα τραγῳδοῖ[ς
Σοφοκλῆς ἐδίδασκε Τηλέφειαν.

34. T. B. L. Webster, _Hermathena_ 100, 23.

35. This group was originally proposed by a A. A. Palaios
in Ἔργα Ἐκφαντίδου, Κρατίνου , Τιμοθέου καὶ ἡ
Σοφοκλέους Τηλεφεία, _Polemon_ 1 (1929), 161-174; and
by A. S. Arvantipoulos in Ἡ σύνθεσις τῆς Τηλεφείας
καὶ τῆς Ἀλκμεωμείας, _ibid._, 181-192. See also
Pickard-Cambridge, _Festivals_[2], 81; and Pickard-
Cambridge's "Tragedy," in J. U. Powell (ed.), _New
Chapters in the History of Greek Literature_, 3rd
series, (Oxford, 1933), 76-88.

36. Pickard-Cambridge, _New Chapters_, 76.

37. See note 17.

38. On the _Lycurgeia_, see Webster, _Hermathena_ 100, 22.

39. On these inscriptions see: Luigi Moretti, _Inscriptiones
Graecae Urbis Romae_ (Romae, 1968), #223 and 229
· (=IG xii 1.125); his "Sulle didascalie del teatro
attico rinvenute a Roma," _Athenaeum_ 38 (1960), 263-282;
Bruno Snell, "Zu den Urkunden dramatischer
Aufführungen," _Nachrichten der Akademie der
Wissenschaften in Göttingen_, Philologisch-Historische
Klasse, 1966 Nr. 2, 11-37; and his _Tragicorum
Graecorum Fragmenta_ (Gottingen, 1971), DID A5.

40. See Moretti, _Athenaeum_ 38, 273: "D'altra parte non è
nemmeno detto che si tratti del grande tragico del
V secolo, perché non è da escludere il nipote, omonimo,
del grande Sofocle, cioè Σοφοκλῆς Ἀρίστωνος, autore
di ben 40 drammi, e attivo nei primi decenni del 1V

secolo, e neppure un Σοφοκλῆς Σοφοκλέους 'Αθηναῖος ποιητής τραγωδιῶν vissuto agli inizi del I sec. a. C." Since these inscriptions are now dated to the fourth century, Moretti's third candidate can be discounted; see Snell, <u>Nachrichten</u> 1966, 20, note 6. No <u>Iberes</u> is otherwise attributed to the fifth-century play- wright; Snell, <u>ibid.</u>, 21, therefore assigns the two plays of IGUrbRomae 223 to Sophocles the younger.

41. N² 415-442.

42. See Moretti, <u>Athenaeum</u> 38, 271-272.

43. In reference to the <u>Telephos</u> of IGUrbRomae 229, Snell, in <u>Nachrichten</u> 1966, 21, says: "Trotzdem ist es möglich dass a7]έα Σοφοκλέους und 8 κ]αι 'Ιβηρας καὶ σατυ[ρικ... [of IGUrbRomae 223] auf dieselbe Aufführung [as IGUrbRomae 229] zielen."

44. William N. Bates, <u>Sophocles</u> (Philadelphia, 1940), 173, quotes the Roman inscriptions as evidence for a <u>Telephos</u> of Sophocles, but then inexplicably adds the play to the <u>Aleadai-Mysians-Assembly of Achaeans</u> series.

45. Peter Wiesmann, <u>Das Problem der tragischer Tetralogie,</u> diss. (Zurich, 1929),29.

46. Not even Wiesmann, who concluded erroneously instead that the rule of the four plays did not exist.

47. See note 22.

48. Discussed below.

49. See note 17.

50. The -εια termination of the <u>Orestia</u> must probably be interpreted as "the tragic group centered around the Orestes saga," as in this case no play of the group is entitled <u>Orestes</u> and the <u>Proteus</u> certainly had nothing to do with the matricide. Since a trilogy is <u>a priori</u> part of a tetralogy according to the definitions suggested here, use of the collective ending for trilogies as well as tetralogies is logical.

51. Koniaris, 111.

52. Thomas Gould, "The Innocence of Oedipos: The Philoso-
    phers on Oedipos the King" Part 11, Arion 5 (1966)
    582-611; see especially 582-588.

53. Koniaris, 112; italics in text.

54. Otto Krausse, De Euripide Aeschyli instauratore, diss.
    (Jena, 1905),188.

55. Krausse, 188.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid., 189.

58. Krausse, 187; see Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf,
    Analecta Euripidis (Berlin, 1875), 175 and ed.
    Hipploytus (Berlin, 1891).

59. See T. B. L. Webster, "Three Plays by Euripides," in
    L. Wallach (ed.), The Classical Tradition: Literary
    and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan
    (Ithaca, 1966), 83-97.

60. Ἀριστοφάνους Γραμματικοῦ Ὑπόθεσις : καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα
    ὁ Οἰνόμαυς καὶ Χρύσιππος καὶ...σώζεται. On the
    proposed trilogic unity of this group, see Krausse,
    186 and Pickard-Cambridge, Festivals^2, 81.

61. See Webster, Studies in Honor of Caplan, 83-84.

62. Webster, Tragedies, 163, 205, and 219.

63. Webster, Tragedies, 215.

64. Webster, Studies in Honor of Caplan, 96.

65. Webster, Hermathena 100, 24.

66. Ibid., 26-27.

67. IG II^2 2319.

68. Webster, Essays in Honor of Letters, 208; Koniaris,
    107-108, reveals the weakness of using "variation"
    as a trilogic unity.

69. I cannot account for Scarcella'a statement in "Letture

Euripidee: 'Le Troadi,'" <u>Dioniso</u> 22 (1959), 66:
"Che le Troadi fossero inserite in una trilogia
d'argomento affine è notizia antichissima."

Chapter 2

Euripides' Trojan Tetralogy
of 415

Snell's edition of the Alexandros lists sixty-one
fragments of varying length which are certainly or probably
attributable to the play; to these are added seven more
whose association with the Alexandros is much less secure
(S. 62-68). For the Palamedes only eight possible fragments
survive in addition to Aristophanes' famous parody in the
Thesmophoriazusai (770ff.). Knowledge of both plays is
improved by the general mythological outlines which survive
in several ancient versions, such as Hyginus on both the
Alexander and Palamedes myths.[1] Occasional archaeological
evidence, especially painted pottery, is also useful.[2]
By means of such collation something can be learned about
both of these Euripidean plays. This method of reconstruc-
tion is best illustrated, not only for the Alexandros and
the Palamedes, but for the whole Euripidean corpus, in
Webster's The Tragedies of Euripides.

A papyrus fragment recently published contains a
substantial part of an ancient hypothesis to the Alexandros
and is invaluable evidence for the composition of that
play.[3] Coles has listed the elements of the Alexandros
which are confirmed by the fragmentary hypothesis, in the
light of which both Snell's and Webster's reconstructions
need to be revised.[4] Among these are included: the nature
of the subsidiary chorus which was usually thought to work,

like its predecessor in the Hippolytos, sympathetically

with the protagonist, but which is proven by the papyrus

to have been hostile to Alexander;[5] knowledge that

Cassandra's scene of prophecy came just before the recog-

nition scene and not, as had sometimes been proposed, in

the prologue;[6] Hecuba's personal attempt to kill Alexander,

which some scholars had tried to deny;[7] addition of the

Old Man, Paris' foster-father, to the dramatis personae

and as the means of recognition. The papyrus also locates

accurately in the play several of the Strasbourg fragments

(S. 23 and 43) and adds a previously unknown quotation

from the play to Snell's list of fragments, namely τὸ

κλεινὸν ["I]λιον , which was the second half of the opening

line of the play. Thus a great amount of the uncertainity

and controversy that has existed about the Alexandros is

now removed and the general outline of the plot is clear.

As Coles also notes,[8] only a few-but important-questions

remain unresolved: the prologos, the composition of the

main chorus, and the end of the play. Since the hypothesis

unfortunately breaks off at the end, it is impossible to

determine whether Webster's hypothesized deus ex machina

actually occurred in the play.[9]

Because of the group's assumed trilogic composition,

the Trojan Women is often advanced as further evidence for

the plots of the two preceding plays.[10] Scholars have noted

some possible unifying elements in these plays and on this

basis have felt permitted to reconstruct the lost plays

partly from internal evidence from the Trojan Women.

Several examples of this method appear in this chapter.

However, as a result of the survey of fifth-century trilogies

made in the preceding chapter, the very existence of a

Euripidean trilogy has become an historically precarious

hypothesis and the question of the group's unity is itself

in need of extended investigation. A clear distinction

must therefore be made in this study between positive

remains of the Alexandros and the Palamedes and assumptions

about these plays which are derivable only from the Trojan

Women and its apparent position as the final play of a

trilogy.

Although these three plays are so unequally preserved,

I believe there is sufficient evidence to consider the

question of unity in terms of Aeschylean trilogic character-

istics. I propose to look at elements which are repeated

in two or all the plays and which have convinced scholars

of the unity of the trilogy and to determine whether these

elements parallel the trilogic features derived from the

known trilogies of Aeschylus. I shall further consider

whether the plays contain any dissonant or contradictory

passages or scenes which would argue against trilogic

composition.

Webster has seen many points of similarity within this group and especially between the Alexandros and the Trojan Women. At the end of his analysis of the Alexandros, Webster enumerates several impressions established in that play which are echoed in the Trojan Women: "Hekabe in her sorrow, her attempted murder, and her exultation,...the generosity of Hektor, and ...Paris' youthful beauty."[11] To these characterizations Webster could also have added Deiphobos, who in the Alexandros plots with Hecuba for Paris' death and who upholds the inferiority of slaves:

δούλους γὰρ οὐ
καλὸν πεπᾶσθαι κρείσσονας τῶν δεσποτῶν

S. 28

Helen paints a similar dark picture of Deiphobos in the Trojan Women:

βίᾳ δ᾽ ὁ καινός μ᾽ οὗτος ἀρπάσας πόσις
Δηίφοβος ἄλοχον εἶχεν ἀκόντων Φρυγῶν.

Tr 959-960

Priam, too, links both plays. His role in the Alexandros is disputed, but he surely spoke the following lines:

χρόνος δὲ δείξει ⟨σ᾽⟩, ὧι τεκμηρίωι μαθών
ἢ χρηστὸν ὄντα γνώσομαί σέ ⟨γ᾽⟩ ἢ κακόν.

S. 39

He, of course, represents the fallen city to Hecabe in the
Trojan Women:

> ἰώ·
> Πριάμε Πριάμε, σὺ μὲν ὀλόμενος ἄταφος ἄφιλος
> ἄτας ἐμᾶς ἄιστος εἶ.

<div align="right">Tr 1312-1315</div>

The prominence of Hecabe in the Trojan Women has been
noted frequently[12] and evidence from the Alexandros suggests
that a similar spotlight was centered on the queen in that
play. Indeed, the recently published hypothesis of the
play has confirmed Hecabe's major role in the plot to kill
Alexander. Whether there is a trilogic link between the
plays or not, the contrast between the abortive assassin
Hecabe in the Alexandros and the pathetic ex-queen in the
Trojan Women is still a striking theatrical effect.

In both the Alexandros and the Trojan Women Cassandra
made prophetic statements that were unheeded. Unlike
Koniaris, I see no reason to refute Webster that "Cassandra
in the Troades is the same Cassandra as in the Alexander
and not merely the Cassandra who belongs in the Troades
by virtue of mythology."[13] It is true that her character
had already been somewhat established by the Aeschylean
Cassandra and the myth itself, but Euripides surely added
the Bacchic nature of her prophecy.[14] As Mason notes at

Tr 169, Euripides substituted "the new Dionysiac vocabulary
of possession...for the μάντις terminology of Aeschylus."[15]
Thus one of the Strasbourg fragments of the Alexandros
reads:

>]ης ἤκουσ' ἔπος
> β]ακχεύει φρένα[
>   ]ουτ[
>   ]λευ[

S. 7

The same Bacchic terminolgy is used at Tr 342-343:

> βασίλεια, βακχεύουσαν οὐ λήψῃ κόρην,
> μὴ κοῦφον αἴρῃ βῆμ' ἐς 'Αργείων στρατόν;

This innovation in the character of Cassandra is a
clear link between the Alexandros and the Trojan Women but
is not in itself proof of trilogic unity. Repetition of
character between two plays of a group does not make a
trilogy. Cassandra does not appear in the Palamedes.[16]
The similarity between the two Cassandras can also be
accounted for in the contemporary composition of the plays
and perhaps in Euripides' fondness for his hybrid creation.
A similar type of repetition is notable between the Hecuba
of the Alexandros and the Creusa of the Ion, produced only
three years after the Trojan group, where Euripides again
deals with motif of a mother unwittedly plotting the murder

of her own son and recognizing her mistake only at the
last moment.

Although Hector and Paris, the other characters cited
by Webster, do not appear in the Trojan Women, nevertheless,
like Priam and Deiphobos, they are constant referents of
the distraught women. It is clear that Euripides has
retained in the Trojan Women the characters of both men
as they were developed in the Alexandros. The Strasbourg
papyri contain a vehement agon between Hector and Deiphobos
on the question of slaves and nobility, in which valiant
Hector is willing to accept the victory of the lowly
shepherd Alexander in the games:

> λίαν ἀθυ]μεῖς, Δηίφοβε. τί γάρ με δεῖ
> μισεῖν νιν; οὐ γὰρ] καιρὸς ὡδ{ε} ίνειν φ[ρέν]ας.
>
> S. 23, 11-12

In the Trojan Women this emphasis on the generosity of
Hector recurs:

> ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς δέ σ᾽ εὐγένει᾽ ἀπώλεσεν,
> ἡ τοῖσιν ἄλλοις γίγνεται σωτηρία....
>
> Tr 742-743[17]

The physical preeminence of Paris, around whom the
Alexandros is centered, is not overlooked in the Trojan
Women:

ἦν οὑμὸς υἱὸς κάλλος ἐκπρεπέστατος....

Tr988

The Strasbourg papyri also stress the enticing beauty of Alexander:

ὃ δ' ὧδε μορφῆι διαφερ[

S. 18, 8

However, these qualities of Hector and Paris were not invented by Euripides but were developed in the Homeric epic, where Hector is often portrayed as generous and noble and Paris as beautiful. In her funeral eulogy for Hector at the end of Bk.Ω Helen praises her brother-in-law for the very same reluctance to criticize that he exhibits in the Alexandros (S. 23):

> ἀλλ' οὔ πω σεῦ ἄκουσα κακὸν ἔπος οὐδ' ἀσύφηλον.
> ἀλλ' εἴ τίς με καὶ ἄλλος ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἐνίπτοι
> δαέρων ἢ γαλόων ἢ εἰνατέρων εὐπέπλων,
> ἢ ἑκυρή--ἑκυρὸς δὲ πατὴρ ὣς ἤπιος αἰεί--
> ἀλλὰ σὺ τόν γ' ἐπέεσσι παραιφάμενος κατέρυκες,
> σῇ τ' ἀγανοφροσύνῃ καὶ σοῖς ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσι.

Ω 7 -7

And Andromache in her lament refers to her husband as the protector of the city, just as she does in the Trojan Women (742-743):

πρὶν γὰρ πόλις ἥδε κατ' ἄκρης
πέρσεται. ἦ γὰρ ὄλωλας ἐπίσκοπος, ὅς τέ μιν αὐτὴν
ῥύσκευ....

Ω 728-730

Paris' beauty as well is part of his Homeric character,
for in his very first appearance in the Iliad he is
addressed by Hector as εἶδος ἄριστε (Γ39) and is rebuked
because:

ἦ που καγχαλόωσι κάρη κομόωντες, Ἀχαιοί
φάντες ἀριστῆα πρόμον ἔμμεναι, οὕνεκα καλὸν
εἶδος ἔπ', ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι βίη φρεσὶν οὐδέ τις ἀλκή.

Γ 43-45

In his reply Paris himself argues:

μή μοι δῶρ' ἐρατὰ πρόφερε χρυσῆς Ἀφροδίτης.
οὔ τοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα,
ὅσσά κεν αὐτοὶ δῶσιν, ἑκὼν δ' οὐκ ἄν τις ἕλοιτο.

Γ 64-66

The Homeric Paris is thus the same handsome youth who
appears in the Alexandros and is mentioned in the Trojan
Women. Webster's statement that "the generosity of Hektor
and of Paris' beauty" as it is depicted in the Alexandros
is "an impression strong enough to survive the next play"[18]
implies a missing link in the characters of Hector and
Paris as presented in the Trojan Women which only the
Alexandros can supply. Such a dependency upon a previous
play of a supposed trilogy is groundless when Euripides'

Hector and Paris are seen in their Homeric contexts. The
value of character repetition as proof of trilogic compo-
sition is consequently decreased.

Scholars have added several unifying themes to this
list of characters. In S. 10, from Ennius' Alexander,
Cassandra prohesies about the Trojan horse:

> nam maximo saltu supravit gravidus armatis equus,
> qui suo partu ardua perdat Pergama.

Snell and others have noted the allusions to this prophecy
in the Trojan Women, where the horse is mentioned early
(9-14)and becomes the central image of the first choral ode:[19]

> Ἀργείων ὀλό{ι}μαν τά-
> λαινα δοριάλωτος,
> ὅτ᾽ ἔλιπον ἵππον οὐράνια
> βρέμοντα χρυσεοφάλαρον ἔνο-
> πλον ἐν πύλαις Ἀχαιοί.

<div align="right">Tr 518-521</div>

Of course, the horse is an appropriate theme for the Trojan
Women and its mention there is not dependent upon its
appearance in the Alexandros. Nor is a recurring image
necessarily a trilogically unifying one.

Menegazzi[20] has noted another possible allusion in
the Trojan Women to Cassandra's prophecies in the Alexandros.
In the first play Cassandra had probably equated Paris
with the firebrand of Hecuba's dream, for in Ennius' later

version of the play the prophetess warned:

> adest adest fax obvoluta sanguine atque incendio
> multos annos latuit, cives, ferte opem et
> restinguite.
>
> S. 10, 1-2

Menegazzi parallels this prediction with Cassandra's
hymeneal torch in the Trojan Women:

> ἄνεχε πάρεχε.
> φῶς φέρ᾽, ὦ. σέβω φλέγω.
> ἰδού, ἰδού.
> λαμπάσι τόδ᾽ ἱερόν.
>
> Tr 308-309

The recurring fire imagery is clear, but whether Euripides
imagined an association between the firebrand of Hecuba's
dream and Cassandra's marriage torch, and thus intended a
causal link between the events of the Alexandros and those
of the Trojan Women, depends upon actual trilogic unity,
Such an association cannot prove this unity, but would
result from it.

Similar bonds of character and theme have been noted
between the Palamedes and the Trojan Women. Scholars here
have projected the probably important and sinister role of
Odysseus in the Palamedes into the following play, where
Odysseus remains the same sort of disagreeable character.[21]
Not only is he the subject of a tirade by Hecuba in the

Trojan Women:

> μυσαρῷ δολίῳ ⟨τε⟩ λέλογχα
> φωτὶ δουλεύειν,
> πολεμίῳ δίκας, παρανόμῳ δάκει....
>
> Tr 282-284

but he is specifically blamed for the condemnation of
Astyanax:

> νικᾷ δ᾽ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐν Πανέλλησιν λέγων...
>
> Tr 721

There are unfortunately no relevant fragments from the
Palamedes to provide even a cursory comparison of the
treatment of Odysseus in the two plays, although it was
surely unfavorable in both.

Nor are there any fragments from the Palamedes that
indicate the play's development of the character of
Agamemnon. Nevertheless, Webster considers the Greek
commander a link between that play and the Trojan Women
and says that "the Palamedes fixes... Agamemnon as a general
who either cannot see through or fails to withstand the
machinations of his subordinate."[22] Webster's use of the
word "fixes" here unquestionably looks toward the Trojan
Women, where this weakness in the character of Agamemnon
receives brief treatment in the critical words of
Talthybios:

ὁ γὰρ μέγιστος τῶν Πανελλήνων ἄναξ
'Ατρέως φίλος παῖς, τῆσδ' ἔρωτ' ἐξαίρετον
μαινάδος ὑπέστη. καὶ πένης μέν εἰμ' ἐγώ,
ἀτὰρ λέχος γε τῆσδ' ἂν οὐκ ἐκτησάμην.

Tr 412-416

However, Agamemnon is certainly not singled out for
stupidity and weakness in the Trojan Women. It is his
brother Menelaus who clearly earns that distinction
(Tr 860-1059; 1100-1117). At most, the hypothetical treat-
ment of Agamemnon in the Palamedes is subject to slight
echo in the Trojan Women and is paralleded more emphatically
by a similar treatment of Menelaus. The two plays treat
the Atreides in a strikingly uncomplementary manner, just
as there are many points of comparison between the Hecuba
of the Alexandros and the Creusa of the Ion, but similar
treatment of character makes a trilogy in neither case.

Duchemin has noted the popularity of the rhetorical
device of the ἀγών in the fifth-century drama,[23] and all
three of Euripides' productions for 415 reveal a tendency
to satisfy the public taste in this area. Thus, in the
Alexandros the Strasbourg papyri contain one short agon
between Hector and Deiphobos (S.23), and the literary
fragments (S. 27-39) establish a very formal debate between
the latter and Alexandros.[24] The central scene of the
Palamedes must have been the trial in which a clash between
Odysseus and the defendant was inevitable; four fragments

can probably be attributed to this scene.[25] Finally, the Helen scene of the Trojan Women is a debate between the true-speaking Hecuba and the seductive and sophistic Helen.

Some effort has been made here not to overlook possible links within Euripides' Trojan group of 415. Thematic and character links similar to those which have been noted within this tetralogy can also be seen in other Euripidean (non-trilogic) groups, and indicate that Euripides did exploit similarities between existing elements of a tetralogy. For example, in the broadest possible terms, Euripides' productions of 438, Cressas, Alcmaeon, Telephos, and Alcestis, can be described, as Krausse does, as plays "in mulierum virtutibus vitiisque illustrandis,"[26] but no one today would consider this group connected. Trilogic unity must be proven by more than character and thematic repetition, and it must now be considered whether the Alexandros, Palamedes, and Trojan Women are linked in an Aeschylean manner and thus can be accurately termed a trilogy.

The three plays do exhibit a broad chronological sequence within the Trojan epic cycle. The Alexandros and the Trojan Women center around the Trojans before and after the Trojan war and the intervening Palamedes takes place in the Greek camp during the conflict. However, it

certainly cannot be argued from this that the three plays
are based upon the same mythological topos. The <u>Alexandros</u>
is the story of the return of the shepherd Paris to Troy
and his recognition as a son of Priam. Jouan has shown
admirably the relationship between this play and the
Κύπρια,[27] and it is at least possible that the <u>Alexandros</u>
has some affinities with the romantic recognition play
<u>Ion</u> of c. 414-410.[28] The <u>Trojan Women</u>, on the other hand,
is a lamentation for the sacked city of Troy, and Euripides'
source for this play was perhaps the <u>Little Iliad</u> of
Lesches.[29] Although these two plays differ in source and
probably mood, they do share some common characteristics
and at least center around Troy. Yet how does Euripides
join them dramatically? By the <u>Palamedes</u>, whose mythological
topos is certainly not Trojan but Greek. Euripides' sources
for the play probably included Sophocles' <u>Palamedes</u>[30] and
perhaps Gorgias' <u>Encomium</u>.[31] There is no traditional
association between the myths of Alexander and of Palamedes
or between <u>Palamedes</u> and the <u>Trojan Women</u>. The sequence is
more similar to Aeschylus' <u>Lycurgeia</u> than to his Theban or
Oresteian trilogies.

Consideration of the continuity of plot line makes
trilogic link even more doubtful. The end of the <u>Alexandros</u>
is disputed, but the play certainly ended before the
judgment of Paris and his departure for Greece

(S. 10, 69-71). The Palamedes perhaps began with the
Greek sentries making the rounds of their camp during the
Trojan War (589 N^2); at least this is the earliest placed of
the extant fragments. Webster, however, hypothesizes a
prologue before this scene.[32] In either case, Palamedes
certainly does not continue the plot established in the
Alexandros, as Aeschylus' Choephoroi follows the Agamemnon.
There is thus no proven plot link between the Alexandros
and the Palamedes.

This lack of smooth transition is evident between the
Palamedes and the Trojan Women as well. From Aristophanes'
parody in the Thesmophoriazusai, it is probable that
Euripides' play depicted Palamedes' brother Oiax setting
adrift an oar inscribed with the news of Palamedes' unjust
execution. We know from the mythographers that this oar
eventually reached Palamedes' father Nauplios in Euboea,
although Webster stresses that this could not have been
part of the action of Euripides' play.[33] It is also in
the myth that Nauplios ultimately avenged his son's murder
by tampering with the beacons lit to guide the Greek fleet
home from Troy, thus destroying the fleet. Poseidon's
and Athena's decision in the prologue of the Trojan Women
to shipwreck the Greeks has made several scholars seek a
firm continuous plot link here.[34] Webster even hypothesizes
a deus ex machina at the end of the Palamedes which "may

have foretold the arrival of the oars and Nauplios'
arrangements to wreck the Greek fleet."[35]   The only evidence
for this scene is two gnomic fragments on the just man
(584, 585 N^2).

The extant <u>Trojan Women</u> provides more convincing
evidence than a hypothetical epilogue to the <u>Palamedes</u>.
Yet, there is no allusion at all in the later play to Pala-
medes nor any suggested connection between the destruction of
the fleet predicted there and Palamedes' fate. If Euripides
had wanted to establish a link between the <u>Palamedes</u> and
the <u>Trojan Women</u>, as well as a continuous plot line for
his trilogy, he would certainly have placed such an
allusion in the <u>Trojan Women</u>. For example, Athena or
Poseidon could have said during the prologue that they
would permit Oiax's oar to reach Nauplios so he could
sabotage the beacons. Instead, however, the Olympians
plan a storm to destroy the fleet, a storm created by their
own machinations. Poseidon's first person singular and
imperative verbs clearly emphasize this divine rather than
human causation:

> ...ταράξω πέλαγος Αἰγαίας ἁλός.

> Tr 88

and

ἀλλ' ἕρπ' "Ολυμπον καὶ κεραυνίους βολὰς
λαβοῦσα πατρὸς ἐκ χερῶν καραδόκει....

Tr 92-93

If these statements are not explicitly contradictory of
Nauplios' revenge, they are certainly ignorant of it. Did
Euripides miss a perfect opportunity to establish a causal
sequence between his plays here or, as is more likely, does
this dichotomy between Palamedes and the Trojan Women
suggest that his group is not trilogic and that the
tetralogical members must be read independently? Koniaris
has suggested other logical inconsistencies regarding the
destruction of the Greek fleet in the Trojan Women and the
Palamedes which are certainly valid and underline the same
disjunction of plot lines suggested here.[36] The Palamedes
is certainly a loose link in the possible chain of a
connected story.

Webster's hypothetical deus ex machina at the end of
the Palamedes is not the only instance of an attempt to
manufacture links within the group where there are none.
Predilection toward trilogic interpretation has frequently
led critics to undocumentable associations between the plays.

For example, in the Trojan Women Cassandra makes
allusion to an Apollonian prophecy concerning her mother:

...ποῦ δ' 'Απόλλωνος λόγοι,
οἵ φασιν αὐτήν [εἰς ἔμ' ἡρμηνευμένοι
αὐτοῦ θανεῖσθαι;]...τἄλλα δ' οὐκ ὀνειδιῶ.

Tr 428-430

Snell has argued that this passage must refer back to the

prediction in the <u>Alexandros</u> that Hecuba would someday

be transformed into a bitch:

'Εκάτης ἄγαλμα φωσφόρου κύων ἐστι.

S. 14[37]

The trilogic bias of Snell's argument is evident in the

following statement:

> Und um den Schluss der Troerinnen zu verstanden,
> brauchen wir innerhalb der Trilogie einen
> deutlichen Hinweis auf das Ende der Hekabe; in
> den Troerinnen findet er sich nicht; im
> Palamedes kann er nicht gestanden haben; also
> muss er im Alexandros gegeben sein.[38]

Snell implies that the prohecy concerning Hecuba in S. 14

provides a trilogically unifying theme which is crucial to

the end of the <u>Trojan Women</u>.

Tr 428-430 and S. 14 are obviously connected

thematically, but the gist of the <u>Trojan Women</u> passage

points not to confirmation of the oracle made in the

<u>Alexandros</u>, but to Cassandra's scepticism in the face of

Talthybios' announcement that Hecuba had been alloted as

a slave to Odysseus. There is no statement in the Trojan
Women confirming the truth of Cassandra's prophecy in the
Alexandros and at the end of his play Euripides marches
Hecuba off not to a dog's life but to a slave's. Whether
the myth in reality brought her to the house of Odysseus
is beyond the dramatic context of the Trojan Women.
Reference to Hecuba's future fate in the Trojan Women
contrasts with, rather than compliments, the fragment
from the Alexandros and underlines an inherent difference
between two supposedly connected plays. If such an element
were meant to unite these plays more than externally, the
validity of the prophecy first stated in the Alexandros
would have been reenforced rather that questioned in the
Trojan Women.

Koniaris' statement that "not a word in the Troades
refers to the prophecies of Cassandra in the Alexander,
or to anything whatever that Cassandra did or said in the
Alexander,"[39] is thus refuted by the common interest in the
fate of Hecuba exhibited in both plays. Euripides does
in fact allude at Tr 428-430 to a prophecy previously made
by Cassandra (i.e., S. 14 of the Alexandros); however, he
uses the prophecy to different purposes in each play.

Tr 428-430 has come under textual attack by several
critics:

> ...ποῦ δ' Ἀπόλλωνος λόγοι,
> οἵ φασιν αὐτήν [εἰς ἔμ' ἡρμηνευμένοι
> αὐτοῦ θανεῖσθαι]...τἆλλα δ' οὐκ ὀνειδιῶ.

εἰς...θανεῖσθαι, which is the manuscript reading, was

originally deleted by Klinkenberg as an interpolation.

Although Murray retained the words in his text, Biehl

follows Klinkenberg and brackets the section as suspect.

Argument for deletion is based upon a scholiastic comment:

ἐν γὰρ Θρᾴκῃ κύων γενομένη ἀπέθανεν and the traditional

myth offered in Hecuba 1265-1273 as well as in the

Alexandros fragment (S. 14). Yet the passage as it is

offered in the manuscripts does not contradict the dramatic

context of the scene in the Trojan Women where a despondent

Cassandra questions the validity of Apollo's prophecy.

Nor does it contradict the dramatic context of the play

itself, which ends with Hecuba being led off to slavery

but which would leave open the possibility of subsequent

confirmation of either version; i.e., Hecuba could die

on Trojan land or turn into a dog in Thrace. Hecuba's

fate is left unresolved in the play itself and I see no

compelling reason to delete these words as an interpolation.

Retention of the manuscript reading marks a further

difference between the prophecy of Cassandra concerning

the fate of Hecuba as it is stated in the Alexandros and

the prophecy in the Trojan Women and argues strongly against
trilogic unity. Arguments for deletion are obviously
oriented toward trilogic interpretation of the Trojan Women
and such basis for establishing the text of the play is
tenuous at best.

Snell also points to a fragment from Strabo as
argument for an epilogue spoken by Aphrodite in the
Alexandros as well as for trilogic interpretation:[40]

> Ζεὺς γὰρ κακὸν μὲν Τρωσί, πῆμα δ' Ἑλλάδι
> θέλων γενέσθαι ταῦτ' ἐβούλευσεν πατήρ.

> S. 45

It is suggested that these lines foreshadow "das allgemeinere
Unglück"[41] of the rest of the trilogy; i.e., κακὸν μὲν
Τρωσί refers to the Trojan Women and πῆμα δ' Ἑλλάδι to the
Palamedes and to the prediction of the destruction of the
Greek fleet in the Trojan Women. Yet these lines can also
be interpreted as a concise summary of the Alexandros and
as an allusion to the approaching Trojan war which will
result in κακόν for the Trojan, i.e., destruction of their
city, and πῆμα for the Greeks, i.e., the hardships of ten
years fighting away from home, upon which Cassandra herself
elaborates (Tr 365-385). There is no need to read the
events of the Palamedes and the Trojan Women into these
lines as specific referents and to do so is to assume a

link between the three plays which has not been documented
substantially. Such a reference to future woe is typical
of the general statements that end Greek plays[42] and is
certainly sufficient climax to the Alexandros as a single
play. Further, Coles has noted the tenuousness of this
fragment's association with the play:[43] Strabo identifies
the lines as Euripidean, but they could equally have been
written for Euripides' Palamedes, Protesilaos, or
Philoctetes.[44]

The question of guilt is also important to those who
favor a trilogic interpretation of these plays and who
argue that in the Trojan Women the Trojans are paying for
the ἁμαρτία committed in the Alexandros, i.e., not destroying
the fire-brand Paris[45] or perhaps trying to commit the
sacrilege of murdering him as a suppliant at Zeus' altar.[46]
In this context the following fragment attributed to the
Alexandros is cited; it was probably addressed by Priam
to Paris:

χρόνος δὲ δείξει ⟨σ'⟩ , ὧι τεκμηρίωι μαθών
ἢ χρηστὸν ὄντα γνώσομαί σε ⟨γ'⟩ ἢ κακόν.

S. 39

Time's verdict is sought in the Helen scene of the Trojan
Women, in the accusation of Helen:

πρῶτον μὲν ἀρχὰς ἔτεκεν ἥδε τῶν κακῶν,
Πάριν τεκοῦσα. δεύτερον δ' ἀπώλεσε
Τροίαν τε κἄμ' ⟨ὁ⟩ πρέσβυς οὐ κτανὼν βρέφος,
δαλοῦ πικρὸν μίμημ', Ἀλέξανδρόν, ποτε.

<div align="right">Tr 919-922</div>

Thus, according to Helen, the ones responsible for the
Trojan war are Hecuba and Priam; above all, Helen is not
at fault!   Scarcella suggests the trilogic implications
of these words:

> Che poi i due sovrani fossero insieme vittime
> della propria fragilità e del destino, è cosa
> che non importa qui indagare: certò è che,
> attraverso quegli eventi, si era voluto colpire
> equalmente Troiani e Greci. Ma questo era già
> esplicitamente detto nell'Alessandro , quale
> che fossero il personaggio e l'occasione cui si
> reportava la battuta [Fr. 45 Snell]. Perché
> inversamente è probabile che nell'Alessandro
> venissero anticipati sviluppi e conclusione cui
> Euripide intendeva pervenire solo nelle Troiani.[47]

Helen's charge, however, must be seen in the context of
the entire scene and of the drama itself.   It is true that
Helen points a finger at Hecuba and Priam for deeds done
in the context of the Alexandros, but is Helen credible?
She is not a disinterested witness and the entire force of
her speech is to place the blame as far as possible from
her own name. She does not even hesitate to incriminate
Aphrodite as well:

νικᾷ Κύπρις θεάς, καὶ τοσόνδ᾽ οὑμοὶ γάμοι
ὤνησαν ᾽Ελλάδ᾽....

Tr 932-933

Helen's charges are unquestionably refuted in Hecuba's
retort (969-1032), where the blame is placed where it
rightfully belongs:

...μὴ ἀμαθεῖς ποίει θεὰς
τὸ σὸν κακὸν κοσμοῦσα....

Tr 981-982

Helen is the true culprit, and her words cannot be accepted,
as Scarcella does, at face value. Helen is σοφιστής in the
bad sense, and Euripides' sympathy is with Hecuba. These
lines certainly do not reveal a theme of Trojan guilt
carried over from the <u>Alexandros</u> to the <u>Trojan Women</u> and
do not support a trilogic interpretation.

Koniaris has elaborated as well on the guilt of Helen
in the <u>Trojan Women</u> and rightly contrasts the free will
inherent in Hecuba's condemnation with the predestination
that fills the <u>Alexandros</u>.[48] The question remains, however,
why Euripides permits this felon to escape punishment, as
the mood of the subsequent choral ode unquestionably
suggests(Tr 1060-1116). The problem is central not only
to an interpretation of the agon scene but to the <u>Trojan</u>

Women as a whole, and discussion of this aspect of the
Helen scene will be deferred until it can be considered
in the light of a general view of the Trojan Women.

A word should also be said about the Sisyphos, the
satyr play produced together with the Alexandros, Palamedes,
and Trojan Women. Only one fragment is attributable to
the play and it strangely is addressed to Heracles:[49]

χαίρω σέ τ', ὦ βέλτιστον Ἀλκμήνης τέκος,
...τόν τε μιαρὸν ἐξολωλότα.

673 N^2

Working solely from this Heraclean greeting, Murray searched
for a link between the Sisyphos saga and Heracles and
suggested that the play centered around Sisyphos' theft
of Lycurgos' horses from Heracles. Such a plot would fit
in well with Murray's trilogic interpretation of the group,
i.e., "the doings of the arch-deceiver will illustrate
well the mocking injustice of the world."[50] Webster makes
a more cautious link between the plays: "Even the satyr-
play was relevant since Sisyphos was a reputed father of
Odysseus who had a major part in the Palamedes and contrived
the death of Astyanax in the Trojan Women."[51] Nothing of
certainity can really be said about the plot of the Sisyphos,
whose mythos is only tenuously related to the topoi of its
accompanying tragedies. Of course, an unconnected satyr

play could have been produced together with a trilogy.
The Oresteia, with its loosely related satyr play Proteus,
foreshadowed only by a short passage in the Agamemnon
(615-680), is perhaps proof of that. However, inclusion
of the Sisyphos myth in Euripides' tetralogy of 415 is
certainly not positive evidence for the unity of the group.
Koniaris offers additional arguments against a link between
the Palamedes and the Sisyphos and against a connected
tetralogy,[52] and thus further underscores the plays' lack
of a common mythological topos noted here.

It is evident, then, that the Aeschylean trilogic
features of continuity of plot and single mythogical topos
are not present in Euripides' productions of 415. The
Alexandros, Palamedes, and Trojan Women ought not be
considered a trilogy despite the particular elements which
recur in the plays. Rather, the group must be interpreted
individually, with due consideration of the contrasts and
comparisons which Euripides establishes among the three
plays. For example, the despair of the Trojan Women
becomes that much more profound and pathetic if the
Alexandros was really the romantic recognition play which
Hanson believes it was;[53] and the Alexandros certainly
appears to have had a happy ending.

Webster has argued that at least one scene of the

Trojan Women (probably a reference to the prologue) is

intelligible only in terms of a connected sequence.[54]

Koniaris regrettably ignores this point, although such

dramatic interdependence, when proven, would outweigh any

arguments against the existence of a trilogy. Therefore,

a detailed analysis of the Trojan Women is warranted and

necessary. I will attempt such an analysis in the following

chapters and maintain that there is no need to bring a

hypothetical connected trilogy into an interpretation of

the prologue and the play. The Trojan Women is episodi-

cally and as a whole understandable outside a trilogic

context. It is the tragedy of the Trojan nation, the

dramatic presentation of the suffering of a conquered city

reduced to ashes. Such an independent and coherent

interpretation of the Trojan Women is the final and

definitive argument against the existence of a trilogy.

A non-trilogic approach to Euripides' Trojan group

and to the Trojan Women in particular is made probable

not only by the history of the trilogy in the fifth century

as discussed in the first chapter, but also by an analysis

of the fragments of the Alexandros and the Palamedes and

a comparison of these plays to relevant passages in the

Trojan Women. Although several inter-relating themes and

characters are notable among the plays, the features of

trilogic unity characteristic of the only known Greek

trilogies, i.e., the trilogies of Aeschylus, are not evident
in the Alexandros-Palamedes-Trojan Women sequence. In fact,
the three plays reveal several serious points of contra-
diction which could not have existed in a trilogy.

Koniaris has discussed several of the inconsistencies
between the plays in even more depth than has been offered
here,[55] and such contradictions between the plays as the
one relating to the destruction of the Greek fleet are
sufficient in themselves to make structural unity unlikely.
The addition of historical improbability makes trilogic
construction of Euripides' Trojan tetralogy of 415 virtually
impossible. It is time, then, for the remaining fetters
of trilogic bias in interpreting Greek plays after Aeschylus
to be broken and for the Trojan Women and its companion
plays to be disentangled structurally and thematically.
Like the other tetralogies written after the death of
Aeschylus, Euripides' productions for 415 were a group of
four independent plays.

Notes

1. Hyginus, 96 and 105.

2. For example, as Webster notes in Tragedies, 112-113,
   34 Etruscan urns are of invaluable use for the
   reconstruction of the recognition scene of the
   Alexandros.

3. P. Oxy. inv. 42 5B 78/J (3-4)b; see Coles, op. cit.

4. Coles, 14-15.

5. See, for example, Webster, Tragedies, 171, and Diego
   Lanza, "L' ≪Alessandro≫ e il valore del doppo coro
   euripideo," Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica 34
   (1963), 230-245, especially 243-244: "I pastori non
   appaiono dunque scena per gareggiare in un dialogo
   corale coi vecchi Troiani, ma più probabilmente, da
   quanto si può ricavare dagli altri esempi euripidei
   ricordati dallo scolio, come corteggio del giovane
   Alessandro al suo arrivo a Troia." Evidence from
   the hypothesis now makes this choral agon, rejected
   by Lanza, at least a possibility.

6. Snell, 22-24 and F. 1.

7. See Murray, Greek Studies, 132. Snell's reconstruction
   of S. 43, 39, τῆ] ιδε χειρι δει θανειν for which
   Murray preferred [σῆ] ι δέ or [πιστῆ] δέ is confirmed
   by the new papyrus. Hecuba's personal avowal to
   kill Alexander by her own hand is thus certain. See
   Coles, 25.

8. Coles, 15.

9. Webster, Tragedies, 166 and 172.

10. F. Jouan, Euripide et les légendes des Chants Cypriens
    (Paris, 1966), 115.

11. Webster, Tragedies, 174.

12. For example, Gilbert Norwood says in Greek Tragedy,
    (London, 1920), 245 that "it is upon Hecuba that the
    whole poem hangs--not upon her action or even her
    character, but upon her capacity for suffering. With

the progress of the play she changes from the Queen
of Troy to a figure summing up in herself all the
sorrows of humanity."

13. Koniaris, 108.

14. See P. G. Mason, "Kassandra," JHS 79 (1959), 81-93.

15. Mason, 89.

16. A. Pertusi, in "Il significato della trilogia troiana
di Euripide," Dioniso 40 (1935), 251-273, recognized
the missing trilogic link here and consequently
hypothesized important off-stage roles for both Paris
and Cassandra in the Palamedes and even questioned
the protagonist's innocence. This type of argumenta-
tion is a clear example of tenuous reconstruction
based upon trilogic bias.

17. Compare Tr. 743 with S. 44.

18. Webster, Tragedies, 174.

19. Snell, 34.

20. Bruno Menegazzi, "L'《Alessandro》 di Euripide," Dioniso
14 (1951), 178. Shirley Barlow, in The Imagery of
Euripides (London, 1971), 125, also associates
Cassandra's torch with the one in Hecuba's dream:
"Cassandra in the Troades sees in her hand a marriage
torch to light her fictitious wedding ceremony,
whereas the chorus and Hecuba see merely an ordinary
torch in danger of falling from her grasp. To the
audience who see both perspectives, there is another
dimension still, since this firebrand can hardly
fail to remind them of the torch Hecuba dreamt she
gave birth to when she was expecting Paris...."

21. For example, Henri Grégoire, "Euripide, Ulysse et
Alcibiade," Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletin
de la Classe des Lettres 19 (1933) 96-97.

22. Webster, Tragedies, 176.

23. Jacqueline Duchemin, L'ΑΓΩΝ dans la tragédie grecque
(Paris, 1945).

24. But the _Alexandros_ hypothesis places Deiphobos' role in the _agon_ at least in doubt; see Coles, 24-25.

25. 578, 580, 581, 583 N^2.

26. Krausse, 188.

27. Jouan, 137.

28. See Hanson, esp. 172 and 174.

29. See Aristotle, _Poetics_ 1459 b1-7.

30. Webster, _Tragedies_, 175.

31. See Pertusi, 260, and Maria L. Orsini, "La Cronologia dell'《 Encomio》 de Elena di Gorgia e le Troiane di Euripide," _Dioniso_ 19 (1956), 82.

32. Webster, _Tragedies_, 175.

33. _Ibid._,175-176.

34. For example, Wilamowitz, _Griechische Tragödien_, 259 and Webster, _Tragedies_, 176.

35. Webster, _Tragedies_, 175-176.

36. Koniaris, 90-94.

37. Snell attributes this fragment to Cassandra, but Coles, 34, suggests that it could have come from a _deus ex machina_ scene.

38. Snell, 30.

39. Koniaris, 109.

40. Snell, 55-56.

41. _Ibid._, 68.

42. See especially _Hecuba_ 1295-1296.

43. Coles, 30.

44. Strabo, 4, 1, 7, 183.

45. See, for example, Scarcella, 67.

46. Pertusi, 263.

47. Scarcella, 68.

48. Koniaris, 96-102.

49. The Suda quotes this fragment under χαίρω σέ ἐλολωλότα and attributes it explicitly to Euripides' Sisyphos.

50. Murray, Greek Studies, 142.

51. Webster, Tragedies, 165.

52. Koniaris, 109-110.

53. Hanson, esp. 172 and 174.

54. Webster, For Services to Classical Studies, 208; quoted in full chapter 1, note 9.

55. Koniaris, especially, 90-101.

Chapter 3

The Role of the Chorus
and Ironic Development

The Trojan Women was certainly popular in antiquity,
for it survived, apart from its companion plays of 415,
in the select school tradition of Euripidean plays. In
more recent times, however, interest has been focused on
this play much less than on some of Euripides' other plays,
such as Hippolytos or Bacchai. It is surely indicative of
the modern attitude toward the Trojan Women that there has
been no thorough commentative study or analysis of the
play comparable to Barrett's superb work on the Hippolytos[1]
or Dodds on the Bacchai.[2] Only recently has the play
received the textual and metrical attention it deserves in
Biehl's very learned studies.[3]

The intense drama and force of the Trojan Women have
nevertheless been appreciated in the modern world. Indeed,
the emotional impact of Euripides' drama has been powerfully
captured in Cacoyannis' recent screenplay.[4] Sartre's famous
translation of the play is typically more a class unto
itself, more Sartrian than Euripidean, but the French
existentialist's allegiance to Euripides is undeniable.[5]
Hamilton and others have even referred to the Trojan Women
as "the greatest piece of anti-war literature there is."[6]
Some perhaps might consider that statement hyperbolic, but
Euripides' play must surely be listed among noteworthy
Greek contributions to pacifistic literature in the Western

world.

Although the Trojan Women has been praised as a fierce
condemnation of war, it is often reduced in the next
critical breath to a disconnected series of scenes, a
group of pathetic scenarios. Such Janus-faced criticism
has been popular in several languages: Schlesinger
describes the play as "a series of chronologically related
tableaux with little action."[7] Manning calls the play
"merely a series of scenes,"[8] and Lewin says "the whole
tragedy consists of a series of disasters for Hecuba, as
one by one all her remaining hopes are destroyed."[9]
Méredier states that "le drame se réduit à une succession
de tableaux pathétiques."[10] He was possibly influenced
by his countryman Décharme who said of the play: "Les
diverses parties...se succèdent au lieu de s'enchaîner."[11]
Italians have been most critical: Albini describes the
Trojan Women as "una serie di scene staccate senza una
concatenazione effettiva che le unisca,[12] and Perrotta
calls the play "tragedie senza unità."[13] Even Wilamowitz
must be added to this list of critics because of his
reference to the play as "eine Reihe von Szenen."[14]

Scholars have thus been quick to note the play's
episodic construction and to emphasize its unaristotelian
lack of a single tragic hero and unity of action. Such

criticism contains some truth; the play is certainly episodic, for each scene concentrates on the fate of a different individual. This type of composition obviously precludes an individual tragic character upon whom the action centers. Yet to write off the play for that reason as merely a paratragic ""long lament"[15] does an injustice to Euripides' dramatic skills, the popularity of the play especially in antiquity, and the underlying force of the play which many readers and spectators have felt:

> With all these riches, is the Troades still a
> play which fails to combine its effects within
> an organic dramatic structure? This seems impro-
> bable when we notice that those who like the
> play praise it for its final and total impact.
> The power of this play increases steadily until
> it is finished; the closing lines leave us with
> a sense of completedness which no mere series of
> episodes, however striking in themselves, could
> possibly evoke.[16]

The modern response has therefore been to turn to the group with which the Trojan Women was produced in 415 and to interpret the play's unity in terms of trilogic composition. Thus Albini warns that "ma non dimentichiamo che le Troiane sono l'ultimo acto di una trilogia sulla guerra" and interprets the trilogy in Greek terms: "La loro vittoria, la vittoria più cara al popolo greco è vista come l'opera insulsa e crudeli di genti sciocca, inelta, malvagia."[17] Delcourt-Curvers saw the trilogy in simpler

and less ethical terms as "l'erreur engendrant des maux;"[18] the <u>Alexandros</u> and the <u>Palamedes</u> depict errors which lead to the sorrows of the <u>Trojan Women</u>. Conacher interprets the play as a "rhythm of hope and desolation" and explains the play's loose dramatic structure as a trilogic feature of the last play of a group, where "the total amount of unrevealed material gradually decreases as the trilogy proceeds, so that progressively less elaborate structures are required."[19] Such structural criticism of the <u>Trojan Women</u> is tenuous even apart from its trilogic context, for a play constructed episodically can be more complicated than one based upon a unifying central character.

Lesky's statement about the supposed trilogy is much more cautious:

> Hier sehen wir für die drei Tragödien eines Spieltages eine Art von trilogischer Bindung, aber was wir vom Inhalte der verlorenen Dramen erschliessen können, ziegt uns, dass die einzelnen Stücke ein viel stärkeres Eigenleben führten, als in der aischleischen Trilogie.[20]

Thus for Lesky the Trojan group lies in the ethereal realms of a non-trilogic trilogy. Koniaris has provided an even more thorough list of trilogic advocates.[21]

Murray, of course, has been the most eloquent advocate of a Trojan trilogy and has offered the most explicit

analysis of trilogic composition. For him the key to the
group is Diogenes' numismatic metaphor _paracharaxis_, i.e.,
"showing how the things that are called good are those
that should be fled from, and all the superscriptions
false."[22] Murray's anthropological approach to the trilogy
is evident in his discussion of the _Alexandros_ in terms
of the Curse-child, an approach which ultimately leads to
an interpretation of the _Trojan Women_ as the culmination
of errors committed by the Trojans in the _Alexandros_ and
by the Greeks in the _Palamedes_.

The inadequacies of Murray's reading have been
sufficiently noted by Koniaris, who has analysed the
inherent philosophical differences between the _Alexandros_
and the _Trojan Women_ and has effectively denied trilogic
composition of the group.[23] Koniaris, however, fails to
follow up his argument with a coherent independent inter-
pretation of the _Trojan Women_, despite his own admission
that "the correct interpretation of the _Troades_ can be...
achieved only by studying the _Troades_ by itself, as a unity
independent of the _Alexander_, the _Palamedes_, and the
Sisyphus."[24] The absence of such a reading of the _Trojan_
Women definitely weakens Koniaris' anti-trilogic reasoning.

In the preceding chapters I have argued that a trilogic
interpretation of the _Trojan Women_ is historically

precarious and have noted several elements within the tetralogy which support this judgment. Yet Webster has emphasized the difficulty of understanding the play outside of a trilogic context,[25] and it is true that, bereft of its trilogic supports, the episodic Trojan Women appears in need of some solid unifying elements. Therefore, my basic purpose in this chapter is to suggest two possible forces or elements in the Trojan Women which so pervade the play as to unite an otherwise episodic structure. The rest of the thesis will present a careful scenic analysis of the play in light of these elements. Such a reading of the Trojan Women will not only confirm the demise of the trilogy in post-Aeschylean drama, but will also underscore the unity inherent within an often structurally underrated Euripidean play.

Criticism of the Trojan Women, under the influence of Aristotle, has naturally emphasized the notion of the tragic hero. Although the play certainly cannot be said to have a central tragic individual like the Oedipous of Sophocles' Oedipous Tyrannos around whom all the action centers and upon whom the hand of fate falls unmercifully, some scholars have tried to unite the play around Hecuba and are quick to note that the queen is the only character in the play who remains on stage through all the scenes

and takes part in the sorrow in all its depths.[26] As queen she is considered ideally suited to the role of consoler to the other distraught women and her unbroken presence on stage constitutes a source of continuity for a play which otherwise lacks cohesion.

Hecuba's predominance in the play is a noteworthy and valid observation, but is she the tragic heroine of the Trojan Women? I think not. Hecuba is a tragic figure in the play, but she is not the only tragic figure. Indeed, the Trojan Women consists of, to use the typical critical terminology, a series of figures who somehow can be called tragic: Hecuba, the ex-queen; Cassandra, the demented prophetess; Andromache, the pathetic mother and widow; Talthybios, the reluctant herald; even Helen, the vain seductress; and Menelaus, the blind and weak commander. Hecuba's constant presence does little in itself to unify such a shambles of destruction and sorrow.

In the Trojan Women Euripides is presenting a culmination of individual griefs and tragedies. The first episode concentrates on the fates of Cassandra, and, indirectly, of Polyxena; the second episode, that of Andromache; the third, that of Helen; the kommos and exodos center around the battered body of Astyanax and the crumbling walls of Troy. Woe upon woe relentlessly

crushes these helpless creatures. Hecuba and the chorus interact in all these scenes and refer constantly to their own present sorrows, as well as previous Trojan woes, such as the death of Hector (587-594), the sack of the city (551-559), the slaughter of Priam (134-136), etc. None of these tragedies is in itself central to the play; rather, they all add up to portray, in the most vivid sense possible, the collective tragedy of a nation, the Trojan nation. The structure of the Trojan Women is episodic in that it reflects a dramatic presentation of the sufferings of a conquered city in all its grim aspects.

A national approach to the play is not entirely novel. Kumaniecki merely hints at such an interpretation when he says that in the three episodes of the play "miserae Troiae depingerentur,"[27] but Perrotta is more explicit: "Euripide non vuole rappresentare la rovina d'una persona, non quella di una famiglia, ma la rovina di un'intera città."[28] Of course the title of the play cannot be invoked, as Rachet attempts, to support this interpretation since there is no proof that the surviving Greek play titles were attached by the playwright; they may perhaps even be Alexandrian.[29] Yet the list of dramatis personae and the episodes of the play exhibit a constant Trojan emphasis which is a much more valid argument for such a reading of

the Trojan Women and which I hope will be adequately upheld by the analysis of the play which follows this chapter.

Most scholars, influenced perhaps by trilogic bias and/or stressing the prologue, have seen the main thrust of the play from a Greek rather than Trojan perspective. Indeed, Rivier has gone as far as saying that "Troie nous importe peu."[30] Basing his interpretation upon the destrution of the homeward-bound Greek fleet predicted in the prologue and on Cassandra's subsequent anti-Greek prophecies, Grube has said that "any deep understanding of the Trojan Women depends on seeing it in perspective against the later sufferings of the Greeks."[31] Thus a Trojan interpretation of the play is rejected as superficial and the play is understood instead in nihilistic terms as "ein Meer der Vernichtung" which shows not only "Verzweiflung und Tod der Besiegten" but more profoundly "Gewalttat und Tod der Sieger."[32] As such the Trojan Women is a brutal commentary on war and a warning that violence destroys not only the conquered but also the conqueror. This approach to the play, even when not explicitly incorporated into a trilogic form,[33] still is remarkably similar in its Greek orientation to that of Murray's trilogic paracharaxis. Scholarship has repeatedly tended to understand the Trojan Women from

a Greek rather than Trojan perspective.

But the Greeks are not really the central dramatic
force of the play. It is true that the prologue and
Cassandra's prophecies do focus on the future woes of the
Greeks and that the victorious Greeks hover sinisterly in
the background of every action of the play. However,
besides the Greek herald Talthybios, whose sympathies are
frequently more Trojan than Greek, and the weak commander
Menelaus, who makes a brief but memorable appearance, all
the dramatis personae are in some sense Trojan. Even Helen,
Greek-born and the erstwhile wife of a Greek, is counted
among the enemy captives in this play:

> ...σὺν αὐταῖς δ᾽ ἡ Λάκαινα Τυνδαρὶς
> Ἑλένη, νομισθεῖσ᾽ αἰχμάλωτος ἐνδίκως.

> 34-35

The drama is unquestionably centered around Trojans and
Troy, and the play culminates in the physical collapse of
the city itself (1295-1296). In the face of such a Trojan
emphasis, Greek references must be seen in Trojan contexts,
not vice versa. Any interpretation of the Trojan Women
which makes future Greek sufferings more important and
more profound than the immediate and dramatically depicted
woes of the Trojans misreads the emphasis of the tragedy
as a whole. The play must be understood, instead, in Trojan

terms and the predicted woes of the Greeks must be seen primarily as a commentary on what happens to the Trojans and from a Trojan point of view. The over-all effect of this approach will be discussed presently.

The _Trojan Women_, then, is essentially, a tragedy of Troy, a dramatic depiction of the conquered city. As Perrotta has said, "la vera protagonista non è Ecuba [or any individual character of the play], ma Troia."[34] As such, the tragedy of the play can be termed collective and every Trojan character in the play, i.e., Hecuba, Cassandra, and Andromache, makes contributions to the tragic development. As Trojans, the woes of these characters are the city's, and, by extension, the tragedy of Troy is a composite of the sufferings of all its citizenry.

Such a collective tragedy was not new in 415 B.C. Euripides had recently produced a similar type of play in the _Suppliants_ of c. 420, and the form unquestionably dates back at least to Aeschylus' _Suppliants_. In both plays it is the chorus which is the collective center of the play. As Garvie notes, with the possible additions of the _Eumenides_ and Euripides' _Suppliants_, "in the whole extant corpus of Greek tragedy, the _Supplices_ is almost unique in that the Chorus is the principal character of the play."[35] I submit, however, that the chorus of Trojan

women, too, is the central character, of its play, and
indeed serves as a crucial unifying force.[36] The chorus
is the only principal in the Trojan Women that can
adequately incorporate the entire city as Perrotta's "la
vera protagonista," although the term protagonist cannot
technically be applied to the chorus of a Greek play. The
individual characters are part of this collective tragedy,
but they are each only partial aspects of it. Only the
collectivity of the chorus can really reflect the tragedy
of the city of Troy. These poor women, physically only
twelve or fifteen in number, represent more than them-
selves; they are all that is left of the city's population.
Everyone else is dead, and, at the end of the play when
Troy itself goes up in flames, these women are the only
physical remains of the once high-walled city.

In his commendable discussion of the early Greek chorus,
Garvie describes its normal dramatic function in these
terms;

> A chorus may indeed perform mimetically in that
> it accompanies its story of some hero with appro-
> priate gestures and dance-steps and used direct
> speech, but its story remains the story of
> someone else's fortunes and not its own.[37]

As such, Garvie notes, an important aspect of the Greek
chorus is its anonymity, an aspect notably absent in

Aeschylus' Suppliants and Eumenides and Euripides' Suppliants, all plays in which Garvie recognizes the chorus as principal character.

But anonymity is not an argument against a central role for the chorus of the Trojan Women. These women, admittedly nameless individually, still represent a specific group, the few surviving Trojan citizens. Poseidon himself defines the composition of the chorus in the prologue:

> ὅσαι δ᾽ ἄκληροι Τρῳάδων, ὑπὸ στέγαις
> ταῖσδ᾽ εἰσί, τοῖς πρώτοισιν ἐξῃρημέναι
> στρατοῦ....

> 32-34

Choral anonymity is further offset in the play by personal revelations and experiences of the chorus which are mentioned especially in the parodos and the choral odes. Nearly the first words of the chorus in the drama, in fact, are of a very personal orientation:

> οἵ ἐγώ, τί θέλουσ᾽; ἤ πού μ᾽ ἤδη
> ναυσθλώσουσι πατρῴας ἐκ γᾶς;

> 161-162

Euripides is not portraying here a vague group of citizenry who comment upon the sorrows of individual characters; this chorus does not perform the standard choral role described

by Garvie. Rather, these are real women with personal
experiences, woes, and fears, which they express openly
to the audience. Further, in the Trojan Women the actors
are logical extentions of the choral group; i.e., Hecuba,
Cassandra, and Andromache are almost individualizations
of the choral per ona. And the chorus is all too conscious
of its fatal bonds with the scorned Helen:

> τάλαινα Τροία, μυρίους ἀπώλεσας
> μιᾶς γυναικὸς καὶ λέχους στυγνοῦ χάριν.

> 780-781

In the Persai, Garvie's example of choral anonymity,[38]
a close association between actors and chorus is not
possible: Xerxes does not equal the King's Council which
the chorus there represents. For the Trojan Women, however,
this equation is actually the case. In no other tragedy
are the chief actors all so intricately associated by fate
and by disposition with the choral group. Characters and
chorus coalesce in this play into a single collective
entity, the tragic city of Troy.

If it is necessary, then, to identify such a persona
in this play, I think that the label "tragic heroine" most
appropriately fits the chorus which incorporates the
sufferings of the individual characters into itself and

by extension represents the sorrows of the entire Trojan
nation. As such, the chorus serves not only as a physical
unity in the play, but also as a thematic one, since, as
I will show in the scenic analysis, the choral lyrics of
the play, the primary emphasis of which is the fall of the
city, serve to underline and reenforce the tragic stress
on Troy.

Wilamowitz has noted at least one apparent inconsis-
tency in the choral character in the Trojan Women: "Der
Chor besteht aus Troerinnen, die bald als Frauen um Gatten
und Kinder klagen (1080-1091), bald erzählen, dass die der
Artemis die Tänze aufgefuhrt haben, zu denen sich nur
Jungfrauen schicken (551)."[39] The passages in question
are both from choral odes. The first sings of Troy's last
night of joy, the night the acquisition of the infamous
Trojan horse was celebrated. The chorus describes its
role in the jubilation in these terms:

> ἐγὼ δὲ τὰν ὀρεστέραν
> τότ' ἀμφὶ μέλαθρα παρθένον
> Διὸς κόραν {Ἄρτεμιν} ἐμελπόμαν
> χοροῖσι....

                                                551-555

Yet, in the later ode, the chorus has lost its maidenhood
and addresses dead husbands whom there was not time to
acquire between the choral dance of the virgins and the

swift-following sack of the city:

ὦ φίλος, ὦ πόσι μοι,
σὺ μὲν φθίμενο{ι}ς ἀλαίνεις
ἄθαπτος ἄνυδρος, ἐμὲ δὲ πόντιον σκάφος....

1081-1085

These conflicting aspects of the chorus are not really the
poor characterization they appear to be; rather, these
passages underline the collectivity and universality of
the choral group. By depicting the chorus first as maidens
and then as matrons, Euripides subtly expands the chorus'
dramatic character; the chorus of the Trojan Women thus
represents women from all stages of life, i.e., all Trojan
women. Through this contradictory depiction the choral
persona becomes representative of the entire Trojan nation.

The role cf the Trojan Women's chorus has frequently
been underestimated and considered of secondary importance
to the meaning of the play. Grube, who sees Hecuba as
the central character, says that "the chorus are other
Trojan women captives who reflect in their own persons the
sorrows of the Trojan queen."[40] This choral "reflection"
implies a distance between the chorus and the characters
of the play which does not appear to exist. Kitto, too,
assumes such a division between chorus and play when he
describes the chorus of captive women as "remaining aloof

from the actors and pursuing its own monotone of mourning for Troy."[41] Kranz places the chorus into the thematic background: "Hier ist der Chor das grosse Instrument, dessen Klang den Hintergrund schafft für die Tragik der Handlung."[42] Webster even contrasts "the beautiful mythological world of the choral odes...with the present misery of women in war and in particular of these women, Hecuba, Kassandra, and Andromache, the victims of unscrupulous, dishonest, and inefficient conquerors."[43] Yet, the theme of all the choral odes is Troy, true the old Troy of a happier day, but nevertheless the same city which unites all these wretched women together under one pale of sorrow. These odes do not contrast with the rest of the play but rather complement and unify it.

Barlow, alone, in her excellent study of Euripidean imagery, has recognized the importance of the chorus in the Trojan Women and states that "descriptive imagery becomes dramatic imagery also in the Troades, where the captured city of Troy is the constant preoccupation of the chorus' thoughts."[44] I suggest that this preoccupation of the chorus is even more central than Barlow implies and that the chorus of the Trojan Women stands neither aloof from nor in the background of the play. Nor are its odes detached in thought and mood from the dramatic dialogue.

Rather, as I will show in depth later, the chorus and its odes are dramatically essential to the play and provide a unifying focus for the episodic structure, a constant emphasis upon the collective fall of Troy. The chorus of Trojan women serves as the primary, the dramatically visible unifying force of the play.

The second source of unity in the Trojan Women is a much more subtle but all-pervading one: irony. Muecke, in the best work on this literary mode that I have found, has noted "the chaos which the terminology of irony presents."[45] This confusion is even more intense when considering the presence of irony in classical texts, for although the term is derived from the Greek word εἴρων it originally lacked its modern literary connotations and meant sly deceiver, sly mocker, hypocritical rascal, and as such it was especially used by Athenians in reference to their puzzling contemporary Socrates.[46] Certainly none of the Greek tragedians, including Euripides, would ever have used eiron in our ironic sense; nor would they ever have called their works ironic. Yet use of and existence of what we call irony is not precluded in classical drama, even if a word for it was lacking. Indeed, the Sophoclean irony which is associated especially with Oedipous Tyrannos has come to epitomize the use of irony in drama. Muecke himself has

noted the possible dichotomy between a writer's use of
irony and his awareness of the mode:

> The fact that Tennyson would have been indignant
> if he had been told that his poem was ironical
> does not necessarily mean that he would have
> denied that it had the qualities and character-
> istics that led Cleanth Brooks to call it
> ironical.[47]

Muecke's caution is surely true for Euripides too. It is
therefore necessary to define here what I mean by irony
in general and in reference to the Trojan Women in parti-
cular, and to show how this literary mode is a source of
dramatic unity.

Irony, as Muecke states,[48] is both verbal and
situational; it can be both a literary technique and a
reality of fate. Verbal irony is an artistic means to
underline an actual state. These ironies of situation and
of words are both reduced by Muecke to three essential
and formal elements:[49] First of all, irony is double-layered;
it is based upon two situations: appearance as it is
conceived by the victim of irony and the reality as it is
known to the observer. Then these two layers must be somehow
contradictory; some sort of opposition must exist between
the two levels. Reality must negate appearance. Finally,
the victim of irony must portray an element of innocence;
as Muecke defines this innocent perspective, "either a

victim is confidently unaware of the very possibility of
there being an upper level or point of view that invalidates
his own, or an ironist pretends not to be aware of it."[50]
Ironic innocence implies acceptance of false appearance
as reality.

Such irony exists throughout the Trojan Women in both
verbal and situational forms. Hecuba's bird simile at the
end of her monody is a suitable example:

> μάτηρ δ' ὡσεὶ πτανοῖς κλαγγὰν
> ὄρνισιν ὅπως ἐξάρξω 'γὼ
> μολπάν, οὐ τὰν αὐτὰν
> οἵαν ποτὲ δὴ
> σκήπτρῳ Πριάμου διερειδομένα
> ποδὸς ἀρχεχόρου πλαγαῖς Φρυγίαις
> εὐκόμποις ἐξῆρχον θεούς.

> 146-152

These lines establish a clear contrast between Hecuba's
song now and her song then, between Hecuba the captive and
Hecuba the queen, between Troy in ruins and Troy exulting
in its former religious worship. Hecuba's words are part
of a dirge for Troy, but they also contain ironic elements,
for Priam's wife is entirely conscious of the change in her
own and her city's lot. Consequently she speaks in double-
layered terms of past and present and sets up verbal
opposition between the two by the use of such words as
κλαγγάν versus μολπάν and πλαγαῖς . There is also an

implied contrast in σκήπτρῳ Πριάμου διερειδομένα with
Hecuba's degraded position now; this verbal opposition
is thus only the expression of a more basic situational
contrast. Two of Muecke's criteria for irony are already
met.

The third element of irony, innocence, is much more
difficult to observe in these lines. Hecuba is anything
but unaware of the "upper level or point of view that
invalidates her own;" nor does she deliberately ignore it.
Rather Hecuba is very cognisant of her plight and takes
full verbal and dramatic advantage of it. She constantly
contrasts her own past with her present state and there-
fore cannot be said to speak her words in all innocence.

Muecke himself has noted the difficulty of an innocent
perspective in this type of irony, called self-irony, and
has attempted to explain the situation in this manner:
In self-irony

> the victim is also the ironical observer or the
> ironist and strictly speaking cannot either be
> or pretend to be 'innocent.' But self-irony
> implies a 'splitting of the ego' and hence an
> ability to see and to present oneself as an
> 'innocent.'[51]

Muecke's solution is psychologically plausible, but I think
that the answer to the question of innocence, at least in
this passage of the Trojan Women, lies elsewhere, namely

in temporal perspective. The innocence, the lack of awareness, of Hecuba's self-irony does not exist on the present-past level of the dramatic present, but rather on a present-future one in the dramatic past, when Troy rejoiced yet was about to perish. Hecuba's ironic perspective is a reflection on the past and on the innocence with which she and her subjects once danced to their gods πλαγαῖς Φρυγίαις εὐκόμποις, as yet unsuspecting of the woeful fate and song which awaited them in the future, i.e., the dramatic present. Such is the innocent irony of Hecuba's words.

Sedgewick, in his important study of irony in Greek drama, admits a similar type of irony, but separates it from strict dramatic irony: "By irony of reminiscence we are made to recall previous words and acts, which are mocked by words and acts of the present."[52] Such a distinction between dramatic irony and irony of reminiscence is not as important as the inherent ironic perspective of both situations and this is what I think Muecke is groping for in his 'splitting of the ego:' an ability to see the irony of one's former action or actions performed without the knowledge of a future or even a present 'higher' level. As in the case of Hecuba, the self-ironist can reflect on the irony of past actions.

Hecuba's image and her self-ironic contrast between Troy past and Troy present offer a striking comparison to the two cities on Achilles' shield in the Iliad. The joyful song of Homer's city at peace

...ἐν τῇ μέν ῥα γάμοι τ᾽ ἔσαν εἰλαπίναι τε,
νύμφας δ᾽ ἐκ θαλάμων δαΐδων ὑπὸ λαμπομενάων
ἠγίνεον ἀνὰ ἄστυ, πολὺς δ᾽ ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει.

Σ 491-493

is similar to the boastful Phrygian strains of Troy in its prosperous past, described by Hecuba at 149-152 in the Trojan Women. The desperate fate of the other city depicted by Hephaistos on Achilles' shield

τὴν δ᾽ ἑτέρην πόλιν ἀμφὶ δύω στρατοὶ εἴατο λαῶν
τεύχεσι λαμπόμενοι. δίχα δέ σφισιν ἥνδανε βουλή,
ἠὲ διαπραθέειν ἢ ἄνδιχα πάντα δάσασθαι,
κτῆσιν ὅσην πτολίεθρον ἐπήρατον ἐντὸς ἔεργεν.

Σ 509-512

then corresponds to that of Troy in the dramatic present of the Trojan Women, a Troy whose walls not only are destroyed but whose riches are being divided before the eyes of the spectators. In Homer, of course, these two cities have separate identities. The Homeric juxtaposition is therefore not ironic. In Euripides, however, the contrast is between different temporal stages of the same city and it is this conscious emphasis on two contrasting situations

in the history of one city that gives the Trojan Women its terrible ironic potential. What is visual contrast on Achilles' shield and verbal contrast in the Iliad becomes ironic contrast, both verbal and situational, in the Trojan Women.

Frye's essay on the theory of literary modes also has some interesting applications for the Trojan Women. As tragedy, the play belongs to Frye's high mimetic mode, which depicts the hero as a leader "superior in degree to other men" and in isolation from his society.[53] Yet, in the Trojan Women there is no individual hero to be isolated from his society; rather, the play depicts the fall, the isolation of an entire society. Further, there is no question of the hero's superiority in a play where the hero is a society and the whole society falls. The Trojan Women represents a conquered society, a society in bondage and inferior in power, indeed, a society as scapegoat or pharmakos. These words, strangely, apply to Frye's definition of the ironic mode[54] and make the Trojan Women a blending of two literary modes. Euripides' play is high-mimetic reduced to ironic. It is the irony of a queen, Hecuba, who should be high mimetic, reduced to the ironic mode of slave. It is senseless cosmic irony. The Trojan Women is the tragic deterioration of a society rather than

the isolation of individuals from society.

Further, this tension between high mimetic and ironic modes in the play is itself a reflection of the double-layered nature of irony noted by Muecke. From this perspective, Muecke's 'lower level' or the world of appearance corresponds in this play to Frye's high mimetic mode. The 'higher level', the world of reality, is then based upon the ironic contrast, emphasized especially by the chorus and its odes, between the desolated society depicted in the Trojan Women and the prosperous nation of the past. Even on this critical level, the collectivity of the chorus and irony work to create a unified play.

The word 'irony' has been used by critics in reference to the Trojan Women from time to time, but never with any consistency. Where irony is noted in the play, it is usually seen in the isolation of a specific scene. If the irony of a particular scene does appear to affect the rest of the play, it is not because of an all-encompassing irony in every scene of the play, but only because of an umbrella effect; i.e., the importance of a single scene extends its ironic meaning over the other, non-ironic, parts of the play.

Thus Dieckhoff sees an isolated self-irony in Cassandra's marriage song based upon delusion (308ff.):

> Dieser Wahn spielt sich grausige Festlichkeit,
> Heiterkeit, Helligkeit vor, der Zuschauer
> sieht den Krieg noch greller im Lichte des
> Gegensatzes. Das Erschreckende in dieser
> Schizophrenie liegt darin, dass die Wirklichkeit
> nicht ganz vergessen wird. Damit wird der Wahn
> zur furchtbaren Selbstironie, die in eine
> unfassliche Verbindung mit der Göttlichkeit
> dieses Wahns tritt. Euripides wagt eine überaus
> kühne Komposition: Zu der ersten Spaltung
> zwischen dem Bewusstsein der Wirklichkeit und dem
> Wahn tritt die zweite Spaltung zwischen
> Göttlichkeit und ironischer Verneinung des
> Wahns.[55]

Barlow has also noted scattered ironic statements and images
in the play:[56] the past-present contrast established by
οὕτω in the first line of the third choral ode (1060);
repeated garland imagery (223, 401, 565, et al.); and even
ship imagery (686-696). The dramatic irony of Hecuba's
words of encouragement to Andromache, hopeful words which
are spoken just before Talthybios' announcement of
Astyanax' impending death:

> κἂν δρᾷς τάδ', ἐς τὸ κοινὸν εὐφρανεῖς φίλους
> καὶ παῖδα τόνδε παιδὸς ἐκθρέψειας ἂν
> Τροίᾳ μέγιστον ὠφέλημ'.....

> 701-703

has been suggested by Perrotta who says:

> Ecuba non ha finito di parlare, che quella sua
> speranza, così vaga, così fragile, è subito
> troncata nel nascere: Euripide conosceva l'arte
> dei contrasti determinati dalla tragica ironia

> della sorte, perchè sapeva con quanta facilità
> il destino recide alle radici le vane illusioni
> degli uomini.[57]

Situational irony in the Helen scene is discussed by Cook:
"And the woman guilty for it all, Helen, under the irony
of Menelaus' hypocritical shifts, is to be restored to the
wronged husband who cannot fully conceal his desire."[58]
Cook also notes Euripides' tendency to use female characters
as "his chosen vehicles of pathos, raising to a pitch the
ironies of tuche."[59] Yet he does not specifically include
the Trojan Women in his list of plays of female irony,
although the play is teeming with such pathetic and ironic
females.

Luschnig discusses a constant Trojan questioning of
the gods and divine worship which reaches its peak in
Hecuba's desperate words:

> οὐκ ἦν ἄρ᾽ ἐν θεοῖσι πλὴν οὑμοὶ πόνοι
> Τροία τε πόλεων ἔκκριτον μισουμένη,
> μάτην δ᾽ ἐβουθυτοῦμεν....

> 1240-1242

and calls this attitude ironic, "for we know the plan of
the gods from the prologue."[60] The emphasis on the pro-
logue and on the Greeks' fate which Luschnig exhibits is
also developed by other scholars. Imhof says of the

prologue: "Durch das Vorspiel aber, mit seiner Verkündingung der Ereignisse nach der Tragödie, werden sie alle, wird die ganze Tragödie in der Raum der Ironie gestellt."[61] This umbrella ironic effect of the prologue is also noted by 'Rheby':

> The actors in this tragedy do not know--but we, the spectators, do know--that the Greeks are but plotting their own destruction. Therein lies the terrible <u>irony</u> of the play. It binds the play together as a unity and illumines every dark corner of it. All the action takes its meaning from this prologue.[62]

Yet, if the Trojan chorus is the unifying element, as suggested above, and if Troy is the major emphasis of the play, then such a Greek-centered irony cannot be the play's focal point. Irony exists in the prologue. Imhof and 'Rheby' are right. But even here the primary ironic emphasis must be seen through Trojan eyes. How this Trojan-centered irony works, both in the prologue and in the play as a whole, will be discussed in detail as part of the following analysis of the play.

Greek-centered irony is especially tenuous, I think, when it seeks to diminish the intense pessimism of a play that ends with the physical collapse of the city of Troy. In such terms, the noble but conquered Trojans are seen in a better position than the victorious Greeks. Thompson

elaborates on this approach to the Trojan Women while

comparing the play to Aeschylus' Persai; his long statement

deserves quotation in full:

> This much of resemblance exists between the plays
> [i.e., the point of view of the vanquished]; to
> which you may add...a certain Aeschylean
> gorgeousness in certain portions of the Troades.
> But the difference in spirit is extraordinary.
> Aeschylus, whether he intended it or not, has
> made the Greek victory more glorious by showing
> of what fineness and energy the East was capable.
> But Euripides has made the victory over Troy
> appear a mean thing. He has done this by fixing
> upon the point in which the conquered does so
> often have the advantage over his conqueror—
> the point of moral dignity...[The Trojan women]
> are not contemptible like their tormentors.
> Gradually it breaks upon the reader that even in
> the matter of unhappiness the case of the slaves
> may be preferred to that of the masters. Chance
> cannot touch these women further; their fame will
> be clear in men's memories. But the Greeks have
> killed and ravaged only to discover, in a revulsion
> of disappointment and self-scorn, that they have
> got nothing for it but foul satisfaction and an
> uneasy conscience. That is Euripides' opinion
> of the ultimate value of the knock-out blow.
> There is an Irony here the modern world cannot
> pretend to misunderstand.[63]

The difficulty with such an interpretation is a dramatic

one: throughout the play the Greeks do not suffer, but

relish the fruits of their victory, and they do so, despite

Thompson, without "an uneasy conscience." They divide the

spoils among themselves. Agamemnon chooses Cassandra in

his lustful desire. The impotent Menelaus gets Helen back.

The Greeks of the Trojan Women have the vengeful pleasure

of seeing the walls of Troy crumble before their eyes,
walls that withstood their onslaught for so long. They
rid themselves, brutally but permanently, of the problem
of Astyanax, Hector's son and the only surviving male of
the House of Priam; the possibility of future Trojan
retribution is thus avoided. Finally, in the last scene
of the play, the Greeks depart for an imminent and long-
awaited homecoming. There is no sudden and righteous blow
of disaster for the Greeks in the Trojan Women; there is
no remorse, no regret, and certainly no destruction. I
cannot read this play as a tragedy of the Greeks as victors
who destroy themselves in their victory; rather, the whole
dramatic force is directed toward the sufferings of Trojans,
and the entire play, including the prologue, must be
interpreted in this light.

Nor can I see the play in anything but a completely
depressing tone. I cannot accept the ironic shimmer of
light and hope which Murray shines on the destroyed Trojans
when he notes

> the irony of a world in which those who triumph
> and conquer and win their will are, if anything,
> more profoundly discontented and miserable than
> those whom they have defeated. So far, one might
> say, all is vanity. But beyond that first stage
> there is a glimpse of another scale of values, in
> which there is something, call it glory, or
> splendour, or, for lack of a better word, beauty--

something at any rate which is the material for
eternal song.[64]

This passage has been often quoted and accepted by scholars,

including Webster,[65] as the ultimate force of the play.

In view of the crumbling walls of Troy and Hecuba's attempted

suicide at the finale of the play, however, Conacher's

description of the Trojan Women as a "rhythm of hope and

and desolation" is accurate only when the final note is one

of desolation, not hope. Yet Conacher, too, unfortunately

opts in the end for "something more than the mere desola-

tion,"[66] for Murray's glimmer of Trojan nobility. Rather,

I think that Havelock's concluding nihilistic words about

the play are a much more sensitive reading of the end of the

Trojan Women and of the play as a whole, where "Hecuba

looks at last into the heart of things and announces to the

chorus that she has indeed looked there and found--nothing."[67]

A play that concludes with these threnodic and resigned

words of the chorus:

> ἰὼ τάλαινα πόλις. ὅμως
> δὲ πρόφερε πόδα σὸν ἐπὶ πλάτας Ἀχαιῶν.

> 1331-1332

cannot be considered optimistic. The Trojan Women is a play

of suffering, not hope, a play of the collective and ironic

fate of the Trojan nation, which the final exclamation, an

apostrophe to the destroyed city, appropriately underscores.

Ebener has noted a recurring motif of "Einst and Jetzt" in the <u>Trojan Women</u>,[68] but no scholar has emphasized that this all pervasive past-present contrast between Troy before and after the fall creates an irony which unites every aspect of this play. The following scenic analysis of the <u>Trojan Women</u> will show how this irony works together with choral features to create a coherent statement about Troy and war.

Notes

1. W. S. Barrett, <u>Euripides. Hippolytos</u> 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1966).

2. E. R. Dodds, <u>Euripides. Bacchae</u> 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1953).

3. Werner Biehl, ed., <u>Euripides. Troades</u> (Leipzig, 1970). All quotations from the <u>Trojan Women</u> in this paper are from Biehl's text. See also his "Euripides Troerinnen 1287-1301. Metrischen Analyse," <u>Philologus</u> 113 (1969), 176-182; and his "Innere Response in Euripides' Troerinnen. 280-291 und Hel. 1137-1146," <u>Hermes</u> 98 (1970), 117-120.

4. Michael Cacoyannis, <u>The Trojan Women. The Screenplay</u> (New York, 1971).

5. Jean-Paul Sartre, <u>Les Troyennes</u> (Paris, 1965).

6. Edith Hamilton, "A Pacifist in Periclean Athens," in <u>Three Greeks Plays</u> (New York, 1937), 19. See also Peter Arnott, <u>An Introduction to the Greek Theatre</u> (Bloomington, Indiana, 1959), 95.

7. Alfred C. Schlesinger, <u>The Gods in Greek Tragedy. A Study of Ritual Survivals in Fifth-Century Drama</u>, diss. Princeton (Athens, 1927), 19.

8. Clarence A. Manning, <u>A Study of Archaism in Euripides</u> (New York, 1966), 18.

9. Arnold H. Lewin, <u>A Study of the Prologoi of Four Plays of Euripides</u>, unpublished diss. (Cornell, 1971), 208.

10. L. Méridier, <u>Le Prologue dans la Tragédie d'Euripide</u> (Bourdeaux and Paris, 1911), 23.

11. Paul Décharme, <u>Euripide et l'esprit de son théâtre</u> (Paris, 1893), 329.

12. Umberto Albini, "Linee Compositive Delle Troiane," <u>La Parola del Passato</u> 25 (1970), 312.

13. Gennaro Perrotta, "Le Troiane de Euripide," <u>Dioniso</u> 40 (1952), 237.

14. Wilamowitz, <u>Griechische Tragödien</u>, 263.

15. Oscar Mandel, <u>A Definition of Tragedy</u> (New York, 1961), 27.

16. D. J. Conacher, <u>Euripidean Drama</u> (Toronto, 1967), 138.

17. Albini, 322.

18. Marie Delcourt-Curvers, ed., <u>Euripide</u> (Paris, 1962), 705.

19. Conacher, 139.

20. Albin Lesky, <u>Die Griechische Tragödien</u> 3rd ed. (Stuttgart, 1964), 210.

21. Koniaris, 89-90.

22. Murray, <u>Greek Studies</u>, 127.

23. Koniaris, 90.

24. <u>Ibid.</u>, esp. 90-106.

25. Webster, <u>For Services to Classical Studies</u>, 208; quoted in full, chapter 1, note 9.

26. G. M. A. Grube, <u>The Drama of Euripides</u> (London, 1941), 101.

27. Casimir Kumaniecki, <u>De Consiliis Personarum apud Euripidem Agentium</u> (Cracow, 1930), 67.

28. Perrotta, 237.

29. Such a general statement as Guy Rachet's, in his recent <u>La tragédie grecque</u> (Paris, 1973), 112, that "l'importance du choeur est souvent marquée dans le faite que le poète l'a choisi pour donner son titre à la piece" is totally unprouvable.

30. Andre Rivier, <u>Essai sur le tragique d'Euripide</u> (Laussanne, 1944), 175.

31. Grube, 126.

32. M. Diechhoff, "Zwei Tragödien um Troia," <u>Eirene</u> 8 (1970), 39.

33. Grube, esp. 126.

34. Perrotta, 237.

35. A. F. Garvie, <u>Aeschylus' Supplices. Play and Trilogy</u> (Cambridge, 1969), 107.

36. Shirley Barlow, in <u>The Imagery of Euripides</u> (London, 1971), 18, makes an indirect statement of the chorus of Trojan women as the protagonist: "Euripides was by no means committed to the idea of a neutral chorus who would offer detached criticisms of the human scene, and in those plays where the chorus are protagonist, and therefore subjectively involved in the main action, the language of visual description presents their own common experience with no pretense of philosophical detachment. The horror of Troy's desolation or the miracle of Bacchic ecstasy comes over from the women in terms of their own direct and concrete experience as if they have observed it in an accumulation of small sensuous details."

37. Garvie, 111.

38. <u>Ibid.</u>, 106.

39. Wilamowitz, <u>Griechische Tragödien</u>, 269.

40. Grube, 101.

41. H. D. F. Kitto, <u>Greek Tragedy</u> 3rd ed. (London, 1961) 259.

42. W. Kranz, <u>Stasimon</u> (Berlin, 1933), 248.

43. Webster, <u>Tragedies</u>, 180.

44. Barlow, 28.

45. D. C. Muecke, <u>The Compass of Irony</u> (London, 1969), 4.

46. G. G. Sedgewick, <u>Of Irony, especially in Drama</u>, (Toronto, 1935), 13. For more complete development of the ancient use of <u>eirōn</u>, see Otto Ribbeck, "Uber den

Begriff des εἴρων," <u>Rheinisches Museum</u> 3 (1876), 381-400.

47. Muecke, 11.

48. <u>Ibid.</u>, 42.

49. <u>Ibid.</u>, 19-20.

50. <u>Ibid.</u>, 20.

51. <u>Ibid.</u>

52. Sedgewick, 47.

53. Northrop Frye, <u>Anatomy of Criticism</u> (Princeton, 1957), 33.

54. <u>Ibid.</u>, 34; 40-42.

55. Dieckhoff, 34.

56. Barlow, 13; 115 and note 84; 118-119.

57. Perrotta, 245; Conacher, 142, also notes the irony of these words.

58. Albert S. Cook, <u>Enactment: Greek Tragedy</u> (Chicago, 1971), 73.

59. <u>Ibid.</u>

60. C. A. E. Luschnig, "Euripides' <u>Trojan Women</u>: All is Vanity," <u>CW</u> 65 (1971), 11-12.

61. M. Imhoff, <u>Bemerkungen zu den Prologen der Sophokleischen und Euripideischen Tragödien</u> (Winterthur, 1957), 35.

62. 'Rheby,' "The Daughters of Troy," <u>Greece and Rome</u> 2 (1955), 19. Italics in text.

63. J. A. K. Thompson, <u>Irony</u> (London, 1926), 79.

64. Murray, <u>Greek Studies</u>, 148.

65. Webster, <u>Tragedies</u>, 181.

66. Conacher, 145.

67. Eric Havelock, "Watching the Trojan Women," in Erich Segal, ed., Euripides (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.,1968), 127.

68. Dietrich Ebener, "Die Helenaszene der Troerinnen," Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität 3 (1954), 691-722, esp. 722.

Chapter 4

The Divine Prologue
(1-97)

The prologue of the <u>Trojan Women</u> has received particular scholarly attention not only because of the general interest which Euripidean prologues have attracted in this century,[1] but also because of the anti-Greek predictions made there by Poseidon and Athena.[2] The wide implications which have been read into the play as a result of the prologue have been discussed in the preceding chapter. I believe that, in general, the importance of this portion of the <u>Trojan Women</u> has been exaggerated in interpretations of the play and that an overemphasis on the future Greek disasters predicted in the prologue has in fact led to a distorted Greek view of an otherwise Trojan oriented play.

Every other section of the <u>Trojan Women</u> centers around some aspect of the collective tragedy of the Trojan nation, and Kitto has attempted to resolve the apparent disjunction between the prologue and the rest of the play by saying that in the <u>Trojan Women</u> "the Greeks are the collective tragic hero or tragic agent, the Trojans the collective victim."[3] I suggest, however, that the prologue must be read instead in the dramatic context of the overall Trojan perspective of the play, and that a more valid and dramatically unifying approach to this section of the <u>Trojan Women</u> and its troublesome predictions lies in irony, an

irony seen from a Trojan--not Greek--perspective which
unifies the whole play. Such irony is reenforced even in
the seemingly Greek-oriented prologue by explicit contrasts
between Troy's past and present fates. What will happen
to the Greeks once they sail from Troy must be seen primarily
in context of its meaning for the defeated Trojans.

The formal structure of a Greek tragic prologue
includes any portion of the play which precedes the entrance
of the chorus. In the Trojan Women the chorus' parodos
begins at line 153 and the preceding 152 lines form a
tripartite prologue: Poseidon's monologue (1-47); a
dialogue between Athena and her sea-ruling uncle (48-97);
and a monody by Hecuba (98-152). No other extant tragic
prologue exactly parallels the monologue-dialogue-monody
composition found in the Trojan Women.[4] While Poseidon's
monologue serves the expository purpose especially asso-
ciated with Euripidean prologues (e.g., Ion, Hippolytos),
his subsequent dialogue with Athena makes predictions about
the Greeks which are not fulfilled in the play. Rather
than being expository, this section, as Stuart notes,[5] is
actually a false foreshadowing, the dramatic effect of
which warrants particular attention. The following monody
of Hecuba is a threnos which appropriately reflects the
lamentative tone of the entire play. This portion of the

prologue is linked by its anapestic meter and its dramatic structure more closely to the parodos than to the divine prologue and therefore will be discussed together with the parodos in the next chapter.

The two divine prologue units, approximately of equal length, must now be examined individually in order to discuss their relationship to rest of the Trojan Women. Not only do the monologue and dialogue anticipate, even before the chorus' entrance, the collective tragedy which binds the play together and which is especially personified by the chorus, but also the play's other unifying force, irony, pervades the Trojan Women from its very outset. The prologue, despite Webster,[6] is explainable outside of a trilogic context and forms part of a single coherent drama about Troy.

A. Poseidon's Monologue
(1-47)

The play opens with a farewell speech by Poseidon. The monologue is typically Euripidean in its exposition; it presents the audience with relevant dramatic data. The god identifies himself (1-3) and establishes time and place by saying that Troy is now smouldering ruins (8-9). Dramatic time is later further defined by the information that the Greeks are awaiting fair winds to sail from Troy (19-22).

Poseidon then describes the characters of the play:
most of the survivors of the city are already allotted to
their new Greek masters and have departed (28-31). At
32-35 he refers to the few Trojan women who yet await their
fates in tents pointed out by Poseidon (ταῖσδ',33). These
women not only include the chorus: Laconian Helen is
specifically added to the group (34-35) and Hecuba later
reveals that Cassandra, too, is in the tents with the other
women (169-172). The close relationship between chorus and
characters in the Trojan Women, which has been discussed in
the third chapter as an indication of the chorus' role as
representative of the collective tragic theme, is thus
clearly established by Poseidon in his monologue.

Hecuba alone of the captives receives special dramatic
attention in the monologue. In lines which serve as a
preparation for the monody the queen is soon to sing and
for the important role she plays in the Trojan Women, the
god directs the audience's attention to the prostrate
figure of Hecuba lying before the doors of the tents and
weeping silently for her many woes:

> τὴν δ' ἀθλίαν τήνδ' εἴ τις εἰσορᾶν θέλει,
> πάρεστιν, Ἑκάβη κειμένη πυλῶν πάρος,
> δάκρυα χέουσα πολλὰ καὶ πολλῶν ὕπερ.

> 36-38

Euripides maintains this silent dramatic focus on the queen
throughout the divine prologue. Aeschylus' popular Niobe
had, as O'Neill notes,[7] previously shown its central char-
acter thus weeping in silence from the inception of the
drama; the powerful effect of Niobe's words when she finally
did speak is a staging technique repeated successfully in
this play when Hecuba sings her monody. The silent
Clytemnestra, probably present throughout much of the
parodos of the Agamemnon, presents another analogy to the
Hecuba of the Trojan Women.

Lines 39-44 specify the many sorrows for which Hecuba
weeps:

> ᾗ παῖς μὲν ἀμφὶ μνῆμ' 'Αχιλλείου τάφου
> λάθρα τέθνηκε τλημόνως Πολυξένη.
> φροῦδος δὲ Πρίαμος καὶ τέκν'. ἦν δὲ παρθένον
> μεθῆκ' 'Απόλλων δρομάδα Κασάνδραν ἄναξ,
> τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τε παραλιπὼν τό τ' εὐσεβὲς
> γαμεῖ βιαίως σκότιον 'Αγαμέμνων λέχος.

Polyxena and Priam are constant referents in the drama
(134-137, 260-268, et al.), and Cassandra is a character
whose fate is actually dramatized in the first episode
(235-510). However, the prologos does not prepare the
audience for yet another woe soon to be inflicted upon
Hecuba and the other Trojan women: the death of the queen's
grandson, Astyanax. Poseidon's exposition is incomplete,

for an important part of the plot of the play has been
ignored. This suspense-filled technique, similar to
Aphrodite's lapses of detail in the Hippolytos' prologue,
is one for which Euripides has often been praised.[8]

The final lines of the monologue are the god's actual
farewell to Troy (45-47), after which he turns to leave.

Such is Poseidon's exposition. Time, setting, and
characters are given, even if mention of Astyanax's
impending death is omitted from the prologue as a powerful
coup de théâtre. But Poseidon's words serve as more than
mere plot exposition; these lines establish the collective
and ironic Trojan perspective that encompasses the entire
play.

Poseidon's first words describe the beautiful and
peaceful ocean-world of the Nereids which the god has left
to come to Troy:

> Ἥκω λιπὼν Αἴγαιον ἁλμυρὸν βάθος
> πόντου Ποσειδῶν, ἔνθα Νηρῄδων χοροὶ
> κάλλιστον ἴχνος ἐξελίσσουσιν ποδός.
>
> 1-3

He then refers to Troy in time past, to the city's firm
walls which he and Apollo once built, and to the esteem
in which he has always held the city:

ἐξ οὗ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τήνδε Τρωικὴν χθόνα
Φοῖβός τε κἀγὼ λαΐνους πύργους πέριξ
ὀρθοῖσιν ἔθεμεν κανόσιν, οὔποτ' ἐκ φρενῶν
εὔνοι' ἀπέστη τῶν ἐμῶν Φρυγῶν πόλει.

4-7

But now, in the dramatic present, Troy is a sacked and

smoking ruin:

ἢ νῦν καπνοῦται καὶ πρὸς 'Αργείου δορὸς
ὄλωλε πορθηθεῖσ'....·

8-9

Poseidon's thoughts shift from the eternal world of the

gods (1-3), to Troy past (4-7), to Troy present (8-9).

The movement is from divine eternity to dramatic reality

and these three different temporal contexts establish

some important contrasts: the carefree Nereid world is in

stark opposition to the sorrow that Poseidon encounters at

Troy. So, too, does Troy past offset Troy present.

λαΐνους (5), ὀρθοῖσιν (6), and οὔποτ' (6) all emphasize

the solidity and firmness of Troy's construction, as well

as its divine favor. Yet now Troy is gone (καπνοῦται, 8,

and ὄλωλε, 9), despite its solid beams (ὀρθοῖσιν κανόσιν,

6). The Troy of ἐξ οὗ (4) is no longer; only the smoke of

Troy νῦν (8) remains. A similar contrast between Troy past

and Troy present in Hecuba's monody was discussed in ironic

terms in the preceding chapter. The innocent perspective

noted in Hecuba's song, however, is lacking in divine
Poseidon's words, which therefore cannot be termed ironic;
yet this temporal contrast is exactly that which becomes
ironic when spoken later in the Trojan Women by the
innocent victims of irony, i.e., by Hecuba, Cassandra,
and, especially, the chorus. In the first nine lines of
the play, Euripides has set the foundation for his ironic
theme: the fall of once-glorious Troy. He has juxtaposed
the true and eternal joy of the divine Nereids with the
ironically ephemeral joy of mortal Troy.

In his attempt to make the Euripidean Poseidon conform
to the Homeric divinity who fights for the Greeks in the
Iliad,[9] Fontenrose has argued that the affection which the
god expresses for Troy in

$$\ldots o\H{u}\pi o\tau' \ \acute{\epsilon}\kappa \ \varphi\rho\epsilon\nu\tilde{\omega}\nu$$
$$\epsilon\H{u}\nu o\iota' \ \acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\eta \ \tau\tilde{\omega}\nu \ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\tilde{\omega}\nu \ \Phi\rho\upsilon\gamma\tilde{\omega}\nu \ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\iota.$$

6-7

is directed only towards the physical city, towards the
walls he helped build, and not towards the people who
inhabit them.[10] He therefore takes τῶν ἐμῶν (7) with
φρενῶν (6) and not with the closer and more gramatically
natural Φρυγῶν (7). Wilson in his contributions to this
unfortunate and contentious exchange,[11] has effectively
refuted Fontenrose's arguments. Any effort to delineate

Poseidon's affections, however, must consider not only
the philological arguments of Fontenrose and Wilson, but
also the dramatic force of the entire monologue.

Fontenrose is right that the monologue abounds with
terms for the physical city: Τρωικὴν χθόνα (4); πόλει (7);
Ἴλιον (25); πόλιν (26); πόλις (45). Only twice are nouns
used which designate Troy's citizenry: Φρυγῶν (7) and
Φρύγας (24). Yet such constant verbal emphasis on Troy,
added to Poseidon's particular care to mention at length
and in detail the city's wretched population (16-17; 28-44),
suggests that the concepts of city and people cannot be
separated dramatically in this play. Fontenrose's subtle
distinction between city and citzenry is one which even a
Greek-speaking audience would not quickly grasp in Poseidon's
monotone of Trojan woe. No matter what Poseidon's position
in the Iliad, the god is depicted as pro-Trojan in the
Trojan Women; he feels for the Trojans as well as for their
city. Whether τῶν ἐμῶν modifies φρενῶν or Φρυγῶν (I think
the latter), Poseidon's affection for Troy encompasses
both the city walls and the people within them.

The contrast between Troy past and Troy present of
lines 4-9 leads Poseidon to an explanation of the immediate
cause of the city's fall, the Trojan horse:

> ...ὁ γὰρ Παρνάσιος
> Φωκεὺς Ἐπειός, μηχαναῖσι Παλλάδος
> ἐγκύμον᾽ ἵππον τευχέων ξυναρμόσας,
> πύργων ἔπεμψεν ἐντὸς ὀλέθριον βρέτας.

> 9-12

This reference to the Greeks' successful stratagem is more

than mere dramatic preparation for the theme of the first

choral ode (511-567). The Trojan horse is important

because it is what made Troy past Troy present, because

it is not just what it appeared to be, because its role is

ironic. From appearance the horse is a Greek votive

offering to Trojan gods and an admission of defeat. In

reality its affinities are with a Greek goddess (μηχαναῖσι

Παλλάδος, 10) and it is teeming with war, not peace

(ἐγκύμον᾽...τευχέων, 11). Situational irony is inherent

in the very nature of the Trojan horse. The double-layered

meaning of the horse and its bitter irony for the Trojans,

who did not realize harsh reality until too late, is under-

lined by verbal irony in the following much-maligned

etymology, which I would retain in the text:[12]

> [ὅθεν πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ὑστέρων κεκλήσεται,
> Δούρειος Ἵππος, κρυπτὸν ἀμπίσχων δόρυ.]

> 13-14

Euripides' pun specifically verbalizes the double-layers

of the horse: Δούρειος (appearance) is actually δόρυ

(reality); the apparently wooden horse is actually made
of spears. The etymology may contain elements which
distinguish it from other etymologies in Greek prologues,[13]
but it fits well the dramatic and ironic importance of the
horse in the Trojan Women. If it is an interpolation, it
is a very appropriate one.

Parmentier has been one of the few scholars to argue
for retention of lines 14-15.[14] His opinion is based upon
a belief that the passage is a contemporary reference to
a bronze replica of the Trojan horse recently erected on
the Acropolis by Strongylion. For Parmentier "l'étymologie
d'Euripide paraît bien répondre à quelque critique ou
plaisanterie faite à propos de la représentation en bronze
(χαλκοῦς) d'un cheval de bois (δούρειος)."[15] It is
impossible to judge whether Euripides' etymology is actually
an oblique reference to Strongylion's horse, but it remains
an enticing possibility, for Euripides' comment on the
appropriateness of a bronze representation of a wooden
horse is then a further development of the ironic conflict
between appearance and reality upon which the horse is
built; i.e., Strongylion's replica represents the wooden
horse just as Δούρειος (appearance) conforms to δόρυ
(reality).

Orban develops "une remarquable symetrie" in Poseidon's

monologue which is another apparent argument in favor of retention of Euripides' etymology.[16] Orban contends that this section of the prologue is divisible into two nineteen-line sections on Troy (4-22 and 26-44), which are encompassed by three three-lined medallions: an initial medallion (1-3) on the world of the Nereids; a central image (23-25) of Poseidon "qui esquisse un premier mouvement de sortie et fait l'aveu de sa défaite;" and a final three lines (45-47) showing Poseidon "abandonnant... la cité vaincue et retournant vers ses ravissantes compagnes." Such symmetry, if valid, could serve as additional proof of the authenticity of the etymology, for Euripides was certainly conscious of symmetrical structure elsewhere in the Trojan Women.[17]

Orban includes lines 26-27 in the second section on Troy:

ἐρημία γὰρ πόλιν ὅταν λάβῃ κακή,
νοσεῖ τὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐδὲ τιμᾶσθαι θέλει.

However, γάρ(26) grammatically links this sentence with the preceding central medallion and explains why Poseidon must abandon Troy.

ἐγὼ δέ--νικῶμαι γὰρ Ἀργείας θεοῦ,
Ἥρας, Ἀθάνας θ᾽, αἳ συνεξεῖλον Φρύγας--
λείπω τὸ κλεινὸν Ἴλιον βωμούς τ᾽ ἐμούς.

23-25

He must leave Troy not only because Hera and Athena destroyed the Trojans despite Poseidon's opposition (23-25), but also because the divine (τὰ τῶν θεῶν, 27) can no longer flourish in a deserted city (26-27).

If lines 26-27 properly belong with the central medallion, then the 3:19:3:19:3 symmetry noted by Orban is actually an asymmetrical 3:19:5:17:3,[18] and structurally no longer an argument for retention of the Trojan horse etymology. An opponent of lines 13-14 could counter that deletion would restore the symmetrical arrangement of the monologue: 3:17:5:17:3. However, I am hesitant to delete the etymology even on such structural grounds. The manuscript tradition is firm and the interpolation label is a question of personal taste. Further, the etymology seems too rich in ironic meaning for deletion. Retention of the lines does result in an asymmetrical monologue, but it does not destroy Orban's overall schema centered around Troy. The length of the Trojan passages (4-22; 28-44) still emphasizes the focus on Troy which the entire play exhibits and the three medallions (1-3; 23-27; 45-47) all place the

fall of Troy in its ironic eternal perspective.

After his description of the Trojan horse, Poseidon
turns to a more elaborate description of the desolation at
Troy. The groves and temples of the gods are deserted and
flowing with human blood (15-16). The god describes how
Priam died at the altar of Zeus Herkeios, of Zeus protector
of the hearth and household, of Zeus protector of Troy.
The place of worship and prayer, the pledge of Troy's
divine protection, becomes an abattoir for Troy's ruler
and symbol of unity.

At 18 Poseidon begins a movement away from Troy which
does not cease until the last line of the play when the
chorus finally leaves to meet its fate. The god first
tells the audience that all the Trojan gold and booty have
been carted off to the Greek ships:

> πολὺς δὲ χρυσὸς Φρύγια τε σκυλεύματα
> πρὸς ναῦς Ἀχαιῶν πέμπεται....

18-19

The victors, too, prepare to leave:

> ...μένουσι δὲ
> πρύμνηθεν οὖρον, ὡς δεκασπόρῳ χρόνῳ
> ἀλόχους τε καὶ τέκν' εἰσίδωσιν ἄσμενοι,
> οἳ τήνδ' ἐπεστράτευσαν Ἕλληνες πόλιν.

19-22

They await only a fair wind (οὖρον,20) which will take
them away from their ten-year exile, a fair wind which
will hold only slavery or death for the remaining Trojan
captives and unexpected divine retribution for the Greeks
themselves. The fair wind (appearance) is not so fair
(reality) for either the Trojans or the Greeks. The next
lines (23-27) describe how the gods, too, have abandoned
famed Troy; τὸ κλεινὸν Ἴλιον (25) is an echo of the newly
recovered first line of the Alexandros[19] and an example of
an epithet fraught with ironic implications. At 28
Poseidon says that the surviving Trojans themselves have
started to leave their city: some have already left (28-31);
some still await the signal to depart (32-35). The direc-
tion of all the characters in the play is thus away from
Troy and toward the Greek ships (πρὸς ναῦς Ἀχαιῶν, 19).
Barlow has noted the dominance of ship imagery in the play;[20]
movement toward the ships and the sea is also a further
reflection of Euripides' theme, the dissolution of the
Trojan nation.

Orban's final medallion is Poseidon's farewell to the
city he loved:

> ἀλλ', ὦ ποτ' εὐτυχοῦσα, χαῖρέ μοι, πόλις
> ξεστόν τε πύργωμ'. εἴ σε μὴ διώλεσεν
> Παλλὰς Διὸς παῖς, ἦσθ' ἂν ἐν βάθροις ἔτι.

45-47

His words reflect the movement of the entire monologue.
πόλις (45) emphasizes the collective orientation of the
play; ποτ᾽ (45) is a reflection on the past which contrasts
with the reality of νῦν (8); ξεστόν (46), too, is an implied
contrast, this time descriptive, between prosperous and
defeated Troy. Poseidon's monologue thus establishes
the collective and ironic perspectives upon which the
entire tragedy is based.

B. Poseidon-Athena
Dialogue (48-97)

Athena enters suddenly, with no introduction beyond
an indirect reference just as Poseidon is leaving (47).
The goddess' unexpected arrival delays Poseidon's departure
and leads to a dialogue between the two divinities which
Imhof has described as "die formale Fuge"[21] and whose
intricate symmetry Biehl has carefully analysed.[22] Within
this rigid structure Athena and Poseidon plot the destruction
of the homeward-bound Greek fleet and make strong indict-
ments against the Greeks (esp. 70-71 and 95-97) which have
led scholars to consider the impending doom of the victorious
Greeks the central meaning of the play.[23] Yet the drama
ends before the stormy predictions made in the dialogue
can be fulfilled. Such an exotragic forecast is unique to
the Trojan Women[24] and has led Wilson to delete the entire

dialogue as an interpolation,[25] a desperate solution to the problem of assimilating the Greek-centered dialogue into a Trojan-oriented play. I reject Wilson's arguments for interpolation in favor of an interpretation of the dialogue based upon its relationship to the rest of the play. For me the key to this scene lies in irony, an irony of the fickleness of the gods and the futility of justice, the same irony which permeates the Trojan Women. How this irony works in the Poseidon-Athena dialogue needs considerable explanation from the text.

Athena begins the dialogue by respectfully addressing her uncle and cautiously asking leave to speak with him.

> ἔξεστι τὸν γένει μὲν ἄγχιστον πατρός,
> μέγαν τε δαίμον᾽ ἐν θεοῖς τε τίμιον,
> λύσασαν ἔχθραν τὴν πάρος, προσεννέπειν;
>
> 48-50

Her language is polite and circumspect. The goddess is aware that she has already crossed her powerful uncle once (23-24) and clearly does not want to alienate him further. Poseidon replies in a similar magnanimous tone.

> ἔξεστιν. αἱ γὰρ συγγενεῖς ὁμιλίαι,
> ἄνασσ᾽ Ἀθάνα, φίλτρον οὐ σμικρὸν φρενῶν.
>
> 51-52

Athena then alludes to her purpose in speaking to Poseidon

in the vaguest possible terms.

> ἐπήνεσ᾽ ὀργὰς ἠπίους. φέρω δὲ σοὶ
> κοινοὺς ἐμαυτῇ τ᾽ ἐς μέσον λόγους, ἄναξ.

> 53-54

It is a matter of interest to both of them.

When Poseidon asks whether Athena has been sent by

any of the other gods,

> μῶν ἐκ θεῶν του καινὸν ἀγγελεῖς ἔπος,
> ἢ Ζηνὸς ἢ καὶ δαιμόνων τινὸς πάρα;

> 55-56

Athena replies that she has come on behalf of the Trojans,

the same people whom she had labored so determinedly to

destroy.

> οὔκ, ἀλλὰ Τροίας οὔνεκ᾽, ἔνθα βαίνομεν,
> πρὸς σὴν ἀφῖγμαι δύναμιν, ὡς κοινὴν λάβω.

> 57-58

Poseidon's response is one of sheer incredulity,

> ἦ πού νιν, ἐχθρὰν τὴν πρὶν ἐκβαλοῦσα, νῦν
> ἐς οἶκτον ἦλθες πυρὶ κατῃθαλωμένης;

> 59-60

and Athena evades this question with another question:

ἐκεῖσε πρῶτ' ἄνελθε. κοινώσῃ λόγους
καὶ συνθελήσεις ἃν ἐγὼ πρᾶξαι θέλω;

61-62

Impatiently Poseidon agrees to Athena's request for help,
but asks again for a more explicit assertion of her
sympathies.

μάλιστ'. ἀτὰρ δὴ καὶ τὸ σὸν θέλω μαθεῖν.
πότερον Ἀχαιῶν ἦλθες οὕνεκ' ἢ Φρυγῶν;

63-64

Athena then claims a desire to cheer the hearts of the
Trojans by giving the Greeks a bitter homecoming.

τοὺς μὲν πρὶν ἐχθροὺς Τρῶας εὐφρᾶναι θέλω,
στρατῷ δ' Ἀχαιῶν νόστον ἐμβαλεῖν πικρόν.

65-66

But is concern for the Trojans really paramount in the
goddess' intentions? Why has Athena apparently forgotten
her long-standing feud with Troy? To Poseidon's rebuke of
fickleness

τί δ' ὧδε πηδᾷς ἄλλοτ' εἰς ἄλλους τρόπους.
μισεῖς τε λίαν καὶ φιλεῖς ὃν ἂν τύχῃς;

67-68

Athena makes a reply that reveals her true colors

οὐκ οἶσθ' ὑβρισθεῖσάν με καὶ ναοὺς ἐμούς;

69

The goddess' egotistic motives finally surface and the
stichomythia becomes notably more heated as Athena starts
talking about Greek wrongs against <u>her</u>. Only Poseidon sees
the Greeks'hybris from a Trojan point of view

οἶδ', ἡνίκ' Αἴας εἷλκε Κασάνδραν βίᾳ.

70

Both divinities, finally agreed on action against the Greeks
(71-76), arrange the details of their plan (77-84).

The insincerity behind Athena's Trojan sympathies,
suggested first by her reluctance to answer Poseidon directly
(61-62) and then by her egotistic perspective (79), is
confirmed in the goddess' final statement in the scene:

ὡς ἂν τὸ λοιπὸν τἄμ' ἀνάκτορ' εὐσεβεῖν
εἰδῶσ' Ἀχαιοί, θεούς τε τοὺς ἄλλους σέβειν.

85-86

Henceforth the Greeks will know better than to insult
Athena or her fellow divinities. There is no mention of
Troy or the Trojans; the Greeks will be punished not for
crimes against the mortal Trojans, but for their irreverent
actions towards the gods.[26]

The dialogue closes with a gruesome description by
Poseidon of Greek corpses floating in the Aegean (87-91),
his exhortation to Athena to put the plan in motion (92-94),
and an ominous admonition to mortals against future

sacrilege (95-97).

By the end of the dialogue it is clear that Athena
has only used Troy as an apparent motive in her effort
to obtain the co-operation of the pro-Phrygian Poseidon.
She is really looking out only for her own interests. The
revenge built up as Trojan is only appearance; in reality
it is divine. Once again the gods are playing with the
Trojan innocence that once made Troy's breached walls seem
so solid (4-6).

The scene thus places the human events of the play
in the divine context established by Poseidon at the
beginning of his monologue when he contrasted the happy
Nereid world with the sorrow at Troy (1-9). In his
discussion of the "mythological apparatus" of the prologue,
Conacher reveals a crucial disjunction within the play;
in the prologue, he suggests, "Greek successes and Trojan
reverses in the war are simply the result of Hera's and
Athena's prejudice," while the rest of the Trojan Women
shows "human sufferings...as the result of human cruelty."[27]
On yet another level reality contradicts appearances and
Conacher's conflicting levels of divine and human causation
in the Trojan Women are a further example of the play's
irony: the Trojans appear to suffer at the hands of the
Greeks, but it is really the gods who are to blame; on the

other hand, Athena claims in the dialogue that the Greek

fleet will be destroyed in the name of Troy, yet her true

personal motives cannot be mistaken. Both for Greeks and

Trojans apparent human causation is controlled by the

reality of the divine, but it is upon the Trojans that

irony falls most harshly within the dramatic context of

the play; the Greeks will realize their ironic situation

only exotragically.

This denouement, however, is not known to be exotragic

at the end of the prologue, and, in fact, the Poseidon-

Athena dialogue projects the Trojan Women as a play

demonstating the fall of the hubristic victor:

μῶρος δὲ θνητῶν ὅστις ἐκπορθεῖ πόλεις.
ναούς τε τύμβους θ', ἱερὰ τῶν κεκμηκότων,
ἐρημίᾳ δοὺς αὐτὸς ὤλεθ' ὕστερον.

95-97

Euripides predicts the destruction of the Greek fleet and

places the victors uppermost in the minds of his audience,

as well as in the minds of modern critics. Both audience

and reader naturally expect the Greek perspective to

continue in the episodes of the play and interpretations

of the Trojan Women have reflected this emphasis.

It is true that the Greeks are mentioned and do

appear in the rest of the play, but nowhere else in the

Trojan Women does their fate override the play's dramatic
and thematic emphasis on the fall of Troy. There is no
resolution of the predicted revenge in the Trojan Women;
there is only the hopelessness of the Trojan women who
are ironically unaware of their approaching vindication.
Knowledge of the gods' plans would certainly have assuaged
the women's sufferings; revenge would be sweet to the
Trojans, even if Athena's intentions are not as sympathetic
as they seem. But these women, unlike those in the
Hecuba, never savor revenge and the Trojan Women would be
a different play if they had. Instead, the dramatic
progression of the play shows only one Trojan hope shattered
after another, until there is nothing left but despair.

These divine forecasts, if placed in an epilogue,
could confirm the impending destruction of the Greeks and
its implications for a play that otherwise ends with the
physical destruction of the city and with the fate of the
Trojans uppermost in dramatic perspective. Euripides
himself resolved the Hippolytos with Artemis' appearance
and Sartre felt it necessary to add just such a prophetic
epilogue to his adaptation of the Trojan Women.[28] As part
of the prologue of the Trojan Women, however, Poseidon's
and Athena's predictions are drowned in the sea of Trojan
woe depicted in the rest of the play. There is no hope,

not even of divine vindication, for the Trojans within the drama itself.

Rather than broadening the audience's outlook by showing "the suffering of the women in a larger perspective, in which suffering of the victors is added to that of the defeated,"[29] the dialogue, when placed in conjunction with what actually happens in the Trojan Women, limits expectations. Its predictions serve the same deceptive dramatic function that Barrett attributes to Aphrodite's prologue in the Hippolytos:

> Aph. has told us what has happened already; now she tells us what is going to happen. But what she tells us does nothing to give away the plot or destroy our interest: it serves if anything to mislead and mystify, so that the way in which the plot develops will come as a surprise.... None of this gives anything away....But more than that: the lines serve actually to mislead.[30]

As a result of the prophetic dialogue of the prologue, the audience of the Trojan Women expects the Greeks to be destroyed by the end of the play. But the drama itself fulfills neither such suspense ("When will the Greeks get it?"), nor moral assuagement ("The Greeks will get it in the end"). Instead the audience sees only poor women dragged off to slavery by a victorious army.

Both the audience and the Trojan women are thus

pharmakoi or the victims of irony. The prosperity of Troy led its citizens to expect happiness, yet the city was destroyed; destruction of the Greeks is promised to the audience in the dialogue, yet the Greeks are not destroyed in the play but depart for home in victory. The audience, thus united to the collective victim of Troy by similar disappointments, can be compared to the choral persona that represents Troy. The chorus acts as a bridge not only between actors and theme but also between drama and audience and joins all dramatic participants in the collective and ironic fall of Troy. The implications of this association of audience and chorus will be considered again when the parodos is discussed.

The Poseidon-Athena dialogue, despite its apparent Greek orientation, does fit in a tragedy centered around Troy and offers an interpretative approach to the Trojan Women filled with further ironic meaning for the collective tragedy. Webster's most compelling argument in favor of a trilogic interpretation of Euripides' Trojan tetralogy, and of reading the Alexandros and especially the Palamedes into the Trojan Women, is thus disproven. The prologue of the Trojan Women, with its exotragic predictions about the Greeks, can be understood within the dramatic limits of a play about the fall of Troy.

Notes

1. See esp. H. von Arnim, *De Prologorum Euripideorum arte et interpolatione*, diss. (Jena, 1882); I. Gollwitzer, *Die Prolog- und Expositionstechnik der Griechischen Tragödien* (Gunzenhausen, 1937); Imhof, *op. cit.*; and Lewin, *op. cit.*

2. See esp. Imhof, 35; 'Rheby', 19; and J. Wilson, "An Interpolation in the Prologue of the *Trojan Women*," *GRBS* 8 (1967), 205-223.

3. Kitto, 221.

4. Pertusi, 255-256, compares the prologue to that of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*, but Kratos' initial speech there is not a technical monologue but is addressed to Hephaistos.

5. D. C. Stuart, "Forecasting and Suspense in the Prologues of Euripides," *Studies in Philology, University of North Carolina* 15 (1918), 295-306, esp. 300.

6. Webster, *For Services to Classical Studies*, 208; quoted in full chapter 1, note 9.

7. E. G. O'Neill, Jr., "The Prologue of the *Troades* of Euripides," *TAPA* 72 (1941), 308.

8. See: Lewin, 209; and Barrett, 165, note to line 42.

9. N 1-135; E 135-152; 351-401; Y 33-74. However, Wilson, in the *Troades*: A Reply," *Agon* 2 (1968), 68-69, argues that Homer depicts a more moderate Poseidon.

10. J. Fontenrose, "Poseidon in the *Troades*," *Agon* 1 (1967), 135-141.

11. Wilson, *Agon* 2, 66-71.

12. Burges was the first to suspect the lines which Biehl also athetizes, as does Murray in the OCT.

13. See Wilson, "The Etymology in Euripides' *Troades*, 13-14," *AJP* 89 (1968), 66-71, esp. 71.

14. See L. Parmentier, ed., <u>Euripides</u> lV (Paris, 1925),
    and esp. his "Notes sur les Troyennes d'Euripide,"
    <u>REG</u> 36 (1923), 46-49.

15. Parmentier, <u>REG</u> 36, 47.

16. Marcel Orban, "Les Troyennes: Euripide à un tournant,"
    <u>Les Etudes Classiques</u> 42 (1974), 23. Dietmar
    Korzeniewski, in "Zum Prolog der Stheneboia des
    Euripides," <u>Philologus</u> 108 (1964), 55-56, has
    suggested another symmetrical division of the
    prologue: 1-22; 23-44. However, relegation of
    45-47, which are not included in the symmetry, to
    "einen überleitenden Abschnitt" suggests the
    artificiality of his arrangement.

17. See Biehl's apparatus at lines 48-97.

18. Biehl suggests this asymmetrical arrangement in his
    text.

19. See Chapter 2 and Coles, 14.

20. Barlow, 118-119.

21. Imhof, 80.

22. See Biehl's apparatus at lines 48-97.

23. Webster, <u>For Services to Classical Studies</u>, 208.

24. O'Neill, 289.

25. Wilson, <u>GRBS</u> 8, 205-223.

26. Conacher, 135, offers a similar interpretation of the
    dialogue and Athena's motives.

27. Ibid., 137, where Conacher explains the implications
    of this view for the gods of the <u>Trojan Women</u>.

28. Sartre's "Scène dernière," spoken by Poseidon, is
        totally improvised:

                        Malheureuse Hécube,
                                non!
                Tu n'iras pas mourir chez tes ennemis.
                Tout à l'heure, quand on t'embarquera,
                        tu tomberas dans mon royaume,
                                la mer,
                        où je suis seul maître,
                et je te ferai rocher tout près de ton sol.
                 Mes vagues se briseront contre toi
                et rediront nuit et jour ton innombrable
                        plainte.
                                        (Il appelle:)
                Pallas! Pallas Athéna! A l'oeuvre!
                                (Un éclair dans le ciel.)
                                    (Un temps.)
                A présent vous allez payer.
                Faites la guerre, mortels imbéciles,
                        ravagez les champs et les villes,
                        violez les temples, les tombes,
                        et torturez les vaincus.
                            Vous en crèverez.
                                Tous.

29. Lewin, 216.

30. Barrett, 164, notes to lines 41-50.

Chapter 5

Hecuba's Monody
and the Parodos
(98-229)

A. Hecuba's Monody
(98-152)

Both divinities have left. The attention of the audience is focused on the prostrate body of Hecuba, who now, after her long speechless presence during the divine prologue, sings a monody. The dramatic power of this silence-shattering song has already been placed in its Aeschylean tradition in the previous chapter.

In his metrical analysis, Biehl divides Hecuba's monody into two sections: A (98-121), a system of 22 anapestic dimeters, and B (122-152), 27 anapestic dimeters with five interspersed monometers.[1] Biehl subdivides section A into the following metrical groupings: 98-104 (12/2 metra); 105-109 (8 metra); 110-114 (8 metra); and 115-121 (12/2 metra). Section B is subdivided in this way: 122-124 (6 metra); 125-129 (8/1 metra); 130-134 (8/1 metra); 135-137 (6 metra); 138-142 (8/1 metra); 143-144 (4/1 metra); 145-149 (8/1 metra); and 150-152 (6 metra). Anapestic meter is not only suitable to the threnodic nature of Hecuba's song, but it also forms a metrical bridge between this section of the prologue and the subsequent parodos. Monody and parodos, as will be seen, are linked by metrical and thought patterns and form one ever-increasing lamentation for Troy.

The first words of Hecuba's monody demonstrate the
queen's remarkable endurance in the face of adversity:

ἄνα, δύσδαιμον, πεδόθεν κεφαλήν,
ἐπάειρε δέρην. οὐκέτι Τροία
τάδε καὶ βασιλῆς ἐσμεν Τροίας.

98-100

Queen no longer, she still struggles to raise her head from
the dust. Individual forbearance, represented by Hecuba's
self-imperatives ἄνα (98) and ἐπάειρε (99), leads to a
collective reference to the fall of Troy: οὐκέτι Τροία/τάδε
(99-100). Whether this stubborn endurance, which is an
important aspect of the character of Hecuba in the Trojan
Women, will withstand the onslaughts of the tragedy is a
critical issue, an answer to which lies even in the monody,
in a pattern to be repeated again throughout the play.

The fickle nature of human fate, which is an under-
lying theme of Poseidon's juxtaposition of the eternally
happy Nereid world with the fall of once-proud Troy (1-7),
recurs in Hecuba's next self-exhortation:

μεταβαλλομένου δαίμονος ἀνέχου.

101

Contrast between Troy past and Troy present is not yet
explicitly voiced by the queen, but her use of such words as

μεταβαλλομένου here and οὐκέτι (99) expresses the potentially ironic "Einst und Jetzt" theme noted by Ebener.[2] Hecuba's self-exhortation is elaborated further in the following lines:

> πλεῖ κατὰ πορθμόν, πλεῖ κατὰ δαίμονα,
> μηδὲ προσίστω πρῷραν βιότου
> πρὸς κῦμα πλέουσα τύχαισιν.

102-104

Ships, already established in the divine section of the prologue (esp. 18-35; 76-86) as an important theme of the Trojan Women, here become metaphors to express Hecuba's forbearance. Barlow has noted some implications of this imagery for the entire monody:

> In this combination of figurative and literal
> language restricted to the theme of ships...
> Euripides shows Hecuba's highly-wrought emotional
> state. The confines of her world have temporarily
> shrunk to the size of her own fears and the
> consistent ship imagery throughout her monody,
> as well as providing aesthetic unity to the song,
> defines the area of her fears in a way which is
> developed later in the play and borne out by
> the closing action itself.[3]

However, it is a crucial aspect of this nautical imagery, that Hecuba's initial references to ships are not fear-laden, as Barlow suggests, but confident expressions of her exhortative mood. How this imagery later comes to express

"the highly-wrought emotional state" and the fears noted by Barlow is central to the meaning of the monody.

In the second group of anapests of section A, Hecuba turns from exhortation to rhetorical question and exclamation:

> αἰαῖ αἰαῖ
> τί γὰρ οὐ πάρα μοι μελέᾳ στενάχειν,
> ᾇ πατρὶς ἔρρει καὶ τέκνα καὶ πόσις;
> ὦ πολὺς ὄγκος συστελλόμενος
> προγόνων, ὡς οὐδὲν ἄρ᾽ ἦσθα...

105-109

The question (106-107) returns to the threnic theme of οὐκέτι Τροία (99). Line 107 contains a clear association of the fate of the city (πατρίς, 107) with that of its inhabitants (τέκνα καὶ πόσις, 107), a bond which was presented in the third chapter as central to the meaning of the play. Especially in this tragedy, walls and people cannot be distinquished, as Fontenrose does, in the use of such collective words as πόλει (7) and πατρίς (107); Troy's fate is linked with that of its inhabitants and Hecuba's rhetorical question underlines that fact.

In the exclamation (108-109) the queen returns to Troy past and to the wealth of her ancestors. ὄγκος (108) means more than wealth; it is a metaphor for pride. Double-layered and conflicting temporal stages are implied in Troy

with and without its πολὺς ὄγκος. Hecuba's admission of
the futility of her ancestral wealth, expressed in ὡς
οὐδὲν ἄρ᾽ ἦσθα (109), provides the self-ironist's awareness
of past irony discussed in the third chapter and satisfies
Muecke's requirements for irony. The second anapestic
group of the monody thus develops both the collective and
ironic aspects of the play.

In πατρίς (107) Hecuba uses an all-encompassing term
for her city. τέκνα (107) is a referent less universal
and more personal to the queen herself. πόσις (107)
represents a further narrowing of Hecuba's perspective to
a single individual, Priam. In 105-109 Hecuba is defining
her own and her city's woes more and more specifically,
yet she remains altruistic. When she speaks of πατρίς,
τέκνα, πόσις, and ὄγκος, she is mentioning things of concern
to her, but she is not speaking of herself.

In the next anapestic group, however, Hecuba's
perspective narrows further and centers around the queen's
own physical woes:

> τί με χρὴ σιγᾶν; τί δὲ μὴ σιγᾶν; [τί δὲ θρηνῆσαι]
> δύστηνος ἐγὼ τῆς βαρυδαίμονος
> ἄρθρων κλίσεως ὡς διάκειμαι,
> νῶτ᾽ ἐν στερροῖς λέκτροισι ταθεῖσ᾽.

110-114

The altruistic has yielded to the egotistic and the
transition from πατρίς (107) to ἐγώ (111) encompasses every
aspect of Hecuba's present woe.

The final anapestic group of section A returns to the
anatomical references Hecuba made at the beginning of her
monody, but with an important change. The expression of
stubborn forbearance made in ἄνα...κεφαλῆν (98) and echoed
by nautical aphorisms for endurance (102-104) now yields
to physical lament:

> οἴμοι κεφαλῆς, οἴμοι κροτάφων
> πλευρῶν θ', ὥς μοι πόθος εἱλίξαι
> καὶ διαδοῦναι νῶτον ἄκανθάν τ'
> εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τοίχους μελέων
> ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰεὶ δακρύων ἐλέγους.
> μοῦσα δὲ χαὕτη τοῖς δυστήνοις
> ἄτας κελαδεῖν ἀχορεύτους.

115-121

ἄνα...κεφαλήν (98) changes to οἴμοι κεφαλῆς (115). The
weight of the sorrows upon which Hecuba reflected in the
intervening lines has indeed dented her endurance. Gone
are her exhortations of forbearance. Instead Hecuba turns
to song, to μοῦσα...χαὕτη (120), the same Muse as of old
when she and her citizens were happy (i.e., not δυστήνοις
120), but now those joyful dances are replaced by the Muse's
song ἄτας...ἀχορεύτους (121).[4]

Section B of the monody is Hecuba's danceless lament.
Its first two anapestic groups (122-124; 125-129) return
to Barlow's nautical references and describe the Greek
ships sailing to Troy:

> πρῷραι ναῶν ὠκεῖαι
> Ἴλιον ἱερὰν αἳ κώπαις
> [δι'] ἅλα πορφυροειδέα καὶ λιμένας
> Ἑλλάδος εὐόρμους αὐλῶν
> παιᾶνι στυγνῷ συρίγγων τ'
> εὐφθόγγων φωνᾷ βαίνουσαι
> πλεκτὰν Αἰγύπτου παιδείαν
> ἐξηρτήσασθ'....

Besides the adjective στυγνῷ (126) these lines do not yet
reveal the general fear of sea travel noted by Barlow.
Instead, the passage is dominated by ornamental epithets
such as ὠκεῖαι (122), πορφυροειδέα(124), and εὐφθόγγων (127).

Mention of the Greek ships, however, leads Hecuba,
in the next two anapestic groups in section B (130-134;
135-137), to a different theme, that of Helen:

> αἰαῖ, Τροίας ἐν κόλποις
> τὰν Μενελάου μετανισόμεναι
> στυγνὰν ἄλοχον, Κάστορι λώβαν
> τῷ τ' Εὐρώτᾳ δυσκλείαν,
>   ἃ σφάζει μὲν
> τὸν πεντήκοντ' ἀροτῆρα τέκνων
> Πρίαμον, ἐμέ τε ⟨τὰν⟩ μελέαν Ἑκάβαν
> ἐς τάνδ' ἐξώκειλ' ἄταν.

Here descriptive terms yield to personal vindictiveness:
στυγνὰν ἄλοχον (132), λώβαν (132), and δυσκλείαν (133).
Hecuba's attitude toward her sometime daughter-in-law is
not disguised. Helen's responsibility for the fall of
Troy, explicitly stated in lines 134-137, parallels
Poseidon's judgement in the monologue (34-35) and is a
preparation for the bitter agon between Hecuba and Helen
in the third episode.

Hecuba's image ἐξώκειλ᾽ (137) is a vivid nautical one
and contrasts with her previous use of ship imagery. No
longer do her nautical references serve as exhortative
aphorisms (102-104) or as sheer description (125-129).
Rather, Hecuba's thought process in section B of her monody
has led from the Greek ships to Helen and the damage she
has done. Ships and Helen, who came to Troy by ship,
become confused in Hecuba's mind and this association
results in a verbal combination of the two: Helen has run
Hecuba aground (ἐξώκειλ᾽, 137) upon her present woe. It
is here that the emotional force of the ship imagery noted
by Barlow is first expressed and is established as a
constant motif of the entire play.[5] This change in the use
of nautical imagery, as well as the change in anatomical
references noted above, underline the transition from
endurance to desolation already noted in section A of the

monody and begins "the rhythm of hope and desolation"
which Conacher has noted in the entire play.[6]

At 142-144 Hecuba calls upon the other Trojan women,
i.e., the chorus, to join her lament; however, her song
continues uninterrupted until the chorus actually enters
at line 153. These final anapestic groups of section B
(145-149; 150-152) have already been discussed in the third
chapter in terms of their ironic and collective implications.
Only one point need be added here.

Lee has argued against a literal reading of σκήπτρῳ
Πριάμου διερειδομένα (150) as a reference to Priam's staff
and interprets the phrase figuratively as "relying on
Priam's royal office" or "exercising my prerogative as
consort."[7] But why not read the phrase literally? The
specific reference to the physical (as well as symbolic)
support that Priam's staff once offered Hecuba is then a
fitting contrast with ἄνα...κεφαλήν (98), where Hecuba
struggles to her feet unassisted. The monody begins in
Troy present and ends in Troy past; it begins with forbear-
ance and ends in ironic lament.

B. The Parodos
(153-229)

Hecuba's request that the women inside the tents join
her lamentation for smoking Troy (τύφεται ῎Ιλιον, αἰάζωμεν,

145) introduces the parodos which begins at line 153,

when some women appear in response to the queen's cries:[8]

'Εκάβη, τί θροεῖς; τί δὲ θωΰσσεις;
ποῖ λόγος ἥκει; διὰ γὰρ μελάθρων
ἄϊον οἴκτους οὓς οἰκτίζῃ.

153-155

The manuscripts simply attribute this entrance to the chorus.

However, at 165-166 these women call to others to leave the

tents (ἔξω κομίσασθ' οἴκων, 166) and a scholion to line 166

reads: λέγει πρὸς τὰς λοιπὰς τὰς ἔσω, ἵνα τὸ ἡμιχόριον. A

second hemichorus enters at line 176. The first part of

the parodos is thus an amoibaion between Hecuba and

hemichoria (153-196). This strophic dialogue is followed

by an anapestic passage recited by the chorus alone (197-229).

Kaimio denies any contact within the chorus while it

is divided into hemichoria and says that "the chorus

approach Hecuba in two groups, and the first pair of

strophes consists of an amoibaion between Hecuba and each

of the half-choruses."[9] For this reason Kaimio excludes

the parodos from extant examples of choral dialogoi.[10]

Lines 153-196 are primarily a dialogue between Hecuba and

the chorus, but it is not true to say that there is no

communication between the hemi-choruses. The first hemi-

chorus' summons to the other women to share in the threnos,

> μέλεαι μόχθων ἐπακουσόμεναι
> Τρῳάδες, ἔξω κομίσασθ' οἴκων.
> στέλλουσ' Ἀργεῖοι νόστον.
>
> 165-166

establishes limited verbal contact within the chorus by

means of a vocative and an imperative. When the second

hemi-chorus does appear, it addresses Hecuba in the first

person singular and apparently ignores the first hemi-

chorus:

> οἴμοι. τρομερὰ σκηνὰς ἔλιπον
> τάσδ' Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐπακουσομένα
> βασίλεια, σέθεν....
>
> 176-178

Even here, however, repetition of the same future purpose

participle by both hemi-choruses (ἐπακουσόμεναι, 165 and

ἐπακουσομένα, 177) links the entrance of hemi-chorus B

with the summons of hemi-chorus A. Hecuba is addressed

in the singular (and not in a plural including the hemi-

chorus) by nature of her role as leader of the lament,

and βασίλεια (178) indicates the inextricable bond between

the Trojan women and their queen, who here becomes almost

a choral member. κομίσασθ' (166) together with Hecuba's

αἰάζωμεν (145), which includes the entire chorus, reveal

the close ties of sorrow that unite all these women. The

amoibaion is not just a dialogue between Hecuba and each

of the hemichoria; it is a communal lament by the survivors
of Troy.

Two complimentary themes unite this amoibaion with
the monody which precedes it. Not only does Hecuba use the
same verb in the amoibaion to lament the fall of Troy

<div style="text-align:center">

Τροία Τροία δύσταν᾽ , ἔρρεις....

173

</div>

that she had used in her monody

<div style="text-align:center">

τί γὰρ οὐ πάρα μοι μελέᾳ στενάχειν,
ἦ πατρὶς ἔρρει καὶ τέκνα καὶ πόσις;

106-107

</div>

But both sections also reveal the dramatic movement towards
the Greek ships which reflects Troy's civic dissolution.
In the amoibaion the queen cries

<div style="text-align:center">

ὦ τέκν᾽, 'Αχαιῶν πρὸς ναῦς ἤδη
κινεῖται κωπήρης χείρ.

159-160

</div>

while in her monody she says

<div style="text-align:center">

δούλα δ᾽ ἄγομαι γραῦς ἐξ οἴκων....

140

</div>

Hecuba's anapestic monody in the prologue thus actually blends together both structurally and thematically with the choral parodos. Solo lament merges with choral lament and the divided parodos, unique in extant Greek tragedy,[11] reveals Euripides' willingness to innovate for dramatic purpose. The gradual entrance of the chorus into the orchestra and into the lament provides the threnos with a forceful crescendo: first Hecuba sings alone (98-152); then one hemichorus joins in (153-175); then the other accompanies the queen (176-196); finally the chorus unites for a powerful climax to the lament (197-229). There is an emotional build-up of the threnos, an increase both in intensity and in the mere number of voices singing.

The threnos begun in Hecuba's monody thus becomes a song of mutual lamentation by queen and chorus and serves to emphasize very dramatically and vividly for the audience the common misfortune of the Trojan women. All the women share the same plight. Both Hecuba and the chorus lament their slavery: Hecuba says in her monody that

δούλα δ' ἄγομαι γραῦς ἐξ οἴκων....

140

and hemichorus A later describes how

> δια δὲ στέρνων φόβος αἴσσει
> Τρῳάσιν, αἴ τῶνδ' οἴκων εἴσω
> δουλείαν αἰάζουσιν.

<div align="right">156-158</div>

Similar fears haunt the women too: Hecuba's series of interrogatives

> τῷ δ᾽ ἁ τλάμων
> ποῦ πᾷ γαίας δουλεύσω γραῦς...;

<div align="right">190-191</div>

repeats the chorus' pathetic query

> τίς μ᾽ Ἀργείων ἢ Φθιωτᾶν
> ἢ νησαίαν μ᾽ ἄξει χώραν
> δύστανον πόρσω Τροίας;

<div align="right">187-189</div>

Thus the parados' amoibaion not only establishes, as Grube notes, a bond of sympathy "in its original sense of sufferings together,"[12] between Hecuba and the chorus, but also among the surviving Trojan women as a group. The creation of such an emotional attachment between actor and chorus emphasizes the adverse future faced by all the Trojan women and makes the possibility of detached choral parts in the play, so often advocated in the past,[13] most difficult dramatically. Euripides uses the structure of the parodos to emphasize the collective bond among Hecuba, the chorus,

and Troy.

When the chorus finally unites, its song presents an ironic image of former domestic bliss

οὐκ Ἰδαίοις ἱστοῖς κερκίδα
δινεύουσ᾿ ἐξαλλάξω.

199-200

This theme, however, soon yields to the women's anxiety concerning where the Greek ships will take them, an anxiety which dominates the rest of the parodos. The location of their approaching slavery is foremost in the women's minds and they express their attitude towards slavery in various parts of the Greek world.

The chorus first voices its hostile feelings towards servitude in Corinth, where the women would draw water from the holy font of Peirene

ἢ Πειρήνας ὑδρευομένα
πρόσπολος οἰκτρὰ σεμνῶν ὑδάτων {ἔσομαι}.

205-207

Rather, the chorus would prefer to go to Athens, the glorious land of Theseus

τὰν κλεινὰν εἶθ᾿ ἔλθοιμεν
Θησέως εὐδαίμονα χώραν.

208-209

Euripides thus idealizes his native city which only the
year before had perpetrated the Melian massacre and of
whose bellicosity the Trojan Women itself is in a sense
a criticism.[14] Sparta, the land of Menelaus, sacker of
Troy, and the home of hated Helen, is naturally a most
detested place of servitude

> μὴ γὰρ δὴ δίναν γ' Εὐρώτα,
> τὰν ἐχθίσταν θεράπναν Ἑλένας,
> ἔνθ' ἀντάσω Μενέλᾳ δούλα,
>   τῷ τᾶς Τροίας πορθητᾷ.

210-213

Thessaly, the holy land of Peneus, is favored second only
to Athens

> τὰν Πηνειοῦ σεμνὰν χώραν,
> κρηπῖδ' Οὐλύμπου καλλίσταν,
> ὄλβῳ βρίθειν φάμαν ἤκουσ'
>   εὐθαλεῖ τ' εὐκαρπ⟨ε⟩ίᾳ.
> τάδε δεύτερά μοι μετὰ τὰν ἱερὰν
> Θησέως ζαθέαν ἐλθεῖν χώραν.

214-219

The chorus' thoughts then wander to Sicily, the land of
Hephaistos' Aetna, and to the noble men of Italy

> καὶ τὰν Αἰτναίαν Ἡφαίστου
> Φοινίκας ἀντήρη χώραν,
> Σικελῶν ὀρέων ματέρ', ἀκούω
> καρύσσεσθαι στεφάνοις ἀρετᾶς,
>   τὰν τ' ἀγχιστεύουσαν γᾶν
>   Ἰονίῳ ναύτᾳ πόντῳ,
> ἃν ὑγραίνει καλλιστεύων

ὁ ξανθὰν χαίταν πυρσαίνων
Κρᾶθις ζαθέαις πηγαῖσι τρέφων
εὐανδρόν τ᾽ ὀλβίζων γᾶν.

220-229

Orban contends that the women do not express a preference for these western lands, and that

> à partir de v 220, il n'est plus question de crainte ou de souhait: elles se contentent de rapporter ce qu'elles entendent dire de la Sicile et de la Grande Grèce. Il s'est produit une sorte de glissement dû à une association d'images. Le manque de vigueur intellectuelle s'accompagne ici d'un goût bien féminin du romanesque, qui invite à transfigurer la réalité en une agréable fiction.[15]

Yet, a preference is made in these lines. Both Sicily and Italy are described in most favorable and beautiful terms that compare to the complimentary adjectives applied to Athens and Thessaly. Sicily is wreathed in valor (καρύσσεσθαι στεφάνοις ἀρετᾶς, 223), and Italy is καλλιστεύων (226) just as Athens is εὐδαίμονα χώραν (209) and Thessaly σεμνὰν χώραν (214). It is the very association of images which Orban's bias restricts to feminine rather than poetic taste that establishes the chorus' preferences just as clearly as the explicit statements made about Athens (206-207) and Thessaly (218-219).

Westlake finds the second half of the parodos

dramatically unrealistic because "the members of the chorus could not hope that their views would have any influence in determining their place of exile."[16] But the women nowhere suppose that their preferences will be honored by their Greek captors and their speculation is psychologically understandable in individuals whose slavery is inevitable but who are still ignorant of their masters and the place of servitude. The chorus' reflection on impending slavery is far from unrealistic and is very effective dramatically in a play whose action is primarily concerned with the departure of the Trojan women, one by one, off to slavery.

The women's adversion to Sparta as the home of Helen and Menelaus is natural, but why does Athens receive such high praise while Corinth is hated? To a survivor of Troy, every Greek master ought to be considered a Menelaus and servitude anywhere in Greece equally detestable. Westlake is surely correct in interpreting the chorus' geographical preferences as alluding anachronistically to contempory events.[17] In 415 B.C., when the Trojan Women was performed, Athens had already endured ten years of the bitter Peloponesian War and now was in a period of technical peace marred by sporadic hostilities. The second half of the parodos offers natural parallels to Athenian sentiment in 415: Corinth and Sparta are dreaded by the Trojan women;

both states were bitter enemies of Athens. The chorus

desires to go to Athens most preferably; Athenian

patriotism was to help keep the conflict aflame for another

decade. As a second preference, the chorus lists Thessaly,

whose political relations with Athens in 415 were unclear;

as Westlake notes, however, Thessaly was nominally an

Athenian ally.[18]

Mention of Sicily and Italy is apt, too, as at the

time of the performance of the Trojan Women, the Athenians'

ill-fated Sicilian expedition was only three months from

departure, and the audience in the Theatre of Dionysos

could easily have climbed the Acropolis and looked down on

the harbor and the fleet in preparation. The chorus'

anachronistic knowledge of these western lands perhaps

reflects the preoccupation of Euripides' contemporaries

with this geographical area.

Westlake recognizes the parallel between the chorus'

preferences and Athenian affairs in 415, but he neglects

to consider the dramatic potential of such a comparison.

By instilling the chorus of Trojan women with attitudes

and feelings appropriate to his Athenian audience,

Euripides creates a sense of empathy between audience and

chorus. Such empathy is perhaps lost to the modern viewer

and reader of the Trojan Women lacking the necessary

Athenian prejudices, but it was probably a subconscious

reaction for Euripides' Athenian contemporaries.

The parodos, then, not only creates a bond of sympathy

between Hecuba and the chorus, i.e., among the Trojan women,

but also emphasizes and personalizes the woes of Troy for

the Athenian audience. The chorus of Trojan women is the

central link in the creation of this emotional bond between

actors and audience and in the creation of the collective

tragedy of Troy. It is the central persona of the play.

This empathic bond between chorus and audience serves

another dramatic function as well, for it also places the

Athenians in the role of the oppressed rather than that of

the oppressor, in the position of the unfortunate Melians

rather than that of their arrogant executors. Athenian

sympathy for the Trojans becomes on another level criticism

of themselves. The subtle implications of the audience's

bond with the characters of this play create another

powerful irony in the Trojan Women.

Association of audience and Trojan women was also

developed as an ironic link in the divine dialogue of the

prologue. Thus both irony and the chorus are Euripides'

tools in the development of his theme of the fall of Troy.

Notes

1. See Biehl's text, pp. 72-73.

2. Ebener, esp. 695.

3. Barlow, 52.

4. This danceless song is contrasted more explicitly with past songs accompanied by dance in the last part of of the monody (145-152).

5. Barlow, 51-52, suggests that this association begins with τοίχους (118) as a side of a ship rather than from side to side, and says "gradually as if by natural association, she proceeds from this traditional figurative language to the literal belief that she is actually on a ship, rocking from side to side in imaginary movement with its rolling motion...." However, τοίχους, followed immediately by μελέων (118), primarily has an anatomical meaning and the figurative-literal association of ship imagery begins for Hecuba only with ἐξώκειλ' (137). τοίχους has Barlow's nautical implications only in retrospect.

6. Conacher, 139.

7. Kevin H. Lee, "Euripides, _Troades_ 150," _Eranos_ 65 (1967), 77.

8. Lines 32-33 suggest to me that the skene door represented the captive huts in the Trojan Women. Since the chorus enters from these tents (165), I cautiously suggest that the women enter not from a parodos but from the skene door. However, the feasibility of such an unorthodox entrance warrants more attention than is possible here. For a detailed study of the staging of an Athenian drama, see William J. Ziobro, in his _The Staging of Sophoclean Tragedy_, diss. (Baltimore, 1969), esp. 8-19.

9. Maarit Kaimio, _The Chorus of Greek Drama within the light of the Person and Number used_ (Helsinki, 1970), 235-236. Italics added.

10. _Ibid._, 121. Such choral dialogoi include: Aeschylus'
     Supplices, 1022ff.; Sophocles' _Ajax_, 866ff.; and
     Euripides' _Suppliants_, 71ff., 598ff., and 1123ff.

11. A divided choral entrance occurs in Sophocles' _Ajax_,
     866ff. but this is not a parodos but the chorus'
     re-entrance.

12. Grube, 109.

13. See Chapter 3, notes 40-43.

14. Commentators of the _Trojan Women_ have often been aware
     of the play's potential criticism of the Melian
     affair, which Thucydides (V, 86-114) describes so
     graphically. E. g., Lattimore, in an introduction
     to his translation of the play, in David Grene and
     Richmond Lattimire, ed., _Greek Tragedies_, Vol.2
     (Chicago, 1960), 245, says: "There can be no doubt
     that in this play Euripides used heroic legend for
     the expression of his feelings about the horrors of
     aggressive war in his own time. In 416, Athens had
     tried to force the neutral island state of Melos to
     join the Athenian confederacy...."

15. Orban, 24.

16. H. D. Westlake, "Euripides, _Troades_, 205-229," _Mnemosyne_
     6 (1953), 184.

17. _Ibid._, 181-191.

18. _Ibid._, 185-189.

Chapter 6

The First Episode
and Choral Ode
(230-567)

The Cassandra Scene

A. The First Episode
(230-510)

Following the parodos, choral anapests (230-234) announce the arrival of a Greek messenger and introduce a dialogue between the herald Talthybios and Hecuba (235-291). The conversation is a metrical melange of song and recitation. While Talthybios speaks his lines in the iambic trimeter normal for the episodic portions of Greek tragedy, the queen sings in dochmiacs. The herald's colloquial tone thus contrasts with Hecuba's passionate replies which not only continue the threnic mood of Hecuba's monody but also reflect the intense lyric nature of the entire play.[1]

Talthybios' appearance implies to the women that the fear which has haunted them for so long,

τόδε
τόδε, φίλαι Τρῳϊάδες, ὃ φόβος ἦν πάλαι.

239

their impending allotment to Greek masters, has finally been realized. Confirmation by the herald that the decision has indeed been made

ἤδη κεκλήρωσθ᾽, εἰ τόδ᾽ ἦν ὑμῖν φόβος.

240

causes Hecuba to repeat the agonizing geographical reflec-
tions already voiced by herself (190-196) and by the chorus
(197-225):

αἰαῖ, τίν' ἢ
Θεσσαλίας πόλιν [ἢ] Φθιάδος εἶπας ἢ
Καδμείας χθονός;

241-243

The women's obsession with the location of their future
servitude leads the herald to elaborate the Greeks' plans
and to detail, at Hecuba's prodding, the fates of Cassandra
(247-259), Polyxena (260-270), Andromache (271-273), and
the aged queen herself (274-291).

The movement of the dialogue reflects the same
narrowing of Hecuba's perspective found in her monody
(105-114) and the same emphasis on communal tragedy. At
first Hecuba's questions are plural and collective
(239-243), but Talthybios insists repeatedly that Hecuba
ask him only about individuals:

κατ' ἄνδρ' ἑκάστη κοὐχ ὁμοῦ λελόγχατε.

244

and

οἶδ'. ἀλλ' ἕκαστα πυνθάνου, μὴ πάνθ' ὁμοῦ.

246

Hecuba then focuses her attention on her daughters

Cassandra and Polyxena and on her daughter-in-law

Andromache. The queen's initial concern, as it was in the

monody (105-109), is about others. Finally, though, Hecuba

turns to her own fate and to a bitter outburst on her

future master Odysseus:

> ἒ ἒ.
> ἄρασσε κρᾶτα κούριμον,
>   ἕλκ' ὀνύχεσσι δίπτυχον παρειάν.
>   ἰώ μοί μοι.
>   μυσαρῷ δολίῳ ⟨τε⟩ λέλογχα
>   φωτὶ δουλεύειν,
>   πολεμίῳ δίκας, παρανόμῳ δάκει,
>   ὃς πάντα τἀκεῖθεν ἐν-
>   θάδ', ἀντίπαλ' αὖθις ἐκεῖσε
>   διπτύχῳ γλώσσᾳ
>   ἄφιλα τὰ πρότερα φίλα τιθέμενος πάντων.
>   γοᾶσθέ μ', ὦ Τρῳάδες.
>   βέβακ' οἴχομαι
>   δύσποτμος ἃ τάλαινα δυστυχεστάτῳ
> προσέπεσον κλήρῳ.

                                        279-291

Once again the dramatic movement is from the collective

tragedy of Troy (239-246) to Hecuba's altruistic concern for

other Trojans (247-273), to her own fate (274-278), and

finally to this lament (279-291), similar in its anatomical

references (e.g., 279-280) to the οἴμοι κεφαλῆς section of

the monody (115-121).

Biehl has revealed the inner responsion that exists

within Hecuba's despondent outburst:

> Auffallend ist, dass die Form der Anakyklesis
> gerade an der Stelle deutlich wird (für den
> Betrachter, schwerlich für den Zuhörer) an der
> von der'Verdrehungskunst' des Odysseus die Rede
> ist, d. h. es besteht anscheinend zwischen dem
> gedenklichen Gehalt und der metrischen Form
> der Stelle eine Analogie.[2]

The passage, however, contains more than the parallel noted

by Biehl between circular metrical construction and

Odysseus' crafty talent to turn things around

$$ἄφιλα \ τὰ \ πρότερα \ φίλα \ τιθέμενος \ πάντων$$

288

There is in fact a relationship between the anakyklesis and

Hecuba's thought process. The metrical form uncovered by

Biehl's textual analysis is itself reflected in a circular

thought pattern more accessible to the audial limitations

of the audience.

Within the metrical anakyklesis, Hecuba's words move

from lamentation of her own fate (278-281), to her uncom-

plimentary description of her new master (282-287), and

back to herself again (288-291). The two sections on Hecuba

are grammatically complementary: both contain verbs which

are in the imperative mood and which connote mourning

(ἄρασσε, 279, and ἕλκ', 280, versus γοᾶσθε, 288), and both

end with expressions referring to Hecuba's allotment

(λέλογχα, 282, and προσέπεσον κλήρῳ, 291). Further

τἀκεῖθεν ἐν/θάδ' (285-286) not only divides the Odysseus

passage and describes the Greek's sophistic tendencies,
but these words also bisect the anakyklesis and graphically
exhibit the passage's circular pattern. Thus not only
Hecuba's meaning but also her thought process are reflected
in the metrical sequence.

Such ring composition (Hecuba-Odysseus-Hecuba) is a
favorite Greek poetic structure and its literary uses are
varied.[3] What are the implications of this thought pattern
in the Trojan Women? I suggest that these lines are a
structural comment on the queen's situation, as well as
the reflection on Odysseus' character suggested by Biehl.
Just as Odysseus makes τὰ πρότερα φίλα become ἄφιλα (287),
just as his tongue is διπτύχῳ (287), literally "two-folded,"
indeed, just as the structure of the passage is two-folded
metrically as analysed by Biehl:[4]

2i 3i do hex 2i 2do 2i hex 2i 2do 2i do 3i 2i
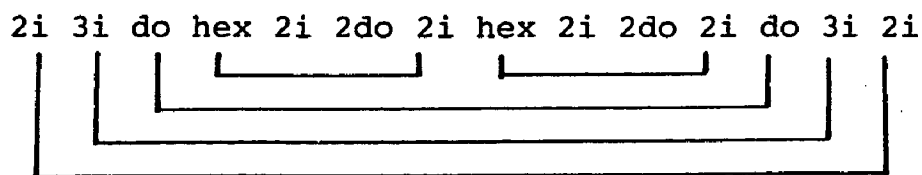
so, too, is Hecuba's song double-layered and her perception
ironic. Hecuba thinks that she will be Odysseus' slave,
yet the myth never brings her to Greece.[5] The dramatic
movement of the Trojan Women sends the queen off to Ithaca
just as it sends the Greeks off to a glorious homecoming.

Once again this play exhibits thematically and structurally a bitter disjunction between appearance and reality.

At the end of Hecuba's Odyssean tirade, the chorus leader breaks into the dialogue and asks about the chorus' own fate:

τὸ μὲν σὸν οἶσθα, πότνια, τὰς δ᾽ ἐμὰς τύχας
τίς ἄρ᾽ Ἀχαιῶν ἢ τίς Ἑλλήνων ἔχει;

292-293

This question is ignored by the herald. The fates of the choral members cannot be detailed in the drama, because such individualization would destroy the choral group. The chorus of a Greek play must maintain its collective anonymity;[6] this is especially true of the chorus of Trojan women which represents, in its diversity discussed in chapter three, the collective tragic character of Troy.

Instead of answering the chorus, Talthybios orders his men to get Cassandra from the tents (294-297), where he suddenly notices the glow of fire (298-305). In the midst of the excitement raised by the false belief that the desperate women are suicidally setting fire to their huts, Cassandra appears, bearing a torch.

The following lines (308-340) are sung in mixed meters by the demented princess as an epithalamium in

honor of her impending union with Agamemnon. The change in
mood is sudden. From the emotional dejection of Hecuba's
threnos, which lasts as late as line 291, Cassandra in her
frenzy sings a lyric of joy and happiness which ends with
an invitation to her mother and the chorus to join in her
hymeneal:

> χόρευε, μᾶτερ, ἀναγέλασον.
> ἕλισσε τᾷδ' ἐκεῖσε μετ' ἐμέθεν ποδῶν
> φέρουσα φιλτάταν βάσιν.
> βοάσαθ' 'Υμέναιον, ὦ,
> μακαρίαις ἀοιδαῖς
> ἰα⟨κ⟩χαῖς τε νύμφαν.
> ἴτ', ὦ καλλίπεπλοι Φρυγῶν
> κόραι, μέλπετ' ἐμῶν γάμων
> τὸν πεπρωμένον εὐνᾷ
> πόσιν ἐμέθεν.

                                              332-340

Not only do Cassandra's imperatives χόρευε (332),
ἀναγέλασον (332), ἕλισσε (333), and βοάσαθ' 'Υμέναιον (335)
contrast with the mournful ones of Hecuba in her anakyklesis,
i.e., ἄρασσε (279), ἕλκ' (280) and γοᾶσθε (288); but also
the epithet καλλίπεπλοι (338) is most incongruously
addressed to the chorus of women captives. Cassandra
imagines the women as the brightly dressed members of her
marriage procession they might have been and not as the
slaves they now are. Mood, theme and imagery unite to
contrast the joy of Cassandra's song with the sorrow of the
rest of the play. The disjunction between Cassandra's

demented vision and reality is powerful.

Cassandra's Bacchic nature, a Euripidean innovation
thoroughly outlined by Mason,[7] has already been discussed
in the second chapter. The marriage song particularly
dramatizes the dual character of the Euripidean Cassandra.
She is a prophetess of Apollo

> ἄγε σύ, Φοῖβε, νῦν.
> κατὰ σὸν ἐν δάφναις
> ἀνάκτορον θυηπολῶ.

329-330

and sounds like a maenad

> βοάσαθ' Ὑμέναιον, ὦ
> μακαρίαις ἀοιδαῖς
> ἰα⟨κ⟩χαῖς τε νύμφαν.

335-337

Cassandra's prohecies were destined never to be believed
and Euripides' addition of Dionysian qualities to her
character is an appropriate dramatization of this unbelief.
The divinely inspired predictions (reality) are made
suspicious by the Bacchic ecstasy (appearance) in which
they are presented. Indeed the chorus sees only a raving
bacchanal in the possessed girl:

> βασίλεια, βακχεύουσαν οὐ λήψῃ κόρην,
> μὴ κοῦφον αἴρῃ βῆμ' ἐς Ἀργείων στρατόν;

341-342

That the princess' joy in the face of adversity is
seen as insanity is confirmed by Hecuba's reaction to the
marriage song and her pathetic address to the fire-god
Hephaistos as personified in Cassandra's torch:

> Ἥφαιστε, δᾳδουχεῖς μὲν ἐν γάμοις βροτῶν,
> ἀτὰρ λυγράν γε τήνδ' ἀναιθύσσεις φλόγα
> ἔξω τε μεγάλων ἐλπίδων. οἴμοι, τέκνον,
> ὡς οὐχ ὑπ' αἰχμῆς ⟨σ'⟩ οὐδ' ὑπ' Ἀργείου δορὸς
> γάμους γαμεῖσθαι τούσδ' ἐδόξαζόν ποτε.

<div align="right">343-347</div>

Again Troy's present and past are contrasted and the
conflict between the two temporal stages inherent in ἔξω...
μεγάλων ἐλπίδων (345) underlines the irony of the city's
situation.

Cassandra then retreats from her frenzied lyric mood
and uses iambic trimeter to predict less ambiguously
Agamemnon's death (356-364) and to explain to her mother
and the chorus why she rejoices in her fate, why Troy is
more blessed than the Greeks:

> πόλιν δὲ δείξω τήνδε μακαριωτέραν
> ἢ τοὺς Ἀχαιούς....

<div align="right">365-366</div>

In a remarkable bit of sophistry (353-405), Cassandra, as
Havelock notes,[8] turns heroic and epic martial values

topsy-turvy and lists the advantages that the defeated
Trojans have had over the victorious Greeks: not only have
the Trojans, unlike the Greeks, continued to enjoy the very
pleasures of home and family life which they were fighting
and dying to save (374-385); but, in the process, the
Trojans have earned a fame and nobility which was unattain-
able without the war:

> εἰ δ᾽ ἐς τόδ᾽ ἔλθοι, στέφανος οὐκ αἰσχρὸς πόλει
> καλῶς ὀλέσθαι, μὴ καλῶς δὲ δυσκλεές.

> 401-402

Victory is defeat and defeat victory; appearance is not
reality.

Cassandra's sophistry, criticized by Mason as "a flaw
in Euripides' artistic understanding,"[9] serves an important
dramatic purpose: Like the Dionysian traits of the
epithalamium, such reasoning foils the princess' attempt
to speak clearly to the Trojan women and to console them.
Cassandra, even in iambics, lacks credibility, as the chorus'
response to her speech reveals:

> ὡς ἡδέως κακοῖσιν οἰκείοις γελᾷς,
> μέλπεις θ᾽ ἃ μέλπουσ᾽ οὐ σαφῆ δείξεις ἴσως.

> 406-407

The prophetess still is not σαφῆ (407) and her sophistry
ironically reflects her incoherence. Cassandra fails in
her effort to console her mother and fellow citizens, and
her promise to avenge Troy (404-405), though actually a
true prophecy, is not believed by the other women. The
Trojans continue to accept appearance (Bacchic frenzy and
sophistry=insanity) instead of the truth underlying their
princess' words.

Talthybios reacts to Cassandra with undisguised criti-
cism of Agamemnon's foolish love for such a demented
creature (411-416), an order for Cassandra to depart (419-
420), and an allusion to Hecuba's allotment to Odysseus
(421-423). Cassandra responds to the herald with a long
description of the impending wanderings of her mother's
new master. The passage begins in iambic trimeter (424-
443), but lapses into trochaic tetrameter (444-460)[10] as
the princess departs. The ironic irresolution of Hecuba's
fate in the Trojan Women has already been discussed both in
this chapter and in chapter three. Cassandra's predictions
about Odysseus reflect the same disjunction between
appearance and reality that is maintained throughout the
play.

Cassandra has attempted to console. Yet the chorus'
words at her departure show that only an opposite effect is

achieved:

> Ἑκάβης γεραιᾶς φύλακες, οὐ δεδόρκατε
> δέσποιναν ὡς ἄναυδος ἐς πέδον πίτνει;
> οὐκ ἀντιλήψεσθ'; ἢ μεθήσετ', ὦ κακαί,
> γραῖαν πεσοῦσαν; αἴρετ' εἰς ὀρθὸν δέμας.

> 462-465

Instead of consolation, Hecuba gains only further dejection from her "insane" daughter's speech and the woman whose first lines in the drama were ἄνα...πεδόθεν κεφαλήν (98) now, after her daughter's departure, says only ἐᾶτέ μ'.../ κεῖσθαι πεσοῦσαν (466-467). The weight of present sorrows has broken the old queen's endurance and at the end of the Cassandra scene Hecuba has resumed for the moment the same prostrate position she maintained during the divine prologue.

In the final lines of the scene (466-510) Hecuba contrasts her past royal position in Troy (472-478) with her present sorrows. The ironic and collective basis of the queen's words is by now self-evident.

B.   The First Choral Ode
(511-567)

The choral ode that follows the Cassandra scene sings of the Trojan horse and the night of Troy's fall. Strophe and antistrophe begin in dactylo-epitrites (511-518, 531-538) and move to iambic systems (519-530; 539-550); the epode (551-567) continues the iambic rhythms of the

preceding lines.[11] There is no direct link between the
theme of the stasimon and the action of the preceding
episode, i.e., Cassandra's departure for Agamemnon's bed.
Several scholars have noted the song's thematic and
structural parallels to the dithyrambic style of Bacchylides
and to the third stasimon of the Hecabe (905-952).[12]
Analysis of the ode, however, reveals a close relationship
to the Cassandra scene and confirms the centrality of
choral parts to the meaning of the Trojan Women. The first
stasimon, is neither detached nor reflective, but an
important dramatic part of the play.

The first words of the chorus' song are an invocation
to the Muse to sing a funeral dirge for Troy

> 'Αμφί μοι "Ιλιον, ὦ
>   Μοῦσα καινῶν ὕμνων,
> ἄεισον ἐν δακρύοις ᾠ-
> δὰν ἐπικήδειον.

<div align="right">511-514</div>

From the outset ('Αμφί μοι "Ιλιον, 511) the collective
theme is prominent. The song is despondent and continues
the dejected mood in which the previous episode ended.

Then follows a narration of how Troy fell by the ruse
of the wooden horse

ὅτ' ἔλιπον ἵππον οὐράνια
βρέμοντα χρυσεοφάλαρον ἔνο-
πλον ἐν πύλαις Ἀχαιοί.

519-521

The ode reemphasizes the contrast between the horse's
joyous appearance and its sinister reality, which Poseidon
had developed in the prologue (9-14). The Trojans, in the
rapture of apparent release from ten years of siege, filled
the air with happy song:

κεχαρμένοι δ' ἀοιδαῖς

529

Yet the women are now aware of the irony of their past, for
the horse that brought the Trojans so much happiness is now
called their doom: δόλιον...ἄταν (530). The chorus' mood
thus gives the Cassandra scene an added ironic twist: the
true-speaking prophetess' efforts to gladden the Trojan
women lead only to this mournful stasimon; the Trojan
horse, which was a legitimate cause for grief, deceptively
brought the Trojans intense joy.

The contrast between past joy and present sorrow
explicitly voiced by Hecuba in the preceding episode

πρῶτον μὲν οὖν μοι τἀγάθ' ἐξᾷσαι φίλον.
τοῖς γὰρ κακοῖσι πλείον' οἶκτον ἐμβαλῶ.

472-473

is reflected in the ode in the vividly descriptive compar-
ison between joyful Trojans dragging the horse into the
citadel (519-555) and the subsequent carnage when cries of
slaughter rang out in the city and children clung in terror
to their mother's dresses:

> ...φοινία δ' ἀνὰ
> πτόλιν βοὰ κατεῖχε Περ-
> γάμων ἕδρας. βρέφη δὲ φίλι-
> α περὶ πέπλους ἔβαλλε μα-
> τρὶ χεῖρας ἐπτοημένας.

<div align="right">555-559</div>

As Alt has noted, "es geht nicht mehr um das Erleben
einselner, sondern um das Schicksal einer Stadt und eines
Volkes."[13] The chorus sings the woes of all Troy.

The stasimon thus accomplishes a dramatic effect
similar to that of the parodos: a movement from the indi-
vidual suffering of Hecuba to the common misfortune of all
Trojans. Just as the parodos created a crescendo of
lamentation, the first stasimon places the personal
suffering of the queen (466-510) in its collective context
and suggests that if the poet has any central concern in
the play, it is not Hecuba, as Grube believes,[14] nor the
Greeks, as Kitto interprets the play,[15] but the whole city
of Troy.

The individual plights of the various characters, such

as Cassandra and Andromache, specify the civic plight of Troy which Hecuba as queen comes closest to personifying, but the tragedy is Troy's not just Hecuba's. The choral voice in the Trojan Women provides Euripides with the means to develop the woes of individual characters into a theme of the general misfortune of Troy. The first stasimon is not a reflective entr'acte, but a central and unifying dramatic force of the play.[16]

Notes

1. Greek dramatists often offer dialogues in which one
   participant speaks while the other sings; see
   Aeschylus' _Persai_ 249-289, _Supplices_ 348-437, and
   Agamemnon 1073-1113; Sophocles' _Ajax_ 331-421;
   Euripides' _Alcestis_ 244-272; _et al._ Sometimes, as
   in the _Alcestis_ (273-279) the lyric is then taken
   up by the iambic speaker.

2. Biehl, _Hermes_ 98, 118.

3. For example, in the _Agamemnon_ circular thought patterns
   in choral passages are used to reflect the chorus'
   confusion about dramatic events.

4. See Biehl's text, p. 79; also his article in _Hermes_ 98,
   117-120.

5. See chapter 2.

6. A few possible exceptions, Aeschylus' _Supplices_ and
   Eumenides and Euripides' _Supplices_, have been sug-
   gested by Garvie, 107.

7. Mason, 80-93.

8. Havelock, 121.

9. Mason, 91.

10. On the use of trochaic tetrameter here see: Werner
    Krieg, "Der Trochaische Tetrameter bei Euripides,"
    Philologus 9 (1936), 42-51; M. Imhof, "Tetra-
    meterszenen in der Tragödie," _MH_ 13 (1956), 123-143;
    and Thomas Drew-Bear, "The Trochaic Tetrameter in
    Greek Tragedy," _AJP_ 89 (1968), 385-405.

11. On the meter of lines 511-567 see T. B. L. Webster,
    The Greek Chorus (London, 1970), 162-163, and
    especially Biehl's text, pp. 81-84.

12. See Hans H. Hofmann, _Über den Zusammenhang zwischen
    Chorliedern und Handlung in der erhaltenen Dramen bei
    Euripides_, diss. (Leipzig, 1916), 76; Walther Kranz,
    Stasimon (Berlin, 1933), 254-255; and Karen Alt,

<u>Untersuchungen zum Chor bei Euripides</u>, unpub. diss.
(Frankfurt-am-Main, 1952), 34-41.

13. Alt, 36.

14. Grube, 114.

15. Kitto, 218-224.

16. See chapter 3.

Chapter 7

The Second Episode
and Choral Ode
(567-859)

The Andromache Scene

A. The Second Episode (568-798)

Recitative anapests (568-576) by the chorus mark the approach of Andromache, who is borne, together with her son Astyanax, on a cart laden with spoil from Troy, in particular with her husband Hector's armor:

> ποῖ ποτ' ἀπήνης νώτοισι φέρῃ,
> δύστανε γύναι,
> πάρεδρος χαλκέοις Ἐκτορος ὅπλοις
> σκύλοις τε Φρυγῶν δοριθηράτοις,
> οἷσιν Ἀχιλλέως παῖς Φθιώτας
>   στέψει ναοὺς ἀπὸ Τροίας;

> 572-576

The theatrical effect of Andromache's entrance has been discussed by Arnott:

> In Euripides' plays and those of Aeschylus royal personages frequently enter in chariots.... Here Euripides gives the stock formula a savage twist. Andromache, the princess, enters not in a royal chariot but in the most humble and degrading conveyance. Her appearance, the complete antithesis of the usual theatrical pomp and splendour, epitomizes her plight and underlines the play's bitter message.[1]

This staging technique also effectively underlines the incongruity of the Trojan situation. Hector's bronze armor had been the stalwart defense of Troy; now it is a Greek victor's war trophy. As for Hector's wife, she also has become just another item of Greek booty.

A lyric lament (577-607) follows Andromache's entrance. Hecuba and Andromache begin the song with a rapid exchange of brief phrases in which the two women are allotted exactly the same number of syllables (577-586).[2] They lament not only their personal sorrows (παιᾶν᾽ ἐμόν, 578; φεῦ δῆτ᾽ ἐμῶν/κακῶν, 584-585) but also their common civic loss:

βέβακ᾽ {εν} ὄλβος βέβακε Τροία...

582

and

...οἴκτρὰ {γε} τύχα
πόλεος, ἁ καπνοῦται

585-586

In the second strophic pair (587-594), however, the widows emphasize only their personal woes and invoke their dead husbands. Andromache shares her invocation to Hector with Hecuba (587-590), but the queen probably sings her apostrophe to Priam alone (591-594).[3]

At 595 the chorus joins the amoibaion and collective orientation is restored, as it is in the transition from Hecuba's monody to parodos, by multiplication of voices. οἴδε πόθοι μεγάλοι (595), despite Hecuba's intrusion of

σχετλία, τάδε πάσχομεν ἄλγη (595), must be understood
grammatically with οἰχομένας πόλεως (596). By returning
the lament to the communal perspective of the first
strophic pair, the chorus maintains its unifying role even
during the episodes of the play.

Biehl divides the amoibaion after the chorus' entrance
into an epode (595-602) sung by the two women plus the
chorus and an epilogue sung by Hecuba alone (603-607).[4]
This epode-epilogue division, however, is somewhat arti-
ficial because of the metrical as well as thematic
continuity to be seen in 595-607. Not only are these lines
sung in the same dactylic meter, but the communal theme
reintroduced by the chorus in 595-596 is maintained in
Hecuba's "epilogue" by the adjective ἐρημό{σ}πολις (603)
and by the collective phrase ἁμετέροισι δόμοισ{ιν} (606).
Thus the term "epilogue" should not be applied to 603-607,
which form a structural and thematic whole with the
amoibaion.

Hecuba and Andromache then abandon lyric for an iambic
dialogue (610-633)[5] which finally deciphers for the queen
the euphemistic allusions to Polyxena (ὅ μοι πάλαι/Ταλθύβιος
αἴνιγμ' οὐ σαφῶς εἶπεν, 624-625) which had perplexed her in the
previous episode (256-270). Polyxena is dead, murdered at
the tomb of Achilles (622-623). A Trojan princess has

become an expiatory offering for the dead. Hecuba is faced
with another woe:

αἰαῖ μάλ᾽ αὖθις, ὡς κακῶς διόλλυσαι.

629

and yet another incongruity is added to the tragedy of once
mighty Troy:

ὁρῶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν, ὡς τὰ μὲν πυργοῦσ᾽ ἄνω
τὰ μηδὲν ὄντα, τὰ δὲ δοκοῦντ᾽ ἀπώλεσαν.

612-613

Hecuba's grief for her dead daughter (628-629) rouses
from Andromache the pathetic retort that Polyxena's fate
is better than her own:

ὄλωλεν ὡς ὄλωλεν. ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως ἐμοῦ
ζώσης γ᾽ ὄλωλεν εὐτυχεστέρῳ πότμῳ.

630-631

Better dead than wed to Achilles' son! The queen, in a
resurgence of the optimistic attitude of her monody (98-
104), rejects such a depressing view of life:

οὐ ταὐτόν, ὦ παῖ, τῷ βλέπειν τὸ κατθανεῖν.
τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν, τῷ δ᾽ ἔνεισιν ἐλπίδες.

632-633

Andromache then presents a long explication of her argument
(634-683) in which she attempts to solace her mother-in-law
and the Trojan women:

> ὦ μῆτερ, ὦ τεκοῦσα, κάλλιστον λόγον
> ἄκουσον, ὥς σοι τέρψιν ἐμβαλῶ φρενί.

<div align="right">634-635</div>

Like Cassandra (350-351; 365-366), she tries to uncover
joy (τέρψιν, 635) where there is only sorrow, but unlike
the "insane" prophetess' optimistic belief that Trojan
defeat is better than the Greek victory and that her
marriage to Agamemnon is a cause for rejoicing (353-405),
the despondent Andromache argues only that dying is better
than life without hope and that Hecuba should be relieved
that Polyxena is dead.

The dead rest in peace while Andromache must face
life with the son of her husband's murderer and Andromache
blames her good reputation (τῶνδε κληδών, 657) as the
cause of her downfall, for it made her a choice prize for
the Greeks. Once again reality is incongruous with past
Trojan appearances. Andromache never guessed that her
effort to be a model wife would lead her into the arms of
a Greek.

In her speech Andromache had set out to console the

women, but her pessimistic words achieve only the opposite

effect on the chorus. The women's response to Andromache

ἐς ταὐτὸν ἥκεις συμφορᾶς. θρηνοῦσα δὲ
τὸ σὸν διδάσκεις μ᾿ ἔνθα πημάτων κυρῶ.

684-685

clearly places the individual sufferings of Hector's widow

in the context of the communal suffering of all Troy and

emphasizes the bond of woe (ταὐτὸν...συμφορᾶς, 684) that

unites all these women.

Hecuba, unlike the chorus, is not affected by

Andromache's despondency and counters her attitude toward

life with nautical imagery reminiscent of her monody when

she said: πλεῖ κατὰ δαίμονα (102). Here the queen compares

herself to a ship which yields to the whims of a storm:

ναύταις γὰρ ἢν μὲν μέτριος ᾖ χειμὼν φέρειν,
προθυμίαν ἔχουσι σωθῆναι πόνων,
ὃ μὲν παρ᾿ οἴαχ᾿, ὃ δ᾿ ἐπὶ λαίφεσιν βεβώς,
ὃ δ᾿ ἄντλον εἴργων ναός. ἢν δ᾿ ὑπερβάλῃ
πολὺς ταραχθεὶς πόντος, ἐνδόντες τύχῃ
παρεῖσαν αὑτοὺς κυμάτων δρομήμασιν.
οὕτω δὲ κἀγὼ πόλλ᾿ ἔχουσα πήματα
ἄφθογγός εἰμι καὶ παρεῖσ᾿ ἐῶ στόμα.

688-695

The complex psychological and dramatic implications of this

speech have been appreciated by Barlow:

> What follows is an imaginary attempt on the
> Queen's part to work out what actually happens
> on a ship at sea. It thus follows naturally
> from the reference to the information she has
> gleaned, and stresses the imaginative effort she
> is making to come to grips with the unknown. On
> the other hand it is also a straight simile
> designed to illustrate her own condition in terms
> familiar to the audience....At the same time the
> simile is not merely a random one: the reference
> to a storm also serves to remind the audience of
> the real storm which will overtake the ships on
> their voyage back to Greece. Therefore irony
> is also at work here.[6]

Most important, however, is the contrast between Hecuba's
use of ship imagery for exhortative purposes and the
unfamiliarity and fear which the sea holds for her and the
rest of the Trojan women elsewhere in the play (137; 161-
162; et al.). That the queen can still talk about ships
in this positive way reveals her great strength of character,
which constantly struggles to rekindle a spark of hope in
the midst of general adversity.

Hecuba's advice to Andromache is to forget Hector,
submit to her new husband, and win him over by her feminine
ways:

φίλον διδοῦσα δέλεαρ ἀνδρὶ σῶν τρόπων.

700

In this way, argues the ever-hopeful queen, Andromache may
at least be permitted to raise her son Astyanax to manhood

and perhaps someday his descendants may even resettle Troy:

κἂν δρᾷς τάδ', ἐς τὸ κοινὸν εὐφρανεῖς φίλους
καὶ παῖδα τόνδε παιδὸς ἐκθρέψειας ἂν
Τροίᾳ μέγιστον ὠφέλημ',--ἵν' εἴ ποτε--
ἐκ σοῦ γενόμενοι παῖδες Ἴλιον πάλιν
κατοικίσειαν, καὶ πόλις γένοιτ' ἔτι.

701-705

The ironically fertile ποτέ (703), which is so often used
in this play to look back on the happy past (e.g., 45, 149,
746, et al.), now projects an optimistic future. The
futile hopefulness of ποτέ is intensified by its prominent
position at the end of a line. The continuity of Troy
rests solely on Hector's progeny.

Hecuba just barely expresses her vision of Troy
rejuvenated when Talthybios enters and in a stichomythic
exchange with Andromache (709-725) reluctantly announces
that the Greek army has been persuaded by Odysseus to hurl
Astyanax to his death from the walls of Troy. The dramatic
irony of this announcement following Hecuba's encouraging
speech to Andromache (686-708) has already been discussed
in the third chapter. Once again Conacher's "rhythm of hope
and desolation" ends on a note of despair.[7] Even in the
dramatic present Trojan hopes for the future are dashed,
quite literally, by the harsh hand of reality.

Andromache is then warned by the Greek herald not to

curse the decision of the Greeks or else her son will be denied burial (726-739). The mother's pathetic farewell to her son (740-779) therefore barely brushes that theme (764-765) and emphasizes instead the incongruity of her son's fate:

οὐ[χ] ὡς σφάγιον ⟨υἱὸν⟩ Δαναΐδαις τέξουσ᾽ ἐμόν,
ἀλλ᾽ ὡς τύραννον Ἀσιάδος πολυσπόρου.

<div align="right">747-748</div>

In reality Astyanax was raised as a sacrifical victim (σγάγιον, 747) and not as the mighty king (τύραννον, 748) his parents hoped he would be. Andromache was ironically innocent of her son's future just as Hecuba was unaware of what fate held in store for Cassandra (346-347).

Andromache cannot curse the Greeks, but she does curse Helen as the source of Trojan woe:

ὦ Τυνδάρειον ἔρνος, οὔποτ᾽ εἶ Διός,
πολλῶν δὲ πατέρων φημί σ᾽ ἐκπεφυκέναι,
Ἀλάστορος μὲν πρῶτον, εἶτα δὲ Φθόνου,
Φόνου τε θανάτου θ᾽ ὅσα τε γῆ τρέφει κακά.
οὐ γάρ ποτ᾽ αὐχῶ Ζῆνά γ᾽ ἐκφῦσαί σ᾽ ἐγώ,
πολλοῖσι κῆρα βαρβάροις Ἕλλησί τε.
ὄλοιο. καλλίστων γὰρ ὀμμάτων ἄπο
αἰσχρῶς τὰ κλεινὰ πεδί᾽ ἀπώλεσας Φρυφῶν.

<div align="right">76 6-773</div>

Her vicious tirade against Helen is not only superb dramatic preparation for the agon between Helen and Hecuba which follows in the next episode, but it also suggests an analogy between Helen and the irony of the Trojan horse. The woman and the horse together destroyed Troy. Both are not what they seem. The wooden horse (Δούρειος, 14) is actually teeming with spears (δόρυ, 14) and Helen, who is daughter of Tyndarus (Τυνδάρειον ἔρνος, 766) and falsely claims descent from Zeus (οὔποτ' εἶ Διός, 766) is in reality the offspring of everything evil in the world (768-769). Helen, whose eyes are the most beautiful in the world (καλλίστων...ὀμμάτων, 772), is actually a bane (κῆρα, 771) to both Greeks and Trojans.

Andromache finishes her speech in a lingering and desperate embrace of her son (πρόσπτυγμα μεθείς, 782) and covers herself up in the booty-laden cart (κρύπτετ' ἄθλιον δέμας, 777). The events of the second episode reduce Andromache to a prostrate position similar to that of Hecuba both during the divine prologue (36-38) and after Cassandra's departure (462-468). Andromache's prone position is physical and dramatic refutation of the optimism displayed in Hecuba's ship imagery (686-705).

The episode ends in recitative anapests by Talthybios (782-789) and by Hecuba (790-798) which mark the exit of the

herald and the cart with its sad cargo. The queen's laments

again link personal and civic tragedy

$$...\text{o}\mathring{\iota} \ \dot{\epsilon}\gamma\grave{\omega} \ \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma,$$
$$\text{o}\mathring{\iota}\mu\text{o}\iota \ \delta\grave{\epsilon} \ \sigma\acute{\epsilon}\vartheta\epsilon\nu....$$

795-796

and her rhetorical questions ominously prepare for the blow

of the third episode:

$$...\tau\acute{\iota} \ \gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho \ \text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\varkappa \ \breve{\epsilon}\chi\text{o}\mu\epsilon\nu;$$
$$\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\text{o}\varsigma \ \dot{\epsilon}\nu\delta\acute{\epsilon}\text{o}\mu\epsilon\nu \ \mu\grave{\eta} \ \text{o}\acute{\upsilon} \ \pi\alpha\nu\sigma\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$$
$$\chi\omega\rho\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu \ \dot{\text{o}}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\vartheta\rho\text{o}\upsilon \ \delta\iota\grave{\alpha} \ \pi\alpha\nu\tau\acute{o}\varsigma;$$

796-798

B. The Second Choral Ode (799-859)

The beginning of the second stasimon is a strophe

rich in epithets and is in stark contrast with Hecuba's

pathetic rhetorical questions at the end of the Andromache

scene:

$$\text{M}\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\text{o}\tau\rho\acute{o}\varphi\text{o}\upsilon \ \Sigma\alpha\lambda\alpha\mu\tilde{\iota}-$$
$$\nu\text{o}\varsigma \ \breve{\omega} \ \beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\tilde{\upsilon} \ \text{T}\epsilon\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\omega}\nu,$$
$$\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\text{o}\upsilon \ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\varkappa\acute{\upsilon}\mu\text{o}\nu\text{o}\varsigma \ \text{o}\acute{\iota}-$$
$$\varkappa\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma \ \breve{\epsilon}\delta\rho\alpha\nu$$
$$\tau\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma \ \dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\varkappa\epsilon\varkappa\lambda\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma \ \breve{o}\chi-$$
$$\vartheta\text{o}\iota\varsigma \ \iota\epsilon\rho\text{o}\ddot{\iota}\varsigma, \ \breve{\iota}\nu' \ \dot{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$$
$$\pi\rho\tilde{\omega}\tau\text{o}\nu \ \breve{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\iota\xi\epsilon \ \varkappa\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\text{o}\nu \ \gamma\lambda\alpha\upsilon-$$
$$\varkappa\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma \ '\text{A}\vartheta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\{\varsigma\},$$
$$\text{o}\acute{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\text{o}\nu \ \sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varphi\alpha\nu\text{o}\nu$$
$$\lambda\iota\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\tilde{\iota}\sigma\acute{\iota} \ \langle\tau\epsilon\rangle \ \varkappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\text{o}\nu \ '\text{A}\vartheta\acute{\eta}\nu\alpha\iota\varsigma....$$

799-803

The strophe is in the dactylo-epitrite meter used in the first stasimon,[8] but the threnic mood established early in the first ode (especially by ἐπικήδειον, 514) is replaced here by a long and favorable (μελισσοτρόφου, 799) invocation to the Salaminian hero Telamon and by praise of Athens even more extended than in the parodos (208-209). The chorus has leapt from the sorrows of the dramatic present to the historic/mythic world of the past.

The beauties of the past world are shattered in the following lines, however, when the women reveal that they have invoked Telamon as a companion of Heracles during the first Greek expedition against Troy:

> ἔβας ἔβας τῷ
> τοξοφόρῳ συναριστεύ-
>   ων ἄμ' 'Αλκμή-
>   νας γόνῳ
> "Ιλιον "Ιλιον ἐκπέρ-
> σων πόλιν ἀμετέραν
>   τὸ πάροιθεν [ὅτ' ἔβας ἀφ' 'Ελλάδος].

804-807

Verbal repetition (ἔβας, ἔβας, 804, and "Ιλιον "Ιλιον, 806) stresses the link between Telamon and Troy, a theme which makes the chorus' invocation of Telamon and its praise of Athens a deceptive beginning for an ode of woe. As in the divine prologue, there is a conflict between apparent and actual dramatic movement: the initial mood of this ode is

a misrepresentation, just as the prologue's promise of
divine retribution upon the Greeks is never fulfilled in
the play.

The first antistrophe (808-818) elaborates upon
Heracles' sack of Troy, a tale of communal woe which
parallels the present. The ships (810-813), the walls
(814), and the fire (815) are the same in both past and
present. Past history and present experience blend in the
chorus' thoughts into one terrible nightmare:

> δὶς δὲ δυοῖν πιτύλοιν τεί-
> χη περὶ Δαρδανίας
>   [φοινία] κατέλυσεν [αἰχμά].

<div align="right">817-818</div>

The stasimon is not "un itermezzo corale"[9] despite
its dramatically unconnected and deceptive invocation to
Telamon. The chorus' recollection of past Trojan suffering
is an appropriate explication of Hecuba's ὀλέθρου διὰ
παντός (798) and most suitable to a play which depicts the
collective tragedy of a nation. The ode thus places the
sorrowful events of the preceding episode in their communal
and historical contexts.

The second strophic pair retains the dactylo-epitrite
meter of the first half of the ode, but forsakes narration
of the first Trojan expedition for allusions to Trojans-

made-immortal, Ganymede (819-839) and Tithonos (848-859).
Such thematic division of an ode is a favorite Euripidean
device, as Kranz notes:

> Für die innere Form des älteren euripideischen
> Liedes schien uns charakteristisch eine rationale
> Zerteilung, oft auf zwei Strophenpaare, die
> sogar wie zwei selbständige Lieder nebeneinander
> stehen können. Dieser Typus lebt fort, aber
> sozusagen in erweichter gelöster Form. Das
> wichtigste neue stilistische Kriterium ist,
> der grösseren Strophenlänge entsprechend, die
> Verselbständigung der Einzelstrophe und
> -antistrophe bis zu dem Ergebnis, dass sogar sie
> ein Einzelgedicht werden können.[10]

The chorus turns from the historical past to the eternal
world of the gods.

It had been a great but futile honor for a Trojan to
have been chosen as Zeus' cupbearer:

> μάταν ἄρ', ὦ χρυσέαις ἐν
> οἰνοχόαις ἁβρὰ βαίνων,
> Λαομεδόντιε παῖ,
> Ζηνὸς ἔχεις κυλίκων πλή-
> ρωμα, καλλίσταν λατρείαν.

                                        819-824

For, while Ganymede sits by Zeus' throne, his old haunts
in Troy are no longer:

> τὰ δὲ σὰ δροσόεντα λουτρὰ
> γυμνασίων τε δρόμοι
> βεβᾶσι, σὺ δὲ πρόσωπα νεα-

ρὰ χάρισι παρὰ Διὸς θρόνοις
καλλιγάλανα τρέφεις.

833-837

The chorus' theme is not only collective:

ἁ δέ σε γειναμένα {Τροία}
        πυρὶ δαίεται....

825-826

but ironic (μάταν, 819). Yet another Trojan expectation

has been proven false; a Trojan at the side of Zeus smiles

ironically (πρόσωπα.../καλλιγάλανα, 835-837) while his city

burns.

The Ganymede and Tithonos sections are separated by

a passage on love:

                "Ερως "Ερως, ὃς τὰ Δαρδά-
        ν⟨ε⟩ια μέλαθρά ποτ' ἦλθες
        οὐρανίδαισι μέλων,
        ὡς τότε μὲν μεγάλως Τροί-
                αν ἐπύργωσας, θεοῖσιν
        κῆδος ἀναψάμενος.
                τὸ μὲν οὖν Διὸς οὐ-
        κέτ' ὄνειδος ἐρῶ.

840-847

It was Eros that had made Zeus enamoured of Ganymede and

Dawn of Tithonos and that had made the gods build Troy up

so grandly (μεγάλως, 843). It was also love that brought

Helen to Troy (989-997). This theme is thus not only a

preparation for the next episode, but also further develops

Troy's ironic fate. The apparent aid brought by love (Tithonos and Ganymede) actually is the original cause of the city's destruction (Helen).

The Tithonos section parallels the Ganymede passage in its contrast between the eternal happiness of the gods and the sorrow of Troy:

> τὸ τᾶσδε λευκοπτέρου
> φίλιον Ἀμέρας βροτοῖς
> φέγγος ὀλοὸν εἶδε γαῖαν,
> εἶδε περγάμων ὄλεθρον,
> τεκνοποιὸν ἔχουσα τᾶσδε
> γᾶς πόσιν ἐν θαλάμοις....

844-854

Troy perishes while Tithonos lies in the arms of Dawn, while Ganymede smiles (835-836) and while Poseidon's Nereids dance (1-7). The divine world is oblivious to human sorrows. Tithonos' elevation has roused a false hope among his countrymen that Troy would be divinely favored, but Ganymede and Tithonos were Trojan love charms insufficient to save the city:

> ...τὰ θεῶν δὲ
> φίλτρα φροῦδα Τροίᾳ.

857-859

The relationship of the Ganymede and Tithonos themes to the preceding Andromache scene which blotted out the

Trojan hope residing in Astyanax has been suggested by
Hofmann:

> So wird auch dieses Lied aus seinem Akte geboren.
> Aus der Situation heraus, von Zweifeln gequält,
> in seinem Hoffen getäuscht, verleiht der Chor
> noch einmal der Stimmung der Epeisodions erhabenen
> Ausdruck.[11]

Between the Andromache and Helen scenes the chorus thus
focuses again on the misfortune of Troy as a city rather
than as personal, individual suffering and discusses it in
the same ironic terms. Just as in the first stasimon,
where the horse which seemed salvation was actually Troy's
doom (519-530), so here the divine honors granted to two
Trojan citizens are shown to be useless. Another shattering
note has been sounded in Conacher's "rhythm of hope and
desolation"[12] and the supposed detachment of the choral
parts in this play is once again disproven.

Notes

1. Peter Arnott, <u>Greek Scenic Conventions</u> (Oxford, 1962), 116.

2. See John Jackson, <u>Marginalia Scaenica</u> (Oxford, 1955), 189.

3. Jackson, 189-190, however, would establish symmetrical line division between each woman here as well.

4. See Biehl's text, pp. 84-85.

5. Biehl, in his text, p. 36 <u>et al</u>., has noted the symmetry of lines 610-779 "si modo verba chori excipiuntur."

6. Barlow, 118-119.

7. Conacher, 145.

8. See Biehl's text, pp. 85-87, for a metrical analysis of the stasimon.

9. Albini, 318.

10. Kranz, 249.

11. Hofmann, 78.

12. Conacher, 139.

Chapter 8

The Third Episode
and Choral Ode
(860-1117)

The Helen Scene

A. The Third Episode
(860-1059)

The guilty form of Helen has hovered sinisterly in the background of the entire play. In his monologue Poseidon counts her among the Trojan captives (ἐνδίκως, 35). Neither Hecuba nor the chorus hide their disdain of τὰν Μενελάου... στυγνὰν ἄλοχον (131-132), a hatred which even includes τὰν ἐχθίσταν θεράπναν Ἐλένας (211), and Cassandra lays the blame for the deaths of thousands squarely on Helen's shoulders (368-369). In the second episode Andromache's bitter curse against Helen (766-773) sums up the women's vindictive feelings towards the bane (κῆρα, 771) for whom the war was fought and their city lost. The theme of Helen's guilt, which Ebener has considered central to the entire play,[1] becomes the focus of the third episode.

Menelaus enters suddenly after the second stasimon. There is no anapestic introduction as there was for Talthybios' first entrance (230-234) and for Andromache (568-576). The Helen scene, in fact, spoken entirely in iambic trimeter, is in striking contrast to the constant lyric tone of the rest of the play. Menelaus greets the light of the day on which he finally gets his hands on his wife Helen

ὦ καλλιφεγγὲς ἡλίου σέλας τόδε,
ἐν ᾧ δάμαρτα τὴν ἐμὴν χειρώσομαι
'Ελένην....

860-863

The sexual implications of χειρώσομαι (862) are unavoidable.
The Greek commander then expresses the firm intention of
putting Helen to death in Greece,

ἐμοὶ δ' ἔδοξε τὸν μὲν ἐν Τροίᾳ μόρον
'Ελένης ἐᾶσαι, ναυπόρῳ δ' ἄγειν πλάτῃ
'Ελληνίδ' ἐς γῆν κᾆτ' ἐκεῖ δοῦναι κτανεῖν,
ποινὰς ὅσων τεθνᾶσ' ἐν 'Ιλίῳ φίλοι.

876-879

and orders his soldiers to drag her out of the captives'
tents by her abominable hair

ἀλλ' εἷα χωρεῖτ' ἐς δόμους, ὀπάονες,
κομίζετ' αὐτὴν τῆς μιαιφονωτάτης
κόμης ἐπισπάσαντες....

880-882

Many commentators have questioned Menelaus' sincerity
in this scene and have doubted his intentions actually to
kill his former wife. Grube commends Menelaus' "nice bit
of acting,"[2] Ebener talks about the Greek king's "Rolle,"[3]
and Wilamowitz says that "er nur Komödie spielt, wenn er zu
Helene mit dürren Worten sagt, ich kam dich zu töten."[4]
But why must Menelaus play such a role in the tragedy? He

is a commander of the Greeks and his wife was allotted to

him by the army to do with as he wished:

> ὅιπερ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐξεμόχθησαν δορί,
> κτανεῖν ἐμοί νιν ἔδοσαν, εἴτε μὴ κτανὼν
> θέλοιμ᾽ ἄγεσθαι πάλιν ἐς ᾿Αργείαν χθόνα.

> 873-875

If he does not want to kill Helen, he does not have to.

Menelaus' expressed intention, albeit unrealistic, to make

Helen pay for the sufferings she has caused, must be taken

dramatically at face value.

Hecuba responds to Menelaus' murderous intentions

with an invocation to Zeus whose unusual titles here have

been the subject of much scholarly attention:[5]

> ὦ γῆς ὄχημα κἀπὶ γῆς ἔχων ἕδραν,
> ὅστις ποτ᾽ εἶ σύ, δυστόπαστος εἰδέναι,
> Ζεύς, εἴτ᾽ ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν,
> προσηυξάμην σε. πάντα γὰρ δι᾽ ἀψόφου
> βαίνων κελεύθου κατὰ δίκην τὰ θνῆτ᾽ ἄγεις.

> 884-888

The philosophical and theological implications of Hecuba's

prayer, however, are not as important in a dramatic context

as the resurgence of optimism and faith in justice that

these words represent. Hecuba prays to Zeus to accomplish

justice, i.e., to lead Helen to her death. Her mood here

contrasts with the hopeless invocation to the gods that she

made in the Cassandra scene

ὦ θεοί...κακοὺς μὲν ἀνακαλῶ τοὺς συμμάχους....

469

and with her threnic mood at the end of the Andromache
scene (790-798). Rather, Menelaus' expressed animosity
toward Helen reawakens in the queen the forbearance with
which she began her monody (ἄνα...κεφαλήν, 98). There is
again Trojan hope, this time in vengeance.[6]

The old queen is heartened by Menelaus' intentions,
but is still cautious. Menelaus, in his haste to bring
Helen to justice, is oblivious to the potential power of
her presence (880-883), and Hecuba therefore warns him of
Helen's luring feminine wiles and advises the Greek not to
set his eyes upon her:

αἰνῶ σε, Μενέλα', εἰ κτενεῖς δάμαρτα σήν.
ὁρῶν δὲ τήνδε φεῦγε, μή σ' ἔλῃ ποθῷ.
αἱρεῖ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ὄμματ', ἐξαιρεῖ πόλεις,
πίμπρησι δ' οἴκους. ὧδ' ἔχει κηλήματα.
ἐγώ νιν οἶδα, καὶ σὺ χοἰ πεπονθότες.

890-894

Helen is a witch who dazzles men's eyes and destroys cities.

It is a stunning entrance which Helen makes at 895. A
reader of the Trojan Women is dependent upon Hecuba's
description of Helen at the end of the scene:

> ...κἀπὶ τοῖσδε σὸν δέμας
> ἐξῆλθες ἀσκήσασα κἄβλεψας πόσει
> τὸν αὐτὸν αἰθέρ', ὦ κατάπτυστον κάρα.

> 1022-1024

for an awareness of the contrast between Helen's beautiful

robes and the rags of the Trojan women, but this was

certainly a stage effect immediately visible to the Athenian

spectators. Barlow has shown particular awareness of the

dramatic effect of verbal description of appearance during

this scene:

> Hecuba...draws attention to the discrepancy
> between Helen's appearance and character by
> alluding to her clothes...[and], perhaps, reveals
> unacknowledged envy when she describes Helen's
> beauty.[7]

The pride and power of Helen's character as well as her

vain and callous nature are evident even in her clothing,

which glitters extravagantly in the midst of tragedy.

Helen addresses Menelaus coolly, almost a bit

haughtily

> Μενέλαε, φροίμιον μὲν ἄξιον φόβου
> τόδ' ἐστίν. ἐν γὰρ χερσὶ προσπόλων σέθεν
> βίᾳ πρὸ τῶνδε δωμάτων ἐκπέμπομαι.

> 895-897

When Helen requests an opportunity to plead her case

ἔξεστιν οὖν πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀμείψασθαι λόγῳ,
ὡς οὐ δικαίως, ἢν θάνω, θανούμεθα;

903-904

Menelaus refuses outright

οὐκ ἐς λόγους ἐλήλυθ', ἀλλά σε κτενῶν.

905

The Trojan queen, however, intervenes and asks the Greek

commander to let the culprit speak lest she die unheard

(μὴ θάνῃ τοῦδ' ἐνδεής, 906) but also to give Hecuba the

opportunity for refutation and for vengeance

...καὶ δὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους
ἡμῖν κατ' αὐτῆς. τῶν γὰρ ἐν Τροίᾳ κακῶν
οὐδὲν κάτοισθα. συντεθεὶς δ' ὁ πᾶς λόγος
κτενεῖ νιν οὕτως ὥστε μηδαμοῦ φυγεῖν.

907-910

Menelaus yields to the queen (911-913) and acquiesces to

the bitter agon between Helen and Hecuba which consumes the

rest of the episode (914-1059).

Helen speaks first (914-965) and strives to put blame

for the Trojan war on anyone's shoulders but her own. She

blames Hecuba for giving birth to Paris (919-920), Priam

for not killing his son (920-922), the goddesses involved

in the judgement of Paris (924-931), Menelaus for leaving

her alone with Paris (959-962), Deiphobos for retaining

her unwillingly after Paris' death (959-962), and, above
all, Aphrodite, whose love force dominates all creatures
(948-950). In fact, Helen has the gall to argue sophisti-
cally that by running off with Paris she saved Greece from
barbarian domination and is therefore worthy of praise not
condemnation:[9]

> νικᾷ Κύπρις θεάς, καὶ τοσόνδ᾽ οὑμοὶ γάμοι
> ὤνησαν Ἑλλάδ᾽. οὐ κρατεῖσθ᾽ ἐκ βαρβάρων,
> οὔτ᾽ ἐς δόρυ σταθέντες, οὐ τυραννίδι.
> ἃ δ᾽ ηὐτύχησεν Ἑλλάς, ὠλόμην ἐγὼ
> εὐμορφίᾳ πραθεῖσα, κὠνειδίζομαι
> ἐξ ὧν ἐχρῆν με στέφανον ἐπὶ κάρᾳ λαβεῖν.

> 932-937

The persuasiveness of Helen's argument is evident in
the desperate reaction of the chorus to her words:

> βασίλει᾽, ἄμυνον σοῖς τέκνοισι καὶ πάτρᾳ
> πειθὼ διαφθείρουσα τῆσδ᾽, ἐπεὶ λέγει
> καλῶς κακοῦργος οὖσα. δεινὸν οὖν τόδε.

> ·   966-968

The chorus' statement is more than an interlude between the
two arguments. As Ebener notes, "die Wörte des Chores
(966ff.) heben die bevorstehende Entgegnung Hekabes in
ihrer allgemeinen Bedeutung."[10]   σοῖς τέκνοισι καὶ πάτρᾳ
(966) places the agon in its collective context. It is now
up to Hecuba to refute the fine words of the siren
(κακοῦργος, 968) and to avenge the fatherland.

Hecuba's retort (969-1029) defends the goddesses whom Helen so bitterly maligned (ταῖς θεαῖσι...σύμμαχος, 969) and casts doubt upon the mythological causes of the war (971-986). That Hera or Athene would betray their special cities Argos or Athens is considered absurd by the queen who is ironically ignorant of Athena's plans in the prologue (48-97). Rather, Hecuba argues that it was Paris' striking beauty, Trojan wealth, and Helen's own passion that drew the Spartan queen from her homeland (987-997). Helen was not forced to leave home (998-1001); she never tried to escape from Troy, or even to commit suicide as any noble woman would (1008-1014); she refused Hecuba's pleas that she leave Troy (1015-1019). It is not the gods, but Helen who is guilty:

$$...μὴ ἀμαθεῖς ποίει θεὰς$$
$$τὸ σὸν κακὸν κοσμοῦσα. μὴ ⟨οὐ⟩ πείσῃς σοφούς.$$

<div align="right">981-982</div>

Hecuba makes every effort to uncover Helen's duplicity to Menelaus. The queen tries to stir the Greek commander's jealous rage and indignation by describing his wife's hypocritical conduct during the war (1002-1007) as well as her present effrontery and lack of contrition (1022-1028). Hecuba's exordium (1029-1032) is a plea for justice

(ἀξίως, 1030) and law (νόμον, 1031), a plea for Helen's execution which the chorus echoes (1033-1035).

Menelaus then takes the part of the plaintiff[11] (1036-1041) and professes himself convinced by Hecuba's argument that Helen ran away willingly (ἑκουσίως, 1037), that Helen's accusation of Aphrodite is just a sham (κόμπου χάριν, 1038), and that his former wife must die because of the dishonor she has caused him (ἵν' εἰδῆς μὴ καταισχύνειν ἐμέ, 1041).

At this Helen finally assumes an attitude of supplication and begs forgiveness (1042-1043), but Menelaus remains obdurate and has her led off to the ships (1046-1048). Hecuba then advises the Greek commander not to make the voyage on the same ship as Helen, for

οὐκ ἔστ' ἐραστὴς ὅστις οὐκ ἀεὶ φιλεῖ.
ὅπως ἂν ἐκβῇ τῶν ἐρωμένων ὁ νοῦς.

1051-1052

The episode ends with Menelaus' compliance and reiteration of his intention to execute Helen (1053-1059).

Hecuba has apparently won the agon. Menelaus's resolve has not been broken and Helen has been dragged off to execution. Scarcella has taken the scene at face value and argued that Helen does truly lose her case in the Trojan Women:

> Euripide ha dunque esplicitamente voluto che
> nelle sue Troadi Elena venisse presentata come
> riservata a prossima e sicura rovina.... E nulla
> importa che la tradizione omerica affermasse
> altrimenti. [12]

But has Hecuba really won? Throughout the scene (890-894;
1051; et al.) the queen has warned Menelaus of the danger
of Helen's charms. Yet Menelaus to the end does not take
the enchanting powers of his wife altogether seriously; for,
although he promises not to travel in the same ship as
Helen, his initial reaction to this request is the sarcastic
remark:

$$\tau\acute{\iota} \; \delta' \; \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota; \; \mu\epsilon\hat{\iota}\zeta ov \; \beta\rho\hat{\iota}\vartheta o\varsigma \; \mathring{\eta} \; \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho o\varsigma \; \gamma' \; \acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota;$$

1050

Instead of killing Helen on Trojan soil (874), Menelaus opts
to do so in Greece and thus gives wily Helen the time she
needs to make her charms work upon the unsuspecting Atreid.
Helen goes to her death in this play just as Hecuba goes
off to Ithacan slavery and just as the Greeks go off to a
happy homecoming. All these departures are deeply ironic,
since none of them turn out as they are forecast. The
guilty Helen escapes while the innocent Astyanax suffers.[13]
Hecuba's apparent victory in the agon is actually a drama-
tization of Helen's charms and of the inevitable cuckolding
of Menelaus, who is an ironically stupid rather than comic

character in this play. Despite Hecuba's prayer (884-887),
there is no justice in Zeus. There is no hope, not even of
vengeance, for Troy.

The episode ends without confirming this irony.[14]
Firmer proof of Helen's success and of further Trojan woe
must be sought, instead, in later dramatic events, namely
in the next choral ode.

B. The Third Choral Ode
(1060-1117)

In the previous scene, Trojan hopes has been roused
that Zeus would bring the guilty to justice (884-888) and
that Menelaus would execute Helen (890-894). At the end
of the scene Hecuba appears to have won and Helen has been
led off to death. Only in the third stasimon does Euripides
cast doubt upon the outcome of the previous agon and shatter
Trojan hope both in vengeance and in the gods.

The first strophic pair (1060-1080), in aeolo-choriambic
meter,[15] begins on a most despondent note.

> οὕτω δὴ τὸν ἐν Ἰλίῳ
> ναὸν καὶ θυόεντα βω-
>   μὸν προύδωκας Ἀχαιοῖς,
> ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ πελάνων φλόγα
> σμύρνης αἰθερίας τε κα-
>   πνὸν καὶ Πέργαμον ἱεράν....

1060-1065

Zeus has betrayed (προύδωκας, 1062) his temple and altar
in Troy. The first word of the ode, οὕτω (1060), grammati-
cally connects the song with what precedes, namely the Helen
scene, and is enough to suggest Helen's ultimate victory.
Not only has Zeus sat back on his throne and watched the
city burn

$$\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\delta'\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\ \varphi\rho\omicron\nu\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\varsigma,\ \check{\alpha}\nu\alpha\xi,$$
$$\omicron\mathring{\upsilon}\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\omicron\nu\ \check{\epsilon}\delta\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\beta\epsilon\beta\{\eta\kappa\}\grave{\omega}\varsigma$$
$$\alpha\mathring{\iota}\vartheta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\ \tau\epsilon\ \langle\tau\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma\rangle\ \pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\lambda\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\varsigma,$$
$$\mathring{\alpha}\nu\ \pi\upsilon\rho\grave{\omicron}\varsigma\ \alpha\mathring{\iota}\vartheta\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \acute{\omicron}\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}.$$

<div align="right">1077-1080</div>

But he has also let Helen escape; thus (οὕτω) he has betrayed
Troy most deeply.

The city is no longer, but the first half of the
stasimon is a graphic description of Troy in its glory, of
sacrifices smoking with incense (σμύρνης αἰθερίας τε κα/πνόν,
1064-1065), of Ida's ivied glens ('Ιδαῖα κισσοφόρα νάπη,
1066), of nocturnal hymns and dances to the gods (θυσίαι
χορῶν τ'/εὔφημοι κέλαδοι κατ' ὀρ/φναν, 1071-1073) and of
Troy's gold inlayed images of worship (χρυσέων τε ξοάνων
τύποι, 1074). Such glory is now gone (φροῦδαι, 1071), just
as Troy's love charms of the second stasimon are gone
(φίλτρα φροῦδα, 859). The irony of the chorus' past-present
contrast has also been noted by Barlow in her perceptive
study of descriptive imagery in this ode:

This is how things were, but Zeus has betrayed the city. The passage is also full of an irony quite lacking in Aeschylus' treatment [i.e., in Agamemnon 355ff].[16]

As in the second stasimon, the theme changes in the second half of the ode, which Wilamowitz therefore describes as "aus zwei selbständigen Strophenpaaren bestehend."[17] The women now turn from Troy past to their personal and painfully present losses in the second strophic pair (1081-1099), whose meter is predominately dactylo-epitrite. They apostrophize their dead and unburied husbands

> ὦ φίλος, ὦ πόσι μοι,
> σὺ μὲν φθίμενο{ι}ς ἀλαίνεις
> ἄθαπτος ἄνυδρος...

1081-1085

and lament their own lot of servitude

> ...ἐμὲ δὲ πόντιον σκάφος
> ἀίσσον πτεροῖσι πορεύσει
> ἱππόβοτον Ἄργος, τείχε' ἵνα
> λαΐνα Κυκλώπι' οὐράνια νέμονται.

1085-1088

as well as the loss of their children

> τέκνων δὲ πλῆθος ἐν πύλαις
> δάκρυσι κατάορα στένει βοᾷ βοᾷ.

1089-1090

As in the parodos, the women's fears still center around
geography

> μᾶτερ, ὤμοι, μόναν δή μ' 'Αχαι-
>   οὶ κομίζουσι σέθεν ἀπ' ὀμμάτων
> κυανέαν ἐπὶ ναῦν
> ε⟨ἰ⟩ναλίαισι πλάταις
> ἤ Σαλαμῖν' ἱερὰν
> ἤ δίπορον κορυφὰν
> 'Ισθμιον, ἔνθα πύλας Πέ-
>   λοπος ἔχουσιν ἔδραι.

$$1091-1099$$

Such a description of husband, wife, and child sums up the
familial and communal woes of all Troy.

If the audience has retained doubts about the outcome
of the agon between Hecuba and Helen, they are removed in
the second antistrophe, where the chorus curses Menelaus
and prays, ironically in the context of the divine prologue,
for a storm to strike his fleet

> εἶθ' ἀκάτου Μενέλα
>   μέσον πέλαγος ἰούσας
>   δίπαλτον ἱερὸν ἀνὰ μέσον πλάταν πέσοι
>   Αἰγαίου κεραυνοφαὲς πῦρ....

$$1100-1104$$

The chorus' last words to the Greek commander in the third
episode had been cautiously laudatory (1033-1035). The
reason for the women's change in attitude in explained in
the lines following their curse

>   Ἰλιόθεν ὅτε με πολυδάκρυ⟨ο⟩ν
>   Ἑλλάδι λάτρευμα γᾶθεν ἐξορίζει,
>   χρύσεα δ' ἔνοπτρα, παρθένων
>   χάριτας, ἔχουσα τυγχάνει Διὸς κόρα.

<div align="right">1105-1109</div>

While the women must leave their homeland (Ἰλιόθεν, 1105;

γᾶθεν, 1106) for servitude in Greece (Ἑλλάδι λάτρευμα,

1107), the chorus imagines Helen holding a mirror in her

hand (χρύσεα δ' ἔνοπτρα, 1107), an appropriate symbol of

the feminine charms about which Hecuba warned Menelaus so

futilely (890-894; 1049-1052). There is no question in the

women's minds that Helen has won and the ode ends in a

continuation of the chorus' curse against Menelaus:

>   μηδὲ πόλιν Πιτάνας
>   Χαλκόπυλόν τε θεᾶς ⟨θάλαμον⟩
>   δύσγαμον αἴσχος ἑλὼν
>   Ἑλλάδι τᾷ μεγάλᾳ
>   καὶ Σιμοεντι⟨ά⟩σιν μέ-
>   λεα πάθεα ῥοῇσιν.

<div align="right">1110-1117</div>

The Greek commander will take back Helen who is here

bitterly called an ill-married shame (δύσγαμον αἴσχος, 1114)

and the cause of wretched sorrows (μέ/λεα πάθεα 1116-1117)

for both Greeks and Trojans.

The final stasimon of the play thus expresses the

Trojan women's loss of faith in the gods and is the only

confirmation in the Trojan Women of Helen's thwarting of

justice and of the consequent irony of the third episode.

The important dramatic role of the third stasimon

provides the final refutation of Webster's statement that

"in this play...the beautiful world of the choral odes

contrasts sharply with the present misery of women in war."[18]

The chorus' mythological allusions are bitterly relevant to

the rest of the drama. None of the choral parts of the

Trojan Women can be termed detached. The chorus of Trojan

women is neither reflective nor a contrast to the play as

a whole; rather, Euripides uses this Greek dramatic

convention to develop his central theme, the utter collective

and ironic sorrow of the Trojan nation.

Notes

1. Ebener, 709-716.

2. Grube, 294.

3. Ebener, 709.

4. Wilamowitz, Griechische Tragödien, 280.

5. On Hecuba's prayer, see especially: Ebener, 710; Albin
   Lesky, "Zur Problematik des Psychologischen in der
   Tragödie des Euripides," Gymnasium 67 (1960), 15;
   Lesky, Die Griechische Tragödie,3 214; Wolfgang
   Schadewaldt, Monolog und Selbstgesprach (Berlin,
   1926), 113; Wilamowitz, Griechische Tragödien, 283-
   284; Max Pohlenz, Die Griechische Tragödie (Gottingen,
   1954), 369-370.

6. This interpretation of Hecuba's prayer has much in
   common with those of Ebener, 710, and of Schadewalot,
   who says, 113: "Hier zweifelt Hekabe noch nicht daran,
   dass Menelaos seinem Vorsatz zur Tat werden lassen
   wird."

7. Barlow, 86-87.

8. On the structure of the agon, see: Ernst-Richard
   Schwinge, Die Verwendung der Stichomythie in der
   Dramen des Euripides (Heidelberg, 1968), 39-40 and
   Falttafel; and Duchemin, 139.

9. On the parallels between Helen's defense and Gorgias'
   Encomium, see Orsini, 82-88.

10. Ebener, 713.

11. See Duchemin, 139.

12. Scarcella, 64.

13. See Albini, 320.

14. Indeed, in Scene XI of his adaptation of the play,
    Sartre felt it necessary to resolve the ambiguity
    by having Helen actually board Menelaus' ship.

Sartre thus accepts the general view that the Greek commander is deceptive in this scene.

15. On the meter of this ode, see Biehl's text, pp. 87-88, and Webster, <u>Greek Chorus</u>, 163.

16. Barlow, 13.

17. Wilamowitz, <u>Griechische Tragödien</u>, 284.

18. Webster, <u>Tragedies</u>, 180.

Chapter 9

The Fourth Episode
and Exodus
(1118-1332)

The Astyanax Scene

A. The Fourth Episode
(1118-1283)

The transition from the third stasimon to the
Astyanax scene is accomplished by the chorus' recitative
anapests which announce Talthybios' return with the corpse
of Hector's son:

ἰὼ ἰώ.
καίν᾽ ⟨ἐκ⟩ καινῶν μεταβάλλουσαι
χθονὶ συντυχίαι. λεύσσετε Τρώων
τόνδ᾽ ᾿Αστυάνακτ᾽ ἄλοχοι μέλεαι
νεκρόν, ὃν πύργων δίσκημα πικρὸν
Δαναοὶ κτείναντες ἔχουσιν.

1118-1122

Emphasis on new sorrows (καίν᾽ ἐκ καινῶν, 1118) links this
passage with Hecuba's cries at the end of the second
episode

...τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔχομεν;
τίνος ἐνδέομεν μὴ οὐ πανσυδίᾳ
χωρεῖν ὀλέθρου διὰ παντός;

796-798

and provides continuity between the two dramatic sections
about Astyanax. χθονί (1119) places the chorus' words in an
explicit collective context and, together with
μεταβάλλουσαι/...συντυχίαι (1119-1120), establishes an
ironic contrast between Troy past and Troy present which is
lacking in Hecuba's self-exhortative use of μεταβαλλομένου

(101). Barlow has noted Euripides' skilled use of the

brief metaphor δίσκημα (1121):

> Moments of horror may be captured in one striking
> word....As it is hurled to its death from the
> citadel summit, the light-weight body of a child..
> is a 'quoit-throw' from the walls....[1]

This metaphor also implies Troy's happy past, when the only

quoits thrown were for amusement, and underlines the

incongruity of Troy's present situation.

Talthybios announces to Hecuba that circumstances

have caused Neoptolemos' immediate departure from Troy

(1123-1128) and that Andromache is gone with him (1129-

1133). The herald's compassionate nature is disclosed in

his description of Andromache's farewell to her homeland

and her husband's grave:

> ...μετ' αὐτοῦ δ' 'Ανδρομάχη, πολλῶν ἐμοὶ
> δακρύων ἀγωγός, ἡνίκ' ἐξώρμα χθονός,
> πάτραν τ' ἀναστένουσα καὶ τὸν Ἑκτορος
> τύμβον προσεννέπουσα....
>
> 1130-1133

The hastily-departing mother's last request of Hecuba is to

bury Astyanax (1133-1144), for which purpose Andromache has

left Hector's shield to serve as a funeral bier:

φόβον τ' 'Αχαιῶν, χαλκόνωτον ἀσπίδα
τήνδ', ἣν πατὴρ τοῦδ' ἀμφὶ πλεύρ' ἐβάλλετο,
μή νιν πορεῦσαι Πηλέως ἐφ' ἑστίαν,
μηδ' ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν θάλαμον, οὗ νυμφεύσεται
μήτηρ νεκροῦ τοῦδ' 'Ανδρομάχη, λύπας ὁρᾶν,
ἀλλ' ἀντὶ κεδρου περιβόλων τε λαΐνων
ἐν τῇδε θάψαι παῖδα....

1136-1142

This association of Hector's shield and Hector's son is the central focus of the final episode and is a brilliant staging technique fraught with ironic implications. The battered body is borne on stage in his father's bronze-backed (χαλκόνωτον, 1136) shield which Hector had once used as protection in battle (1137) and which is the Trojan's emblem in the Iliad.[2] Astyanax was killed because he was his father's son (742-743), and, as Havelock states, "the child's proud patrimony as Hector's son, his noble birth and lineage and status now become the direct agents of an ignoble and pitiable death."[3] The father is in effect murderer of his own son, and the shield which Hector once used in defence of himself, his son, and his city becomes Astyanax's coffin (ἀντὶ κέδρου, 1141).

This dramatic use of Hector's shield makes even the child's name ironic for at Iliad Z, 402-403 the etymology of 'Αστυάναξ is explicitly linked with Hector's defence of the city:

τὸν ῥ' Ἕκτωρ καλέεσκε Σκαμάνδριον, αὐτὰρ οἳ ἄλλοι
Ἀστυάνακτ'. οἶος γὰρ ἐρύετο Ἴλιον Ἕκτωρ.

Now the son named "defender of the city" after his father is buried in that which was his father's defence. Euripides transforms Homer's word play into dramatic irony which is emphasized verbally, especially by Hecuba, throughout the scene (1194-1199; 1221-1225; et al.).

Having thus reported Andromache's message (1133-1144), Talthybios advises Hecuba to perform her sad task as quickly as possible (1145-1149) and again reveals a tenderness which is very unGreek in this play and which many commentators have commended:[4]

ἑνὸς μὲν οὖν μόχθου σ' ἀπαλλάξας ἔχω.
Σκαμανδρίους γὰρ τάσδε διαπερῶν ῥοὰς
ἔλουσα νεκρὸν κἀπένιψα τραύματα.

1150-1152

The herald's departure to dig Astyanax's grave (1153-1155) is followed by Hecuba's long lament in iambic trimeter over the body of her grandson (1156-1206). The queen first orders the pallbearers to put the shield down on the ground:

θέσθ' ἀμφίτορνον ἀσπίδ' Ἕκτορος πέδῳ,
λυπρὸν θέαμα κοὐ φίλον λεύσσειν ἐμοί.

1156-1157

Its burden has transformed the shield, once the terror of the Greeks (φόβον τ' 'Αχαιῶν, 1136) into λυπρὸν θέαμα and οὐ φίλον λεύσσειν (1157) for Hecuba. The shield's funereal role has displaced its salutative and martial one. The queen's initial reaction to the sight of the shield and its contents is rage against the Greeks (1157-1166), in which she elliptically refutes her own vision in the Andromache scene (697-705) of Troy rejuvenated via Astyanax:

> τί τόνδ', 'Αχαιοί, παῖδα δείσαντες φόνον
> καινὸν διειργάσασθε; μὴ Τροίαν ποτὲ
> πεσοῦσαν ὀρθώσειεν...;

> 1159-1161

What was once a viable hope is now only an illusion (μὴ διεξελθὼν λόγῳ, 1166).

Everything is so inverted that not even Astyanax's parents are on hand to mourn the child. A whole generation has been obliterated and it is the grandmother who addresses her dead grandson (1167-1193) and develops the incongruity (δυστυχής, 1167) of Astyanax's fate:

> εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔθανες πρὸ πόλεως, ἥβης τυχὼν
> γάμων τε καὶ τῆς ἰσοθέου τυραννίδος,
> μακάριος ἦσθ' ἄν, εἴ τι τῶνδε μακάριον.
> νῦν ⟨δ'⟩ αὔτ' ἰδὼν μὲν γνούς τε σῇ ψυχῇ τέκνον,
> οὐκ οἶσθ', ἐχρήσω δ' οὐδὲν ἐν δόμοις ἔχων.

> 1168-1172

Hector's son had been born to rule (ἰσοθέου τυραννίδος, 1169), but he died before he could even appreciate his privileged position. Alexiou's inclusion of this conditional sentence in a discussion of the wish in the traditional lament as expressing "the mourner's concern to avert the wrath of the dead, should his death have been untimely or unfortunate"[5] does not appear justified in view of the contrary-to-fact force of the past indicatives ἔθανες (1168) and ἦσθ' (1170). Hecuba's condition is not a wish, but an expression of the disparity between what Astyanax might have expected from life and his premature and bitter death.

Hecuba then mingles graphic description of the broken body with visions of the happy past (1173-1184). She looks at the crushed head and thinks of the pretty curls Andromache used to comb:

> δύστηνε, κρατὸς ὥς σ' ἔκειρεν ἀθλίως
> τείχη πατρῷα, Λοξίου πυργώματα,
> ὃν πόλλ' ἐκήπευσ' ἡ τεκοῦσα βόστρυχον
> φιλήμασίν τ' ἔδωκεν....

> 1173-1176

The defensive purpose of the walls of Troy, once symbols not only of civic protection (πατρῷα, 1174) but also divine favor (Λοξίου, 1174), has been inverted, just as Hector's shield has become a funeral bier. The grandmother looks at

the now-silent lips and reflects on the innocent boasts
the child once made:

> ὦ πολλὰ κόμπους ἐκβαλὸν φίλον στόμα,
> ὄλωλας, ἐψεύσω μ', ὅτ' ἐσπίπτων λέχος,
> "ὦ μῆτερ," ηὔδας, "ἦ πολύν σοι βοστρύχων
> πλόκαμον κεροῦμαι, πρὸς τάφον θ' ὁμηλίκων
> κώμους ἀπάξω, φίλα διδοὺς προσφθέγματα."

<div align="right">1180-1184</div>

boasts which contrast so pathetically and ironically with
reality:

> σὺ δ' οὐκ ἔμ', ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σὲ τὸν νεώτερον,
> γραῦς ἄπολις ἄτεκνος, ἄθλιον θάπτω νεκρόν.

<div align="right">1185-1186</div>

The structure and word choice of these two verses are
remarkable. Chiasmus occurs in 1185 in an almost unbroken
series of monosyllabic words; only the bitter νεώτερον is
larger than two syllables. Alliteration, largely achieved
by repeated use of α-privative in ἄπολις and ἄτεκνος,
dominates the second verse, which also establishes an
antithesis between γραῦς at the beginning of the line and
νεκρόν at the end. The roles of young and old have been
reversed and Hecuba (γραῦς, 1186) must bury Astyanax
(τὸν νεώτερον, 1185) despite his promises to the contrary.
Hecuba's thoughts turn at the end of her eulogy from

the corpse to the shield-become-bier:

> ὦ καλλίπηχυν Ἕκτορος βραχίονα
> σῴζουσ', ἄριστον φύλακ' ἀπώλεσας σέθεν.
> ὡς ἡδὺς ἐν πόρπακι σὸς κεῖται τύπος
> ἴτυός τ' ἐν εὐτόρνοισι περιδρόμοις ἱδρώς,
> ὃν ἐκ μετώπου πολλάκις πόνους ἔχων
> ἔσταζεν Ἕκτωρ προστιθεὶς γενειάδι.

                                        1194-1199

As in 1173-1184, the present is described in terms of the past and the queen notes the marks which Hector's combat once made on the shield. Hecuba then returns to reality with a command to attendants to gather funereal ornaments for her grandson (1200-1202) and an axiomatic comment upon the demented (ἔμπληκτος, 1205) course of fate (1203-1206).

The chorus' announcement of the return of the attendants (1207-1208) introduces the formal burial rites of Astyanax (1206-1250). During these rites Hecuba's spoken parts (1209-1215; 1218-1225; 1232-1234; 1240-1250) are interspersed with lyric interjections sung by the chorus in dochmiacs and iambs (1216-1217; 1226-1231; 1235-1239).[6] The alternation of spoken and lyric passages makes this scene structurally similar to the dialogue between Hecuba and Talthybios at the beginning of the Cassandra scene (235-291).

The queen begins the adornment of the corpse with another invocation of the dead:

ὦ τέκνον, οὐχ ἵπποισι νικήσαντά σε
οὐδ' ἥλικας τόξοισιν, οὓς Φρύγες νόμους
τιμῶσιν, οὐκ ἐς πλησμονὰς θηρώμενοι,
μήτηρ πατρός σοι προστίθησ' ἀγάλματα
τῶν σῶν ποτ' ὄντων...νῦν δέ σ' ἡ θεοστυγὴς
ἀφείλεθ' Ἑλένη, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ψυχὴν σέθεν
ἔκτεινε καὶ πάντ' οἶκον ἐξαπώλεσεν.

1209-1215

The incongruity of the child's fate (οὐχ ἵπποισι νικήσαντά σε, 1209) is again placed in its ironic temporal context (ποτ', 1213) and again hated Helen is blamed for Trojan woe (1213-1215). Would Hecuba have revived this theme so bitterly if she thought the culprit would be punished? The guilty Helen has indeed escaped while the innocent Astyanax was murdered. Astyanax is truly an ironic pharmakon, or scape-goat.

The chorus echoes Hecuba's past temporal reference (ποτ', 1213) in its first lyric interjection:

ἒ ἔ, φρενῶν
ἔθιγες ἔθιγες. ὦ μέγας ἐμοί ποτ' ὤν
ἀνάκτωρ πόλεως.

1216-1217

The body is then wrapped by the child's grandmother in robes which ought to have been worn on his wedding day:

ἃ δ' ἐν γάμοις ἐχρῆν σε προσθέσθαι χροῒ
Ἀσιατίδων γήμαντα τὴν ὑπερτάτην
Φρύγια πέπλων ἀγάλματ' ἐξάπτω χροός.

1218-1220

and Hector's shield, too, is garlanded

σύ τ' ὦ ποτ' οὖσα καλλίνικε, μυρίων
μῆτερ τροπαίων, Ἕκτορος φίλον σάκος,
στεφανοῦ. θανῇ γὰρ οὔ--θανοῦσα σὺν νεκρῷ.

1221-1223

For the third time since the funeral rites began, ποτ'

(1221) appears in the ironic context first developed by

Poseidon in the prologue (45).

After the chorus' second lyric section (1226-1231),

in which Hecuba participates slightly (αἰαῖ, 1229, and

οἴμοι {μοι}, 1230), the queen binds the fatal wounds:

τελαμῶσιν ἕλκη τὰ μὲν ἐγώ σ' ἰάσομαι,
τλήμων ἰατρὸς ὄνομ' ἔχουσα, τἄργα δ' οὔ
τὰ δ' ἐν νεκροῖσι φροντιεῖ πατὴρ σέθεν.

1232-1234

The deathless bronze shield dies (1223) and Hecuba must

perform useless healing functions on a corpse. Reality

has been totally inverted.

The third lyric section begins in a threnic mood

ἄρασσ' ἄρασσε {χειρὶ} κρᾶτα πιτύ-
λους διδοῦσα χειρός.
ἰώ μοί μοι.

1235-1237

whose vocabulary parallels the beginning of Hecuba's

anakyklesis in the second episode (279-280). The metaphor

πιτύ/λους (1235-1236) reflects the subjective landscape

centered around ship imagery which Barlow has noted

throughout the play[7] and which Lattimore's translation

effectively underlines:[8]

> Rip, tear your faces with hands
> that beat like oars.

Hecuba interrupts this lament at 1238 with a reasser-

tion of her forbearing character (98-104; 686-705; et al.)

and with an optimistic vision of poetic immortality:

> οὐκ ἦν ἄρ' ἐν θεοῖσι πλὴν οὐμοὶ πόνοι
> Τροία τε πόλεων ἔκκριτον μισουμένη,
> μάτην δ' ἐβουθυτοῦμεν. εἰ δ⟨ὲ μὴ⟩ [ἡμας] θεὸς
> ἔστρεψε τἄνω περιβαλὼν κάτω χθονός,
> ἀφανεῖς ἂν ὄντες οὐκ ἂν ὑμνήθημεν ἂν
> μούσαις, ἀοιδὰς δόντες ὑστέροις βροτῶν.

$$1240-1245$$

In these lines Hecuba affirms a ray of hope for herself

(οὐμοί, 1240) and for her city (Τροία, 1241) upon which

many commentators have laid immense dramatic stress.

Murray emphasizes this vision in his interpretation of the

Trojan Women as the paracharaxis of the victorious conquered:

> The role of Troy and of the queen of Troy is to
> be hated by God, to go through the very extreme
> of affliction till all that was high in Troy is
> made low; and through that role they have

achieved a splendour which will be an inspiration to poets for all ages to come.[9]

For Murray, the women's last but only solid hope is in poetic immortality, in myth. Conacher, too, whose "rhythm of hope and desolation" has thus far been shown to be an accurate description of this extremely pessimistic play that shatters hope after hope, makes Hecuba's vision the final optimistic note of the play.[10]

This interpretation of Hecuba's prayer, however, is contrary to the dramatic structure of both the fourth episode and of the entire play. As the Trojan queen finishes her vision of immortal Troy and the body of Astyanax is carried off to burial, choral anapests (1251-1259) introduce a final blow. Greek soldiers bearing torches stand on the Trojan ramparts:

> ἔα ἔα.
> τίνας {τίνας} Ἰλιάσιν ταῖσδ' ἐν κορυφαῖς
> λεύσσω φλογέας δαλοῖσι χέρας
> διερέσσοντας; μέλλει Τροία
> καινόν τι κακὸν προσέσεσθαι.

> 1256-1259

As in the Cassandra scene (298-305), the sudden and unexplained glow of flames attracts the attention of both dramatic company and audience.[11] Talthybios appears at 1260 and orders his men to set the citadel aflame (1260-1264)

and the women to depart when the signal is sounded (1265-1271).

The sight of her city in flames has a profound effect on Troy's one-time queen, who laments:

> οἲ 'γὼ τάλαινα. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ λοίσθιον
> καὶ τέρμα πάντων τῶν ἐμῶν ἤδη κακῶν.
> ἔξειμι πατρίδος, πόλις ὑφάπτεται πυρί.

> 1272-1274

Troy, both as citadel and nation, has reached the end (τέρμα 1273) of its sorrows. The city burns (πόλις ὑφάπτεται πυρί, 1274) and its citizenry departs in exile (ἔξειμι πατρίδος, 1274). As she began her part in the play with an anatomical reference (κεφαλήν, 98), the queen now exhorts her aged feet to hasten so that she may eulogize her perishing city:

> ἀλλ', ὦ γεραιὲ πούς, ἐπίσπευσον μόλις,
> ὡς ἀσπάσωμαι τὴν ταλαίπωρον πόλιν.

> 1275-1276

ἀσπάσωμαι (1275) perhaps suggests that she runs to the edge of the acting area to look out over burning Troy and say:

> ὦ μεγάλα δή ποτ' ἀμπνέουσ' ἐν βαρβάροις
> Τροία, τὸ κλεινὸν ὄνομ' ἀφαιρήσῃ τάχα.
> πιμπρᾶσί σ', ἡμᾶς δ' ἐξάγουσ' ἤδη χθονὸς
> δούλας. ἰὼ θεοί. καὶ τί τοὺς θεοὺς καλῶ;
> καὶ πρὶν γὰρ οὐκ ἤκουσαν ἀνακαλούμενοι.

> 1277-1281

Her eulogy not only again reflects on Troy's glorious past
(ποτ', 1277) but also rejects hope in the poetic future
(1278). There is no help in the gods and no apparent hope
even in the continuity of Troy's fame. In despair the old
queen tries to hurl herself into the flames:

> φέρ' ἐς πυρὰν δράμωμεν. ὡς κάλλιστά μοι
> σὺν τῆδε πατρίδι κατθανεῖν πυρουμένη.

<div align="right">1283-1284</div>

However, Hecuba's attempt to end her life together with
her city's (1284) is foiled by Talthybios and his soldiers
(1284-1286). Just as reflection on the woes of Troy
turned Hecuba from optimistic self-exhortation to despair
during her monody (98-121), and just as her encouragement
of Andromache based upon nautical imagery was refuted by
Talthybios' subsequent announcement of Astyanax's death
warrant (686-725), so here Hecuba's vision of Troy
eternalized in poetry (ἀοιδὰς δόντες ὑστέροις βροτῶν, 1245)
is shattered by the emotional sight of her city being
devoured by flames (τὸ κλεινὸν ὄνομ' ἀφαιρήσῃ τάχα, 1278).
The weight of sorrows leads Hecuba to the ultimate
expression of psychological despair: attempted suicide.

Meade argues that Hecuba's poetic vision withstands
the horrid flames: "Troy falls amidst scenes of almost
apocalyptic terror in which the worst element is the

sundering of human ties, but amid the universal ruin Hecuba is greater than her fate."[12] Such an interpretation, obviously indebted to Murray's influential study of the trilogy, grasps futilely at straws of optimism just as Hecuba in her sorrow grasps at a final straw of hope in her poetic vision. Euripides swiftly and dramatically consumes this final straw in the flames of Troy which snuff out Hecuba's last flicker of hope. Even the queen's stubborn character breaks in the end, and under the weight of dramatic events πλεῖ κατὰ πορθμόν (102) becomes ἐς πυρὰν δράμωμεν (1283).

Yet Euripides' play is itself confirmation that Hecuba's hope of Trojan immortality through poetry is actually valid, just as Cassandra's bacchic prophecies of of Agamemnon's death are not mad ravings but true predictions, and just as the Trojans (and the Greeks) are unaware of what the gods have planned in the prologue. Once again the dramatic movement of the play is ironic. Troy will survive in poetry, but such poetic immortality (reality) means nothing to the women in the face of their present sorrow (appearance).

B. The Exodos (1287-1332)

The final lines of the play form an exodos in the form of a kommos for Troy (1287-1332). The two strophic

pairs, in a mixture of bacchic and iambic meters, are sung

partially by Hecuba and partially by the chorus,[13] and form

a suitable ending for a highly lyric play.

In the first strophe Hecuba's invocation of Zeus:

> ὀττοτοτοτοτοῖ
> Κρόνιε πρύτανι Φρύγιε †γενέτα πάτερ† , ἀνάξια
>   τᾶς Δαρδάνου γονᾶς τάδ᾽ οἷ-
>   α πάσχομεν δέδορκας;

> 1287-1290

is answered despondently by the chorus:

> δέδορκεν, ἁ δὲ μεγαλόπολις
> ἄπολις ὄλωλεν οὐδ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἔστι Τροία.

> 1291-1292

As the women sang in the second and third stasimons, the

gods are aware of Troy's plight but are apathetic. The

μεγαλόπολις (1291) has become ἄπολις (1292), a transition

which Euripides emphasizes by the striking juxtaposition of

these words across the verse boundary. Troy is no longer.

Queen and chorus then vividly describe the fire

blazing throughout their city in the first antistrophe:

> ὀττοτοτοτοτοῖ.
> λέλαμπεν Ἴλιος Περγάμων τε πυρὶ †καταίθεται†

τέραμνα †καὶ πόλις ἄκρα τε τειχέων†
†μαλερὰ μέλαθρα† πυρὶ κατάδρο-
μα δαΐῳ τε λόγχᾳ.
πτέρυγι δὲ καπνὸς ὥς τις οὐ-
ράνια πεσοῦσα δορὶ καταφθίνει γᾶ.

1293-1300

The text is corrupt but the picture of Troy in flames still
flashes through the women's emotional words.

The second strophe (1302-1316) begins with an
apostrophe of the Trojan soil as nourisher of the women's
dead children:

ἰὼ γᾶ τρόφιμε τῶν ἐμῶν τέκνων
ἒ ἔ.
ὦ τέκνα, κλύετε, μάθετε ματρὸς αὐδάν.
ἰαλέμῳ τοὺς θανόντας ἀπύεις.

1302-1304

Then, in the same way that the events of the Cassandra
scene reduced Hecuba once more to the prostrate position
she had held during the divine prologue (36-38; 462-471)
the queen now again kneels on the ground and beats the
earth with her hands:

γεραιά γ᾽ ἐς πέδον τιθεῖσα μέλε᾽ ⟨ἐμ⟩ὰ
καὶ χερσὶ γαῖαν κτυποῦσα δισσαῖς.

1305-1306

The women imitate the queen's position of lament and invoke

their dead husbands:

> διάδοχά σοι γόνυ τίθημι γαίᾳ
> τοὺς ἐμοὺς καλοῦσα νέρ-
> θεν ἀθλίους ἀκοίτας.

<div align="right">1307-1309</div>

At the end of the strophe, Hecuba, too, calls on her own

husband

> Πρίαμε Πρίαμε, σὺ μὲν ὀλόμενος ἄταφος ἄφιλος
> ἄτας ἐμᾶς ἄιστος εἶ.

<div align="right">1312-1214</div>

Queen and chorus are thus united not only by a mournful

theme of woe but also by a threnic gesture whose primitive

and ritualistic basis has been discussed by Moutsopoulos:

> Le geste renforce le cri douloureux adressé au
> mort....

and

> L'origine musicale de ce rite devient évidente
> du fait qu'il s'agit là d'une technique de
> répétition à laquelle, d'ailleurs, le poète
> confère un sens collectif, sinon théâtrical, en
> laissant les captives troyennes donner la
> réplique à leur reine.[14]

In a pattern similar to that of the parodos (154-196),

choral involvement turns Hecuba's threnic position into a

collective expression of civic sorrow.

In the final antistrophe (1317-1332) the city quakes and finally crashes to the ground (1325-1326). At the end of the tragedy both city and citizens are reduced to the prostrate position of Hecuba during the divine prologue. Twice within this stanza the chorus refutes Hecuba's poetic vision of Trojan immortality:

τάχ' ἐς φίλαν γᾶν πεσεῖσθ' ἀνώνυμοι.

1319

and

ὄνομα δὲ γᾶς ἀφανὲς εἶσιν. ἄλλᾳ δ'
ἄλλο φροῦδον, οὐδ' ἔτ' ἔ-
στιν ἁ τάλαινα Τροία.

1322-1324

ἀφανές (1322) specifically echoes and contradicts the ἀφανεῖς (1244) of Hecuba's vision. The collapse of the citadel is the final blow. Even Troy's identity is lost (ἀνώνυμοι, 1319) and at 1327-1332 the women march off to slavery. Their departure culminates the movement toward the Greek ships begun in the prologue (18-19) and symbolizes the dissolution of the Trojan state.

The communal and ironic tragedy of Troy is complete.

Notes

1. Barlow, 105.

2. Prof. G. Nagy argues that the shield is Hector's emblem
   in the Iliad much more than it is Achilles', who is
   associated more with the spear. Such emblems are
   appropriate to the offensive and defensive roles of
   the two characters.

3. Havelock, 124.

4. See: Perrotta, 240-245; E. M. Blaiklock, The Male
   Characters of Euripides (Wellington, 1952), 107;
   Webster, Tragedies, 177; Kristine Gilmartin,
   "Talthybios in the Trojan Women," AJP 91 (1970), who
   says, 221, that Talthybios' "humane character, in the
   role of the herald, the established means of communi-
   cation between victors and vanquished, argues
   against Havelock's nihilistic interpretation." I
   agree with Gilmartin's understanding of the character
   of the herald, but do not think Talthybios is the
   unifying and optimistic element she suggests.

5. Margaret Alexiou, The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition
   (Cambridge, 1974), 178.

6. For metrical analysis of these choral lyrics, see
   Biehl's text, pp. 89-90.

7. See Barlow, 43-56.

8. See Lattimore's translation of the Trojan Women in
   David Grene and Richmond Lattimore, ed., The Complete
   Greek Tragedies (Chicago, 1958), ad loc.

9. Murray, Greek Studies, 146. See Chapter 3.

10. Conacher, 145.

11. On the staging of this scene, see Lesky, Griechische
    Tragödien³, 213.

12. Louise M. Mead, "The Troades' of Euripides," Greece and
    Rome 75 (1962), 403.

13. See Biehl's text, pp. 91-92.

14. E. Moutsopoulos, "Euripide et la philosophie de la musique," REG 75 (1962), 403. Italics added.

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Vita

Thomas Jerome Sienkewicz, the son of Edmund R. and Maria F. (née Liguori) Sienkewicz, was born in Hoboken, N. J., on April 29, 1950. After attending St. Anne's Elementary School in Hoboken, he entered St. Peter's Preparatory School, Jersey City, N. J., where he was a member of the Greek Honors class and from which he was graduated in 1968. While at the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Ma., he was a student of the Classics under Werner Loewy, Joseph Marique, William Ziobro, William Fitzgerald, and Robert Healey and was a three time participant in the Hellenic Tradition Seminar. He was awarded a B.A. in cursu honoris summa cum laude in 1971.

From 1971 to 1974 he was a National Defense Fellow in Classics at The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., where he studied under Marsh H. McCall, Jr., Georg Luck, James W. Poultney, John H. Young, and Keith Bradley. He received a M.A. in Classics from Johns Hopkins in 1972. He spent the 1973-1974 academic year in Paris where he worked on palaeographic and archaeological projects and also participated in a seminar given by Jacqueline de Romilly at the Ecole Normale Supérieure.

He was a graduate instructor in Elementary Greek at Johns Hopkins, 1974-1975, and was a lecturer in Elementary

Greek and Latin at Georgetown University School of

Continuing Education, Washington, D.C., in 1975.

He is married to the former Anne Frances Waterman of

Waldoboro, Maine.