

HYBRIS IN GREEK TRAGEDY

by

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INTRODUCTION

0.1. The Problem

0.1.1. As recently as April, 1976 Douglas MacDowell wrote that the question ' "What did the Athenians mean by hybris?' still needs answering.' (MacDowell, 1976:14). As to what is meant by it in Greek Tragedy, the (what I shall call) 'traditional' answer has been : 'pride', 'arrogance' or 'insolence'. (This, at least, is what especially older English translations render in the majority of instances.)¹ In this school there are several general writers on Greek Tragedy : Murray(1940:128) defines hybris as 'pride' ; Lesky(1967:95) has 'the uncurbed pride of human will' and at 1966:247 'overweening ambition' ; Bowra(1944:380) says that any attempt by man to cross the gulf between gods and men is hybristic, i.e. 'overweening' - so also Pohlenz(1954:212) - elsewhere Bowra(1957:89) has 'arrogance'. Writers on Greek religion, too, speak of the 'special Greek sin of hybris', which is the 'transgression of the boundary line [between men and gods]', when '[man is] so presumptuous as to strive to raise himself above the mortal lot' (Nilsson, 1972:227, 230). Concordances to Aeschylus and Sophocles enter as the main senses of hybris : superbia and audacia mentis (Ellendt, 1965: ad loc., and Italic, 1955: ad loc.). Lucas(1959:66) defines hybris as the 'insolent pride', or 'confidence' engendered by success. Del Grande(1947:1) defines hybris as 'tracotanza', i.e. 'arrogance', and Lehrs(1875:35-70) renders 'Ueberhebung'. Payne's monograph (1960:20-31) is misleadingly popularized : 'There is no end to the theme of Greek pride. The Greeks understood the pride of Hubris' (p.20)... 'the arrogant heart' (p.24)... hybris linked with the Aristotelian megalopsychos (p.31). Apart from extensive treatments like the above three, similar definitions of hybris turn up in more general works on tragedy : e.g. Conradie's (1968:31) 'oormoed' ('excessive self-confidence') or 'self-verheffing' ('self-exaltation') ; and the 'self-exaltation' of

Brooks and Heilman(1948:578), which is said to be the 'full expression' of Oedipus' hybris. To North(1966:32), hybris is 'heroic aretê unrestrained by any Divine or human sanction'. The non-specialist is normally first introduced to this notion of hybris : 'human pride which goes beyond the bounds which the gods will allow'(Starr)² ; 'insolence' or 'arrogance , such as invites disaster'(Chambers Dictionary)³. To sum up, the 'traditional' view of what hybris 'means' - always or generally - is :-

- (a) That it means 'pride' or 'arrogance' ;
- (b) That it is irreligious (a transgression of the boundary between men and gods, or even excessive self-confidence to the degree of disdain help from the gods - Conradie,1968:31) ;
- (c) That it is an attitude of mind , or trait of character, an abstract concept⁴, and not a concrete thing or action.

In direct opposition to the 'traditional' view is Lattimore's (1964:23-28) 'brief digression on the meanings and non-meanings of the word', wherein he follows the essential meanings in LSJ's⁵ entry : 'assault and battery', 'rape', 'foul play', 'plain physical disaster without motivation' ; 'the activity of wild animal spirits', 'rapacity and greed', 'sexual lust' ; in general, 'violence' ; 'violent or criminal behaviour'; 'insolence ...'; 'bullying, the abuse of superior strength to humiliate the helpless living or outrage the helpless dead'; 'the mockery of the sorrowful'; 'mutiny or rebelliousness in an inferior toward a superior'; 'and so, rather rarely⁶, ordinary insolence'. For each of these meanings he gives in his notes (pp.80-84) instances in Greek Tragedy⁷, finding that 'nowhere in Greek Tragedy does hybris mean "pride" or "arrogance". Lattimore is closely followed by Vickers(1973:31), adding as further testimony to Lattimore's view T.M. Gould's(1970:108) gloss of hybris in Oedipus Tyrannus 873 as 'the will to violate'.(Gould also notes that 'Hybris is a general word for violence, outrage, and immoral insubordination'.) Vickers also mentions Winnington-Ingram's(1948:18) translation of hybris as 'cruel and violent

outrage' and his later note(1948:34-5) that 'hybristic' implies 'aggressive' and 'violent'. Apparently independently from Lattimore, Kaufmann(1969:64-8) found mainly 'waxing wanton', 'running riot', 'wanton violence', 'lust and lewdness', 'animal violence', and 'outrage, violation,rape', attested for hybris in Greek Tragedy, and violently attacks the 'popular'(p.64) or 'traditional' view. In a less sketchy survey, MacDowell(1976:21) after following Lattimore's attack on the 'traditional' view, defines hybris as 'having energy or power and misusing it self-indulgently'. Although he himself offers no more than a 'general survey'(1976:14) of the Greeks' use of the word both inside and outside of tragedy, he departs from LSJ's categories and attests connotations of sex, koros, wealth, fighting and doing physical harm to people, taking from someone else a thing which belongs to him, disobedience to the gods - rarely - and to mock, taunt or be rude. An important observation is 'that hybris is not, as a rule, a religious matter'(MacDowell,1976:22),⁸ in spite of the fact that in some passages (e.g., most well-known, of the Agamemnon, the Oedipus Tyrannus, and the Persae), hybris is linked with divine retribution or punishment. This concurs with Whitman(1951:254) : 'The Christian conception of pride differs from hybris in that it directly relates one's attitude toward God...But hybris has far more to do with how a stronger man treats a weaker. If a Greek boasted that he was better than a god, it was folly, impiety, and presumption. It was also very dangerous, but it was not hybris.' To the same effect, and even earlier, is J.J. Fraenkel's(1941:28,30) finding that hybris, as applied to Prometheus and Ajax, no longer means 'hoogmoed' ('pride') or 'overmoed'('excessive self-confidence') as it did in pre-tragic literature, according to him, but 'hooge moed' ('heroic courage'). Lastly, and most recently, Fisher's(1976:177-93) view of hybris is modern'in that he agrees with MacDowell that it is not necessarily a religious offence, but approaches the 'traditional' notion in that hybris is characterized as the state of mind in which pleasure is derived from the

shaming or dishonouring of a victim.

What I call the 'modern' view of hybris is, to sum up :-

- (a) That it does not mean 'pride';
- (b) That it denotes violence, aggression, insult, and insolence (on the human plane);
- (c) That it is not necessarily a religious term (hybris is far more often directed at a human victim)⁹;
- (d) That it involves an action, rather than an attitude of pride or 'mere arrogance of opinion' (Lattimore, 1964:24)¹⁰;
- (e) That it means the same in tragedy as in 5th Century Athenian legal literature. (MacDowell, 1976:24, Fisher, 1976:177)¹¹

0.1.2. Concurrently with the problem of the meaning of the word hybris runs the problem of the rôle (if any) that hybris plays in the plots of the extant Greek tragedies. Is hybris a master-theme of Greek Tragedy, a key to the interpretation of the tragic rationale? Is it identifiable with the Aristotelian tragic flaw/error? Is it the 'moral' of (the majority of) the extant Greek tragedies that the hybris of the tragic hero is punished by the gods? Here, at least, only a (qualified) Yes or a qualified No can be answered. And this is the watershed. The affirmative answer, that hybris is crucial to the meaning of Greek Tragedy in general, I shall call (again) the 'traditional' view (being older and more widespread), and the negative answer, that hybris has little or nothing to do with the meaning of Greek Tragedy in general, I shall call the 'modern' view.

'It is the inevitable lesson of Greek tragedy, that pride¹² leads to downfall' (Murray, 1940:128). 'His [Sophocles'] work reveals that he was aware of its [the life of the Classical Age] two aspects : the uncurbed pride of human will and the powers that lie in wait to destroy man's hybris' (Lesky, 1967:95). '... that basic sin which the Greeks called hybris... Zeus punishes overweening ambition.'¹³ (Lesky, 1966:246-7) The theory that the world order of Sophocles involves two realms, the world of men

and the world of the gods, and that an attempt to cross this barrier is punishable because it is 'hybristic', and that from this 'man may draw a salutary lesson', is propounded by Bowra (1944:380) and Pohlenz(1954:212ff.). The latter finds a scheme of universal justice, similar to that of Aeschylus, inherent in this design (Pohlenz,1954:235).¹⁴ Webster(1936:29,30) interprets the Sophoclean message as : 'Man becomes too proud and commits an act of hybris ; god sends ate upon him...then he falls and learns sense by suffering', since 'Sophocles' own view is stated by the chorus of the Antigone.' Another generalization from a single play (The Persae) : 'The commonest¹⁵ cause of the invasion of Ate is success, the sequence of successes which makes men take success for granted, the prosperity which produces insolent pride, or hybris.' (Lucas,1959:66). Del Grande(1947:131-48) detects 'Aeschylean' hybris, arising from inherited guilt, in Ajax and Antigone, and a 'personal hybris in Oedipus - 'Tragedy represents the $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\eta$ of the hero, by means of which the gods inculcate the lesson of being pious and not transgressing human limits.' Adams(1952:120-4) likewise stresses the importance of the idea of hybris, along with the justice of the gods. Wolf (1952), in his chapter on Sophocles, sees hybris everywhere : in Ajax, Antigone, Creon, Heracles, Odysseus, Philoctetes, Oedipus and Jocasta. Man by maintaining his own human dike and scorning the metron 'sins against divine justice', i.e. commits hybris and is punished by the gods. It is precisely against this type of 'untenable extension of the original sense [of hybris]' that Conradi warns when quoting - but not necessarily subscribing to - the theory that the Greek tragedians meant by hybris 'that the hero, often as a result of too great prosperity, starts to rely exclusively on his own powers and feels that he is no longer in need of help from the gods...an attitude heavily punished by the gods.'

Not necessarily in the same pietistic interpretative vein, but equally sensitive to the importance of the idea of hybris, is the notion that 'the opposition between hybris and sophrosyne

lies at the heart of tragedy' (North, 1966:33).¹⁶ According to Schadewaldt (1960:231-47), the Sophoclean dramatic crises 'change the hero's hybris into sophrosyne'.

Kitto (1961:vii) is strangely non-committal about what hybris means: 'ὕβρις is hybris' - but feels confident of the 'moral law' of tragedy: 'The doer must suffer; ὕβρις leads to Atê' (Kitto, 1961:141). The Oedipus Tyrannus is then interpreted: 'Therefore', says Sophocles, "seek purity and avoid hybris"¹⁷ (Kitto, 1961:178). Woodard (1966:10) feels sure that 'such notions as hybris (pride, violence, excess)' will no longer be important since the advent of the humanistic school of Whitman, Knox, et al. However, he includes in his collection an essay by Seth Bernadete, where we read that (p.121) 'Oedipus...seems to have discovered in his hybris the non-human genesis of man.' To further show that it does not necessarily take a pietistic interpreter of Greek Tragedy to stress hybris as a key concept, I quote the following¹⁸:-

- 'Hubris is not "sin". It is the mysterious dynamic of all tragic action, dangerous because it involves a challenge to the powers that be, but not (in the tragic view) morally good or bad. It may lead to destruction...but without it, no man acts or suffers or learns.' 'The old hard doctrine of hubris' is somehow present in all tragedy. (Sewall, 1959:34-6)

- 'In its most elementary form, the vision of law (dike) operates as lex talionis or revenge...the original act provoking the revenge sets up an antithetical or counterbalancing movement, and the completion of the movement resolves the tragedy...the great majority of tragic heroes do possess hybris, a proud, passionate, obsessed or soaring mind which brings about a morally intelligible downfall. Such hybris is the normal precipitating agent of catastrophe.' (Frye, 1957:208-10)

- 'The palpitating unease of Greek Tragedy springs from a world in which to be sure your hands are clean is to convict yourself of hybris.' '...it is very difficult, so the Greeks believed, to excel and still to avoid hybris.' (Jones, 1962:92, 212)

Literary critics who are not classical scholars often accept the 'traditional' view a priori :-

- 'it [hybrizein] is cognate with the tragic name (hubris) for man's eruption out of his proper sphere.' (Wimsatt and Brooks, 1957:50,55) - They then go on to quote W.H. Auden on hybris as a tragic flaw sent by the gods to punish the hero.

- Brink(1962:2) regards as Aristotle's the view that the tragic hero's 'hubris' causes his eventual downfall !

That hybris is 'traditionally' seen as a technical term with full tragic dimensions, is illustrated by the fact that many commentators see hybris implied when the word does not appear in the text. A few examples would be :-

- of Agamemnon's treading of the red carpet (Agamemnon,918ff.): Payne(1960:26) ; North(1966:46) ; Murray(1952:234).

- in Agamemnon, 45-59 : Saayman(1975:51-2).¹⁹

- that the Suppliants of Aeschylus' play are 'hybristic' : North(1966:38) and Miss H. Spier²⁰.

(The question is : why is not mega phronein, hamartia, asebeia, authadia, thrasos, cholos, kakia, or aphrosyne taken to be 'implied' by the poet, or any other term denoting pride, wrongdoing or impiety, for that matter ? It seems to be very often taken for granted that a misdeed with tragic consequences must be termed hybris. When the poet has failed to do so explicitly, it cannot be an oversight : he has therefore implied it !)

What I call the 'modern' view²¹, i.e. that hybris has little or nothing to do with the meaning of Greek Tragedy, is best represented by Lattimore(1964). The pattern hybris - nemesis ('the proud challenger of the gods must be brought low')... 'has not been followed in any surviving plays', with the (unqualified) exception of the Persae ; and the (qualified) exceptions of the Hippolytus and the Bacchae of Euripides, according to Lattimore (1964:25). Following Lattimore, Brian Vickers, in his attack on the 'traditional' view that hybris is one of the 'special keys to unlock Greek Tragedy', finds that 'hybris - in the traditional and erroneous sense - is seldom important in the structure of

action and reaction, though the chorus moralizes on it from time to time' (Vickers, 1973:29, 30n28). ('Stories of pride and punishment are often alluded to in passing, a by-theme for mere pathos.' - Lattimore, 1964:26). 'The popular notion that the central theme of Greek tragedy is that pride comes before a fall is very wrong and depends upon projecting Christian values where they have no place. For Aristotle and the Greek poets, pride was no sin but an essential ingredient of heroism' (Kaufmann, 1969:73). Whitman, too, attacked the view that the 'moral' of Sophoclean tragedy is the formula: 'he who crosses certain limits of behaviour...is guilty of hybris...and justly doomed.' (Whitman, 1951:245). Whereas e.g. Webster and Kitto of the 'traditional' school treat references to hybris in Sophocles' choric odes as explanatory to the general purport of his plays²², Whitman sees the choruses as representative of the 'safe' morality of the un-heroic, 'little people', unfavourably contrasted with the bold, heroic nature of the chief characters of his plays. The warnings against hybris should therefore not be regarded as the 'meanings of the different plays, according to Whitman (1951:e.g.67-9). In this regard, Vickers (1973:29) speaks of 'reducing Sophocles to the banality of some of his choric utterances'.

J.J. Fraenkel's position is a little equivocal. He laments Euripides' use of the word hybris in a 'pasmunt' (i.e. 'common-place', 'trivial') and 'untragical' sense, as opposed to the 'tragical hybris' in Aeschylus and Sophocles. However, he already detects the 'historical' switch in Aeschylus' Supplikes and in the majority of Sophocles' tragedies. According to him, hybris in its 'sublime', 'pregnant' and 'tragical' sense, is only attested in the Oresteia, the Prometheus Vincetus and the Ajax. (J.J. Fraenkel, 1941:27-31).

Regarding my division of scholarship on the matter of hybris into a 'traditional' and a 'modern' school, I would like to remark the following :-

- Firstly, that the 'modern' view of the function of hybris in Greek tragedy seems to be associated with the humanistic school of Sophocles-interpretation. (It is possible that, if one wants to minimize the guilt of the tragic hero, one would attempt to 'play down' the importance of references to hybris - which does, whatever it may mean, have a negative connotation.)

- Secondly, that there seems to be a methodological error in the abovementioned attacks on the 'traditional' view. Judging that hybris does not mean 'pride' - the 'traditional' sense - they proceed to show that the 'pride and punishment pattern' is not generally found in Greek tragedy. One would have expected an inquiry into the question of whether hybris as 'violence' or 'aggression' or 'insolence' has any tragical import.²³ The idea of Oedipus' 'tyrannical hybris' (Kitto, 1966:225), or that Ajax' ruin is due to his hybris, is clearly not dependant on a translation of hybris as 'pride'.²⁴

-Lastly, that I would not like to create the impression that I regard all 19th and 20th Century scholarship on Greek Tragedy of non-humanistic strain as following the 'traditional' view of hybris. Indeed - with the exception of his interpretation of the Oedipus Tyrannus - Kitto does not generally state it explicitly, nor do, e.g. Kirkwood (1967) and others. In fact, in a bibliography on Sophocles which was widely accepted by the scholarly community, both Del Grande (1947) and Adams (1957) were severely chastized for overstressing the importance of hybris in Sophocles. (Friis Johansen, 1962:103, 153).

In the light of the above, then, it seems clear that there is a need 'that someone will in due course publish a detailed study of the evidence' (MacDowell, 1976:14). There is a need to know how hybris is used in all its occurrences in extant Greek tragedy (and not only the 'important' instances like Oedipus Tyrannus, 873). Furthermore, an inquiry into the legitimate interpretative rôle of the concept hybris could help to clarify the present 'chaos' (Kitto, 1966:1) in classical scholarship on tragedy - e.g. the pietist - humanist controversy on Sophocles.

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0.2. Method

0.2.1. With respect to the problem of the meaning of the word hybris in Greek Tragedy, I intend to examine the contexts of each individual occurrence of hybris and its cognate nouns, verbs and adjectives.²⁵ Fortunately the elaborate language of poetry (in contrast with, e.g., the difficult prose context of hamartia in Aristotle's Ars Poetica) offers many repetitions - parallelistic and antithetic - chiasmi, definitions, etc. in the immediate contexts of individual instances. As intermediate context in every case, I take the rhexis, group of stichomythia, stasimon, or whatever is the larger unity within which our word occurs. The final context, of course, is the play as an artistic unity, within the framework of the specific tragedian's oeuvre, as well as the mythological and philosophical background of the whole of Greek Tragedy.

The etymological evidence I shall ignore, not only because it is a discredited method,²⁶ but also because it is not of any help: both the 'traditional' and the 'modern' notions of what hybris means may be substantiated etymologically. (*ὕβρις*²⁷ for the former, and *ὑβρις*²⁸ for the latter.)

Evidence from the fragments is not taken into account (the final contexts being obviously lacking), neither is, of course, evidence from outside Tragedy.

No distinction has been made methodologically among the cognates as 'different 'parts of speech', since, as will be seen in chapter 4 below, 'Conclusion', p.107, no corresponding differences of sense can be grouped.²⁹ Neither is any distinction made between the simple verb and its prepositional composites - which, if I am not mistaken, are here treated for the first time comprehensively and on an equal footing as evidence to hybris.

The cognate accusative construction (*ὑβριῶν ὑβριζέειν* or *ὑβριεὶς ὑβριζέειν*) is treated as one instance of hybris, as it denotes only one act of committing hybris.

The intention is not to eventually formulate a 'definition' of

hybris, nor to make any statement about the 'meaning' of the word hybris. Translation equivalents (cf. Louw, 1976:34) are proposed in every case, according to what seems most fitting in each particular context, and ultimately - in the summaries at the end of each chapter, and, in the Conclusion - similar usages are grouped together by way of conclusion.

0.2.2. Guided by available commentaries, I have attempted to determine to what extent the concept hybris is germane to the tragic rationale. To furnish complete 'expositions' of all 31 surviving plays³⁰ is, naturally, well outside the present scope. As a (hopefully useful) indicator, however, the percentage of instances where hybris refers to the chief character or characters (as far as this is determinable) compared to the total number of hybris-instances has served to test the 'traditional' hypothesis that 'a/any Greek tragedy dramatizes the effects of an act/actions of hybris or an attitude/character-trait of hybris on the part of its chief character(s)'. A high percentage would tend to substantiate this hypothesis, whereas a low percentage would tend to invalidate it.

0.2.3. Irrespective of how hybris is actually used in particular tragedies, there remains the question of the tragic function of the 'traditional' idea of what hybris means. In other words, is the pride/arrogance/irreligious insolence of its hero always or generally the precipitating factor in the reversal of fortune in a Greek tragedy? Insomuch as these attitudes or actions are not referred to as hybris in particular cases, the question cannot be discussed here - the tragic significance of only those attitudes and actions which are actually referred to as hybris in a particular play are considered. (A case in point is the article of Robertson (1967:373-82). It does not

fall in the present scope to attempt to evaluate his thesis that the main theme of Aeschylean tragedy is that Zeus punishes the wrongdoer. But the article does not exclusively concern the 'hybristes' in Aeschylus. It is really about kakia, asebeia, and all 52 terms denoting wrongdoing (with which Robertson groups hybris on p. 374). What we are concerned with here is, then, not the question whether the lesson of Greek Tragedy is that 'pride comes before a fall' but the question whether what is explicitly termed hybris in a particular play is significant in the dramatic structure of that play.

0.3. Hybris before Tragedy

Justice cannot, of course, be done to this topic here, but it would be useful at this stage to point out a pre-Classical usage of hybris which is particularly relevant to the present problem.

γλυκὺν ἔλαβ' βίωτον μακρὸν οὐχ υπέμεινεν ὄλ
 βον μαινομέναις φρασίῃ
 Ἦρας ὅτ' ἐράσσατο τὰν Διὸς ἐνναὶ λάχον
 πολυγαθέες ἀλλά νιν ὕβρις εἰς ἀνάταν υπεράφανον
 ᾤψεεν

- Pindar, Pyth. II, 25ff.

τίκτει γὰρ κόρος ὕβριν, ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἐπιηται
 ἀνθρώποισιν ὅσοις μὴ νόος ἀρτίος ᾖ

- Solon, fr. 5.9 D

Similar passages are Theognis 153 ; Pindar Ol. I, 55-7, Ol. II, 95, Isthm. III, 2.³¹

To MacDowell (1976:16) hybris thus connected with koros means no more than 'eating and drinking too much'; Fisher (1976:193) denies the religious connotations to this usage of hybris in the case of Solon, Solon being responsible for the legal graphê hybreos

which relates only to the human and social level. But, in the case of Pindar, at least, 'continual stress is laid upon the connexion between guilt and punishment...wealth and surfeit lead to wantonness ; thus man commits a misdeed and meets with disaster as a heaven-ordained punishment.' (Bremer, 1969:115) 'It belongs to traditional thought that hubris is followed by disaster.' (Winnington-Ingram, 1971:124) A distinct pattern emerges : olbos - koros - hybris - atê . This pattern I shall call the Pindaric-Solonic notion of hybris, an essentially religious notion, since hybris is seen as invariably followed by divine retribution (atê).

0.4. A note on the English word 'insolence'

As 'insolence' is often used by translators as the equivalent of hybris, it is necessary to digress briefly on the 'meanings and non-meanings' of this word as well. Dictionaries enter two distinct senses : 1. 'pride', 'arrogance', contemptuous or overbearing behaviour in a superior toward an inferior ; 2. 'presumptuously impertinent', 'saucy', 'insulting' behaviour, esp. in speech, in an inferior toward a superior. The two senses seem incompatible, and, indeed, both the Shorter O.E.D.³² and the World Book Dictionary³³ clearly designate the former sense as obsolete. (This was also confirmed by consultation with several professional teachers of English.) For the former sense both dictionaries quote John Gray's 'How insolent is upstart pride' and Baxter's 'God will not gratifie their insolent demand - Milton's 'sons of Belial, flown with insolence and wine', too, fits this sense. It is apparently this (obsolete) sense of 'insolence' which is intended when hybris is translated as 'insolence' in, e.g. Aeschylus' Supplices (passim), Agamemnon 764, and Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannus, 873, where hybris refers to contemptuous or overbearing behaviour in a superior toward an inferior. I suggest that there is no real discrepancy between the two senses of 'insolence' : Insolence of the proud, arrogant

and overbearing kind is merely 'insulting behaviour, contemptuous of authority' in that it is seen as a challenge to God or the gods, who forbid and punish this kind of behaviour. Thus, a man who ill-treats an inferior (i.e. behaviour which the modern English speaker would not call 'insolence'), when seen in a religious light, is insulting or contemptuous toward his Superior (the accepted current sense), in that it shows that he holds the laws of God/the gods in contempt.

Although it might be tempting to render 'insolence', covering both the religious and social spheres of the term hybris, I think that - because of the ambiguity of the word - one should be careful to use as translation equivalent only the current English usage of 'insolence'.

0.5. Texts used

I have adhered faithfully to the Oxford Classical Texts (O.C.T.) of Page, Pearson and Murray,³⁴ except in the case of the Oedipus Tyrannus, 873.³⁵

NOTES TO "INTRODUCTION"

(1) In chapters 1, 2 and 3 below, the various translations of the instances at issue are discussed. For the English word 'insolence' as an equivalent for hybris, see p.13 below.

(2) Starr, C.G., The Ancient Greeks, O.U.P., 1971, p.223.

(3) Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, ed. A.M. Macdonald, Constable, Edinburgh, 1973, ad loc.

(4) That hybris is traditionally regarded as an abstract noun, is illustrated by Owen (1939:106), and Bayfield (1968:74), where they describe usages of hybris as 'abstract for concrete', whereas in the senses used in the relevant passages, hybris is, in fact, concrete. But see the discussions of the relevant passages, below (Antigone 309, and Ion 506).

(5) Liddell, H.G., and Scott, R., A Greek-English Lexicon: A New Edition, rev. Jones, H.S., O.U.P., 1961.

(6) My emphasis.

(7) What Lattimore calls the 'modern' concept of hybris (1964:87), both the passage of time and the fact that it is more wide-spread have caused me to prefer to term the 'traditional', referring to his as the 'modern' view of hybris.

(8) His argument is: '...if one holds a religious belief, such as Aiskhylos perhaps held, that all wrongdoing is punished by the gods, then it follows that the gods punish hybris along with all other wrongdoing, because hybris is wrong. But that does not mean that the word itself is a religious one. One may see this by comparing a word for some other kind of wrongdoing, say theft. If a man in myth steals something from a god ...and if one believes that the gods punish all wrongdoing, then one will believe that all thieves are punished by the gods. But that does not mean that 'theft' is a religious word or that it is generally regarded as a religious offense. So it is with hybris...' (MacDowell, 1976:22).

(9) Most probably because 'men are not normally in a position to commit hybris against the gods' (Lattimore, 1964:24). Lattimore further argues (e silentio) that 'the term hybris is not

regularly applied to the human member of the pride and punishment pattern' (p.23). What is more, of course - as we shall see later - in Euripides' Bacchae, 9, and Hippolytus, 446, it is a god who commits hybris against a human victim.

(10) But both MacDowell's and Fisher's definitions (see above) include the element of a 'state of mind'. At any rate, it is not certain whether the distinction between an action and the state of mind in which it is done, can be consistently maintained.

(11) This is as tacitly assumed by Latimore (1964), Vickers (1973) and Kaufmann (1969), in their acceptance of the LSJ entry, as it is tacitly denied by holders of the 'traditional' view in their departure from it. See also J.J. Fraenkel (1941:34-7).

(12) The hybris of Aeschylus' Persae, 808, 821.

(13) Again, a generalization from the Persae, loc. cit.

(14) The latter two as quoted by Whitman (1951:245)

(15) My emphasis

(16) Jaeger (1939:168, 442n18, 257n84) rightly contrasts hybris with sophrosyne, without drawing a similar generalizing conclusion. (Hybris is certainly not the only word that can be contrasted with sophrosyne.) North has great difficulty to rationalize her hypothesis - see below, chapter 1, passim.

(17) At one stage, he seems to contradict himself: 'phrases... indicate that Oedipus is not the man they [the chorus] are describing' (Kitto, 1961:165) - or, at least, Kirkwood (1967:213) understands him as saying that 'the moral comments in this ode [the second stasimon of the O.T.] quite clearly do not refer to Oedipus and Jocasta.' But in his later book he repeats the 'traditional' interpretation: 'The modesty of Creon is a better example than the towering self-confidence of Oedipus.' (Kitto: 1966:242) Nevertheless, Kitto does not present the 'traditional' theory as explicitly (except in the case of the O.T.) as other commentators. - But see the discussion of the O.T., chapter 2.

(18) From Vickers (1973:29-30)

(19) Finding, according to the method of Discourse Analysis, a 'hidden' reference in the simile, he reproaches those who do not. But there is some confusion here. The question is whether

there is a reference to Agamemnon's slaying or not ; and whatever is referred to here, is not called hybris by the poet. This shows clearly that the 'traditional'preconception about hybris may also intrude into scientific linguistic analyses.

(20) Classical Journal, LVII (1962), p.316.

(21) Again I must warn that Lattimore calls the interpretation which he attacks the 'modern', whereas I refer to it as the 'traditional.(see above, note 7)

(22) See above, pp.5,6.

(23) The same unfair treatment of the 'traditional' view of hamartia is dealt out by Bremer(1969:118-97), in spite of frequent denials that he consistently follows Else's(1965:378-85) exposition of hamartia.

(24) cf. Lattimore's own unhappy interpretation of the second stasimon of the Oedipus Tyrannus : that Oedipus' ruin is due to his lust (=hybris) after his mother ! (Lattimore, in The Poetry of Greek Tragedy,1958)

(25) In the studies mentioned, either generalizations from one or a few well-known instances have been given, or 'clusters' of 'main' senses grouped together. Seldom (except, in some cases, by MacDowell,1976) have reasons for assigning specific senses in specific contexts been offered.

(26) cf. e.g. J. Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language,O.U.P. 1968.

(27) Pott, A.F., Wurzelwörterbuch (2. Ausgabe 1867),I,p.414 ; and Curtius, G., Gr. Etym.(5. Auflage, Windisch),p.540.

(28) With ideas of violence : Boisacq, Dictionnaire Etymologique, 3 ed.

(29) From a transformational-generative point of view, one could, of course, argue that, in any case, $\delta\beta\rho\iota\varsigma = \tau\iota\varsigma \delta\beta\rho\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota$, and so, too $\delta\beta\rho\iota\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma\iota = \tau\iota\varsigma \delta\beta\rho\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota$, etc.

(30) Euripides' Rhesus not included(see below, chapter 3, p.106n8)

(31) The genealogy of hybris and koros is reversed in Pindar, Ol. XIII,10 by way of exception, as in Herodotus VIII,77.

(32) The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, ed. C.T. Onions, O.U.P.,1967.

(33) The World Book Dictionary, ed. C.L. Barnhart, Doubleday, Chicago, 1975.

(34) See under Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, respectively in the Bibliography.

(35) See below, chapter 2, p. 70.

1. HYBRIS IN AESCHYLUS1.1. The Persae

[808] - οὐ σφιν κακῶν ὑψίστ' ἐπαμμένει παθεῖν
 ὑβρεως ἀποινα κἀθέων φρονημάτων .

[821] - ὥς οὐχ ὑπέρφεν θνητὸν ὄντα χρὴ φρονεῖν
 ὑβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσε στάχυν
 αἴτης...

-- 'Irreligious pride' in both cases.

-- So Murray (1952:59-60) and Vellacott (Aeschylus, 1973:145), but Podlecki (1970:95) retains 'hybris', paraphrasing it as 'the attitude of mind and the actions which resulted from it by which a human indulged his "delusions of grandeur", refusing to accept the limits of his mortality and so risking divine "jealousy"'. There are two elements here : the fact that the hybris is irreligious and the fact that it consists in an attitude of proud expectations and self-reliance. The former is made abundantly clear by the close juxtaposition, almost in a synonymical repetition, of κἀθέων φρονημάτων in line 808, and the stress on θνητὸν ὄντα in line 821. To further accentuate the religious element, the two references surround a description of, not merely violent, but specifically sacrilegious actions on the part of the Persians. The latter element is strongly suggested in line 808 (mega phronein is the usual phrase in tragedy for 'pride' or 'proud self-reliance'). A virtual definition is given in line 820 : ὑπέρφεν φρονεῖν (by means of the explanatory γὰρ of 821). It is the old, Pindaric-Solonic¹ sin of proud self-reliance, to the (disastrous) exclusion of the gods. Odd voices in the wilderness, disregarding the immediate context, disagree : 'The Persians had run riot, like a river that floods its banks, and the violent outrages they had committed bears no resemblance to proud self-reliance' (Kaufmann, 1969:75) ; 'jeugdige overmoed' is the sense

(But Murray, 1952:38 'Let him look now upon this ungodliness / of man : it groweth strong as a green tree / ...hot to possess this lovely flesh of me' ; and Vellacott, Aeschylus, 1973:57 - 'So let Zeus look on human arrogance / and mark how lusting for our flesh makes an old stock grow young / Bloom...') Why 'ungodliness' and 'arrogance' ? If we were to cut out these two offensive (because dragged in under the influence of the 'traditional' notion) words, the translations would aptly render the imagery of youthful, blooming sexual desire.

[426] - μηδ' ἴδησιμ' ἐξ ἑδρᾶν
 πολυθέων ῥυσιασθείσαν
 ...γνώθι δ' ὕβριν ἀνέρων
 καὶ φύλαξαι κότον

-- '(Male) lust'

-- The chorus is here entreating King Pelasgus not to allow them to be dragged away from the shrines - where they are seeking refuge - by the Aegypti. As in line 30, linked with a stem indicating 'male' (ἀνέρων) exclusiveness and the one-sidedness of the sexual desire. (MacDowell, 1976:17) But is there not a tinge of irreligiosity here ? (The violation of the shrines of the gods (ἑδρᾶν πολυθέων) - and the warning to beware of the wrath of Zeus (φύλαξαι κότον). The answer is No. In the first place, the (potential) wrath of Zeus will be directed against Pelasgus (according to the Danaids), if he fails to protect the shrines against violation (μηδ' ἴδησι), and not against the Aegypti. In the second place, the fact that the shrines are a place of refuge to the Danaids from the Aegypti has much more to do with the dramatic situation than the fact that they are shrines of the gods.³ This is borne out by lines 429-432, immediately following, and in sense a repetition of lines 423-427 : μή τι τλαῖς...εἰσιδεῖν...πέπλων τ' ἐπιλαβὰς ἐμῶν. It is patent that what the Suppliants wish to evade is not so much violation of a religious shrine, but rather the

grasping hands of the unrequited suitors on their dresses.⁴ (Note the sensuous suggestivity of the grasping hands.) Certainly it is 'vileness' (Murray, 1952:56), certainly it is 'wickedness' (Vellacott, *Aeschylus*, 1973:67) - but that it is 'proud wickedness' is certainly not in the text.

Strangely enough, line 426 has been adduced to prove the aversion of the Danaids to men in general (cf. Garvie, 1969:221). But they are here fleeing a concrete danger, a definite body of men, the son of Aegyptus, who are - here and now - threatening to drag them away with *πέπλων ..έπι λαβάς*.

[487] - ..τάχ' ἄν τις οἰκτίσας ἰδὼν τάδε
 ὕβριν μὲν ἐχθήρειεν ἄρσενος στόλου...

--'Male lust'

--Again the linking with male (*ἄρσενος*) exclusiveness, as in lines 30 and 426. (MacDowell, 1976:17) If anyone sees *τάδε*, he would identify it as hybris. And what is *τάδε*? Maidens seeking refuge from a bunch of men. Here Murray (1952:58) - 'The sight of these may stir / Pity and wrath against the ravisher' - is on the right track, but Vellacott, *Aeschylus*, 1973:71, sticks to 'arrogant men'. Again said of the Aegypti, but this time by King Pelasgus.

[528] - ἄλευσον ἀνδρῶν ὕβριν εὖ στυγῆσας

--'Male lust'

--See lines 30, 426, and 487 for the connection with 'male'. The context is still unchanged, and everything said of the total dramatic situation above, applies here as well. That it is said that Zeus hates hybris, as the *θεοὶ γενέται* do in line 80, does not mean that hybris has here a religious connotation. (It is well to remember MacDowell's argument (1976:22) that if one believes that the gods punish any wrongdoing - as the Danaids obviously do - one would believe that they also punish hybris - or theft, or arson, for that matter; but 'that does not mean that "theft" [or hybris] is a religious offense') At this stage of his translation, Murray (1952:62) has already realized this: 'The lust of man'; but Vellacott, *Aeschylus* (1973:71) refuses to budge from his 'male arrogance'.⁵

--Lines 528ff. have, like line 426, been taken as proof of the Danaids' general aversion to men and marriage : Garvie(1969:221)⁶
 This seems improbable (a) because subsequently (531-581) they approve of, and do not censure, Zeus' relationship with Io⁷, and (b) because of the dramatic situation : the Danaids are not engaged in an armchair debate on the pros and cons of marriage. After the exit of the timid Pelasgus they are without succour and appeal to Zeus to ward off an imminent and concrete danger, viz. the male (ἀνδρῶν) lust of the Aegypti. Furthermore, 'A girl pressed to marry an unwelcome suitor usually says that she does not wish to marry at all.' (Murray, 1952:17)⁸

[817]- γένος γὰρ Αἰγύπτιον ὕβρει⁹
 δύσφορον [] ἀρσενογενεῖ.

-- 'Male lust'

-- If ἀρσενογενεῖ¹⁰ qualifies ὕβρει, there is no doubt that hybris is here again used in the same sense as in lines 30, 426, 487 and 528(see above). (but Murray, 1952:75 - 'pride' and Vellacott, 1973:79 - 'arrogance')

[845] - ..δεσποίωι ξυν ὕβρει

-- 'Lust'

-- '...the lust of thy master'(Murray, 1952:77), and 'outrageous masters'(Vellacott, 1973:79). The context is similar to all of the preceding instances, the chorus this time addressing the Egyptian herald.¹¹

[880] - ..Νεῖλος ὑβρίζοντά σ' ἀποτρέπ

[881] - ψειεν αἶστον ὕβριν

-- 'Lusting', 'lust'

-- Neither Murray(1952:79) : 'May thine own god, who sees thee, the great Nile, / Sweep thy proud deeds to darkness evermore ! ', nor Vellacott(1973:81) : 'May the mighty Nile, that sent you

forth to wickedness, / Record your wickedness as lost for nothing', are very helpful. We must understand this as a cognate accusative construction : ὑβρίζοντά ὑβριν , which really only expresses one action - 'lusting'. The construction is used in order to accommodate αἴστρον ('unseen')¹² Their lusting is as yet unseen by the Nile god¹³, but the Danaids are expressing the wish that the Nile, when he sees it, will turn them back, i.e. not accept them : in other words, that they may shipwreck before reaching Egypt. (Thus, a repetition of the shipwreck-wish immediately preceding - lines 867-871.) Therefore we may render 'lusting' - which is what the Aegypti will still be doing (Present Participle : ὑβρίζοντά) when they return with the Danaids and perhaps not 'committing an act of violence' (which they will have then completed).

1.2.1. My conclusion is then that hybris and its cognates are used in a sense equivalent to 'sexual lust'¹⁴ in all 9 instances in the Supplices - concurring with Lattimore (1964n24), MacDowell (1976:17), and even Murray (1940:104)! Smyth¹⁵ translates in 8 of the 9 cases 'wantonness' (which is probably a Victorianism for 'lust'). Italic (1955:ad loc.) has superbia, insolentia ; and Friis Johansen (1970, Vol. I) consistently translates hybris with 'insolence' - but this does not tally with the modern sense of the English word. Fisher (1976:192), in a too short note, objects to 'lust', and proposes 'forced marriage'. But as a translation equivalent, this would hardly be satisfactory : e.g. (line 104) 'Let Him look now upon this forced marriage of man : it groweth strong as a green tree...hot to possess this lovely flesh of me'¹⁶

1.2.2. None of the 9 references are to the chief character of the play, the chorus of Danaids - all of the references being to Aegyptus' sons (as has been shown above). Especially lines 426 and 528ff. have been taken by commentators to indicate the Danaids' general aversion to men, which makes them guilty of hybris :¹⁷ In any case, whether the Danaids are guilty of 'excess' in this

regard or not (e.g. Lucas, 1959:84)¹⁸, their fault is not called hybris by Aeschylus, and the fact that commentators use the word in this context shows the length to which misapplications can go, under the influence of the 'traditional' view. In short, the 'traditional' notion of the tragic rôle of hybris is not attested in the Supplices ('hybris aldaar [i.e. in the Supplices] heeft geen tragisch accent' - J.J. Fraenkel, 1941:30).

1.3. The Septem contra Thebas

[406] - εἰ γὰρ θανόντι νύξ ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πέσοι
 τῶι τοι φέροντι σῆμ' ὑπέροκτον τόδε
 γένοιτ' ἂν ὀρθῶς ἐνδίκως τ' ἐπώνυμον,
 καὶ τὸς κατ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὕβριν μαντεύσεται

-- 'Violence', 'deed of violence'

-- Lines 375-670 form a close structural unity, the so-called 'seven pairs of speeches'¹⁹ The spy reports, one by one, the seven Argive chieftains at each of the seven gates, the devices on their shields and their violent, irreligious boasts. Eteocles answers each report, one by one, with a discussion of the enemy's blazon, the name of the Theban who is to oppose him, and the appropriateness of the match. Each of the blazons contains an omen which Eteocles cleverly converts into an inauspicious portent for the enemy champion. Tydeus, the first champion, bears on his shield the starry heavens with the full moon, the eye of the night (*νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμός*), in the centre. In the passage cited above, Eteocles turns the phrase around: 'if the night of death should fall on his eyes' (403), then - and here comes the punch-line - 'he will have prophesied a violent end²⁰ (*τὴν ὕβριν*) against himself' (406). (So Murray, 1952:46: 'and himself his darkening has decreed'²¹; and Lattimore, 1964:81n22, who (tentatively) groups this instance under LSJ's entry 'physical disaster without motivation'.) This interpretation is consistent with the general trend in the seven pairs of speeches - 'The Argive chieftains unknowingly prophesy their own defeat'²² (Cameron, 1971:37).

Another interpretation, in the 'traditional' sense, is, however, equally probable for line 406 : '...and his pride²³ become a prophecy against himself' (Vellacott, Aeschylus, 1973:100); ' "en (zoo) zal hij dit overmoedig orakelteeken²⁴ (den nacht op den schild) tegen zich zelf keeren" ' (Groeneboom, Zeven, 1966:157). Groeneboom's text is *καὐτὸς καθ' αὐτοῦ τήνδ' ὕβριν μαντεύσεται* , and he interprets *τήνδ' ὕβριν* as an accusative of the internal object '= *τήνδε τὴν ὑβριστικὴν μαντείαν* '. Against this one may argue that, in the first place, the dreadful anachronism *ὑβριστικός* is not attested in Greek tragedy, and, in the second place, 'violence'/'violent death' fits in perfectly well without philological gymnastics. However, his point is clear (we can take the *τὴν ὕβριν* of Page's text as, perhaps, an adverbial accusative, to read : he shall have prophesied proudly / in his proud boasts against himself' - if we should not then have expected, perhaps, *(τῆι) ὕβρει* , as in the Supplices of Aeschylus, 817. But I shall defer an attempt to refute this interpretation to an analysis of the intermediate context (the 'sieben Reedepaare') below, after considering line 502.

[502] - Ὀγκὰ Παλλάς...
 ἀνδρὸς ἐχθαίρουσ' ὕβριν.

-- 'Violence'

-- The context is similar in structure to the preceding, Eteocles this time responding to the spy's report of the fourth Argive champion, who is raging at the gate of Onca Pallas. In support of 'violence' here : '...Onca Pallas.../...in righteous hate of madness'Murray, 1952:51) ; LSJ's category of 'violence in general'Lattimore, 1964:82n25) ; 'als maagdelike godin gevoelt zij des te eer afkeer van eens mans hybris' (Groeneboom, Zeven, 1966:171) - the latter an important observation, since the link here with *ἀνδρὸς* serves to confine the sense of hybris to a narrower sphere than the 'traditional' notion of proud, irreligious self-reliance' which may, of course, be applicable to a woman.²⁵ (But see above, on Aesch. Suppl. 528, and

note 5)

On the contrary, the 'traditional' sense of hybris is more widely held as attested here : 'man's arrogance' (Vellacott, Aeschylus, 1973:103) ; 'The emphasis is laid on the impious defiance of the gods by six of the attackers...The hybris of the Argives resides mainly in their failure to "think mortal thoughts" and their confidence that the gods cannot stop them... Athene will ward off Hippomedon because she hates his hybris.' (North, 1966:42)

An analysis of the 'sieben Reedepaare' in terms of proud boasting and the word hybris reveals the following :-

- | | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Tydeus | - boasts ♦ | - <u>hybris</u> (406) |
| 2. Capaneus | - boasts irreligiously ♦ | - NO <u>hybris</u> |
| 3. Eteoclus | - boasts irreligiously ♦ | - NO <u>hybris</u> |
| 4. Hippomedon | - boasts ♦ | - <u>hybris</u> (502) |
| 5. Parthenopaeus | - boasts irreligiously ♦ | - NO <u>hybris</u> |
| 6. Amphiaraus | - does not boast | - No <u>hybris</u> |
| 7. Polyneices | - boasts | - NO <u>hybris</u> |

♦ By 'boasting irreligiously' I mean a direct, defiant challenge to the gods - in the case of Capaneus : 'God willing, God unwilling, he will sack this town, / Says he ; and not the counterblast of Zeus himself, / Cast at his feet, will stop him...' ²⁶ (lines 427-429) ; and similarly Eteoclus' '"Ares himself shall not repulse me from their walls ! "' (Line 467) ; and Parthenopaeus' boast '-that he'll destroy the city of Cadmus / Even in spite of Zeus' (lines 729,30). Hybris is not applied to these three.

♦ By contrast, Tydeus and Hippomedon, the two champions with whom hybris is associated, do not utter such godless challenges. The fact that Tydeus wears a *ὑπέρφρον σῆμα* (line 387), and that Hippomedon's shield bears the Typhon inimical to Zeus (lines 409-10), have been adduced as indicative of their irreligious hybris (North, 1966:40-42, and Murray, 1940:139). But the former is true of all the Argive champions, and the latter is only a 'happy accident, attributed to Hermes' (Cameron, 1971:39). It is also not true that 'Amphiaraus reproaches Tydeus and Polyneices

for their hybris' (North, 1966:41 - another example of interpretative misapplication of the term where it does not even appear in the text - 571ff.)²⁷

Some form of the root kompein ('to boast') is used with reference to each of the attackers (except, of course, Amphiaraus). All of them are boastful - Capaneus, Eteocles and Parthenopaeus irreligiously so. Why, then, is hybris only used of Tydeus and Hippomedon? Tydeus is violent: 'lusting for fight, / Like a fierce chariot-horse that snorts against the bit' (393-4); exceedingly so is Hippomedon: 'Ares has entered into him; / A Bacchant, drunk with lust of war - his eye strikes terror' (497-8)²⁸ By contrast, in the cases of Capaneus, Eteocles and Parthenopaeus, they are not characterized as especially violent, and in the place of the descriptions of violence in the cases of Tydeus and Hippomedon, the formulaic reports of character and behaviour in the spy's speeches which bear on them contain exclusively their irreligiously challenging boasts (427-9; 467; 729-30 respectively). Clearly, Aeschylus has used hybris in the 'sieben Reedepaare', not to indicate irreligiously proud boasting²⁹, but associated it, instead, with violence. This substantiates the interpretations given above of lines 406 and 502, which seemed at least just as probable as the 'traditional' in their immediate contexts. (Regarding line 502, one should again bear in mind MacDowell's argument³⁰ that, because hybris is said to be hated by a god, this does not necessarily make hybris a religious offense.)

1.3.1. 'Violence', then, is most probably the sense of the two occurrences of hybris in the Septem contra Thebas.

1.3.2. While the term is applied to two of the Argive chieftains, it never is used of the chief character, Eteocles. At least, that Eteocles is the tragic hero around which the action centres, is generally accepted (Lesky, 1967:66, Murray, 1940:143, Lucas, 1959: 73ff., Bremer, 1969:133, Kitto, 1961:45 ('The play is all Eteocles')).

All these scholars are also in complete agreement as to the reason for Eteocles' tragic downfall : the family curse, and more especially Oedipus' curse on his two sons. (The only discordant note is struck by North, 1966:42, where she implies Eteocles' change from sophrosyne to hybris after his decision to fight Polyneices - ignoring the simple fact that hybris is never used of Eteocles.)

The usage of the word hybris in the Septem contra Thebas is, then, not applicable to the 'traditional' view of the rôle of the concept hybris, whether the latter is important in the play or not (see p. 11 above).

1.4. The Prometheus Vincetus

[82] - ἐνταῦθα νῦν ὕβριζε καὶ θεῶν γέρα
 σολῶν ἐφημέροισι προσίθει.

--'to be rebellious'

-- Prometheus has just been nailed firmly to the rock as punishment by Zeus for his rebellious disobedience in helping the race of mortals. It is Kratos who mockingly enjoins : 'Now rebel, there (where you are nailed fast - ἐνταῦθα), and plunder the prerogatives /privileges of the gods and give them to mortals.' Hybrizein is clearly something which one cannot do when nailed to a rock - 'Prometheus is not in a position to hybrizein'³⁰ On the contrary, one can, in Prometheus' position, 'swell with upstart arrogance' (Vellacott, Aeschylus, 1973:23), hanging 'there in all thy pride' (Murray, 1952:24). Certainly, the attitude of proud defiance is not meant, rather an act of rebellious disobedience (or 'insolence') -Greene in Grene and Lattimore, 1960:Vol I:68. The sense of 'mutiny or rebelliousness in an inferior toward a superior' is given by Lattimore (1964:84n30). Kaufmann's (1969:79) 'run riot' is too general a sense.) The religious element in the 'traditional' notion of hybris is problematic here, Prometheus himself being a fully immortal god - but see below, p.47.

[717] - ἤξει δ' ἄβριστήν ποταμὸν οὐ ψευδώνυμον.
 ὄν μὴ περάσῃς, οὐ γὰρ εὐβάτος περᾶν.

-- 'Violent'

-- Prometheus, in his account of the future sufferings of Io, incidentally mentions this river. Why is it rightly (οὐ ψευδώνυμον) called Hybristês? 'Its wild torrent justifies its name' (Vellacott, Aeschylus, 1973:41 - it is uncrossable (718). Lattimore (1964:23) enters under LSJ's heading 'the activity of wild animal spirits'³² That a too keen awareness of the 'traditional' sense can prove fatal to a translator is shown by the attempt to render Italic's (1955) Insolentia - 'Insolence' seems a strange name for a river (Greene, Greene and Lattimore, 1960, Vol I:90) - and Murray's (1952:53) attempt: 'a lordly river, named of wrath' likewise seems forced.

[970] - οὕτως ὑβρίζειν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας χρεῶν.

-- 'to mock', in both cases.

-- The line is obelized in Page's text, apparently because of (1) uncertainty as to the assignment of speakers in lines 968 and 970, and (2) 'non intellegitur; lacunam unius versus, ut postulat symmetria, statuit Reisig' (Aeschylus, 1972:235). But for lines 968-70 :-

'Hermes: It is better, I suppose to be a slave
 to this rock, than Zeus' trusted messenger.

Prometheus: Thus must the insolent show their insolence'

(Greene, 1970:100)

or,

'Hermes: Being bondslave to this rock is preferable, no doubt,
 To being the trusted messenger of Father Zeus.

Prometheus: You use the fitting language of the insolent'

(Vellacott, 1973:49)

seem to make good sense. Though 'insolence' is perhaps not quite sharp enough, if line 970 is seen as Prometheus' retort to the immediately preceding jibe of Hermes. λατρεύειν τῇδε πέτραι (968)

is a nasty way of putting Prometheus' predicament. This scornful jibe of Hermes may well be described with LSJ's entry 'the mockery of the sorrowful' - so Kaufmann(1969:79) and Murray(1952:66) - 'Here I can meet my mockers scorn for scorn' for line 970.³³ (Lattimore's 'bullying, the abuse of superior strength to humiliate the helpless living or outrage the helpless dead' is a little off the mark.)

1.4.1. 'Rebelliousness'(82) ; 'violence'(717) ; and 'mockery'(970) - twice ; are then the different senses in which hybris is used in the Prometheus Vincetus.

1.4.2. As we have seen, in only one of the four cases - i.e. line 82 - hybris is applied to Prometheus - and there can be no doubt that he is the dominant figure in the play. There have been attempts to interpret the Prometheus Vincetus as a hybris-orientated drama -

'In Prometheus Bound the pride [=hybris] of Zeus and the pride [=hybris] of Prometheus wage pitiless war' (Payne,1960:22)

'the traditional antithese to sophrosyne are about equally divided between Zeus and Prometheus...among which hybris is especially prominent' (North,1966:43)

'Aeschylus, die naar ik meen in zijn Prometheus Vincetus deze hybris het zuiverst stelt' : ['deze hybris' is defined as] - hij maakt zich schuldig, overschrijdt de wetten en de normen en draagt de straf zijner overtredingen op heldhaftige wijze ... Het was inderdaad de hybris, die Prometheus dreef tot het werk dat hij deed...vs. 82' (J.J. Fraenkel,1941:31)

But these attempts have not been succesful, as one would expect from the low ratio of hybris-references to Prometheus (1:4).Nowhere, of course, is hybris used of Zeus.)³⁴ But furthermore, in the case of the Prometheus Vincetus, the 'traditional'conception of the importance of hybris founders on the following considerations :-

(1) Zeus is not here the omnipotent, omniscient guardian of a

divine ethical order , the punisher of transgressors of that order. Most scholars agree that the part played by Zeus is that of a crude and villainous tyrant.³⁵

(2) Indeed, Prometheus is 'haughty' (Murray, 1940:32), stubborn and proud. In fact, the whole play revolves around his resilience in the face of Zeus' violent threats, which eventually results in his being 'punished' for his obstinacy. But again we are faced with the fact that this attitude of Prometheus is never said to be hybris in the play. The hybris of line 82 refers to his previous act of rebellion in stealing fire from the immortals and giving it to the mortals. (It is perhaps relevant to note that the accusation of hybris is made by the hostile Kratos, whereas Hephaistus - whom we should have expected to be a 'hostile witness' - in this context ; and the Chorus, almost throughout, are sympathetic towards Prometheus.) But his initial rebellion is not what the play is about. As is well demonstrated by Kitto (1961:53-61), the play is a dramatization of Prometheus' stubborn resistance to Zeus, subsequently to the original act of rebellion. Whereas the 'traditional' concept of hybris might well, then, be inherent in the Prometheus Vincetus, the word hybris itself is not used on this pregnant sense in the play.

1.5. The Agamemnon

[764] - φιλέει δὲ τίκτειν ὕβρις μὲν παλαιὰ νεά-
ζουσαν ἐν κακοῖς βροτῶν

[766] - ὕβριν τότ' ἢ τόθ'...

--(A) 'crime' , 'misdeed' , in both cases

-- (1) Judging from the immediate context alone (764-766 only), the 'traditional renderings in translations of hybris as 'pride' or 'insolence', do not seem adequate equivalents here :-

'But Pride ageing is made / in men's dark actions / ripe with the young pride / late or soon...' (Lattimore, Grene and Lattimore, 1960, Vol I:28) ;

'But ancient insolence is used to / beget an insolence that has

its youth / among the woes of mortals, soon or late...' (Lloyd-Jones, 1970:58)

'Pride or Sin the Elder will / In the man who chooses ill, / Breed a younger Insolence..' (Vellacott, Aeschylus, 1971:69)

'but Old Sin loves, when comes the hour again, / To bring forth New, / Which laugheth lusty amid the tears of men.' (Murray, 1952: 66) - Murray's pericope heading reads : 'It is Sin, it is Pride and Ruthlessness, that beget children like themselves...'

'Old Insolence is like to breed young Insolence, among men that are evil, sooner or later...' (Denniston-Page, 1957:137)

(a) It is difficult to see how an attitude or character-trait of pride or insolence can engender (τίκτειν), be the cause of, a subsequent attitude of similar nature, unless the process is highly metaphysical. But Aeschylus need not always be obscure. If we understand hybris here as 'act of violence', 'misdeed', the meaning is perfectly clear. A preceding (παλαιὰ) action can be the logical cause of a subsequent (νεάξουσάν) action or deed, i.e. a murder being followed by a revenge-murder. This is why both Murray and Vellacott vacillate between 'Pride' and 'Sin': the former being adhered to in deference to the tradition (cf. Italie, 1955, ad loc.), the latter being sensed as more fitting in the context. (Though perhaps it is better to avoid confusion with the Christian concept of 'Sin', and render 'crime'. The latter has the further advantage of being restricted to the field 'act of violence', whereas 'sin' is too general, and could also include non-violent attitudes.) Lattimore's translation of 'Pride' (quoted above) was apparently made before he himself realized that 'neither "pride" nor "arrogance" is attested in Liddell and Scott. In his later work he - rightly, it seems - takes LSJ's entry 'violent or criminal behaviour' as the sense of hybris in this context. (Lattimore, 1964:85n41;23).

(b) Page says of κακῶς, 'neuter or masc. preferably the latter' (Why preferably masculine? Because attitude, a 'state of being arrogantly proud' (Denniston-Page, 1957: ad 757-62) is likely to flourish (νεάξουσάν) among evil men, rather than in the mis-

fortunes of men.³⁶ Crimes, especially revenge-murders, on the other hand, are to be expected to arise from 'the tears of men' - *κακότης* taken as neuter.³⁷ Both Murray, in his translation, and Ed. Fraenkel (1950, *ad loc.*) take *κακότης* as neuter - 'misfortunes (of men)' - both, unfortunately 'doing the right thing for the wrong reason' when they adduce the usage *ὑβρίζειν ἐν κακότης* for 'rejoicing in the misfortunes of others' ('Which laugheth lusty amid the tears of men' - Murray). This is, indeed, the usage in *Agamemnon* 1612,³⁸ but certainly not in this context. I understand the cited passage: 'Often an old crime is the cause of a subsequent crime, amid the woes of men.'

(c) Both Kaufmann (1969:78) and MacDowell (1976:20), rather disappointingly, regard the present passage as too vague and textually corrupt to allow of understanding. But Denniston-Page (1957: *ad loc.*) and Ed. Fraenkel (1950: *ad loc.*) agree that (i) our immediate context (764-6) is certain and that (ii) although lines 766-79 are corrupt, we can make out that, in some way, *Atê* is a result of *hybris* (line 770).

(2) It is precisely this connection of *hybris* with *atê* which can be misleading. Fortunately, Aeschylus has made quite clear what he means by *atê* in this context, by saying that (a) *hybris* brings forth *atê* *μελάθροισιν*, i.e. 'for the house' (Ed. Fraenkel, 1950, *ad loc.*)³⁹

The *atê* is visited on a whole house, the Atreidae, and not on an individual. From this we can infer: (a) That *atê* is here 'destruction'/'ruin' (Bremer, 1969:125) and not 'blindness' 'delusion'. The latter would rather befall an individual, the former can, and does in the *Oresteia*, apply to a house - cf. *Agamemnon* 1575 and *Choephoroi* 1065. (b) That the *hybris* of 764-6 does not exclusively apply to Paris' abduction of Helen (as Bremer, 1969:125, wrongly understands), for the resulting *atê* is not the ruin of a city (Troy), but that of a house (the Atreidae). (Ed. Fraenkel, 1950:350n3, speaks of the 'mistake of referring it to the conquest of Troy, whereas the words are used in a quite general sense'.) Both these inferences strengthen the suggestion above (p.34) that *hybris* could refer to successive

crimes committed in the house of the Atreidae. To be quite certain, however, we should place lines 764-6 against their immediate background, lines 750-770, as well as against the final context of play and trilogy.

In 750-763 the chorus quotes the belief that olbos ('wealth') is the cause of (τεκνοῦσθαι) misery (δίξυν). It rejects this doctrine (δίχα δ' ἄλλων μονόφρων εἰμί), and believes, on the contrary, that it is the impious act (τὸ δυσσεβὲς γὰρ ἔργον) that is the cause of (τίκτειν) further similar acts. (Lines 764-6 contains, then, a repetition of this sentiment.) This, of course, calls to mind the sequence olbos - koros - hybris -...atê of Solon, fr. 5.9 D, Theognis 153,175, Pindar, Ol. I,55-7, Pyth.II,25ff.⁴⁰ The habit of parallel-quoting has resulted in scholars generally equating the hybris of 764-6 with koros :-

'Koros...is sometimes almost synonymous with hybris'(Lloyd-Jones, 1970:38n - on lines 764-6 !) ;

'koros equals hybris' (Winnington-Ingram,1971:124n28 - on Agamemnon 382) ;

'koros leads to hybris, the state of being arrogantly proud, self-willed, contemptuous of duty towards gods and men...the idea that the blame falls not on prosperity in itself, but on the sinful acts of over-prosperous⁴¹ men' (Denniston-Page,1957:136n)

This facile identification is, indeed, a grave error,

(a) because the Pindaric-Solonic notion is, of course, exô tês tragôdias, and

(b) because the chorus takes pains to disavow the koros - hybris genealogy, pressing (through repetition) instead its conviction that it is a crime, a misdeed (hybris) which results in a subsequent crime(hybris), eventually leading to the destruction (atê) of a house. That line 381, where hybris does not occur, is adduced in this context, is likewise incorrect.

(3) An erroneous reading of lines 764-6 could lead to imputing hybris as a fault of character to Agamemnon, e.g. 'One hybris begets another, and Agamemnon is excessive in his revenge upon the Trojans' (Lloyd-Jones,1971:7). But it is not a character-

trait that hybris refers to here. It is 'actions that are "instrumental in bringing about catastrophe" : these actions are, in order of time,

- A. Thyestes' adultery, and Atreus' horrible revenge,
- B. Paris' abduction of Helen away from Sparta,
- C. Agamemnon's sacrifice at Aulis,
- D. Clytaemnestra kills her husband (and Cassandra),
- E. Orestes kills his mother (and Aegisthus)' (Bremer,1969:123)

- It is not koros which is indicated, but rather (and let us give the last word to Gilbert Murray) it is that 'Strong creatures, following their own lusts, do Hubris everywhere to weaker things...But the accumulated tension of wrong becomes unbearable...and inevitable the storm bursts. It is difficult in the Agamemnon to isolate one particular wrong for which the King is punished, or one particular motive which leads Clytaemnestra to her crime...Behind the wickedness or blindness of this or that particular son of Atreus there is the Daemon of the House, which cannot rest because of all the innocent blood that has been shed, and tries madly to find peace through more blood.' (Murray,1952:8).

[1612] - Ἀΐγισθ', ὑβρίζοντ' ἐν κακοῖσιν οὐ σέβω.

-- 'Rejoicing (in the misfortunes of others)'

-- Translation that have been given for hybrizein are : 'insults' (Vellacott,1971) ; 'to insult' (Murray,1952) ; 'strong vaunting' (Lattimore,1960) ; 'insolence' (Lloyd-Jones,1970) ; 'to triumph' (Ed. Fraenkel,1950) ; and 'triumph insolently' (Denniston-Page, 1957) - all ad loc.⁴² The context : the chorus' disapproval of Aegisthus' rejoicing (lines 1577-1611) after the murder of Agamemnon. Once again, Italie's (1955) insolenter se gerere is unimaginative and misleading.⁴³ Also, Aegisthus was not merely triumphing, he was 'crowing over someone else's misfortune' (MacDowell,1976:21), ' "wallowing" in his neighbour's miseries' (Kaufmann,1969:78). The fact that he calls it a 'happy (εὐφρον)⁴⁴ day

(line 1577) ; 'his constant use of the tritest cant sayings' (Lloyd-Jones, 1972:102n) (lines 1623-4) ; puns (lines 1591 and 1629-30) ; and 'bombastic grandiloquence' (Denniston-Page, 1957: ad loc.) - these all make him come close to 'mockery' (Lattimore 1964:23). The sense is akin to hybrizein in Sophocles : 'triumphing, rejoicing mockingly (in misfortunes)' - the apt German word is 'Schadenfreude'.

1.5.1. Thus, hybris is used in the Agamemnon to signify 'a (violent) crime' - twice (lines 764, 766) ; and once to indicate 'mocking triumph (in the misfortunes of others)' - line 1612.

1.5.2. As to the tragic significance of hybris, line 1612 may of course be safely ruled out. Next, what about the red carpet scene (lines 915-974) ?

- 'he had previously walked $\delta\iota'$ $\upsilon\beta\rho\iota\nu$ [sic] on a very long crimson embroidered robe... "And why did he deserve death ?" No doubt he had trampled with impious feet on broideries fit only for the gods" '(Murray, 1940:234,5). NO hybris- word is used with reference to the red carpet scene, neither can any other hybris-reference in the Agamemnon by any means be stretched to refer to it - applying as they do to Aegisthus' 'Schadenfreude' and to successive crimes in the house of the Atreidae. Payne (1960:26), too, unlike Aeschylus himself, sees the 'Pride of Hubris' in the treading of the carpet. Likewise does North (1966:46) - 'where [in the Agamemnon] the hybris is chiefly that of Agamemnon himself and is symbolized by the blood-red carpet'.⁴⁵ Amazingly, even Denniston-Page⁴⁶ (1957:151n), specifically referring to lines 922 and 925, explicitly call the treading of the carpet 'the act of $\upsilon\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$ which he knows to be sacrilegious'!. This astounding faculty of the scholars to be able to see things where they are not, can only be ascribed to (a) the force of the 'traditional' notion of hybris, and (b) the desire to impute ethico-

religious culpability to the chief character of the play. What, then, is the significance of the double mention of hybris in lines 764-6 for the rest of the play?⁴⁷ The answer is :the crimes which logically follow the one after the other are not metaphysically connected, but flow the one from the other through the natural human process of revenge. Thus Agamemnon's sacrifice of Iphigenia is made with the intention to avenge the abduction of Helen by Paris, and in Clytaemnestra's murder of Agamemnon she is taking revenge on the former (*παλαιὰ*) hybris. As a side-motif Aegisthus' complicity in the crime is justified by himself in lines 1577-1611 (see above,p.37) as 'just' revenge on Atreus' ancient crime. This is also how we should understand the link of hybris with eventual atê 'for the house'(line 769). Atê is not so much here 'divine Retribution ' for the 'Sin of Pride', but rather the actual physical destruction which would inevitably (*φιλέει δὲ*) result from (*τίκτει*) the successive revenge-orientated murders. The danger is concrete : If the revenge murders continue, there would ultimately be no more Atreidae left ! This seems to be the single dramatic problem of the play. And lines 764-9 express the problem in a nutshell - despite the prominence of religious and moral overtones, they are secondary to the main dramatic situation : a horrible chain of revenge-murders is threatening the very survival of a royal house...where will it end ? (Fortunately, we have the trilogy to see what the upshot will be - see below, on the Eumenides).

Hybris, then, understood as referring to successive crimes, applies to both Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra. The question of which of the two is the chief character of the Agamemnon need not concern us here - 'Aristotle has remarked that "tragedy is a representation not of people but of a praxis, of life, of prosperity or ruin" (Poetics,1450A15)...We do not, in fact, debate anxiously whether the "hero" of the Agamemnon is Agamemnon or Clytaemnestra or possibly Cassandra - we see at once that this play is about "something" rather than "somebody"...' (Kitto,1966:156). Therefore, for the purposes of testing the validity of the 'tradition-

al' hypothesis (see Introduction, p.11 above), I shall assign two out of the three hybris-references in the Agamemnon to the 'chief character. (Line 1612 is ruled out as irrelevant to the main action, whereas the double mention of hybris in lines 764-6 states precisely the main theme and problem of the play, i.e. the continuous process of crime and subsequent reveng-crime, in which both chief characters participate.) However, it is not hybris in the 'traditional' sense of 'pride' as a flaw, but hybris in the 'modern' sense of 'violence'/'deed of violence' which is operative as the precipitating factor of calamity.

1.5.3. Whether or not 'pride' - as 'traditionally' understood by the concept hybris - is an important dramatic idea in the Agamemnon cannot be discussed here : hybris is at any rate not used in this sense in the Agamemnon.

1.6. The Choephoroi

-- Although no form of the word hybris occurs in the Choephoroi, both J.J. Fraenkel(1941:31) and North(1966:46-7) seem to sense an implication of hybris in Orestes' murder of Clytaemnestra. This is not without some justification, as the murder of Clytaemnestra is one of the successive revenge-murders indicated in Agamemnon 764-6.

1.7. The Eumenides

[534] - *δυσσεβίας μὲν ὕβρις τέκος ὡς ἐτύμως*

-- 'misdeed', 'crime'

-- So Vellacott(Aeschylus, 1971:165), but the 'traditional' sense is rendered by both Murray(1952:228) : 'Pride of Man, and Pride's excess' (where the whole phrase is intended as a translation of the single word hybris) ; and Lloyd-Jones (Eumenides, 1970:43) :

'insolence'. Payne (1960:22) has 'overweening pride' as the equivalent of hybris in 534.

But, 'in such a context, hybris has no specific technical meaning that can be pressed' (Lattimore, 1964:83n26). Judging from the immediate context alone, one can only say that the sense of hybris lies somewhere in the field: 'something akin to, but not identical to'⁴⁸, and resulting from irreligiosity'. It is therefore natural to turn to the broader context of play and trilogy to try to understand the sense in which hybris is used here. Lines 750-769 of the Agamemnon immediately come to mind (see above, pp.35-6). Scholars have again not hesitated to associate the hybris of line 534 of the Eumenides with koros, and indeed to identify it with koros so as to mean 'excess' or 'overconfidence' or 'pride' (e.g. Lloyd-Jones's (Eumenides, 1970:43) note: 'lack of reverence for the gods and for the divine law leads to the brutal insolence (hybris) that brings a man or his descendants to disaster; we recognize this doctrine whose fullest statement is at Agamemnon 750-81'; Murray's translation⁴⁹; but especially Lebeck's (1971:162) interpretation.) Lebeck understands the $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\varsigma$ of line 534 as indicative of etymological word-play, and reads the line to allude to koros: hybris is understood to be truly (=κατά τὴν ἐτυμολογίαν) the off-spring (koros) of koros. (' $\acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$ is a synonym for one meaning of koros, $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\varsigma$ for the other'). It is to be doubted whether this interpretation is valid, (a) because the etymon itself occurs in neither the passage in the Agamemnon nor the passage in the Eumenides, and (b) because it is doubtful whether $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\varsigma$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\eta\tau\acute{\upsilon}\mu\omega\varsigma$ always indicate a play on words,⁵⁰ and (c) in spite of the fact that the koros - hybris - atê genealogy was well-known at the time of the production of the play - as Lebeck argues - Aeschylus seems to have done his utmost to differentiate his notion of hybris from the Pindaric-Solonic koros-genealogy, especially in Agamemnon 757-8,⁵¹ which makes it rather unlikely that his audience would have misunderstood him, as his latter-day critics have, in this matter. (Rose⁵² goes as far as to phrase his explanation of line 534: 'Hybris is not the child

of koros'!).

The only viable alternative⁵³ is to consider the possibility that hybris here refers to Orestes' murder of Clytaemnestra. (So J.J. Fraenkel, 1941:31 and North, 1966:46-7) It would then indicate, as it does in the Agamemnon 764-6, a deed of violence, or 'crime'. That this interpretation is consistent with the trilogy-encompassing⁵⁴ choric utterance in the Agamemnon about successive crimes leading to ruin, is certainly in its favour. For, if the chorus were claiming that Orestes, or anyone else in the trilogy had been 'proud' or 'excessively self-confident', they would either be irrelevant or guilty of a misjudgement. And irrelevance is what the Erinyes can least afford at this stage, their last chance of presenting their case to Athena's court of the Areopagus. Furthermore, it is indeed the revenge-crimes which they themselves chiefly attend to throughout the Oresteia.

One should note that, in the case of this interpretation, the idea of atê as resulting from this hybris should be regarded as implied. (It is necessary to counterbalance the olbos of the next line as opposite state, resulting from the opposite of dyssebia, i.e. $\delta\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \phi\rho\epsilon\nu\omega\nu$. (Atê (ruin) as resulting from hybris as 'crime' is, of course, stressed in the important utterance of Agamemnon 764-6.)

1.7.2. But the play is certainly not about Orestes' murder of Clytaemnestra. That is the subject of the Choephoroi. The Eumenides is concerned with the evaluation of that deed, subsequently to it. Hybris cannot, therefore, be said to play an important rôle in the dramatic movement of the Eumenides.

1.7.3. On the other hand, the Oresteian trilogy, as a whole may be said to be a drama of hybris. Hybris is the word used to refer to the continuous chain of revenge-murders, which, in addition to the evaluation thereof, constitutes the sole action and dramatic problem of the play. Hybris relates to the ethico-religious

overtones of the trilogy, in that it is said to be the result of impiety (Agamemnon 750 ff., Eumenides 534). The trilogy is a statement of a social problem (that of the blood-vendetta) and its solution (divine grace, albeit βίαιος).⁵⁵ Certainly the trilogy does not exhibit a 'primitive Zeus', punishing mortals out of φόβος, or forcing them deterministically into ruinous acts - as Page (Denniston-Page, 1957:xv) or Lloyd-Jones (1956) would have it. Our hybris-references make it clear that the sufferers suffer because they themselves have committed crimes, the effects of which would have been disastrous had it not been for the divine solution of forgiveness (cf. Kitto, 1966:39ff.) Thus the action of the trilogy is doubly motivated, on both human and divine levels (cf. Saayman, 1975:202-3; and Bremer, 1969:120) - with mortals committing hybris and Zeus, in reaction, administering justice and grace.

1.8. Summary⁵⁶

1.8.1. The senses in which the family of hybris-words is used in Aeschylus are, in order of frequency, the following :-

- 'lust' - 9 times (Supplikes 30, 81, 104, 426, 487, 528, 817, 845, 880-1)

- 'violence' - 6 times (Septem 406, 502; Prometheus 717; Agamemnon /'violent deed' 764, 766; Eumenides 534)

- 'mocking' - 3 times (Prometheus 970 (twice); Agamemnon 1612) /'triumphing mockingly'

- '(irreligious) pride' - twice (Persae 808, 821)

- 'rebelliousness' - once (Prometheus 82) /'disobedience'

1.8.2. Out of the 21 references to hybris in the tragedies of Aeschylus, only 5 refer to the 'chief characters' of the different plays. (Persae 808,821; Prometheus 82; Agamemnon 764,766) The ratios of hybris-references to 'chief characters' compared to total hybris- instances for the different plays are :-

<u>Supplices</u>	-	0	:	9
<u>Persae</u>	-	2	:	2
<u>Septem</u>	-	0	:	2
<u>Prometheus</u>	-	1	:	4
<u>Agamemnon</u>	-	2	:	3
<u>Choephoroi</u>	-	0	:	0
<u>Eumenides</u>	-	0	:	1

- The hybris-hunter reaps a scant reward ! Of the seven plays, only the Persae and the Agamemnon revolve dramatically around hybris - as one would expect from the ratio analysis above. (The Oresteian trilogy, as a whole, too, has hybris as a central motivational factor.) The 'traditional' Pindaric-Solonic sense of hybris as 'pride' / 'arrogance' is only encountered in the Persae, Aeschylus' earliest play. Whereas hybris in the 'modern' sense is operative in the Agamemnon, and in the Oresteia as a unity.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

- (1) cf. Introduction, pp.12-13, above, and also ad Aeschylus Agamemnon, below, and Sophocles' Oedipus Tyrannus, chapter 2, below.
- (2) Lattimore (1964), in his attack on the 'traditional' notion about the meaning of hybris, is safely silent about Persae 808, 821.
- (3) My colleague, Mr. F. Saayman, agrees with me in this. (But J.J. Fraenkel, 1941:30, understands hybris in line 426 as 'het schenden van het altaar'.
- (4) cf. also the similar situation in Oedipus Coloneus, p. 83 below. The thought occurs that, apart from the refugee-at-religious-sanctuary situation in Greek tragedy being indicative of religious overtones or being merely a mythological convention, it also has distinct advantages from the point of view of dramatic situation. It is easier, (i) for the audience to see the refugee, (ii) for the refugee to speak to the violator, and (iii) for the violator to remove the refugee - if he/she takes refuge in an open sanctuary rather than in, say, an impenetrable fortress.
- (5) If it is at all necessary to drive home the point further, one may ask, 'What is the difference between male arrogance and female arrogance?' The difference between the male's and the female's sexual experience can be, however, clearly felt, e.g. (as in this context) when there is desire on the part of the male, but refusal on the part of the female. It is then when the male experience is called 'lust'.
- (6) Following Wolff, E.A., Aeschylus' Danaid Trilogy : a study, Diss. Columbia university, 1957, p.100.
- (7) cf. line 82, where they speak of ἐνδικοί γάμοις, as opposed to the hybris of the Aegypti, implying that it is not all men or marriage in general that they abhor.
- (8) see also Elisei, A., 'Le Danaidi nelle "Suppliche" di Eschilo', Stud. Ital. n.s. 6 (1928), pp.197-219.
- (9) Page's conjecture.

- (10) The MSS. have ἀρσενογενὲς and ὕβριν respectively, when the construction either does not make sense - 'Aeschylus vix dignum' (Friis Johansen, 1970, Vol I:120 - or has to be taken as a sort of accusative of the internal object, when it would be in sense not different from the quoted text.
- (11) This much is apparently certain, but Page (Aeschylus, 1972: 124) and Friis Johansen (1970, Vol I:124) differ on the assignment of the surrounding strophes.
- (12) cf. Prometheus Vincit, 157.
- (13) This interpretation is contrary to the conjecture ἐπάται (apparently followed by Murray) which is in any case not accepted by Page (Aeschylus, 1972:124).
- (14) Kitto's (1966:226) categorical statement, in another context, 'Hybris is not lust, and would not suggest lust to a Greek', is interesting.
- (15) Smyth, H.W., Aeschylus, Heinemann, London, 1922, pp. 5-105
- (16) With apology to Murray's translation above.
- (17) 'One may argue that they [the maidens] have one frequent attribute of the protagonist : hubris . Their hubris is their claim to virginity.' (Miss H. Spier, Classical Journal, LVII (1962), 316. See also North (1966:38); and Lesky (1967:69) - 'to scorn Aphrodite is hybris.'
- (18) See Garvie (1969:221ff.) for the arguments.
- (19) See Fraenkel, E. 'Die sieben Reedepeare im Thebaner drama des Aeschylus', Sitzungsberichte der Bayrisch Akad. (1957), Heft 3.
- (20) For hybris in this sense, see Sophocles Trachiniae 888 (of Deianeira's suicide).
- (21), (22), (23) and (24) My emphasis in all these cases.
- (25) As in, e.g. Euripides Hippolytus, 446; Bacchae, 1297. In the wider, 'traditional' sense of 'irreligious pride'/'failure to think mortal thoughts, we should have expected a linking with, e.g. βροτειός or θνητός.
- (26) Velacott's (Aeschylus, 1973) translation, as of lines 467 and 529-30 following.
- (27) Amphiaraus, in fact, reproaches Tydeus for his violent, war-

mongering nature (τὸν ἀνδροφόντην, τὸν πόλεως ταρακτορα | μέγιστον Ἄργει
τῶν κακῶν διδάσκαλον - 572-3)

(28) Vellacott's translation in both cases.

(29) The fact that Capaneus' irreligiously proud boasts are called hybris in Euripides' Phoenissae, 179; and Supplices, 495-9 is, of course, irrelevant here. Aeschylus did not call the proud boasts hybris in the Septem.

(30) See above, p.15, note (8).

(31) Harry, J.H., Aeschylus : Prometheus, New York, 1905, on line 970.

(32) Quoting Sir John Mandeville, 'For the water runneth so rudely and sharply, because that it cometh down so outrageously from the high places above.' (p.81n22).

(33) It is possible to underestimate Gilbert Murray's tremendous sensitivity as translator. Despite the fact that he labours heavily under the 'traditional' notion of hybris as 'pride' (cf. his mistranslations of Suppl. 30, 81, 104, 817, 880-1; Prom. 82; Agam. 764-6) he breaks through prejudice and comes up with something entirely different AND fitting, as in Suppl. 528; Sept. 406, 502. (See the various instances ad loc.) However, I think he here wrongly takes the first hybrizein of line 970 as referring to Prometheus.

(34) North (1966:43) is utterly unjustified in speaking of 'the hybris ("violence, lust") which he [Zeus] displays towards Io'.

(35) This raises two issues which are too problematic to be treated here :-

(a) That the Prometheus Vincetus is not by Aeschylus (because of his cruelty in this play being seemingly incompatible with the Zeus of the other plays) - cf. Grene (1960, Vol I:62), Lesky (1967: 87), Lucas (1959:106ff.). But the problem is often resolved by a reconstruction of the trilogy, in which Zeus and Prometheus are ultimately reconciled - cf. North (1966:43). The trilogy cannot be considered here.

(b) That the 'traditional' notion of hybris is not applicable here, Prometheus being a fully immortal god (so Grene (1960:62)). But it may be just as probable that Prometheus is a symbolic Everyman, when then the 'traditional' notion would be valid,

were it not for the actual usage of hybris in the Prometheus, which does not tend to validate the 'traditional' hypothesis.

(36) One supposes that Page is influenced by the Pindaric-Solonic notion of hybris resulting from koros or olbos. (But see below, on lines 755ff.)

(37) As always, when generalizing, Murray leans heavily on idées reçues ('Hubris, a word generally translated 'insolence' or 'pride' : 1952:6), but, when coming to grips with the actual plays, displays unsurpassable sensitivity in belying them : 'In the Agamemnon... Strong creatures, following their own lusts, do Hubris everywhere to weaker things' (1952:8 - two pages later !) See note (33) above, and also cf. Kitto's introduction to Murray (1965).

(38) And also, e.g. Ajax 367, 304, 971, 1088; Antigone 840; Soph. Electra 790, 794, 881.

(39) μελάθροισιν understood as a genuine dative, as do Nägelsbach and Wecklein, contra Headlam (E. Fraenkel, 1950: ad loc.)

(40) That wealth leads to hybris : Eur, fr. 438; Xen. Kyr. 8.4.14; Soph. O.T. 873-4, Eur. Suppl. 464, 741-3, Ar. Wasps 1309 and Wealth 564 (MacDowell, 1976:30n). The exceptional reversal of the genalogy occurs in Pindar, Ol. XIII.10 and Herodotus 8.77.1. (Bowra, Pindar, 81-2 has some useful comments on this point.- Bremer, 1969:115)

(41) My emphasis

(42) Page's emendation of the codd. ὕβριζειν does not alter the sense.

(43) But see, on 'insolence', Introduction, p.13.

(44) Rather 'than "well-intentioned" in this context' (Page, ad loc.

(45) But see below, p.42, on the rôle of hybris in the Oresteia

(46) The careful Ed. Fraenkel (1950) refrains from dragging in hybris.

(47) If hybris is taken too abstractly, it is difficult to see how the logical connection stressed by τίκτειν is actually effected in practice, e.g. in the case of Lesky's (1967:77) 'recurring guilt, and subsequent disaster' (my emphasis).

(48) One might argue that A cannot cause / give birth to A ; A must cause B,C,D...a different entity. An individual cannot cause/give birth to its very self. Therefore, one could say, at least, that hybris is here not 'irreligiousness/impiety' but 'something (probably) irreligious'. This point is well brought out in Vellacott's translation : 'the heart's impiety /Begets after its kind the hand's misdeed'.

(49) See p.41 above. Note the painful paraphrase , sacrificing aptness to the desire to incorporate the idea of koros.

(50) This seems to have been Verral's contention, apparently refuted by Headlam, On Editing Aeschylus, London,1891,pp.138-159,'who objects that Aeschylus uses these words with no more special sense than other words for "truly" or "fittingly" ' (Lebeck,1971:213n5)

(51) See p.36 above.

(52) Rose, H.J., A Commentary to the Surviving plays of Aeschylus, Amsterdam, 1957-58, Vol.II,p.226.

(53) There is another remote possibility, that hybris refers to the violence to be inflicted upon the irreligious by the Erinyes as agents of divine retribution. This thought is suggested by an analysis of the structure of the choral ode. In a thrice-repeated sequence, the Erinyes threaten violent punishment of irreligiousness :-

1. [34] - δυσσεβίας
- ὕβρις

2.[340] - ἀθέωι ποδί
[543] - ποινὰ

3.[553] - τὸν ἀντίτολμον
[555] - βιαίως· ξὺν χρόνῳ καθήσειν | λαῖφος

-All these are an expression of their main theme, stated at the beginning of the Oresteia : Agamemnon,182 - δαιμόνιων δέ που χάρις βίαιος . Similarly, in Eur. Bacchae,9, and Hippolytus 446 hybris-words

indicate divine violence. (This, however, does not necessarily validate the interpretation in this context.)

The objections to this interpretation seem unanswerable : (a) It is incongruous that the subjects of *δυσσεβία* and *ὕβρις* should be different, i.e. 'man' of the former, and the Erinyes of the latter. (b) Aeschylus' piety probably would prohibit him from using hybris - after all, a negative term - of divine agents.

(54) See on Choephoroi, p. 40 above.

(55) That the council of the Areopagus - i.e. man - is powerless to solve the problem (successive revenge-murders would continue ad infinitum) is stressed by the fact that Athena casts the decisive and liberating vote.

(56) See Conclusion, for a summary in fuller detail.

2. HYBRIS IN SOPHOCLES2.1. The Ajax

[153] ¹ ..καὶ πᾶς ὁ κλύων
 τοῦ λέξαντος χαίρει μάλλον
 τοῖς σοῖς ἄχεσιν καθυβρίζων

-- 'mocking', 'crowing (over someone's misfortunes)' ('Schadenfreude')

-- The chorus of Salaminian sailors is reacting to rumours of Ajax' deluded slaying of cattle. Odysseus, especially, is telling these specious tales (134-151). And now, all who hear these rumours, are crowing (152) mockingly over Ajax' miseries (153).

The hybris-verb in line 153 is rendered as 'mocking' by Watling (1971:23) and as 'despitefully(exulting)' by Jebb(1967:35).

Closely linked with 'crowing', exulting' (χαίρει) in line 152 ('καθυβρίζων stands in close relation to χαίρει ("nom. cum partic.")' - Kamerbeek, 1963:50): it is modified by τοῖς σοῖς ἄχεσιν ², indicating the sphere in which this type of hybris is active.

[196] - ἐχθρῶν δ' ὕβρις ᾧ δ' ἀτάρβητα
 ὀρμάτ' ἐν εὐανέμοις βάσσαις,
 πάντων καγχαζόντων
 γλώσσαις βαρυάλγητα·

-- 'mockery'

-- Still the same context. Jebb(1967:39) translates 'insolence' and Watling(1971:25) 'malice'. 'Mockery' would have been more to the point. For what are the enemies actually doing? They are καγχαζόντων - Kamerbeek glosses: 'Hesych. καγχάζει· ἀτάκτως γελαῖ, ἀσμένως, ἀθρόως. Lat. cachinnari'(1963:60). The fact that the noun is used here does not make any difference: it refers to exactly the same mockery as that of line 153. Also, the hybris of his enemies is said to spreading unchecked (like a fire) over windswept fields. It is difficult to see how 'insolence' can do

[367] - οἷμοι γέλωτος, οἶον ὑβρίσθην ἄρα .

--'to be mocked'

-- Ajax has come to his senses, and now realizes that it is not he who has had a 'laugh' (hybris, line 304) on his enemies and that the 'joke' is on him - ὑβρίσθην : 'I was made a fool of', or 'shamed' (Jebb, 1967:65, and Watling, 1971:30). Kaufmann (1969:77) renders 'mockery'. Though Kamerbeek (1963:87, see above on line 304) is right on Ajax' laugh being redirected at him in line 367, he connects this hybris wrongly with that of line 560, where the word is used in a perceptibly different sense (see below). He also wrongly understands γέλωτος as a 'genit. causae' - the shaming seen as a consequence of his own previous laugh. But, if we take γέλωτος as a genitive of exclamation (as Jebb, 1967:65, does), the hybris of line 367 is not only connected, but identical to gelôs. This is, of course, the same identification of derisive laughter with hybris - by means of οἶος here, compared to ὄσος in the other case - as in line 304, to which line 367 harks back ironically.

[560] - οὐτοὶ σ' Ἀχαιῶν, οἶδα, μή τις ὑβρίσῃ
 στυγναῖσι λώβαις, οὐδὲ χωρὶς ὄντ' ἐμοῦ .

--'harm', 'ill-treat'/'outrage'

-- Ajax has resolved to commit suicide after his shaming experience, and, preparing to leave Tecmessa, assures her comfortingly that she will not be harmed (ὑβρίσῃ) by the Achaeans when he will no longer be there, because his brother Teucer will look after her. λώβη is contumelia here, according to Kamerbeek (1963:121) - 'insult' or 'outrage'. 'There's not a Greek will dare to lift a finger / To hurt or shame you' (Watling, 1971:37) ; 'No fear, I wot, lest any of the Greeks assail thee with cruel outrage...' (Jebb, 1967:91). ὑβρίσῃ on its own can have the general significance of 'harming' or 'ill-treating', i.e. the force of ἐκβαλεῖν in ἐκβαλεῖν λώβαις, line 1392, especially in the sense of 'abusing superior strength...' (Lattimore, 1964:23). It is λώβαις in both cases

which modifies a word for 'harming someone' into the sense which fits Fisher's (1976:177) definition of causing shame or dishonour or 'outrage'.

[955] - ἦ ῥα κελαινώπαν θυμὸν εἰφουβρίζει
 πολύτλας ἀνήρ
 γελᾷ δὲ τοῖσδε μαινομένοις ἄχεσιν

-- 'to mock', 'crow (over another's misfortune)'

-- 'εἰφουβρίζει' here denotes, not words or deeds of insult, but secret exultation... κελαινώπαν θυμὸν... is an acc. "of the internal obj."... i.e. (with) dark malignity'⁵ It is translated with 'laugh' by Watling (1971:50) : 'The "much-enduring man" /Will laugh to his black heart's content...' Again hybris is synonymical with γελᾷν, as in lines 153, 304 and 367. Said by the chorus, when they have realized what has happened, of the scornful laugh of - again - Odysseus. (The sense of 'mockery' is attested for this passage by MacDowell, 1976:30n18)

[971] - πρὸς ταῦτ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐν κενόῃς ὕβριζέτω.

-- 'to triumph mockingly', 'crow' (Schadenfreude)

-- Tecmessa is answering the chorus's lament (lines 955-60) on the mocking triumph which follows Ajax's suicide. ἐν κενόῃς is here parallel to κακῶις in Agamemnon, 1612, and to ἄχεσιν in Ajax 153 and 957, as used with hybrizein. Again it is almost synonymically linked with 'laughing' - γελῶντων 961; ἐπεγγελωέν 969. It is rendered 'triumph' by Jebb (1967:149) and Watling (1971:51). Kamerbeek's laboured effort - 'Then let Odysseus indulge in an overbearing attitude for which there is no ground' - shows that the 'traditional' notion of hybris is less fitting than 'triumphing mockingly' here. (So, too, MacDowell, 1976:30n8).

[1061] - ..νῦν δ' ἐνήλλαξεν θεὸς
τῆν τοῦδ' ὕβριν πρὸς μῆλα καὶ ποιμένας πεσείν.

--- 'violent attack'

-- 'But, as it happened, the god drew off the assault, so that it fell upon our sheep and cattle' (Watling, 1971:54). Jebb's (1967:161) 'outrage' is too vague (the violence of Ajax' attack is stressed in lines 53 and 184). Used, of course, of Ajax' deluded attack, as commented on by Menelaus.

[1081] - ὅπου δ' ὕβριζειν δρᾶν θ' ἄβούλεται παρῆ.

--- 'to be rebellious, disobedient'

--- 'Where there is licence to insult and act at will' (Jebb, 1967: 165) ; 'where licence reigns / And insolence' (Watling, 1971:55) 'Insolence' and 'insult' are not incorrect, but perhaps less fitting, as they indicate a verbal action, whereas Teucer had crossed Menelaus' and Agamemnon's will in attempting to bury Ajax (lines 147-51), in addition to being insolent (verbally) to his superior. On the other hand, insofar as Ajax' disobedience to Menelaus is alluded to - μὴ ὀδυνήθημεν κρατεῖν (1067); μηδὲν δὲ δικαιῶν τῶν ἐφεστώτων κλύειν (1072) - it was certainly not mere insolence but violent rebelliousness in the form of physical attack. Lattimore (1964:84n30) lists the usage here under LSJ's category 'mutiny or rebelliousness in an inferior toward a superior'. According to Kaufmann (1969:78) Menelaus uses the term (hybrizein) here 'to warn Teucer that if he does not obey,⁶ there will be anarchy'. That we can pinpoint a precise sense of 'rebellious disobedience' here is due to the many antonyms for hybris in the immediate context : it is contrasted with φόβος (1076) αἰδῶς (1076) αἰσχύνη (1079); and δάος (1084). ('This is said from a point of view of a person to whom δέος (and reverence for authority, discipline, etc.) essentially means everything' - Kamerbeek, 1963:211). Said by Menelaus, it may either retrospectively allude to Ajax' rebelliousness, or prospectively and hypothetically be said of Teucer (Kaufmann, see above), or refer to both (Lattimore, 1964:84n30).⁷

[1088] - ..πρόσθεν οὐτός ἦν
αἴθων ὑβριστής, νῦν δ' ἐγὼ μέγ' αὖ φρονῶ.

-- 'rebellious'

-- 'Pride' may, perhaps be suggested - mega phronein is regular for 'to be proud'/'arrogant'/'boastful' ("This was a man once proud and full of fire ; now I'm the one to boast"-Watling, 1971:55). But αἴθων ('burning', 'passionate') modifies ὑβριστής to mean something more violent than 'pride', and , in fact, alludes to the πείρα (attempt) of Ajax to murder the Achaeans (Kamerbeek, 1963:211). (In line 1057 of the same speech in which the two previous hybris-occurrences feature, Menelaus says that Ajax' πείρα was 'quenched' (ἐσβεσεν) - the πείρα seen as arising from Ajax' 'burning' hybris.) Jebb's (1967:165) translation : 'This man was once hot and insolent, now 'tis my turn to be haughty', shows that he, too, regards this hybris as similar to the 'rebelliousness' of line 1081, where he also translates 'insolence'. (Kaufmann's 'running riot'- though a little eccentric - similarly betrays the interpretation that 1088 and 1081 both refer to Ajax' 'rebellion'-1969:78). Likewise Lattimore (1964:84n30). 'Pride' is perhaps a little out of place, seeing that Menelaus had previously spoken; - not of Ajax' pride, but of his violent attack (1057, 1061) and his insubordination (1067, 1072), and vaguely of disobedience and licence (1080-1). Also, in his answer to Menelaus' speech, Teucer says nothing about an allegation of 'pride', but spends lines 1093-1117 in denying the allegation of insubordination.

[1092] - Μενέλαε, μὴ γνώμας ὑποστήσας σοφὰς
εἶτ' αὐτὸς ἐν θανούσιν ὑβριστῆς γένη

-- '(of a nature to) commit outrage (on the dead)'

-- So both Watling (1971:55) and Jebb (1967:165), and also Lattimore (1964:84n30). Kaufmann (1969:78) lapses badly in sticking to 'running riot' here. Jebb notes: 'Menelaus has rightly condemned the hybris which defies human laws.⁸ But his own hybris menaces

the laws of the gods.' The chorus is reacting to Menelaus' immediately preceding threat of refusing burial to Ajax (1063-6 and 1089-90). When thus modified by *ἐν θανούσιν* or similar phrase, hybris always means the outrage by the living on the dead⁹ - here the offence is not directly against the gods, but against the honour of the victim (cf. MacDowell, 1976:17; Fisher, 1976:177) - in refusing burial.

[1151] - ὅς ἐν κακοῖς ὑβρίζει τοῖσι τῶν πέλας...

-- 'to triumph mockingly' ('Schadenfreude')

-- So Watling (1971:57) : 'Mocking his friends' misfortunes' ; and Kaufmann (1969:78) : "'to wallow" in one's neighbour's misfortunes', though Jebb (1967:173) does not include the notion of 'mockery' : 'who triumphed in his neighbour's woes'. (Jebb, Kaufmann, and Kamerbeek (1963:222) quote this usage as similar to Agamemnon 1612 - see above, ad loc). The κακοῖς of the neighbour need not be the death of Ajax, in the same way as 1092 above (in respect of which the outrage of burial-refusal is indicated). On the contrary, it is more probable that the πέλας whose miseries are being exulted in by Menelaus, is Teucer himself (Lattimore, 1964:84n28), who is here addressing Menelaus. Though it is true that in line 1154 immediately following μὴ δρᾶ τοὺς τεθνηκότας κακῶς is a warning not to outrage the dead, line 1092 may just as well be seen as a reaction to Menelaus' immediately preceding jibe in lines 1142-9 : 'A bully with his tongue ...you'd always find him / Speechless, hiding his head beneath his cloak...' (Watling, 1971:57) directed at Teucer by Menelaus.

[1258] - θαρσῶν ὑβρίζεις κάξελευθεροστομέεις ...

-- 'to be insolent' (=disrespectful, of an inferior toward a superior)

-- Agamemnon, having entered, in a long speech (1226-63) addresses Teucer, and, reacting to Teucer's verbal attack on the Achaeans (1226, 1250), harps on the fact that he is his inferior (1235, 1260-2) Both Jebb (1967:187) and Watling (1971:61) use

'insolent' as equivalent to hybris here. Lattimore's (1964:84 n30) 'mutiny or rebelliousness in an inferior toward a superior' is not incorrect, but does not quite bring out the verbal aspect of Teucer's insolence (in the eyes of Agamemnon); that it is purely verbal, of course, is stressed by *κἀξελευθεροστομέϊς* with which *ὑβρίζεις* combines in a sort of hendiadys to form the idea of *παρρησιάζομαι*. ('The free-born man has a right to do this, but Agamemnon looks down upon Teucer as little more than a *δοῦλος* ... a slave could not plead his own case in a law-court ... Agamemnon therefore demands the coming of a *προστάτης* (line 1262) '-Kamerbeek, 1963:239). If *ἀνδρὸς οὐκέτ' ὄντος, ἀλλ' ἤδη σκιᾶς* (line 1257) is not a genitive absolute - as Kamerbeek tentatively suggests - then it would mean that Teucer is being insolent to Ajax, which does not make sense at all. But Jebb (1967:187) is certain that it is 'gen.abs.'

[1385]¹⁰ ... οὐδ' ἔτλης παρῶν

θανόντι τῶδε ζῶν ἐφουβρίσαι μέγα,

-- 'to commit outrage (upon the dead)'

--So Watling (1971:66) - 'Refusing to be a party to gross outrage offered by the living to the dead. (Teucer is commending Odysseus for opposing the Argives' design to refuse burial to Ajax, and taking the initiative in his burial.). Strangely enough, Jebb (1967:205) translates 'insults of the living to the dead', and - stranger still - likens *θανόντι* to the dative with *ἐπεγγελᾶν*. Surely, it is not a verbal act that is indicated: *λωπητόν* (1388) and *λώβαις* (1392)¹¹ stress the fact that that it is the outrage of refusing burial to Ajax that is meant in line 1385.

2.1.1. The senses in which hybris and its cognates are used in the Ajax - the play (with Euripides' Bacchae) most abundant in hybris in all of Greek Tragedy: there are 14 occurrences in all - are, in order of frequency :-

(a) By far the most frequent, 'Schadenfreude', 'mocking', 'crowing triumphantly (over the misfortunes of others)' - always in close connection with gelōs (but in line 153 modified by χαίρειν) - Lines 153, 196, 304, 367, 955, 971 and 1151. Thus this sense is attested in one-half (7 out of 14) of the instances of hybris in the Ajax.

(b) Thrice, 'the abuse of superior strength to humiliate the helpless living or outrage the helpless dead' (Lattimore, 1964: 23) - twice (lines 1092 and 1385) of the outrage to the dead by refusing burial (modified by ἐν θανάου and θανόντι; respectively) ; and once (line 560) causing dishonour/shame to a living person.

(c) Thrice, 'insolent or disrespectful behaviour in an inferior toward a superior': twice (lines 1081 and 1088) actively rebellious behaviour ; and once (line 1258) verbal insolence.

(d) 'Violence' is attested only once (line 1061) - of Ajax' violent attack on the cattle and sheep.

2.1.2. In assessing the tragic function of the concept hybris, we note, first of all, that out of the 14 instances of hybris in the Ajax, only 4 refer to, or are said of, its chief character (lines 304, 1061, 1081, 1088). It is interesting to note that in three of these four cases the force of the hybris-reference is rather equivocal :-

(i) line 304 : Here it is Ajax himself who imputes hybris to himself, the 'laugh' which he thought he had had at the expense of his enemies. Ironically enough, it is precisely this mocking 'Schadenfreude' which rebounds upon him in lines 153, 196, 367, 955 and 971, where he is made the laughing-stock of his enemies. So insignificant is Ajax' own deluded triumph made by the overwhelming preponderance of the triumphing of his enemies, that one may say, with Kamerbeek (1963:87) : 'The scornful laugh is a leit-motif of the drama' (cf. on line 304, above). Indeed, the laugh of Ajax is the laugh directed at him by his enemies.

(ii) lines 1081,1088 : Here Menelaus uses hybris to refer to Ajax' rebelliousness. However, the accusation lacks validity, because of Sophocles' unsympathetic treatment of Menelaus (Kaufmann,1969:77) says he is 'unattractive', and Kamerbeek,1963:211 mentions the 'satirical touch to the picture of Menelaus'). Moreover, especially line 1081 seems to refer generally to Ajax' supposed intractability before the eris hoplôn, which accusation is adequately refuted by Teucer in lines 1093-1117. Indeed, the fact that Menelaus himself is called hybristes directly after his accusation of Ajax as a hybristes, certainly mitigates the charge against Ajax. If Ajax is said to be (a)hybristes by one who is himself judged to be hybristes, the charge itself - being made in hybris - becomes invalid.

- Ajax being the chief character of the play, and the proportion of hybris-references to him being small and ambiguously insignificant (the term is applied 10 times to his enemies) , one would not expect the 'traditional' concept of hybris to be vital to the tragic make-up of the Ajax.

-Yet the play has been consistently regarded as a hybris-drama in the 'traditional' application of the concept. 'The Ajax is "Aeschylean" in the prominence given to the conflict between hybris and sophrosyne...[where] hybris is the failure to think mortal thoughts...and sophrosyne the respecting of limits, Divine and human.' (North,1966:58). '...against the omnipotence of the gods, who rule the universe by guarding the bounds set to man, even the greatest hero, when he exceeds these bounds in hybris, is powerless (cf. 127-133)' (Kamerbeek,1963:8). 'Offence and greatness in the hero spring from the same root. The impassioned intensity for which we admire him [Ajax] is indeed $\acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\iota\varsigma$ ' (Kuhn¹²). These impressions are apparently gained from (i) lines 129ff. where Ajax presumptuously challenges Athena¹³, and (ii) lines 764-9 and 770-5, where Ajax blasphemously disdains the help of Athena. The astounding (for the 'traditional' interpretation) fact is that 'the term hybris is not...applied to Ajax scorning Athene...where the nature of the offence is specified and

Wyckoff (Greene and Lattimore, 1960, Vol. I:191) renders 'crime', whereas most translators use 'outrage' as equivalent (Jebb's (1906:67) translation; Watling (1971:137) - so, too Kaufmann (1969:76)). The context is not quite precise enough for either 'crime' or 'outrage' to be pressed. What is an outrage? Something which causes an outcry, shock, indignation. Creon is certainly blustering indignantly in this speech. But then again, so may a crime cause great indignation. The following considerations only just seem to weigh the scales in favour of 'crime' as equivalent of hybris here :-

(i) Both Bayfield (1968:74) and Jebb (1906:66) note that ὕβριν is used in 'concrete' sense. 'Crime' seems somehow more concrete than 'outrage'.

(ii) 'Crime' seems to co-operate better with δηλώσητε, than 'outrage' - if only to the modern ear. One may reveal a crime, or clear up a crime; but with 'outrage' some sort of paraphrase seems to be required, as Jebb's 'reveal (the authorship of) this outrage' (see above).

(iii) After all, technically, the burial of Polyneices is a crime, Creon having officially proclaimed a decree forbidding it. (194-210). In the speech under discussion, he does stress the political aspects of the misdeed. ('Outrage' is perhaps rather a personal affront.)

[480] - αὐτὴ δ' ὑβρίζειν μὲν τότε ἔξηπίστατο,
νόμους ὑπερβαίνουσα τοὺς προκειμένους.

[482] - ὕβρις δ', ἐπεὶ δέδρακεν, ἥδε δευτέρα,
τούτοις ἐπαυχεῖν καὶ δεδρακνῖαν γελᾶν.

-- 'insolence', in both cases.

-- The key word in this context, which determines how the two hybris-words should be translated, is δευτέρα (line 482). Antigone having revealed that it was she who had performed the ritual burial of Polyneices, Creon upbraids her, saying that her crowning triumph over her misdeed (483) was her 'second' hybris. This

naturally implies that the hybrizein of line 480 , i.e. her breaking the law forbidding the burial of Polyneices (481), is to be regarded as her first hybris . Thus, says Creon, there were two instances/examples of hybris : one, criminal disobedience, and another, mockingly vaunting over the misdeed. The passage is very valuable for our understanding of hybris , as it clearly explains two manifestations : 'rebelliousness' (Lattimore, 1964: 84n30) or 'disobedience' (MacDowell, 1976:19) ; and 'mocking triumph'. (Both these two senses are among the most frequent usages of hybris - see Conclusion, p.107). But neither of these two specific senses will do as equivalents in this context, a more general sense, comprising both notions, being obviously required.¹⁶ Such a word is 'insolence', in the acceptable usage of the English word (see Introduction, p.14 above), as this word encompasses both the element of 'disrespectful behaviour toward a superior' (480) and the element of verblatency (482). (Jebb, 1906:95, and Wyckoff, Grene and Lattimore, 1960: Vol I:197, render 'insolence' in both cases¹⁷.)

[840] - οἴ μοι γελῶμαι . τί με , πρὸς
θεῶν πατρώων,
οὐκ οἰχομένην ὑβρίζεις,
ἀλλ' ἐπίφαντον ;

-- 'to mock'

--Antigone, in answer to the chorus's attempted consolation of lines 834ff. answers that they are mocking her. Hybris is again identified with gelôs (as in Ajax 153, 196, 304, 955, 971). For hybrizein here : 'Must you make me a laughing-stock' (Watling, 1971:149) ; 'taunt' (Jebb, 1906:155) ; and 'affront' (Wyckoff, Grene and Lattimore, 1960, Vol. I:210).

2.2.1. Hybris is used in the Antigone in the senses of :-

- (i) 'insolence' (twice) - lines 480, 482 ;
- (ii) 'mocking' - line 840 ;

(iii) 'crime' (or 'outrage') - line 309.

2.2.2. Of the four instances, three refer to Antigone (lines 309, 480 and 482) - the first of her crime or disobedience in burying Polyneices¹⁸, and the last two of her insolent behaviour toward Creon subsequent to the act. Line 840 refers to the chorus, and hybris is never used of Creon.

For the purposes of testing the 'traditional' hypothesis in terms of the ratio of hybris-references to the chief character, compared to total hybris-references (see Introduction, p.12 above), it is necessary to consider the much-debated problem of the chief character of the Antigone. Those who hold the view that Sophocles expresses in his plays a pious reverence to the gods, and that the sufferings of the heroes constitute punishment for their hybris, feel that Creon is the tragic hero of the play. E.g. Lesky (1966:280) : 'his [Creon's] progress from hybris to disaster is not merely a moral paradigm but a piece of true tragedy' ; Webster (1936:30) : Man becomes too proud and commits an act of hybris ; god sends atê upon him and he becomes infatuated ; then he falls and learns sense by suffering... Creon is a dramatization of it [this doctrine]. His decree was an act of hybris...' By contrast, those who see in the plays of Sophocles a glorification of heroic human nature, regard Antigone as the chief character. E.g. Knox (1964:74-5) : because Creon is un-heroic, and 'gives in' ; Linforth (1961:252) : '...she is the dominant figure.'¹⁹

But it is a sterile question. It is quite possible to regard the play as simply having two chief characters, i.e. both Creon and Antigone.²⁰ Both are equally involved in hybris as it is used in the Antigone. For the hybris of lines 309 and 480 is certainly 'tragic'; (Fraenkel, J.J., 1941:31 says it represents the conflict between one 'rechtvaardig recht' and another 'rechtvaardig recht') because her disobedience to Creon is the cause of her downfall. And Creon's downfall is likewise due to his confrontation with

the heroic individual, Antigone. Thus the word hybris indicates the one central deed (i.e. Antigone's burial of Polyneices) that precipitates the tragic end of both Creon and Antigone. Hybris is also used to indicate her 'insolence', which is the attitude that makes a tragic end to the conflict of interests between her and Creon inevitable : her intractability leads to a μεταβολή εἰς δυστυχίαν for both of them.

Commentators often regard Creon, too, as 'hybristic' (cf. North, 1966:38). So, too, Bowra(1944:114) : 'Creon is lavish in his accusations of pride against Antigone(309,480,482), but it is his pride in speech and action which the chorus condemn.' If we were to substitute 'insolence' for 'pride' in the case of Antigone, and 'outrageousness'(Kaufmann,1969:77) for 'pride' in the case of Creon, this statement would not be far from true. Although hybris is never used of Creon, it belongs to the tragic irony of Sophocles that hybris in an accusation may rebound upon the accuser (cf. Ajax 1081,1088).

In the sense in which hybris is used in the Antigone, then, the play does, in fact centre around hybris. It is not, however, the traditional sense of hybris as ,e.g., a 'transgression of the boundary line between the human and the divine which constitutes the focal point of the tragedy, but hybris in the sense of 'rebelliousness' and 'insolence'. The tragic conflict is on a human plane, insofar as the conflict between Creon and Antigone revolves around hybris as it is used in lines 309,480 and 482.

2.2.3. Whether Creon and/or Antigone are guilty of hybris in the traditional sense - for which the word is not employed, of course - is a different question, and one that cannot now be discussed.

2.3. The Trachiniae

[280] - ..εἰ γὰρ ἐμφανῶς ἠμύνατο,
 Ζεὺς τὰν συνέγνω ξὺν δίκῃ χειρουμένῳ.
 ὕβριν γὰρ οὐ στέργουσι ν οὐδὲ δαίμονες.

--'insulting' (i.e.'injurious speech')

-- Both Kaufmann(1969:76) and Lattimore(1964:81n20) are probably wrong when they attribute this hybris-reference to Heracles (the former - 'outrageous murder' and the latter - 'foul play'). Kamerbeek(1959:84) says of ὕβριν in line 280 : 'this, of course, refers to Eurytus' misconduct'. (In the lines preceding the passage quoted above, (262-73) Lichas related the incident which led to Heracles' punishment by Zeus in being sold as bonds slave in Lydia. Eurytus had reviled him : "You with your charmed infallible arrows !", he said / My sons could give you points at archery./You're nothing better than a down-trodden slave,/a free man's property !" (Watling's, 1971:128, translation of lines 265-7). Heracles had retaliated by hurling him over the edge of a precipice when his thoughts were wandering (lines 269-73). As a result, Zeus punished Heracles for having killed a man in treachery (274-8). The passage quoted above reads : 'Had he wreaked his vengeance openly, Zeus would surely have pardoned him the righteous triumph ; for the gods, too, love not insolence' (Jebb, 1962:47). Watling, 1971:128) translates similarly. In other words, Zeus would not have minded Heracles killing Eurytus, it would have been just revenge. Why ? Because Eurytus had insulted Heracles, and it is this very injurious speech of lines 265-7, i.e. ὕβριν (line 280) which the gods , too, hate. 'Insults' or 'injurious speech' is perhaps preferable to 'insolence' here - not only because of lines 265-7, where the nature of the hybris is specified - but also because of lines 281-2 which immediately follow the statement that the gods, too, do not like hybris : κείνοι δ' υπερχλίοντες ἐκ γλώσσης κακῆς | αὐτοὶ μὲν Ἄιδου πάντες εἶσ' οἰκήτορες , referring still to Eurytus, where ἐκ γλώσσης indicates that the hybris had been verbal contumely. In connection with this passage, we note :-

(i) As North(1966:50) observes, 'The remark in the Trachiniae (280) that the daimones also hate hybris is significant, for it implies that naturally and primarily hybris offends mortals.'

(ii) The fact that they do not like hybris does not, of course, make hybris a technically religious offence. (Cf. MacDowell, 1976: 22)²¹

[888]- ἐπίδες, ὦ ματαία, τάνδ' ὕβριν;

-- 'violent deed' (OR 'outrage')

-- Referring to Deianeira's suicide, the chorus asks the nurse whether she had seen it. 'The meaning is "violent deed", not implying moral condemnation,' according to Kamerbeek(1959:193), agreeing with Campbell, whom he quotes as calling the use of hybris as applied to suicide 'catachrestic'. So, too, Jebb(1962: 133), referring to Electra 864, where λάβα is 'merely a fatal accident', glossing τάνδ' ὕβριν as 'this deed of violence', translating 'Sawest thou that violent deed?' 'Self-violence' is given by Lattimore(1964:81n18), under the general heading 'assault and battery'; and MacDowell(1976:19) says that Deianeira's suicide was an 'act of violence'²² Kaufmann's(1969:76) "horror" of Deianeira's suicide'; and Watling's(1971:48) 'outrage', on the other hand, leads to Fisher's(1976:191) argument that this hybris denotes not so much the violent act in itself, but the shame and dishonour on the house, which the deed will effect. I offer two objections to this interpretation :_

(i) Fisher's definition of hybris as an action causing shame/dishonour does not fit into the context as a translation equivalent as well as 'violent deed' does. The chorus is asking the nurse whether she saw the hybris, to which she replies that she did - ἐπίδον (889). Granted that the act of Deianeira's suicide results in shame for her house, in this context hybris refers to something that can be seen or witnessed, i.e. the actual violent deed itself. The chorus cannot be asking the nurse whether she had seen/been an eye-witness to the shame on the house.

(ii) One should not confuse the result (nor the cause) of an act with the act itself. In many cases, of which this is a clear example²³, hybris results in shame or dishonour, but the word denotes the actual cause of the shame, the deed itself, and not its result. (cf. also Antigone, 309)

[1096] - διφνῆ τ' ἀμεικτον ἰπποβάμονα στρατὸν
θηρῶν, ὑβριστήν, ἄνομον, ὑπέροχον βία.

--'violent'

--Said of the Centaurs, hybristês being translated 'violent by both Jebb(1962:159) and Watling(1971:154). ἄνομον, ὑπέροχον βία gives a noteworthy explanation of hybristês in this sense. Lattimore(1964:82n24) says that hybristês 'would probably hint at their lustfulness', but there is nothing in the context to justify this. There is no allusion to the Centaur, Nessus', behaviour towards Deianeira here. Heracles is reminiscing : recounting, the one after the other, his various labours, among which the contest with the Centaurs features here.

2.3.1. To sum up : twice (lines 888 and 1096) in the Trachiniae hybris is used to indicate 'violence' ; and once (line 280) it signifies 'insulting' behaviour.

2.3.2. Of these three instances, only one (line 888) applies to one of the chief personages (Deianeira), the other two referring to Eurytus' misconduct (280) and the Centaurs' violent nature (1096). And the hybris of Deianeira (her self-violence) occurs when the δυστυχία of both Deianeira (obviously) and Heracles is already a fact. Thus, hybris, as it is used in the Trachiniae, does not have a causal force in the unfolding of the plot. Nor is the suffering of Deianeira or Heracles said in the play to be punishment of an attitude of hybris on their part. (The problem

of whether Deianeira or Heracles is the chief character of the play need therefore not concern us. In any case, as Conradi (1958:77ff.) has shown, the unity of the Trachiniae consists in the fact that their respective fates are interdependent upon each other. We may just as well accept that the play does not revolve around a single hero(ine), but that the focus is directed on the inexorably intertwined fates of both Deianeira and Heracles.)

Whether or not the outcome of the Trachiniae depends upon Heracles' arrogance or pride - hybris in the 'traditional' sense - cannot be considered here. At any rate, Conradi (1958:100) rightly protests against Murray's²⁴ imputation of tragic hybris to Heracles: 'the all-admired grabber-smiter and conqueror, who is stronger, hardier, greedier than other men...triumphant ύβρις and strength and violence, swollen by the general praise, made more selfish by the devotion of others.' The simple but inescapable fact is: hybris is never used of Heracles in the Trachiniae.

2.4. The Oedipus Tyrannus

[873] - ύβριν²⁵ φυτεύει τυραννίς · ύβρις, εἰ
 πολλῶν ὑπερπλησθῆ μάταν,
 ἃ μὴ 'πίκταιρα μηδὲ συμφέροντα,
 ἀκρότατα γείσ' ἀναβάσ'
 ἀπότομον ὄρουσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαν
 ἐνθ' οὐ ποδὶ χρησίμῳ
 χρῆται.

-- (Irreligious) 'pride'/'insolence'

-- 'Pride' or 'insolence' is generally rendered by translators - e.g. Jebb (1966:119), Grene (1960, Vol. I:148) : 'insolence' ; and Watling (1971:49) : 'pride'. But the 'modern' notion is attested here by Gould (1970:108) : 'the will to violate'. The MSS. reading is so vague and difficult that writers on hybris in general tend not to commit themselves to specific meaning for hybris here

(MacDowell, 1976:20); Kaufmann, 1969:77n41) - Lattimore (1964) does not mention this passage. But if Winnington-Ingram's (1971:126) suggested emendation is accepted, as quoted above, the text makes sense. The emendation has, apart from this consideration, also in its favour : (i) That *τύραννος* has to be understood in a bad sense (as 'tyrant') if the Mss. reading is accepted. Winnington-Ingram (1971:126) points out that nowhere else in Greek poetry does it have this sense, and - what is more important - elsewhere in the O.T. (*Oedipus Tyrannus*) *τύραννος* always means 'king' and *τυραννίς* 'kingship' in a quite neutral sense. In Ellendt (1965: ad loc.) 'this sense is given a separate entry with this single example' (Winnington-Ingram, 1971:126). (ii) 'The corruption can be accounted for by the influence of the following *ύβρις* .' (Winnington-Ingram (1971:126n38).

If the above reading is accepted, we recognize the archaic Solonic-Pindaric sense of hybris here, i.e. as 'irreligious insolence or arrogance', resulting from olbos ('wealth') or koros ('fulness' or 'satiety'). (The locus classicus for this sense of hybris is Solon, fr. 5.9 D : *τίκτει γαρ κόρος ύβριν, όταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἐπιταί | ἀνθρώποισιν ὅσοις μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ἦ*.)²⁶ The similarities of the usage of

hybris in O.T. 873 with the Pindaric-Solonic usage are striking:-

(i) It is a king (*τυραννίς*), above all, who is attended by material prosperity (olbos). The notions have been linked in O.T. 380 (*ὦ πλοῦτε καὶ τυραννίς*).

(ii) The metaphor of procreation (*φυτεύει*), as in the passages of Pindar and Solon (*τίκτει*), is used to express the causal link between olbos and hybris.

(iii) The koros-element is given by *εἰ πολλῶν ὑπερπλησθῆ μάταν, ἀ μὴ πίκαιρα μῆδε συμφέροντα, ἀκρότατα γείσ' ἀναβάσ'* in our passage - cf. Solon's *ὅταν πολὺς ὄλβος ἐπιταί | ἀνθρώποισιν ὅσοις μὴ νόος ἄρτιος ἦ*).

(iv) The final element of atê (ruin) as engendered through the process olbos(koros) - hybris - atê, follows : *ἀπότομον ἔρουσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαν ἐνθ' οὐ ποδὶ χρησίμῳ χρήται* .

(v) The irreligious element is stressed in the rest of the strophe. One may add that it would be entirely in character for a chorus of

old men - as here - to recall an archaic usage of hybris : one which only survives in our earliest extant play, the Persae (lines 808,821), and which is already rejected by Aeschylus in the Agamemnon (750-70).²⁷

--Thus relationship of hybris in O.T. 873 to its immediate context no longer presents a problem : it denotes 'irreligious pride /arrogance/insolence'.²⁸

But the relationship between this hybris -reference and the rest of the O.T. has always vexed scholars.²⁹ Is Sophocles saying here that Oedipus is guilty of irreligious pride, and that that is the cause of his downfall ? (So Jebb,1962:ad loc. ; and Kitto,1966: 225,242 - 'what led him to act like a tyrant was his excessive reliance on his own...inferences'...[the 'moral' of the play is] 'The modesty of Creon is a better example than the towering self-confidence of Oedipus.' That the hybris of line 873 is the rational cause of Oedipus' downfall, also Lucas(1959:150) ; Pohlenz(1954: 219-20); Webster(1936:45), who identifies the sentiments of the chorus with Sophocles' own ideas.). Can it be said with certainty that line 873 refers to Oedipus ? Kirkwood,1967:213, feels that the moral comments in this ode quite clearly do not refer to Oedipus and Jocasta', following Kitto,1961:165 - but later on in the same book Kitto interprets the second stasimon to mean : ' "Therefore", says Sophocles, "seek purity and avoid hybris" ' (Kitto, 1961:178-84) :The allusion seems vague, and , moreover, many have felt that the punishment - if he is indeed punished because he is high-handed towards Creon - is disproportionate. (But Bowra,1944: 380 ; and North,1966:48 feel that a 'salutary' lesson may be drawn from such apparent immoderate cruelty on the part of the gods.) Dodds(1966:37-49) rightly denounces the hybris-hunting which is associated with this view.

A solution to this problem is to say that the choric utterances here are irrelevant to the dramatic situation. (Whitman,1951:178, regards the chorus as representing 'the somewhat confused morality of the bourgeoisie', and Vickers,1973:29, criticizes the reducing of Sophocles 'to the banality of some of his choric utter-

ances'. It has also been suggested that the chorus is a character, with its own peculiar personality, and what it says here is not necessarily a valid reflection on what has occurred beforehand in the play, but merely in character (e.g. Errandonea, 1958: passim). If this view of the Sophoclean chorus is accepted, it may be said that the hybris of line 873 does not necessarily apply to Oedipus.

However, if the preceding episode (512-862) is analysed in detail, especially the closing dialogue, it reveals that the chorus's remarks about hybris are, in fact, relevant, though hybris as 'pride' is not explicitly said of Oedipus. Both Kamerbeek (1963:172-81) and Winnington-Ingram (1971:119-22) excellently show the connection between the hybris of line 873 in the second stasimon, and the dramatic situation in which the chorus finds itself: The chorus is here airing its concern that Oedipus will disregard the oracle, as Jocasta has suggested (857-8), in the immediately preceding scene. It warns fearfully against the consequences of disregarding the divine laws in general, and oracles in particular. What it says is therefore relevant, dialectically counterbalancing 'the scepticism of Jocasta which carries a taint of impiety and so threaten the religious world' (Winnington-Ingram, 1971:122) - on the other hand preparing for and motivating the important rôle of the oracle. (The eventual fulfilment of the oracle coincides with the unravelling of the mystery of the murderer of Laius, which is the central dramatic motif of the O.T.)

'It [hybris] is contrasted with *εὐσεπτος ἀγνεία λόγων ἔργων τε πάντων* and since this consists in observing the divine laws *ὑβρις* means disregard for these', concludes Kamerbeek (1963:175). Actually, hybris does not specifically denote 'disregarding divine laws', but rather the attitude of irreligious pride/insolence from which a disregarding of divine laws may flow.

Thus hybris is not used to refer directly to Oedipus or Jocasta. In fact, its use here implies that Oedipus is not guilty of hybris. (The term is used in order to warn Oedipus not to disregard divine laws or to express their anxiety that he might disregard

the oracle - 'In die koorlied wat op hierdie toneel [i.e. the second episode] volg, spreek die Koor hul verontrusting uit oor die ongeloof in orakels wat uit Jokasta se woorde gespreek het. As die orakels nie vervul word nie, wat word dan van die godsdiens?' (Conradie, 1976:20). In fact, Oedipus does not intend to, nor ever does, disregard the oracle.

To conclude :-

(i) Hybris denotes 'irreligious pride/insolence', in the Solonic-Pindaric sense, in O.T.873, a double mention.

(ii) Hybris does not apply to Oedipus. (Merely the fear that it may apply to him subsequently - a fear which is not realized - is expressed in the second stasimon.

(iii) We cannot, therefore, say that hybris, as it is used in the play, is a conceptual key to the meaning of the O.T. (Whether or not Oedipus' ruin is due to a characteristic which is 'traditionally' - and uncritically - associated with hybris, cannot be discussed here.)

2.5. The Electra

[271] - ἴδω δὲ τούτων τὴν τελευταίαν ὕβριν,
τὸν αυτοφόντην ἡμῖν ἐν κοίτῃ πατρὸς
ξὺν τῇ ταλαίνῃ μητρί...

-- 'insult' / 'outrage'

--Electra is complaining about the outrages she is forced to endure since the murder of her father by Aegisthus and her mother. She 'describes how Aegisthus sits on her father's throne, wears his robes, pours libations at the very hearth where he had killed Agamemnon (257-70), and, "to crown his outrage" - or "the ultimate insult" - "lies, having killed him, in my father's bed, beside my miserable mother" (Kaufmann, 1969:77). So, too, with either 'insult' or 'outrage': Watling (1971:76); Jebb (1962:44); and Grene (1960, Vol. II:53). It is only Lattimore's (1964:84n28) 'lustful' in 'Electra 271 (combined with lustful and generally outrageous behaviour), which strikes a discordant note in an otherwise

generally agreed upon interpretation. The life of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, utterly unmindful and disrespectful of her father's memory, which Electra must witness, is keenly felt by her as a personal insult/outrage on her own sensitivity, an outrage on the memory of her father.

[293] - τὰδ' ἐξυβρίζει...

-- 'to insult'

-- 'Such is the tone of her insults' (Greene, 1960, Vol. II:58); 'Thus she insults' (Jebb, 1962:47). 'Nagging like that' (Watling, 1971:77) is not precise enough - τὰδ', instead of ταῦτ', referring to the words just quoted' (Jebb, 1962:47). Still in the same speech the previous occurrence above, Electra has quoted her mother's terrible insults : ὦ δύσθεον μίσημα, σοὶ μόνη πατὴρ τέθνηκεν; ἄλλος δ' οὔτις ἐν πένθει βροτῶν; κακῶς ὅλοιο, μηδέ σ' ἐκ γόνων ποτὲ τῶν νῦν ἀπαλλάξειαν οἱ κάτω θεοί. It is interesting to note that ἐξυβρίζει appears interchangeable with ἐξονειδίζει in line 288 : φωνοῦσα τοιαῦτ' ἐξονειδίζει κακά.

ἔξειπας ὡς θρασεῖα καὶ πέρα δίκης

[522] - ἄρχω, καθυβρίζουσα καὶ σὲ καὶ τὰ σά.

[523] - ἐγὼ δ' ὕβριν οὐκ ἔχω, κακῶς δέ σε
λέγω κακῶς κλύουσα πρὸς σέθεν θαμὰ

-- 'to insult', in both cases.

-- kakōs legein is the operative idea. 'to insult' is rendered by Watling (1971:84), Jebb (1962:77) and Greene (1960:67) for the hybris-verb in line 522. Indeed, in lines 521-2 Clytaemnestra is describing exactly what Electra was doing in line 293, i.e. saying that she (Clytaemnestra) insults her.

-- 'to insult' is the sense in which the phrase ὕβριν ἔχω is used, i.e. with exactly the same force as καθυβρίζειν in line 522. (ὕβριν... οὐκ ἔχω : cp. Ant. 300 πανουργίας... ἔχειν (n.))' - Jebb (1962:77). Thus Watling (1971:84) correctly renders ὕβριν ἔχω as 'I do not insult anybody'. But Jebb (1962:77) strangely enough, in the light of his

note , and Grene(1960, Vol.II:67) translate : 'I am not guilty of insolence' and 'there is no insolence in myself', respectively. Whether or not there is an etymological connection between 'to insult' and 'insolence', it is wrong to render 'insolence' merely because the noun, and not the verb, occurs in 523. The line of Clytaemnestra's argument goes astray in the last two translations, I think, because of the irregular usage of 'insolence' - see above, Introduction, p.14. What she is trying to say is : 'You say I insult you. I do not insult. I speak harshly to you, because you speak harshly to me.' (Inexplicably, Lattimore(1964:84n28) includes the hybris-terms of lines 293, as well as 522-3 under the heading 'bullying, the abuse of superior strength to humiliate the helpless living or outrage the helpless dead'.)

[613] - ἥτις τοιαῦτα τὴν τεκούσαν ὕβρισεν.

--'to insult'

--'who so insults her mother'(Grene,1960,Vol.II:71) ; 'who hath thus insulted a mother'(Jebb,1962:91) ; 'If this is the language she uses to her mother'(Watling,1971:86). Lattimore(1964:23) includes this usage under the heading 'insolence', remarking that 'in Electra 613, Electra had merely spoken disrespectfully to her mother'. Incidentally, this is one case where I think, translators might have used 'to be insolent' , rendering both elements here -(a) the disrespectful behaviour of an inferior toward a superior, and (b) the verbal manifestation : κακοστομούμεν (line 597).

[790] - Ὀρέστα, τὴν σὴν εὐμοφράν, ὅθ' ὦδ' ἔχων
πρὸς τῆσδ' ὕβριξῆ μητρός

--'to be mocked' ('Schadenfreude')

-- A messenger has just (lines 660,763) reported Orestes'"death". Clytaemnestra had reacted with little grief at the death of her son, now her sworn enemy determined to avenge his father's murder.

On the contrary, she expresses considerable relief (773-87). It is this reaction of Clytaemnestra which Electra calls 'mocking the dead' (Lattimore, 1964:84n29). So, too, Jebb (1962:115), 'Now, indeed, Orestes, thy fortune might be lamented, when it is thus with thee, and thou art mocked by this thy mother !' ; and Watling (1971:92) '...And this is your mother's tribute to your memory !', where the bitter 'tribute' indicates the opposite. It is not so much here that Clytaemnestra 'pours insults on him' (Greene, 1960, vol.II:77) - she has not yet spoken ill of Orestes in her speech of lines 773-87, she has rather expressed immense relief at the death of an enemy : esp. 783-4 and 786-7. (In 792, Electra addresses Orestes' 'avenging spirit' (nemesis) to avenge this dishonour.)

[794] - ὕβριζε· νῦν γὰρ εὐτυχόουσα τυγχάνεις

--'to triumph mockingly' ('Schadenfreude').

--Both Jebb (1962:115) and Greene (1960, Vol.II:77) have 'insult', whereas Watling (1971:92) translates : 'Gloat on your triumph, gloat'. The idea of gloating over the misfortunes of others is present, εὐτυχόουσα τυγχάνεις, implying the opposite, as is indeed the case, for Electra, who had expected Orestes to save her (she has just now learnt that he is dead). 'Mocking' is attested by Lattimore (1964:84n28) here. Perhaps one might again say (as of line 790, above) that it is not quite that Clytaemnestra had insulted Orestes and Electra (as both Jebb and Greene translate). ὕβριζε, in fact, refers to her mocking repartee of lines 791 and 793 :-

790 :	' Elec.	: Can this be justice ?
791 :	Cly.	: Justice is done to him, /Not yet to you.
792 :	Elec.	: Goddess of vengeance, hear, /And speak for the
793 :	Cly.	: She has heard most faithfully dead
		And spoken well (Watling, 1971:92)

[881] - μὰ τὴν πατρώαν ἐστίαν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὕβρει
λέγω τὰδ'...

-- 'mockery'

--Chrysothemis has just entered, announcing the arrival of Orestes ! Electra thinks she is making fun of her in her miseries : κάπι τοῦς ἐμοῖς [κακοῖς] γελάς (880). 'Chrysothemis disclaims mockery' (Lattimore, 1964:84n28) ; 'I am not making fun' (Watling, 1971:94) ; 'It is not in mockery I speak' (Greene, 1960, Vol. II:81); 'I speak not in mockery' (Jebb, 1962:125). As we have seen previously, hybris when modified by a dat. rei like κακοῖς or ἄχεσιν, seems often interchangeable with gelōs (cf. Ajax 153, 196, 304, 955, 971, Aesch. Agamemnon 1612)

2.5.1. Hybris-words occur 8 times in the Electra, and in 5 of the 8 instances they are equivalent to the English 'insult'. (In lines 293, 522, 523 and 613, specifically a verbal insult is meant, whereas in line 271 Electra seems to take the outrageous behaviour of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra as a personal insult (OR perhaps 'outrage' is the correct equivalent there).

In the remaining three, hybris occurs in the familiar sense of 'mocking' / 'triumphing mockingly' / 'crowing over the misfortunes of others' (lines 790, 794 and 881).

2.5.2. In only one of the 8 instances is hybris used of Electra (line 613). (In line 881 hybris is disclaimed by Chrysothemis, and the remaining 6 instances refer to Clytaemnestra.) It is clear that hybris as it is used in the Electra, plays no important rôle either in the intrigue or in the problem of the drama, denoting as it does merely the insults and verbal harangues between the two chief antagonists. The play really centres around the vengeance of Orestes, which is approved. (The murder of Clytaemnestra is justified by the argument of Electra that she had no longer acted like a true mother.) The personality of Electra is delineated akin to that of Antigone - loyalty to the dead, patient, long-

suffering. That hybris is applied to Clytaemnestra is consistent with the poet's purpose to direct sympathies against Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus. (As opposed to Aeschylus' Choephoroi and Euripides' Electra, where the defilement and guilt of the murder is accentuated - cf. Knox, 1964:12ff.)

In the Electra of Sophocles, it is a far cry from the idea that hybris constitutes the characteristic flaw of the tragic hero: rather it is the antagonists who are treated unsympathetically by their association with hybris (as also in the Ajax, p.60)

2.5.3. It also seems unlikely that hybris in the 'traditional' sense of the word is operative in Sophocles' Electra - though this question cannot be dealt with here. Few would probably go as far as to say that 'the proud Electra triumphs' (Kaufmann, 1969: 77n41), but she certainly obtains a happy end to her past misery, and is probably never regarded as possessing hybris in the sense which is 'tragic'.

2.6. The Philoctetes

[342] - ...τοιγαροῦν τὸ σὸν φράσον
αὐθις πάλιν μοι πράγμ', ὅπως σ' ἐνύβρισαν

-- 'ill-treat'

-- Philoctetes asks Neoptolemus to resume the story of what the Atreidae did to him, i.e. 'picking up the sentence started in 331' (Webster, 1970:93). So, too, Jebb (1966:63): 'He had there intimated that, on reaching Troy, he had suffered some grievous wrong.' (He had, in his own words (330) ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξελωβήθη, i.e. 'sustained grievous injuries - LSJ). It is important for understanding the sense in which Philoctetes uses ἐνύβρισαν here to remember that he has not yet heard of, nor knows anything of, the nature of Neoptolemus' story. All that he has heard is that Neoptolemus has suffered too at the hands of the sons of Atreus, and at the hand

of Odysseus ' 30 (*συντυχῶν* 31 *κακῶν ἀνδρῶν Ἀτρειδῶν τῆς τ' Ὀδυσσεύως βίας*)
 - lines 319-20. When Philoctetes uses hybris in line 342, we can there-
 fore say that hybris designates something identical, or very simi-
 lar to *συντυχῶν κακῶν ἀνδρῶν ...τε...βίας* and *ἐξελωβήθην*. This is
 why Jebb(1966:63) renders *ὅπως·σ·ἐνύβρισαν* 'wherein they did thee
 a despise', and Webster(1970:93) 'how they did violence to you.'
 And Lattimore(1964:84n28) gives this usage as an example of 'bully-
 ing, the abuse of superior strength to humiliate the helpless
 living...' (To say that they 'insulted' him (Watling,1971:174; and
 Grene,1960,Vol.III:60) gives perhaps too narrow a sense, if 'to
 insult' is generally a verbal action. They had not merely verbally
 insulted him, but ill-treated him in a wider sense by - at least,
 this is Neoptolemus' tale - refusing him Achilles' arms.)

[397] - *ὄτ' ἐς τόνδ' Ἀτρειδῶν*
ὑβρις πᾶσ' ἐχώρει,
ὅτε τὰ πατέρα τεύχεα παρεδίδουσαν

--'ill-treatment'

-- The context is similar to that of line 342, above, the chorus
 this time reacting to Neoptolemus' tale told in lines 343-90. The
 interpretation of *πᾶσ'* is relevant here. If it is 'referring to the
 full account of it which N. has just given'(Jebb,1966:71), it would
 indicate the verbal insults of the Atreidae and Odysseus quoted
 in lines 363-81. (Neoptolemus says that he departed *κάξονειδισθεῖς*
κακὰ, 382). But Webster(1970:97) prefers that *πᾶσ'* be taken 'pre-
 dicatively as in 386, "in full strength"', another parallel be-
 ing Ajax 275. The hybris would then not necessarily refer to the
 verbal insults, but specifically to the taking away of his father's
 arms (line 399). Taken as referring to that act alone, Lattimore's
 (1964:84n28) 'the abuse of superior strength to humiliate the help-
 less living...' and Watling's(1971:176) 'When the sons of Atreus
 did this thing to him' adequately represent the sense of hybris
 here. This is one of the contexts where I think that 'insolence'
 (Jebb,1966:71) ; (Grene,1960:62) , is inappropriate, for we have

here, not disrespectful behaviour towards a superior, but rather abusive action on the part of the stronger - see above, p.14. Interestingly, the noun is here used in exactly the same sense as its verbal counterpart in line 342.

[1364] - ..οἱ τὲ σοῦ καθύβρισαν
πατρὸς γέρας συλῶντες...

--'to wrong/ill-treat/outrage'

--Though much later on in the play, Philoctetes, in returning to the subject of the taking away of Achilles' arms from Neoptolemus by the Atreidae, again uses hybris (as in lines 342 and 397 above) to refer to the incident. Apart from this consistency, there is nothing in the context to enable us to press any of the alternatives given above. (Both Jebb, 1966:210, and Webster, 1970:153 follow the O.C.T. in regarding the parenthetical οἱ...ἐκρίναν of lines 1365-7 which immediately follows the sentence quoted above, as spurious.) Watling's (1971:208) 'They mocked you' for 1364 seems inconsistent, but adequate renderings are: 'seeing that those men have done thee outrage' (Jebb, 1966:210) ; 'They have done you wrong' (Greene, 1960:101) ; Webster's (1970:153) paraphrase 'Neoptolemus has been wronged'. It being a compound verb, Lattimore (1964) does not discuss this instance, but his category 'the abuse of superior strength to humiliate the helpless living...', given for the similar instances in lines 342 and 397 above, would be equally fitting here.

2.6.1. 'Ill-treating' (of a weaker person) or 'wronging' is, then, the sense in which hybris and its cognates are used in all three occurrences in the Philoctetes.

2.6.2. In all three cases, it is used of the Atreidae, in that they wronged or ill-treated Neoptolemus when taking away from him his father's arms. It is never used of Philoctetes, who is, of course, the man 'more sinned against than sinning'. 'It is Philoctetes' play, a story of suffering' (Webster, 1970:7). But the rationale

of his story of suffering is not given by hybris as it is used in the play. Rather, it seems that, like Electra and Oedipus in the Oedipus Coloneus, Philoctetes is the type of hero whose heroism lies in the ability to suffer and bear patiently, the prototype of Knox' (1964:7-9) idea of Sophoclean heroism.

2.6.3. Kaufmann(1969:77n41) says that 'Philoctetes has little to commend him to our sympathy except his pride, and he is not ruined for it'. Whether the 'traditional sense of hybris as 'pride' may be applied to Philoctetes, is a different question (cf. Knox, 1964:178, and Bremer, 1969:166). Hybris, as it is used in the Philoctetes, presents no key to the understanding of this tragedy.

2.7. The Oedipus Coloneus

[883] - Χρ. ἄρ' οὐχ' ὑβρις τὰδ' ; Κρ. ὑβρις ἀλλ' ἀνεκτέα

-- 'outrage'

-- Creon has threatened to remove Oedipus' daughters by force (lines 728-882). Hybris is used here, not to denote an actual deed of violence, but to 'refer to Creon and outrageous attempt'³² (Kaufmann, 1969:76). From the reaction of the chorus to his threats (355-7, 884-6), it is clear that they regard Creon's intended act as an 'outrage' - i.e. they are shocked and indignant at the 'abuse of superior strength to humiliate the helpless living..' (Lattimore, 1964:84n28). This is borne out by the translations of Jebb (1965: 145) : 'Insolence! Cr. Insolence which thou must bear.' ; Fitzgerald (in Grene and Lattimore, 1960, Vol. III:885) : 'Chorus : Is this not criminal! Creon : If so, you'll bear it!' (But if the English word 'insolence' denoted disrespectful behaviour in an inferior towards a superior, hybris is not apt here - see p.14). Watling (1971:98) translates hybris with 'sacrilege', interpreting it as defilement of violation of religious sanctuary. But it is possible that here (as in a similar context, Aeschylus Supplices 426, see above, pp.22-3) the fear and indignation of the chorus rather

concerns the real dramatic situation - will Creon succeed in his attempt to remove Antigone and Ismene from Oedipus ? It is precisely at this tension-laden moment that Theseus arrives on the scene (line 887). The dramatic situation has perhaps more to do with the outrage on Oedipus than the religious matter of violation of sanctuary. Furthermore, ἀνεκτέα in line 883 may be used to argue for hybris in the sense given above, for Creon says that they (the chorus) must bear it. (Watling, 1971:98, also translates δεινόν in 877 with 'blasphemy' to be consistent with 'sacrilege' for hybris in line 883. But δεινόν may also be rendered 'bold' (Jebb, 1965:145; and Fitzgerald, Grene and Lattimore, 1960:152). At any rate, an action which causes humiliation and indignation (cf. Fisher's, 1976:177-93 definition) seems broadly to be referred to here.

[960] - ὦ λῆμ' ἀναιδέες, τοῦ καθυβρίζειν δοκεῖς
 πότερον ἐμοῦ γέροντος, ἢ σαυτοῦ, τόδε;

-- 'to insult'

-- This passage, containing the compound verb, is not generally brought into account in treatises on hybris. Fortunately, the following translations concur : 'O arrogance unshamed ! Whose age do you think you are insulting, mine or yours ?' (Fitzgerald in Grene and Lattimore, 1960:155) ; 'O shameless soul, where think-est thou, falls this thy taunt - on my age, or thine own ?' (Jebb, 1965:155) ; and 'Still unrepentant ! Is it my grey head or yours that is more insulted by such talk - /A stream of vile abuse ?' The immediate context makes it quite clear that the equivalent of kathybrizein is 'to insult or 'abuse verbally' : it refers to Creon's accusation of parricide and incest of lines 944-6, which Oedipus repeats in line 962 : ὅστις φόνους μοι καὶ γάμους καὶ συμφόρας... That he means by kathybrizein verbal insulting, is clear from τοῦ σοῦ διήκας στόματος (' line 963).

[1029] οὐ ψιλὸν οὐδ' ἄσκειον ἐς τοσηνδ' ἕβριν
 ἤκοντα τόλμης τῆς παρεσιώσης τανυῦν.

--'outrage'

--So Kaufmann(1969:76n40), identifying this usage with that in line 883, and Watling(1971:103) : 'You would not venture on such a daring outrage/Without some trusty backers'. Fitzgerald's(in Grene and Lattimore,1960:158) and Jebb's(1965:165) translation of hybris as 'insolence' - for the same reason as given above on line 883 - perhaps gives the wrong sense. Jebb's(1965:165) note is more illuminating : 'The τόλμα is the audacious spirit, manifested in the ἕβρις, or outrageous action'. The general purport of the passage is similar that of line 883, but this time it is Theseus who uses hybris of Creon's outrageous attempt.

[1535]- αἱ δὲ μυρίαὶ πόλεις
 κ' ἂν εὖ τις οἴκῃ, ῥαδίως καθύβρισαν

--'to attack' (violently)

-- Creon has now been thwarted in his outrageous designs, and Oedipus has turned to Theseus, hinting at possible danger to Athens from Thebes (1518-34). Watling's(1971:118) 'insult' and Fitzgerald's(Grene and Lattimore,1960:178) 'arrogance' do not express the real, political danger with which Theseus is concerned. Jebb's(1965:237) translation : 'full many states lightly enter on offence, e'en though their neighbour lives aright'; and note : Most cities are apt to enter on aggression with a light heart', are more appropriate to the political tenor of Oedipus' speech.

2.7.1. In the Oedipus Coloneus, hybris denotes 'outrage' (action causing shock, humiliation and indignation) twice - in lines 883 and 1029. 'Violent aggression' is signified in line 1535, and 'verbal insult' in line 960.

2.7.2. Not once is hybris used of Oedipus, neither is the word functional in any other way than simply denoting the physical and

verbal abusiveness of the antagonist, Creon. The attempted outrage of Creon (indicated by hybris in lines 883 and 1029) is, indeed, the central dramatic movement of the play. But the threat is never realized, and constitutes only the final manifestation of his suffering. Like the Electra and Philoctetes, the central motif of the Oedipus Coloneus is 'suffering, long years and true nobility' (lines 7-8), and his eventual apotheosis. (This in spite of the fact that 'in the poet's final play Oedipus is far prouder than he was in the Tyrannus' (Kaufmann, 1969:77)). Hybris is not, then, in the Oedipus Coloneus a characteristic of the tragic hero ; rather it illustrates 'how a stronger man treats a weaker' (Whitman, 1951:254n23), in this case, the blind Oedipus being abused by Creon.

2.8. Summary

2.8.1. Hybris-words occur 38 times in the extant tragedy of Sophocles. They are employed to signify the following :-

- 11 times : 'mocking, triumphing mockingly ('Schadenfreude')
(Ajax 153,196,304,367,955,971,1151; Antigone 840 ;
Electra 790,794,881.)
- 9 times : 'outrage' (The 'abuse of superior strength to humiliate the helpless living or outrage the helpless dead' (Lattimore, 1964:23) ; Fisher's (1976:177-93) : 'behaviour causing shame or dishonour'
(Ajax 560,1092,1385; Electra 271, Philoctetes 342,396, 1364; Oedipus Coloneus 883,1029.)
- 6 times : 'disrespectful behaviour in an inferior toward a superior' - 'rebelliousness', 'disobedience' (Ajax 1081,1088; Antigone 309 .) - 'insolence' (verbal) (Ajax 1258; Antigone 480,482;)

-6 times : 'insult', verbal offence'

(Trachiniae 280; Electra 293,522,523,613; Oedipus Coloneus 960.)

-4 times : 'violence'/'violent'/'violent deed'/'violent attack'

(Ajax 1061; Trachiniae 888,1096; Oedipus Coloneus 1535.)

-twice : 'Irreligious pride/insolence'

(Oedipus Tyrannus 873.)

2.8.2. Of the 38 instances of hybris, only 9 (i.e. a ratio of less than 25 per cent., as in Aeschylus - see above, p.44) apply to the chief character(s) of the respective plays. Of the individual plays, the ratios are as follows :-

Ajax - 4 : 14

Antigone - 3 : 4

Trachiniae - 1 : 3

Oedipus Tyrannus - 0 : 2

Electra - 1 : 8

Philoctetes - 0 : 3

Oedipus Coloneus - 0 : 4

-Judging from the table above, one would not expect hybris, as it is used in the plays, to contribute significantly to our understanding of the Sophoclean tragedies. Indeed, in only one of the seven extant plays does it function in the structure of action, reaction and thought. (The Antigone is a drama of hybris : The

hybris of Antigone is her insolent disobedience to Creon in her dedication to the religious law of burial; it is the act of hybris in burying Polyneices, around which the play revolves structurally, and which causes Antigone's downfall. Conversely, Creon's implied hybris in lines 480,482, involving his conflict with Antigone, equally inexorably constitutes the reason for his ruin.) Apart from the Antigone, hybris, as it is used in Sophocles, does not play the important part 'traditionally' assigned to it. From a survey of the actual occurrences of hybris- words it is, of course, impossible to assess the function in Sophoclean tragedy of 'pride'/'arrogance'/'insolence' - i.e. what is 'traditionally' taken to be the 'meaning' of the word. This sense is only attested by way of exception, in Oedipus Tyrannus 873, where it does not supply the key to the tragic rationale of the play, as was shown above, pp.73-4.

NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

- (1) This occurrence (as also Ajax 954 and 1385) is not generally brought into account in discussions of hybris, escaping notice because it is a composite verb. Both its context and linking with the idea of 'Schadenfreude' over someone else's misfortunes ($\tau\acute{o}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ - with dat. rei) make it similar to the simple verb in, e.g. 367, 954 and 971. The noun, too, is used similarly in line 196. Going over these instances, the reader will agree that there is no semantic difference in the usages of noun, simple verb and compound verb of the hybris family.
- (2) Both Jebb and Kamerbeek report that the dat. rei is attested elsewhere with $\kappa\alpha\theta\upsilon\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$.
- (3) I have underlined the words which in both the quoted translations serve as equivalents for hybris.
- (4) Neither Lattimore (1964) nor MacDowell (1976) include line 304 under their category of 'mocking'.
- (5) Schneidewin and Hartung wrongly understood the line to read: 'Odysseus laughing at the black heart of Ajax' (Jebb, 1967: ad loc.).
- (6) My emphasis of the phrase which gives the sense of hybris here.
- (7) The grammatical subject of $\acute{\upsilon}\beta\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ is, of course, elliptically, $\tau\iota\varsigma$ ($\tau\iota\nu\alpha$) (Kamerbeek, ad loc.).
- (8) Incidentally, confirming the interpretation of hybris in lines 1081 and 1088 given above.
- (9) cf. line 1385.
- (10) For authority, one here - as in lines 153 and 955 - must rely solely on the commentaries and translations: see note (1) above.
- (11) Teucer's repetition shows that he is obsessed with the indignity to the memory of Ajax.
- (12) H. Kuhn, The True Tragedy, Harvard Studies 1942, p.61, quoted by Kamerbeek (1963:8).
- (13) It is interesting to note in this regard that the preceding somewhat familiar conversation between Ajax and Athena (91-117), constitutes a watershed between scholars of irreconcilable schools.

(Ajax has refused to comply with Athena's request that 'Odysseus' be treated mercifully.) Lucas(1959:133) says of this passage : 'The hero is guilty of the besetting sin of heroes, hybris... Athena herself asks Ajax, while he is still mad, to be merciful to his victims ; his arrogant refusal shows him treating the goddess as no more than an equal.' By contrast, the pietistic interpretation of Lucas is totally inverted by Knox(1964:7) of the heroic-humanistic school : 'Athena, though her mockery is bitter, treats Ajax in his madness almost as an equal'. For Knox, this is proof of divine - i.e. Sophoclean - reverence for the heroic temper, the gods despising those who follow the common mean.

(14) cf. esp. Bowra's(1944) excellent analysis of the play in his chapter on the Ajax.

(15) cf., e.g., note (13) above.

(16) For example, one could not, attempting to retain these two specific senses, translate : 'Her first disobedience was... and now her second mocking triumph is...'

(17) It must be admitted that 'insolence' with ἐξηπιστατο seems problematic. Jebb(1906:95) says that it is used 'with bitterness', i.e. sarcastically, as if to be insolent were an art which one could learn. However, the parallels adduced by Jebb are unconvincing : in line 686 of the Antigone and in Euripides fr. 796 ἐπιστάμαι is used with λέγειν and σωφρονεῖν respectively, which seems quite natural.

(18) Though strictly speaking, of course, at line 309 Creon, in referring to the burial of Polyneices as a hybris, does not yet know that it was perpetrated by Antigone, it soon becomes clear that Antigone is indeed guilty of hybris as defined in line 309.

(19) But this is begging the question. On the other hand, Kitto's (1956:176) statement is equally categorical : 'The centre-piece is unmistakably Creon. We may prefer to make it Antigone, but if we do, Sophocles' design becomes in some degree unintelligible.' (A similar conclusion is reached by R.F. Coheen, The Imagery of Sophocles' Antigone, p.98.).

(20) cf. Bremer(1969:139-40) : 'Creon and Antigone share the play between them : Antigone has the more conspicuous part, she dominates

the action by her 'heroic temper', but it is Creon who has the longest part...'

(21) cf. Introduction, p.15n8, above.

(22) MacDowell goes on to say : 'This passage is generally ignored by those who write about hybris in tragedy ; but it has considerable negative importance, because it shows that the definition of hybris is not to be too narrowly drawn. If committing suicide in sorrow, shame and despair can be called hybris, that shows that hybris does not necessarily involve pride or arrogance, or setting oneself above the gods, or a desire to disgrace another person.' (My emphasis).

(23) See below, p. 107, for further examples.

(24) C.G.M. Murray, 'Heracles "The Best of Men"', Greek Studies, Oxford, 1946, pp. 106ff.

(25) The MSS. have ὑβρις φτενεῖ τύραννον. The conjecture is Blaydes', accepted by Winnington-Ingram(1971:126).

(26) See above, p.13, for further examples.

(27) See above, pp. 19 and 36.

(28) 'Insolence' in the accepted, not the obsolete, sense - see p.14.

(29) For a useful summary of the arguments, see Vellacott(1971) - Sophocles and Oedipus. It is this very problem which has led to Waldock's(1951:7) belief that 'There is no meaning in the Oedipus Rex'.

(30) Watling's(1971:174) translation.

(31) Jebb(1966:60) prefers the MSS. συντυχῶν to the εὐν τυχῶν of the O.C.T.

(32) My emphasis.

3. HYBRIS IN EURIPIDES

-In this section, considerably less attention will be given to arguments for or against a particular translation in a particular context. Euripides' style is generally clearer and less likely to create controversy in this regard. Only in problematic cases will a particular context be treated more extensively - where no translations or commentaries are quoted, the reader may assume that no real difference of opinion exists (as far as could be established). At any rate, the 'traditional' notion of what hybris means, has not been claimed for Euripides, either by the 'traditional' or the 'modern' school. Fraenkel, J.J. (1941:37) considers that Euripides uses hybris in a 'pasmunt' (common-place) sense, to denote 'allerlei onwellevendheid, rampen en onbeschoftheid' - unlike, according to him, Aeschylus and Euripides. The section is merely included : (1) for completeness' sake, and (2) to attempt to show that Euripides does not use hybris any differently from the other tragedians.¹

3.1. The Alcestis

3.1.1. The only occurrence is the verb used in the sense of 'to be insolent', referring to Admetus verbally assaulting his father, Pheres, in lines 629-72, and treating him like a slave, in lines 675-8. Pheres' accusation is made in line 679.

3.2.2. It is not dramatically significant, the action of the play hingeing on (a) Alcestis' heroic self-sacrifice, (b) Admetus' willingness to accept her sacrifice, and (c) (ultimately) Admetus' xenia (hospitality).

3.2. The Medea

3.2.1.. 'To wrong'/'ill-treat'/'outrage' is the sense in which hybris and its cognates are used in five of the six instances in

the Medea. In lines 255 and 1366 Medea refers to Jason's infidelity to her, and in lines 782, 1061 and 1380 she uses hybris to denote the (hypothetical) 'outrage' or shame which her children will endure if she lets them be buried in Corinth, when their graves will be dishonoured, according to her, by the Corinthians - esp. 1380.

3.2.2. Hybris is never used of the notorious heroine of this play. The motivational force for her actions is not called hybris - it is, in fact, her barbarous passion to avenge the wrongs done to her.

3.3. The Heracleidae

3.3.1. In lines 18, 457, 924, 947, 948, the noun, simple verb and compound verb refers to Eurystheus' ill-treatment of the children of Heracles, especially, but incidentally, too, of Iolaus and Heracles himself. In line 280 it is Copreus, the agent of Eurystheus who accuses Demophon of hybris (the noun). Vellacott, Orestes, 1972:114, translates 'arrogance', but the ᾠ δέϊν' ἐπάθειν of line 295, referring to the same incident, indicates that we may here understand the same sense as in the other instances in the Heracleidae.

3.3.2. The play is certainly not about Eurystheus. It is about patriotism, warfare as a political means: its most important characters are Demophon, Iolaus, Macaria and Alcmene. It is true that Eurystheus' hybris is the cause of the war between Athens and Argos. But it has no significance in the further development of plot and character. (cf. Webster, 1967:101ff., Vellacott, 1975: 77, 184ff.; 1972 (Orestes):23-4; and Murray (1965:45)).

3.4. The Hippolytus

3.4.1.

[446] - ὄν δ' ἄν περισσὸν καὶ φρονούνη' εὐρη μέγα,
τοῦτον λαβοῦσα - πῶς δοκεῖς; - καθύβρισεν.

-- 'to strike down', 'assault physically'

-- In contrast with the 'traditional' concept hybris as 'human pride punishable by the gods', 'here the mortal who is *περισσός*, who is guilty of *μέγα φρονεῖν*, is the victim of hybris on the part of a god.' (Lattimore, 1964:81n18).

[474] - λήξον δ' ὑβρίζουσ'· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο πλὴν ὑβρις
τάδ' ἐστί, κρείσσω δαιμόνων εἶναι θέλειν.

-- 'Irreligious insolence'

-- Here the traditional sense of disobedience to the gods or wishing to be more than mortal.² Again, as in the previous passage, said by the nurse with regard to Phaedra's effort to suppress her love for Hippolytus. Aphrodite is the particular goddess, against whom Phaedra is warned not to commit hybris.

[1073] - The verb is here used to signify the attempted 'rape' of Phaedra by Hippolytus, as it is mistakenly believed by Theseus, the real state of affairs (the opposite) having been misrepresented to him by Phaedra.

3.4.2. Hybris cannot, therefore, be intended by the poet to refer to Hippolytus, the allegation of Theseus being patently false. The case is similar to O.T. 873, where it is feared that Oedipus may be guilty of hybris. One might say the same of Phaedra. In line 474 she seems to be accused of irreligious hybris towards Aphrodite, in that she tries to suppress her sexual desire for Hippolytus. But this use is similarly ironical. It is Phaedra who soon yields to Aphrodite, and is therefore not guilty of irreligious hybris as defined in line 474. On the other hand, of Hippolytus, who is certainly guilty of hybris in this - the 'traditional' - sense in denying the power of Aphrodite, the term is not used (cf. Lattimore, 1964:84n30). Of course, the force of the imputation of hybris in line 474 is, like O.T. 873 again, purely cautionary. Hybris, as it is defined in line 474, cannot apply to Phaedra :

the subsequent action of the play refutes the imputation. We must conclude :-

(a) That the term hybris is never used - except ironically - to refer to an actual characteristic of either Phaedra or Hippolytus.

(b) That, in spite of the fact that the story of Hippolytus could probably be a model of the 'irreligious pride leads to punishment' pattern (so Lattimore, 1964:27n53), and in spite of the fact that hybris occurs in the sense of 'irreligious pride' in the play (474), it does not seem to be used of Hippolytus' 'tragic flaw'.

3.5. The Andromache

3.5.1. 'Insolence' in the sense of 'disrespectful behaviour in an inferior towards a superior', is indicated by the simple verb in line 434, when it is said by Menelaus of Andromache.

'To wrong/do wrong to' is the sense of the verb in line 624. Here it is Peleus who accuses Menelaus of wronging his brother, Agamemnon, by urging him to sacrifice his daughter, Iphigenia, apparently not with Fisher's (1976:177-93) connotation of intending to, or causing dishonour to the victim. The verb with εις normally represents the idea of behaviour that is morally wrong, towards another, but in this context not with the intention of causing dishonour, but with ulterior, selfish motives.

In lines 977 and 994, the adjective and the verb, respectively occurs in the sense of 'to insult (verbally)'. Neoptolemus had called Orestes a 'matricide' and a 'victim of the gory-eyed goddess' (the Erinyes) - line 978. One notes here (a) that hybrizein in this sense is almost identical with ὀνειδίζειν (line 978) and (b) that the expression ὕβριότης ἦν expresses exactly the same idea as ὕβριζειν (the former in line 977, and the latter in line 994).

3.5.2. In this, another revenge-play, the main part is shared by Andromache and Hermione. The single reference to Andromache - Menelaus' stock accusation that she is insolent towards her superiors (line 434) is irrelevant to the course of the play, and the accusations and insults of lines 624, 977 and 994 are equally incidental to the theme of the play.

3.6. The Hecuba

3.6.1. 'To mock', 'triumph mockingly' is the sense of the verb, the sole occurrence in this play. It is said by Polymestor, of Hecuba, glorying in her in her victorious revenge for Polymestor's murder of her son, Polydorus.

3.6.2. Polyxena is really the heroine of the play, along the same sacrificial lines as Macaria is of the Heracleidae. Nevertheless, Hecuba, too, is a principal character, and the sole hybris-reference is to her. But, in the sense used here, it is not of dramatic import - coming, as it does, at the end of the play, when revenge has been wreaked.

3.7. The Supplices

3.7.1. In lines 235, 464, 512, 633, 575, 728 and 743 the noun, simple verb, compound verb and adjective refers to the 'outrage' of Creon (and with him, the city of Thebes) in refusing burial to the Argive chieftains. MacDowell (1976:17) singles out the occurrences in 464 and 743 (where there are two instances) as being linked with the 'traditional' idea of koros. But it is equally possible that the sense of 'outrage' on a human plane is sufficient here, there being no link with the thought of divine retribution in these two contexts. (cf. Collard, 1975, ad loc) The 'traditional' sense is, however found in line 495, where

ὕβρις οὐς ἀπώλεσεν denotes the punishment of Capaneus for his irreligious boasting and challenges of Zeus. Zeus had struck him, in return for his godless insolence, down with a thunder-bolt - line 511 : ἐξαρκέσας ἦν ὁ Ζεὺς τιμωρούμενος.

3.7.2. In the Supplikes, the references to hybris as the cause of the ruin of Thebes, relate, at the most, to a side-motif to the main theme of the play (=the glorification of Athens), negatively characterizing the opponents of Athens.

3.8. The Hercules Furens

3.8.1. In line 181, ὕβρισμα refers to the 'violence' of the Centaurs, who had been beaten by Heracles.³ 'Ill-treatment' or 'outrage' would adequately represent the sense in which hybris-words are used in lines 261, 313, 459, 708 and 741, referring to Lycus' ill-treatment of the children of Heracles and their feeble protector, Amphitryon. Lattimore's (1964:23) 'the abuse of superior strength to humiliate the helpless living...' is very apt here, as is Fisher's definition a state of mind in which pleasure is derived from causing shame or dishonour to a victim. Especially lines 459 and 741 contain instances of the latter kind.

3.8.2. As in the Supplikes of Euripides, hybris has no function other than negatively characterizing the opponents of Athens' law of protection for the suppliant.

3.9. The Ion

3.9.1. In line 506 the chorus refer to the exposure of Ion as a 'mockery'⁴ of the relationship which begot him. (Lattimore's (1964: 81n19) 'rape' simply does not fit the immediate context (ὕβρις πικρῶν γάμων).

'To be outraged/insulted' is the equivalent of the usage of the

verb in line 810. The slave, addressing Creusa, feels that they/their house is being shamed or dishonoured by Xuthus' stated intention to introduce Ion as his heir. (What they do not know, of course, at this stage is that Ion is, in fact, the illegitimate off-spring of Creousa and Apollo, thinking that Ion is Xuthus' illegitimate child!) 1020 can, at most be functional in a limited way, for characterization while the hubris of line 69 is generally irrelevant to the 3.9.2. In this tragi-comedy hybris is not dramatically functional, beyond the use in 810, where it eventually achieves an ironical twist, and in line 506, where it refers to the cruel mockery of Creon's exposure. Neither Xuthus nor Creusa is ultimately associated with hybris.

3.11.1. 'To approach sexually' seems to represent the sense of the verb in line 69, where the Antouros discloses having had sexual relations with Electra. In order to avoid ambiguity, the sexual theme οὐκ οἶσθ' ὑβρισθεῖσάν με καὶ ναοὺς ἐμοὺς, sexual connotation for hybris might occasionally be used, especially if the attitude of Athena says that she and her temple were 'insulted' or 'violated' when Ajax dragged Cassandra from her sanctuary. Another clear instance of the 'traditional' sense, which Lattimore (1964:86n34) ineffectually tries to explain away as 'not a challenge or a boast, but actual violation of the temple and lustful assault against Cassandra'. (1) The challenge was not explicit, but Ajax had nevertheless behaved 'insolently' (in the sense of disrespect for a superior) towards Athena. (2) Athena explicitly states that both she personally and her temple were affected by irreligious insolence: με καὶ ναοὺς ἐμοὺς.

In line 902 Electra says she is afraid of 'insulting' the dead, speaking in line 902: ἐν τοῖς γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ὑβρίζεις δομοὺς καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι βαρβάρων ὑπ' ἠέλεες. which is exactly what she approaches to do in her following speech (lines 905-917) 'to be proud, arrogant'

But when the common sense of hybris is used in line 904: 'Not merely "treating other people as slaves" MacDowell (1976:23) and 698, used in respect of hybris, generally 'outrageous' (Vellacott, 1970:114) : 'to queen it lordly'. Here not any harmful action is denoted - Hecuba is simply referring to Helena's legen-

dary vanity.

3.10.2. Interesting as these two clear instances of the 'traditional' sense of hybris are, hybris does not at all play a part in the dramatic structure of the Troïades. For the Troïades is nothing if not an anti-war 'orchestration of emotions'⁵, and line 1020 can, at most be functional in a limited way, for characterization, while the hybris of line 69 is equally irrelevant to the plot.

3.11. The Electra

3.11.1. 'To approach sexually' seems to represent the sense of the verb in line 46, where the Autourgos disavows having had sexual relations with Electra. In order to avoid ambiguity, the sexual theme has to be introduced, and the sexual connotation for hybris might legitimately be used, especially if the attitude towards sex is to be negative (cf. Aeschylus' Supplices, passim). The equivalent given above is not really eventually different in import from, e.g. Vermeule's (in Grene and Lattimore, Vol. II : 50) 'holding down in violence'.

In line 68 'ill-treat'/'harm' is necessitated by the qualifying ἐν κακοῖς.

Still in respect of the Autourgos' abstention from sexual relations with Electra, in line 257, when the parents are directly related, the sense 'dishonour', 'cause shame to' would be more appropriate.

In line 902 Electra says she is afraid of 'insulting' the dead, speaking injuriously over the dead body of Aegisthus, which is exactly what she proceeds to do in her immediately following speech (lines 907-57).

But, again, the common sense of 'outrage' is used in lines 266 and 698, used in respect of Aegisthus' generally 'outrageous' behaviour which causes shame, i.e., in the first instance, of Electra's humble marriage, and, in the second instance, of of-

'outrage' or 'dishonour' to the dead.

The 'outrage' of line 947 (Aegisthus' sexual relations with Clytaemnestra), may, perhaps, legitimately rendered with a specific mention of the connotation 'sex' (so MacDowell(1976:7) and Vellacott(1973:137)).

3.11.2. Not once is hybris used of Electra (or Orestes). The word is chiefly employed to refer to the insulting and outrageous behaviour of Aegisthus, (cf. Sophocles' Electra, where hybris is used similarly.)

3.12. The Iphigenia Taurica

In line 13 the phrase ὕβρισθέντας γάμουσ Ἑλένης should be taken as a 'participle of applied predication' i.e. equivalent to the 'outrage' offered to Helen's marriage (Plattner, 1938:60); referring, of course, to Paris' abduction of Helen.

In line 930 Iphigenia asks Orestes whether Menelaus had taken their house by force. The element of 'violence' is important, as Iphigenia has already been told that Menelaus is now ruling over Argos (line 929), and now specifically wants to know whether he took it by violence or not.

3.12.2. The two hybris-references are quite irrelevant to the charming plot of this tragi-comedy - line 13 being a mere cursory reference to the cause of the Trojan War, and line 930 containing a question, unimportant to the plot, to which the answer is negative.

3.13. The Helena

3.13.1. 'To offer sexual violence', to 'rape', would be equivalent to the cognate accusative construction used in line 785. That hybris is used in a sexual sense by Helen here, is clear from the

fact that she answers Menelaus' reference to γαμείν.....λέχη in line 784.

3.13.2. This revelation of Helen here, that Proteus had attempted to 'rape' her, does not, in this escapist plot, correspond to the 'traditional' notion of the dramatic function of hybris.

3.14. The Phoenissae

3.14.1. The 'traditional' sense of hybris turns up again here, in lines 179 and 1112, where the first again refers to the irreligious boasting of Capaneus, and the second denies it of the wise Amphiaraus. (Cf. Euripides' Supplices 495, above, and note that Aeschylus, in the Septem does not use hybris of Capaneus' proudly irreligious boasts.)

'to harm'/'ill-treat'/'outrage' is the general sense corresponding to the cognates of hybris in lines 620 (where Eteocles and Polyneices reciprocate the compliment); 1592 (where the noun may be rendered 'malicious intent' or 'intent to dishonour' - this being disavowed by Creon, referring to his banishment of Oedipus); and lines 1644, 1663 and 1743 (where it is used of Creon's outrageous behaviour in refusing burial to Polyneices - 1663 - and - in the other two cases - of his banishment of Oedipus).

3.14.2. Hybris does not play the important rôle 'traditionally' assigned to it in the reversals fortune in this melodramatic entertainment⁶.

3.15. The Orestes

3.15.1. '(A) verbal insult' may be rendered for the sense of the verb in line 436, where Orestes is referring to the friends of Aegisthus calling him a μητροφοντης and further reviling or verbally offending him (cf., too, lines 479ff.)

'Mockery' (the noun) is what Menelaus accuses Orestes of when the former denied that he had killed Helen.

'Outrage' or 'action intended to cause dishonour or shame' (cf. Fisher's (1976:177-93) definition) is attested twice in the Orestes. ὕβρισμα occurs in both cases, lines 1038 and 1642, where the former refers (hypothetically) to the 'shame' or 'indignity' to Electra by being killed by an Argive commoner; the latter is used by the Deus ex Machina, Apollo, when he calls the race of mortals an ὕβρισμα to the earth - exhibiting, as Lattimore (1964: 84) observes, the same cynical Malthusianism which is attributed to Zeus in the Helena.

3.15.2. The hybris-references seem to have little relevance to the theme of the play, which is anti-Apollo and stresses the defilement of the murder of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra:

3.16. The Bacchae

3.16.1. The Bacchae (with 12 occurrences of hybris) is second only to Sophocles' Ajax in its prominence as a drama of hybris. The 'traditional' sense of 'irreligious insolence' is predominant. Hybris is used in this sense in lines 375, 516, 555, 1297 and 1347, referring to Pentheus' slight to Dionysus in denying his divinity. The religious connotation is denied by Fraenkel (1941:38), who argues that Pentheus is not aware of the fact that Dionysus represents the godhead himself, and that, consequently, these hybris-references should be understood as merely 'insults' and 'insulting behaviour' on a human level. Indeed, it has often been doubted that Euripides was capable of expressing this 'Aeschylean' sentiment (cf. Webster, 1967:274ff.). But (contra Fraenkel's interpretation) one may argue that the Dionysus whom Pentheus slights, is in fact, the representative of the god himself, and, moreover, that Pentheus does not only insult the 'stranger' but also disparages the religion of Dionysus, which cannot be anything but a direct challenge to the divinity. Pentheus is 'insolent' in the sense of being disrespectful towards a superior, in this case a

god, which makes it a religious offence. (MacDowell, 1976:19 classifies the instances given above under his heading of 'disobedience to the gods')

'Violent' (for the adjective) is an equally important sense in the Bacchae, referring to the thyrsi of the Bacchantes in line 113, and of bulls in line 743 - Winnington-Ingram (1948: ad locc.) glosses 'aggressive' or 'violent'.

In line 375 Pentheus accuses the 'stranger' (Dionysus) of being 'insolent' (disrespectful) towards him.

'Abuse of superior strength' is the sense of the noun in line 9, where the cruelty inflicted by Hera on Dionysus' mother, Semele, is indicated.

The interesting sense of a 'trick'/'laugh/mockery' occurs in line 616, where Dionysus says of himself that he had made a fool of Pentheus, by escaping his custody. (This use is comparable to Ajax 304, above.)

In line 779 Pentheus calls the Bacchae an *ὑβρισμα* to Thebes, i.e. a 'shame', 'disgrace' (cf. Fisher's, 1976:177-93, definition).

Lastly, the sense of 'harming' or 'ill-treating' occurs in line 1311 - used hypothetically by Cadmus, it corresponds to Lattimore's (1964:23) category: 'the abuse of superior strength to humiliate the helpless living...'

3.16.3. The 'traditional' notion of the tragic rôle is fully attested in the Bacchae, where it is Pentheus' 'irreligious insolence which is the direct cause of his downfall, (effected

by Dionysus as punishment). That Euripides could have written a play with a religious import, has often been doubted, especially by the Verrallian school⁷. But Winnington-Ingram (1948: passim) and Dodds (1960: introduction) have irrefutably shown that the message of the Bacchae is indeed religious in character: that one ignores at one's own peril (as Pentheus did) the reality and the power of the irrational element in the human experience - which is the domain of the god Dionysus. The irony is: Pentheus had thought that he was sophrôn in rejecting the emotionalism of

the Bacchantes. But in doing so he committed the supreme folly, i.e. denying the reality of a god, in this case, the god who presides over the irrational element. This god, in direct reaction to mortal hybris, cruelly punished hybris by having him murdered by his own mother, a victim of Dionysiac delusion, in circumstances that arose from his own morbid opposition to Dionysus. But here Euripides added an ironical switch of sympathy. As in his other revenge-plays, Euripides has again introduced the theme of excessive and incommensurate revenge, whereby the sympathy of the spectator is redirected upon the avenger of an original wrong, now totally overshadowed by a greater wrong. Thus, the statement: 'The Bacchae is a drama in which the "traditional" notion of hybris as irreligious insolence, punished by the gods, is a central theme' should be qualified by an addition of the ironical switch of sympathy which follows the god's excessive punishment. Nevertheless, that the poet intended Dionysus to be taken seriously as a god, against whom it is hybris in the tragic sense to attempt to exalt oneself, is clear from the lyrical beauty and sublime reverence of the choral odes.

3.17. The Iphigenia Aulidensis

The sole occurrence (the cognate accusative construction in line 961), where Achilles upbraids Agamemnon for 'insulting' him in not asking his consent to use his name, is incidental to the plot.

3.18. Summary⁸

3.18.1. Hybris-words occur 88 times in the tragedies of Euripides, in the following senses :-

In almost one half (42) of the instances, the general sense of 'harming'/'ill-treating'/causing 'outrage' are equivalent to hybris and its cognates; (Lattimore's, 1964:23 'bullying, the abuse of super-

ior strength to humiliate the helpless living or outrage the helpless dead' ; and Fisher's(1976:177-93) definition of an action intended to, or causing, shame or dishonour for the victim', are both to the point.)

(Medea 255,1366,782,1061,1380; Heracleidae 18,280,457,924,947,948; Andromache 624; Supplices 235,464,512,633,575,728,743; Iphigenia Taurica 13; Hercules Furens 261,313,459,708,741; Electra 58,68,257,266,698; Orestes 1038,1642; Ion 810; Phoenissae 620 (twice),1592,1644,1663,1743; Bacchae 9,779,1311.)

Related, but cases where more specific senses can be argued for :-

(a) '(verbal)'insult'

(Andromache 994; Electra 331,902; Ion 810; Orestes 436; Iphigenia Aulidensis 961

(b) 'to mock', 'triumph mockingly' (Schadenfreude')

(Medea 603; Hecuba 1257 ; Ion 506; Orestes 1581.)

(c) 'violent'/'violence'/'physical assault'

(Hippolytus 446; Heracles Furens 181; Iphigenia Taurica 930; Bacchae 113,743.)

(d) 'insolence' (disrespectful behaviour in an inferior towards a superior'

(Alcestis 679; Andromache 434; Bacchae 247.)

(e) 'sexual violation', 'rape'

(Hippolytus 1073; Electra 46,947; Helena 785.)

The 'traditional sense of hybris is well represented in Euripides, with 12 instances : 'irreligious insolence'/'pride'

(Hippolytus 474 (twice); Supplices 495; Troïades 69,1020; Phoinissae 179,1112; Bacchae 375,516,555,1297,1347.)

3.18.2. Yet, in spite of the many hybris-references in the tragedy, of Euripides, only one of the seventeen may be said to revolve dramatically around hybris. In the Bacchae, the ruin of Pentheus is a tragedy of hybris in the 'traditional' sense of the word : Pentheus challenges the divinity does not know his place as mortal, and is duly punished by Dionysus, the god whom his (irreligious) 'insolence' had offended. However, the play ends with an ironical change of sympathy : has the punishment not exceeded the crime ? Nevertheless, the tragedy of Pentheus, in the largest part of the play, before the ironical switch of sympathy, certainly complies with the 'traditional' notion of hybris.

3.18.3. The question of the tragic rôle of the concept of 'irreligious pride'/'arrogance' -irrespectively of whether the word hybris is used to refer to it or not - cannot be discussed here. The Hippolytus is an enigmatic case in point. Here it would seem that the action of the play is conditioned by precisely the 'irreligious insolence' in denying or challenging the power of Aphrodite. Yet hybris is never used of Hippolytus in this sense, though it is explicitly defined in line 474 of the play that to resist Aphrodite is hybris ! Insomuch as the actual occurrences of the word are concerned, it is only in the Bacchae that hybris presents the key to the tragic rationale.

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

(1) Neither is attempted to determine the chief character(s) - as in the case of Aeschylean and Sophoclean tragedy, chapters one and two , above - as this was found to be too problematic in Euripides.

(2) So MacDowell(1976:19) But Lattimore(1964/84n29) does not admit of a religious connotation : Phaedra's nurse tells her that to resist love is hybris (insubordination). So, too, Whitman(1951: 254n23): 'Eur. Hipp. gives, not a definition, but a deliberate extension of the term.' Yet the context clearly points to hybris in the 'traditional' sense : It is not said that hybris is to resist 'love', but clearly stated that hybris means to want to be greater than the gods (line 475). With regard to Whitman's statement, one should remember that irreligious hybris, though exceptional in tragedy, was an important sense before tragedy(see Introduction, p.13), and, as used here, is rather an archaism than an innovation. Moreover, the sentiment would be quite in character for a personage like the nurse in the Hippolytus.

(3) Vellacott translates 'savage'. For hybris of the Centaurs, cf. Trachiniae 1096, above.

(4) So both MacDowell(1976) and Vellacott(1972) , both ad loc.

(5) J.P.J. van Rensburg, 'in Oorsig van die Oud-Griekse Letterkunde, U.U.B., Stellenbosch, 1969, pp.85-6.

(6) cf. Kitto's(1961) discussion of the Phoenissae.

(7) cf. Webster(1967:171ff.)

(8) Euripides' Rhesus is not taken into account, though Murray (1952, Euripides : introduction), Webster(1968:122) and Ritchie (1964:passim) argue for its authenticity. The single hybris - reference is not of tragical import, according to both Lattimore (1964:85n35) and Ritchie(1964:90,97). The latter remarks that Rhesus is not guilty of hybris : the reference in line 917 is to his mother, Thamyris.

CONCLUSION

The reader is referred to the summaries concluding the chapters on hybris in Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides respectively (pp. 43-4, 85-7 and 103-5 above), from which the following general conclusions may be drawn :-

1. The senses in which hybris and its cognates are used, in order of frequency, are :-

1.1. 'Harming'/'ill-treating'/'(causing) outrage'.

These senses correspond to the definitions of Whitman (1951:254n23): 'how a stronger man treats a weaker'; Lattimore(1964:23): 'bullying, the abuse of superior strength to humiliate the helpless living or outrage the helpless dead'; and Fisher(1976:177-93): 'behaviour intended to, or causing shame or dishonour'.

1.2. 'Mocking'/'triumphing mockingly' ('Schadenfreude').

1.3. 'Violence'/'deed of violence'/'violent'

1.4. 'Irreligious pride/insolence'/'arrogance'

1.5. 'Insult' (to offend verbally).

1.6. 'insolence'/'rebelliousness'/'disobedience' (disrespectful behaviour in an inferior toward a superior).

2. The above conclusion compares as follows with definitions which have been given for hybris:-

2.1. The 'traditional' view that hybris means '(irreligious) pride' or 'arrogance' (see pp.1-3 above) is proven wrong. This sense does occur, but only twice in Aeschylus, twice in Sophocles, and 12 times in Euripides. It seems to have been the sense in the age prior to the Classical era - and is retained in the Persae, the earliest extant Greek tragedy, and elsewhere used very often by elderly characters (e.g. the elderly chorus of the Oedipus Tyrannus, the nurse in the Hippolytus, and Hecuba in the Helena). The modern' view of hybris (see pp. 2-4 above) seems to have been the current usage of 5th Century literature, including Tragedy.

2.2. Lattimore(1964:23) is correct in that 'bullying...' is the

most frequent sense in which hybris is used in Tragedy, but his treatment is deficient, because only the LSJ categories (see p.3 above) are followed, with the result that the clear instances of the 'traditional' sense of 'irreligious pride' are ignored.

2.3. MacDowell(1976:19ff.) similarly attempts to argue away the instances of the 'traditional' sense as mere 'disobedience'. The connotations which he gives (see, again, p. 3 above) are correct, but his definition (1976:29), 'having excess energy and misusing it self-indulgently' lacks the important element that it is always directed at a victim. (This element is excluded, apparently on the basis of Sophocles' Trachiniae, 888, where hybris refers to Deianeira's suicide. But here the victim is clearly Deianeira herself.)

2.4. Fisher's(1976:177) definition, 'behaviour intended to, or causing shame or dishonour' does include the element of a victim, and the specific senses of 'mocking', 'insulting' and 'insolence' given above are also completely compatible with this definition. Unfortunately, he denies categorically the religious connotation, as well as the (equally frequent) clear instances of 'violence'/'violent deed' - where the idea of intention or result of dishonour is not prominent - and 'sexual violation' - e.g. in Aeschylus' Supplices, passim, where 'forced marriage' would not fit the context (see p. 26 above).

2.5. Whitman's(1954:254n23) 'how a stronger man treats a weaker', though, as Fisher's, covering the majority of instances, is not wide enough to include the sense of disrespectful behaviour in an inferior toward a superior, neither, again, does it take into account instances of hybris as 'irreligious pride'.

2.6. It seems, then, that a definition of hybris in Greek Tragedy should include the following elements:-

2.6.1. That it denotes harming, ill-treating, or causing shame to a victim ;

2.6.2. That the abuse may be either physical or verbal.

2.6.3. That an archaic sense of 'irreligious pride/insolence' is retained in a few clear instances.

3. Hybris is not used any differently by any of the three tragedians - contrary to the widely held belief that the 'irreligious' connotation is characteristically 'Aeschylean' or 'Sophoclean'. (Cf., e.g., Del Grande, 1947:131-48 ; Fraenkel, J.J., 1941:38 ; North, 1966:50 ; Winnington-Ingram, 1971:119nl.)
4. The different parts of speech in the hybris family are not used any differently from one another. For all the senses given above, there are examples of all the cognates.
5. As far as the tragic rôle of hybris as 'irreligious insolence, punishable by the gods' is concerned : only in Aeschylus' Persae and Euripides' Bacchae is this 'traditional' view vindicated. In none of the other extant plays is hybris used to indicate this sense as the tragic rationale. (In the Oedipus Tyrannus, where this sense of hybris does occur, it does not apply to Oedipus, as was shown above, pp. 70-4). The ratio of hybris-references to the chief characters, as compared to total hybris-references - less than 25% in both Aeschylus and Sophocles - tends to invalidate the 'traditional' notion of the tragic significance of hybris.
6. A question which had not received appropriate attention, is the question of the tragic significance of hybris in the 'modern' sense (see p. 9 above). It has been shown that the Agamemnon of Aeschylus is a drama based on hybris (but hybris in the sense of 'crime'/'misdeed', and not in the sense of 'pride'. In the Antigone of Sophocles, hybris as 'insolence'/'disobedience' is the key moment around which the play revolves.
7. The question of whether the 'pride - punishment' pattern is frequently found in Greek Tragedy, has not been discussed inasmuch as hybris is not actually used to denote the element of 'pride'. (A case in point is the enigmatic usage of hybris in the Hippolytus of Euripides : although hybris is defined in the 'traditional' sense in line 474 as 'wishing to be greater than the gods', it is never used of Hippolytus himself, whom one would have thought to be guilty of hybris in this sense.)

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