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THE MEANING OF ὄμμα τέτραπται, EURIPIDES, HIPPOLYTUS 246.¹

VON WILAMOWITZ, in his edition of the *Hippolytus*, has the following note on ὄμμα τέτραπται: 'die gesichtsfarbe schlägt um, wie χρῶς τέτραπται bei Homer N 279, wohin der umschlag erfolgt, ist mit dem affect bezeichnet, dessen ausdrück die neue farbe ist, ἐπ' αἰσχύνην.' In my edition of the play I took exception to this interpretation, declaring that the words were rather to be taken literally 'my eye has turned to shame, i.e. I am now sensible of it (being blind before).' Compare the tense (perfect of present condition) with the preceding verbs (παρεπλάγχθη . . . ἐμάνην . . . αἰδούμεθα . . . βαίνει) and note the constant reference to consciousness and unconsciousness (παρεπλάγχθη γνώμης ἀγαθῆς . . . ὀρθοῦσθαι γνώμην . . . τὸ δὲ μαινόμενον . . . μὴ γιγνώσκοντα). The grief-stricken woman, who has fallen δαίμονος ἄτη, is not thinking, as the tears come to her eyes, of the change in colour, of the blushes that may cover her cheeks, but of the awakening to the terrible reality, as opposed to the illusions to which she has been subject. This awakening brings with it a sense of honour lost (αἰσχύνη)—τὸ δ' ἔργον ἦδη τὴν νόσον τε δυσκλεῖα, she says in 404, and μήποτ' ἄνδρα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰσχύνασ' ἄλω (420). She wishes her children to live in glorious Athens μητρὸς εἶνεκ' εὐκλεεῖς (423). It is only the possession of a good conscience (γνώμην δίκαιαν καγαθήν) that makes life worth living (427). That the sinner is discovered soon or late she knows, and prays that 'the slowly moving finger of time' may never be pointed at her (παρ' οἷσι μήποτ' ὀφθείην ἐγώ, 430). Furthermore, it is certainly unnatural for Phaedra, especially in her present condition of mind, to make remarks on her own change of colour, however natural it might be for her to note the phenomenon in others. Observe particularly the comments of the nurse on the queen's frenzied utterances (223, 232), and her own self-commiseration, when her attendant wonders ὅστις σε θεῶν ἀνασειράζει | καὶ παρακόπτει φρένας, ὦ παῖ (237). At this juncture Phaedra comes to her senses and exclaims δύστηνος ἐγώ, τί ποτ' εἰργασάμην; and (later) φεῦ φεῦ, τλήμων. These expressions, with κατ' ὅσων δάκρυ μοι βαίνει, are psychologically incompatible with a reference to her external appearance. Both αἰδούμεθα and αἰσχύνην refer to her inward

shrinking, now that she has awakened to a sense of her disgrace, not to any outward manifestation of that disgrace. It is the αἰσχος καὶ ψόγον she fears. (Indeed, αἰσχύνη does not appear in the extant literature until a few years before this play was written; Demosthenes translates the Solonian αἰσχος by αἰσχύνη). 'Spare, spare me, | Sinning or no, forget that, only spare me | The horrible scorn.' Cf. *Phoen.* 198 ff.

In the *Classical Review* for June, 1901, Mr. Ellershaw (in a notice of my book so favourable that it were ungracious to call attention to the few minor points in which he differed from me) agreed with Wilamowitz in his interpretation of the passage under discussion. Recently, I have met with so many examples which seem to show that the position of the German and English scholars is untenable that I have deemed it worth while to re-open the question.²

The first thing to be observed, in the comparison of the sentence in N 279 with *Hippolytus* 246, is that the subjects are not the same,—ὄμμα is not χρῶς. When Plato desires to express the idea of 'changing colour'—and he does very often—he uses neither ὄμμα nor τρέπειν, e.g. *Lysis* 222 B ὁ δὲ Ἰπποθάλῃς ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς παντοδαπὰ ἡφίει χρώματα. The noun ὄμμα, even in the sense of *os*, is never used with τρέπειν to express an idea similar to that

² Perhaps I may be allowed a single παρέκβασις to comment on Mr. Ellershaw's objection to my statement that the use of βούλομαι for ἐθέλω was an innovation of Euripides, since Aeschylus (the writer says) uses βούλομαι at least three times. But there is no better proof of my assertion. ἐθέλω belongs to elevated language. Pindar uses βούλομαι but once. Aeschylus is usually as lofty as the Theban poet, but he occasionally descends to the ground from which he takes his eagle flight, and it is noteworthy that two of the three examples of βούλομαι occur in a play which is remarkable for its naive simple tone, and in the same part of the play by the same *dramatis persona* (*Prom.* 867, 929). It is a drama which contains a scene of which the celebrated French critic, Patin, says: 'C'est peut-être l'exemple le plus remarquable qu'on puisse citer de l'aisance avec laquelle les Grecs savaient varier le ton de leurs ouvrages. Le poète, dans la plus haute et la plus sublime production dont l'histoire du théâtre conserve le souvenir, ne craint pas de s'approcher des limites de la comédie' (p. 268). Aristophanes, of course, does not hesitate to use βούλομαι, but Euripides was the first tragedian to rebel against the poetic vocabulary. True, Sophocles uses βούλομαι, but Sophocles felt the influence of Euripides; and in seven plays Sophocles uses the poetical word almost three times as often as Euripides in nineteen.

¹ A paper read before the American Philological Association at Yale University in July 1903.

in the Homeric passage, whereas ὄμμα in the sense of *oculus*, with both τρέπειν and βάλλειν, is a very frequent combination. In the second place, the idea of changing colour is not unfrequently expressed by the tragic poets, but never with ὄμμα and τρέπειν, e.g. Eur. *Med.* 1168 χροῖαν ἀλλάξασα. Cp. λ 529 ὠχρήσαντα χροά. On the other hand, ὄμμα is combined with τρέπειν and στρέφειν in numerous passages by the tragic poets in the sense of *oculus vertere* (cp. Aesch. *Prom.* 708, where M has στρέψασα, the other MSS. τρέψασα, which Hermann adopts): Eur. *I. T.* 68 ὄμμα πανταχοῦ στρέφων, *Hel.* 1573 ὄμμ' ἀναστρέφων κύκλω, 1147 ὄμμάτων ἀπο κόρας στρέφουσιν, Aesch. *Fr.* 311 ὄμμα τρέπουσα, Ag. 779 παλιντρόποις ὄμμασι (cp. *Prom.* 882), *Cho.* 99 ἀστροφόισιν ὄμμασιν, Soph. *Al.* 69 f. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὄμμάτων ἀποστροφούς (proleptic = ἀποστρέψασα) αὐγὰς ἀπείρξω σὴν πρόσοψιν εἰσιδεῖν. Cp. *Rep. Lac.* 3. 4 ὄμματα μεταστρέψαις, Aesch. *Fr.* 297 τὸ σκαῖον ὄμμα προσβάλων, Eur. *Med.* 923 στρέψασα ἔμπαλιν παρηίδα. The turning of the eye in a certain direction is equivalent to looking in that direction, ποῖ ὄμμα τρέπων to ποῖ βλέπων (Soph. *Al.* 1290). In N 279 the shifting is vividly expressed by the addition of ἀλλυδὺς ἄλλῃ, just as in Xenophon *Anabasis* 4. 8. 9 the actual local turning in various directions is expressed in practically the same way (φυγῇ ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἐτρέπετο). But the usual preposition employed to indicate the direction of the turning is ἐπὶ. I shall cite only a few of the hundred examples: Eur. *I. A.* 646 μὴ 'πὶ φροντίδας τρέπον, Soph. *Al.* 772 ἐπ' ἐχθροῖς χεῖρα φοινίαν τρέπειν (epic. dat.), Ar. *Ran.* 1025 ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἐτρέπεσθε, *Nub.* 589 ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον τρέπειν, *Plut* 317, *Vesp.* 986, *Lysias* 2. 64, 10. 30, 12. 5, 18. 18, *Dem.* 9. 14, *Hdt.* 1. 117, 7. 16. 2 τέτραψαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀμείνω, Plato *Symp.* 210 D, [Theognis] 78 (Pomtow) ἦν τ' ἐπὶ σωφροσύνην τρεφθῇ νόος. This last example is exactly parallel to ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ ὄμμα τέτραπται. Here νόος is used, there ὄμμα (through which the νοῦς perceives); and in both passages *mind* is the initial notion (γνώμης 240, ἐμάνην 241, ὀρθοῦσθαι γνώμην 247, μὴ γινώσκοντα 248). Cp. Soph. *El.* 902 f. ἐμπαίει τί μοι | ψυχῇ ξύνθεος ὄμμα. But the crowning example of this use of the verb to indicate the direction in which the eyes are turned, with the preposition ἐπὶ, is Plato, 519 A, ὡς δριμύ μὲν βλέπει τὸ ψυχάριον καὶ ὀξέως διορᾷ ταῦτα ἐφ' ἃ τέτραπται ὡς οὐ φαῖλῃ ἔχον τὴν ὄψιν. Hardly less apposite is 591 C οὐχ ὅπως τῇ θηριώδει καὶ ἀλόγῳ ἡδονῇ ἐπιτρέψας ἐν ταῦτα τετραμμένος ζῆσει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑγιαν βλέπων. So in the Euripidean sen-

tence ὄμμα τέτραπται means ὀρῶ, βλέπω. Phaedra now has regard for that which she disregarded before—αἰσχύνῃ. There is no need of resorting to the laboured explanation that ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ is used for the new colour to which the ὄμμα has changed ('mit dem affect bezeichnet, dessen ausdruck die neue farbe ist'). The sentence in the preceding verse (κατ' ὅσων δάκρυ μοι βαίνει) is really the result of ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ ὄμμα τέτραπται. Cp. the exclamation of Ion: φεῦ φεῦ κατ' ὅσων ὡς ὑγρὸν βάλλω δάκρυ, | ἐκέισε τὸν νοῦν δούς, ὅθ' ἡ τεκοῦσά με κτέ (*Ion.* 1369 f.). So Polynices weeps at the sight of his father's sorrows: δακρύσω . . . τὰ τοῦδ' ὄρων πατρός γέροντος (*O.C.* 1255). It is Phaedra's shame that 'Draws those heaven-moving pearls from her poor eyes.' ποῖ βλέπων, like τί μαθὼν and τί παθὼν, is a common tragic and Platonic phrase for διὰ τί. Cp. *Laches*, 195 A πρὸς τί τοῦτ' εἶπες βλέπας, 197 E ὅποι ποτὲ βλέπων . . . τοῦνομα τοῦτο τίθησι τὴν ἀνδρείαν, Soph. *El.* 887 f. εἰς τί μοι | βλέψασα θάλπει τῷδ' ἀνηκέστῳ πυρί; The nurse might have asked: 'what are you looking at (πρὸς τί βλέπων) that you weep so?' And the queen might have replied πρὸς αἰσχύνῃ βλέπω = ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ ὄμμα τέτραπται. That the Greeks were fond of expressing accurately the direction in which the gaze was turned, is shown by their use of compounds where in English the simple verb often suffices, εἰσορᾶν, προσδέρκεσθαι, ἀποσκοπῶν (*Eur. Suppl.* 236), πρὸς τὰ κοῖν' ἀποβλέπειν (*turn his attention to, Id.* 432). Note also the frequent use of ἀπό (the opposite of ἐπὶ) in compounds with ὄμμα and its congeners (ἀποπτος, Soph. *O.T.* 762, *El.* 1489, ἀπ' ὄψεως, ἀπ' ὀμμάτων). Phaedra had said of herself παρεπλάγχθην γνώμης. Now ὀρθοῦσθαι γνώμην could be said of her. Like Ajax (Soph. *Al.* 715) ἐξ ἀέλπτων μετανεγνώσθη, a sentence which, by the way, is rendered by Schneidewin-Nauck into a German idiom which corresponds to the expression employed by Phaedra: 'da Aias seinen Sinn zum Besseren gewendet habe.' Phaedra is now πρὸς τὸ κέρδιστον τραπεῖς | γνώμης (*Al.* 743).

Another fact to be noted is that ὄμμα is used very frequently to denote the eye by the tragic poets, whereas ὀφθαλμός of the actual eye is rare in Aeschylus and not very common in Sophocles and Euripides. Cp. Aesch. *Ag.* 419 ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίας ἔρρει πᾶς Ἀφροδίτῃ, *Suppl.* 716 πρῶρα πρόσθεν ὄμμασιν βλέποντο' ὁδόν, 467 ὀμμάτωσα γὰρ σαφέστερον, *Cho.* 854 φρένα ὀμματωμένην. Aeschylus never uses ὄμμα for face. It is the ὄμμα that sees (δεδορκὸς ὄμμα *Suppl.* 409).

Plato uses both ὀφθαλμός and ὄμμα, e.g. *Charmides* 156 B and C (ὀφθαλμούς twice followed by ὀμμάτων and again in 156 E in the same order). Not only, then, would ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ be twisted out of its natural meaning and τέτραπται given an un-Euripidean turn by rendering 'es färbt meine wangen die röte der scham,' but even ὄμμα would be employed in its less usual sense. Moreover, τρέπειν and στρέφειν are often used absolutely (in compounds with a privative) to signify *respicere*: Soph. *O.C.* 489 f. ἀνυστα φωνῶν μηδὲ μηκύνων βοήν | ἔπειτ' ἀφέρπειν ἄστροφος (cp. Aesch. *Cho.* 99) Theocritus 24. 92 αἶψ' δὲ νέεσθαι | ἄστρεπτος. Cp. Verg. *Ecl.* 8. 102 'nec respexeris,' Ov. *Fasti.* 6. 164 'Quique sacris adsunt respicere illa vetat.'

Shame, pity, fear, love are chiefly manifested through the eye. In the first stasimon of the *Hippolytus* the chorus sings 'Ἐρως Ἐρως, ὃ κατ' ὀμμάτων | στάζειν πόθον. Love is inspired as well as betrayed by the eye. As with ἔρως so with αἰδώς. Sappho says αἰδώς κέ σ' οὐκ ἂν εἶχεν ὄμματα. To the Greek the eye was king of the organs of sense. When he looked upon an object he became sensible of it; he felt it. In Euripides *Suppliants* 190 τά τ' οἰκτρὰ γὰρ δέδορκε is equivalent to ἐλεεῖ, just as ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ ὄμμα τέτραπται = αἰσχύνῃ ἀποβλέπω = αἰσχύνομαι. Cp. 176 ff.: σοφὸν δὲ πενίαν τ' εἰσορᾶν τὸν ὄλβιον, | πηνήτ' αὖτ' εἰς τοὺς πλουσίου ἀποβλέπειν | ζηλοῦνθ', ἵν' αὐτὸν χρημάτων ἔρως ἔχῃ | τά τ' οἰκτρὰ τοὺς μὴ δυστυχεῖς δεδορκέναι | τὸν θ' ὕμνοποιόν αὐτὸς ἂν τίκῃ μέλῃ | χαίροντα τίκτειν' ἦν δὲ μὴ πάσῃ τὸδε κτέ. Here we have three synonyms of ὄραν used to designate the action of *sight* as a natural antecedent of certain *πάθη*. So Tecmessa speaks of looking on one's sufferings as being equivalent to spreading for one's self a bed of woes: τὸ γὰρ ἐσλεύσσειν οἰκεία πάθη . . . μεγάλας ὀδύνας ὑποτείνει (*Al.* 260)—she refers to Ajax, who, like Phaedra, has just recovered from an attack of madness (καὶ νῦν φρόνιμος νέον ἄλγος ἔχει)—and the chorus suggests that if their chieftain would only turn his eyes toward them he might come to himself and feel a sense of shame: τάχ' ἂν τιν' αἰδῶ κατ' ἐμοὶ βλέψας (*ipso aspectu meo*) λάβοι (345). Ὅμμα, which connoted the object, as well as the organ and the act of vision, meant much more to the Greeks than 'eye' does to us; and Euripides is not the blunderer he is represented by one of the shining lights of modern literary criticism, when he makes Hippolytus wish for a mirror that he may behold himself

and weep, τὰ ἐαυτοῦ πάθη ἐσλεύσσειν. Shame could not have possessed Phaedra's eye if she had not turned it in the direction of αἰσχύνῃ. That the ancients regarded the eye as the seat of αἰδώς there is abundant testimony. The organ by which a feeling is chiefly expressed is naturally regarded as the seat of that emotion. With αἰδώς and αἰσχύνῃ, the feelings with which Phaedra is possessed (she uses both words) the expression had become proverbial: ἡ παροιμία τὸ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶναι αἰδῶ (*Ar. Rhet.* 2. 6. 18). Cp. Suidas (s.v. αἰδώς): αἰδώς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν κεῖται, *Ar. Vesp.* 447 οὐδ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν αἰδώς, Athenaeus 13. 564 b ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἔφη τοὺς ἐραστὰς εἰς οὐδὲν ἄλλο τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἐρωμένων ἀποβλέπειν ἢ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἐν οἷς τὴν αἰδῶ κατοικεῖν, Theog. 85 οἷσιν ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ τε καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔπεισιν αἰδώς, Theocr. 27. 69 ὄμμασιν αἰδομένη Eustathius on *Il.* N 923. 18 (Gaisford) Ἀριστοτέλους γὰρ φιλοσοφώτατα παραδομένον οἰκητήριον αἰδοῦς εἶναι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. Even justice and fear and anxiety reside in the eyes: δίκη γὰρ οὐκ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς βροτῶν, ἀμφὶ δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς φόβος (*Aesch. Pers.* 168), μέγαν ὄκνον ἔχω καὶ πεφόβημαι | πτηνῆς ὡς ὄμμα πελείας (*Soph. Al.* 139 f.) ὀμμάτων φόβον (*O.C.* 729). Grief is found in the eyes: ἔλυσεν αἰνὸν ἄχος ἀπ' ὀμμάτων Ἄρης (*Soph. Al.* 706). Ellershaw cites the English expression 'my face is covered with shame' to support his interpretation; but this proves nothing. Many phrases from Shakespeare and from the Bible might be quoted to prove the opposite.

It might be argued that the translation 'change colour' harmonizes with the frequent use of κρύπτειν in this scene; but this is the modern rather than the antique feeling. Under the weight of grief, in fear, or in desperation, the ancients were wont to cover the head, ἐγκαλύψασθαι, *caput obvolvere, operire, velare*. Cp. *θ* 92 αἶψ' Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ κράτα καλυψάμενος γοάσκειν, *Soph. Al.* 245 f. ὦρα τιν' ἤδη κάρα καλύμμασι | κρυψάμενον ποδοῖν κλοπὰν ἀρέσθαι, 1145 ὑφ' εἵματος κρυφθείς, *Livy* 4. 12 'multi ex plebe capitibus obvolutis se in Tiberim praecipitaverunt', *Hor. Sat.* 2. 3. 37 'cum vellem mittere operito me capite in flumen, *Plaut. Mostell.* 2. 2. 89 'cave respexis, fuge, et operi caput,' *Sueton. Calig.* 51 'nam, qui deos tantopere contemneret, ad minima tonitrua et fulgura connivere, caput obvolvere, ad vero maiora proripere se e strato sub lectumque condere solebat.'

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