# 'BARBARIAN AMONG BARBARIANS'

# A STUDY OF EURIPIDES' *IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS*

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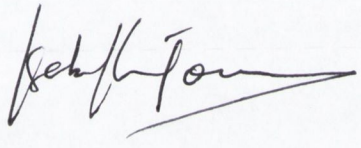
## DECLARATION

I delare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other University, and that this thesis is entirely my own work. I agree that the Library may lend or copy the thesis upon request.



## SUMMARY

This thesis is a new reading of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, and argues that, contrary to common scholarly opinion, *Iphigenia in Tauris* is a serious tragedy which engages with serious issues, and is as finely constructed as some of Euripides' better known, and better loved, plays. I have examined *IT* as an individual play on its own terms, but within the whole context of fifth century literature and ideology. Throughout this thesis, my methodology has been based primarily on close reading of the text while keeping in mind the contemporary context. I have approached the text as one written for performance, and I have always analyzed the text with performance in mind. The present study is thematic rather than seriatim, with the exception of ch. 2, which deals with the stagecraft of the play. I have used thematic textual analysis rather than that of a commentary precisely because of the value of thematic readings which non-seriatim analysis can yield. The exercise of examining *Iphigenia in Tauris* for its own sake has proved a rewarding and fruitful endeavour. Focus on this single play has allowed for the exploration of a wide and varied range of contemporary, dramatic and thematic issues, including characterization, gender roles, ethnicity (and the deconstruction of traditional polarities), religious practices and beliefs, the role of the chorus, and the intertextual relationship between *Iphigenia in Tauris* and previous plays which deal with the same mythological family. Part of this study also involves analyzing literary motifs such as katabatic missions, aetiologies, recognition scenes and systems of imagery. Each chapter argues, through performance and literary criticism, to reinforce a serious reading of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, as a fine example of a fifth century BC tragedy. As an appendix to this thesis, I include an analysis of Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris* as a reception study of the Euripidean version, since in many ways Goethe's interpretation reflects my own.

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IPHIGENIA.

# *Iphigenia*

*Edmund Kanoldt, Artist* *A. Closs, Engraver*

*IPHIGENIA soliloquizes before the Temple of Diana in Tauris:*

*"Beneath your leafy gloom, ye waving boughs*
*Of this old, shady, consecrated grove,*
*As in the goddess' silent sanctuary,*
*With the same shuddering feeling forth I step,*
*As when I trod it first, nor ever here*
*Doth my unquiet spirit feel at home.*
*Long as a higher will, to which I bow,*
*Hath kept me here concealed, still, as at first,*
*I feel myself a stranger." . . .*

*Goethe's "Iphigenia in Tauris."*

# 1. *IT and the Genre of Attic Tragedy*

It is hoped that the present work will revive interest in a relatively neglected play. But those who may be stimulated to read the play and the secondary literature which discusses it, will find that *Iphigenia in Tauris*, among other Euripidean plays, is dogged by scholarly insistence on categorizing it variously as a 'tragicomedy', 'melodrama', 'romantic comedy', and as 'non-serious'[1]. Some recently published work *does* point out the fluidity of the ancient tragic genre. Kovacs' introduction to the new Loeb translation of *IT* mentions briefly that ancient tragedy did not always end in misery[2], and Sommerstein's recent introductory survey of Greek drama and dramatists explains the various plot types which belong to the ancient tragic genre, including a 'horrific act [which] is narrowly avoided'[3]. However, Kitto's handbook on Greek tragedy, which categorizes *IT* as a 'melodrama' or 'tragicomedy' remains authoritative and continues to be reprinted[4].

The two most recent and authoritative English-langage editions of the play reinforce this categorization. Platnauer's (1938) edition, which remains the standard Oxford philological commentary, claims that 'the *Iphigenia* is not a tragedy at all'[5]. Martin Cropp's much more recent and extremely valuable (2000) edition explains the genre of the play by saying that 'its tone is ...varied by the colouring of tragedy's standard ingredients with other less 'tragic' elements. The motif of the hero's quest to a faraway land and discovery of his long-lost sister ...is more associated with romance than tragedy. The situation in which stranded Hellenes outwit primitive, isolated and threatening natives ...was much used in Attic satyr-plays. The sentimentally handled recognition ...has humorous elements which ...become stock features in New Comedy and its Roman derivatives'. A little further on, Cropp seemingly hedges his bets by admitting that we 'cannot be sure ..that the humour and sentimentality of the recognition-scene ...were not thought 'properly tragic', or that elements would have seemed like intrusions from other genres'[6].

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[1] Cf. e.g Kitto (1961) 311-29, Burnett (1971) esp. 1-17, Caldwell (1975) 34, Knox (1979) 250-74; cf. Seidensticker (1982) 199-211. Goward (1999) follows the concept of *IT* as 'non-serious' by arguing 139, that '[in *IT*] neither authorial nor narrative audience are likely to fear that fratricide is a real danger'. I argue against this, see p. 3, below, and ch. 2 *passim*. Conacher (1967), which remains the standard introductory work on Euripides also categorizes *IT* as 'romantic' (cf. Sommerstein (2002) 178 'No modern introductory work on Euripides can be recommended, though D.J. Conacher ...(1967) was good in its day').

[2] Kovacs (1999) 146.

[3] Sommerstein (2002) 18, though I cannot agree with him in the case of *IT* that 'the action ends satisfactorily for everyone'; on the consequences of the outcome of the play for Iphigenia in particular, see esp. ch. 3.1 40-44 and *passim*.

[4] Most recently in 2002, by Routledge.

[5] Platnauer (1938) v.

[6] Cropp (2000) 42.

In fact, I will argue that we *can* be sure that *Iphigenia in Tauris* was thought properly tragic within its ancient context, and that it should be regarded as a serious tragedy. Although *IT* is not technically a tragedy in the *modern* sense of the term[7], there is no question that it is a tragedy in our understanding of the *ancient* sense of the term, and since I will be examining the play within its ancient context, it is important to clarify the concept of the *ancient* tragic genre, as far as is possible. However, my reading of *IT* will show that this play is in fact not as far removed from the modern concept of tragedy as it first appears. This is clear mainly with regard to the fate of Iphigenia who, at the end of the play, is denied everything she has desired during the play, and will remain forever in a liminal state in the service of Artemis[8]. But ancient dramatic genre did not include 'tragicomedy' or 'melodrama', so it is anachronistic to apply these terms to *IT*, and it is simply wrong to treat *IT* as a 'comedy' or 'satyric'[9].

A 'death averted' scenario of the kind involved in the resolution of *IT* could be an integral part of a well-constructed fifth century BC tragedy, and there is no reason to see it as deviant from the tragic genre, nor even as transcending or confusing the boundaries between comic and tragic. In his *Poetics*, Aristotle investigates the essence and nature of good tragedy, and discusses the best kind of tragic plot. It is well noted among scholars that in chs. 13 and 14, Aristotle reaches seemingly incompatible conclusions as to which kind of tragic plot is more desirable. In the former, the best plot is one in which a moderately virtuous character falls from good fortune into bad: 1453a7-10 *ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁ μήτε ἀρετῇ διαφέρων καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ μήτε διὰ κακίαν καὶ μοχθηρίαν μεταβάλλων εἰς τὴν δυστυχίαν ἀλλὰ δι' ἁμαρτίαν τινά*. The latter describes the best kind as one in which the imminent bad fortune does not actually fulfill itself[10]: 1454a4-7 *κράτιστον δὲ τὸ τελευταῖον, λέγω δὲ οἷον ἐν τῷ Κρεσφόντῃ ἡ Μερόπη μέλλει τὸν υἱὸν ἀποκτείνειν, ἀποκτείνει δὲ οὔ, ἀλλ' ἀνεγνώρισε, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰφιγενείᾳ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τὸν ἀδελφόν*. This kind of plot will arouse the emotions of pity and fear, which are the aim of tragedy, in spite of its happy ending. The apparent inconsistency as regards the best kind of tragic plot has perplexed scholars, but it seems that Aristotle's theory of tragedy as a whole is primarily concerned with the pattern of change and reversal of fortune, rather than emphasizing an ultimate evil[11]. This analysis correlates well with the evidence of extant tragedies, some of which end in disaster, some in salvation. For our

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[7] '**tragedy:** a play dealing with tragic events and having an unhappy ending, especially one concerned with the downfall of a main character' (*The New Oxford Dictionary of English* (1998) 1965).

[8] See n.3 above and *Conclusion*.

[9] E. Segal (1995) calls *IT* a 'proto-comedy'; Burnett (1971) 71-2 argues that *IT* has satyric qualities, Sutton (1980) 184-90 argues that *IT* was pro-satyric.

[10] This is named as the second best of tragic plot in ch. 13, 1453a30-3.

[11] Cf. Halliwell (1986) 181ff., Heath (1996) xxxv.

purposes here, therefore, we should note that a disaster averted, in Aristotle's eyes, counts as the second-best kind of tragic plot, at least, if not the best[12].

But some of the confusion over genre can be traced back to Aristotle. At the end of ch. 13, after the mention of the death averted scenario, he remarks 1453a35-6 *ἔστιν δὲ οὐχ αὕτη ἀπὸ τραγῳδίας ἡδονὴ ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῆς κωμῳδίας οἰκεία*. This does *not* mean to say that Aristotle sees such plots as comic or tragicomic. The imminent disaster has evoked the tragic emotions of pity and fear, and the reconciliation provides a relief which is *not* comic, simply *more akin* to comedy. This becomes clearer in the next section of Aristotle's analysis 1453a36-9 *ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἳ ἂν ἔχθιστοι ὦσιν ἐν τῷ μύθῳ, οἷον Ὀρέστης καὶ Αἴγισθος, φίλοι γενόμενοι ἐπὶ τελευτῆς ἐξέρχονται, καὶ ἀποθνήσκει οὐδεὶς ὑπ' οὐδενός*. It becomes obvious here that the idea of the reconciliation, and nothing more, is what Aristotle associates with comedy. In tragedy, this reconciliation takes place between *φίλοι*, who had been ignorant of each other's identity. This is a far cry from the comic example of Orestes and Aegisthus, the arch *ἐχθροί*, becoming friends (and Aegisthus is a figure to whom I shall return)[13].

*Iphigenia in Tauris*, apart from *OT,* is the play most mentioned by Aristotle in his *Poetics*. However, it has been claimed that there is no real danger involved in the build-up to the recognition scene and that the intrigue and deception of the barbarians in the second part of the play are too humorous to belong to the realm of tragedy. But I will argue throughout my analysis that various factors do conspire to make fratricide a very real possibility for over half of the play. These include: the fact that Iphigenia believes her brother to be dead, the sense of danger created during Orestes' first entrance, Iphigenia's anger and grief which make her harden her heart against the 'strangers', and perhaps most significantly, the stage setting which is inhospitable and bloody and bears witness to the fact that Iphigenia has consecrated human victims for slaughter before.

Even after the recognition scene, danger is ever-present. We experience momentary relief as the fratricide is averted, but we are once again placed in a situation of anxiety as we await the success or failure of the escape plan. Indeed, Euripides will make us wait until the final 60 lines and the entry of Athena as *dea ex machina* to allay our fears and ensure the safety of the fugitives. For, as we hear in the messenger speech, even as the Greeks were

[12]On Aristotle's interpretation of *IT*, see further Belfiore (1992) who shows how, 360, 'on an Aristotelian reading...the *IT* is a better-constructed, more serious, and more "tragic" play than modern scholars often believe'.

[13]Even the wedding between Hermione and Orestes arranged at the end of E. *Or.*, though Orestes had been on the point of killing Hermione, is not comic. Rather it reinforces the continued polluted state of the *oikos*, and emphasizes the madness and bloodlust of Orestes in his desire to murder his cousin; cf. Gregory's (2000) argument that apparently 'comic' motifs in tragedy must be examined within each individual play, and in the examples she analyzes, (74) 'their seriousness is vouched for by some combination of language, context and intertext'.

fighting off Thoas' men and boarding their ship, they are driven back to land by the surf (1394-7). This once more shows the danger and real risks involved in the deception and intrigue. The atmosphere of danger and threat created by Euripides throughout the play entails that any laughter or humour evoked by situations or specific lines will be underpinned by a feeling of unease and anxiety, which is very different from the humour evoked by comedy.

One example of a potentially "funny" line from *IT* occurs during Iphigenia's deception of Thoas. She explains that she must take Orestes and Pylades to the sea-shore to purify them for they are tainted with the pollution of matricide, using Orestes' matricide to their advantage. She claims that Pylades is his brother and that they committed the crime together. Thoas is appalled and exclaims 'By Apollo, not even among barbarians would someone dare such a thing' (1174)[14]. Thoas' shock is appropriate to the magnitude of the crime. If any laughter is evoked by this line, it is uneasy and uncomfortable in the knowledge that the comment of the barbarian king Thoas highlights the barbarity of the Greeks, and his invocation of the Greek god Apollo further reminds the audience of that god's condoning of this crime[15].

The claim that *IT* is like a satyr-play or pro-satyric should also be dismissed. In his introduction to Euripides' *Cyclops*, the only surviving satyr-play, Seaford examines the distinctive themes of satyr-plays, and lists them as follows: the captivity, servitude and liberation of the satyrs, marvellous inventions and creations (including: musical instruments, other artefacts, fire, negative creations, wine, fertility), emergence from the underworld, the care of divine or heroic infants, sex, and athletics[16]. The only theme which we can associate with *IT* is emergence from the Taurian land as a kind of Underworld[17]. In this vein, are we to identify *Medea* with satyr-plays because of Medea's negative creations through her powerful magic devices and the sexual overtones of the play? Similarly, wine and sex, and the invention of a new cult are central elements of *Bacchae*. Yet these are two of Euripides' two most famous tragedies, admired in the modern sense of the term 'tragedy'[18]. Surely the

[14]In spite of problems with the untranslatability of laughter from language to language and culture to culture, I was most gratified that not a single person in the substantial audience laughed when I delivered this line in a conference paper at the Classical Association in Edinburgh (2002). That paper forms the basis for this chapter. On laughter in Greek culture, see Halliwell (1991) who argues for a case-by-case study because individual instances of laughter are so various and complex; this is also discussed by Gregory (2000) 62.

[15]On the conflation of Greek and barbarian in *IT*, see ch. 5.1.

[16]Seaford (1984) 33-44.

[17]On the land of the Taurians as a kind of Underworld, see ch. 3.2.

[18]This argument, I have realized, is very similar to that of Sansone (1978), which came to my attention after I had formulated this suggestion. His article 'The *Bacchae* as Satyr-Play?' takes Burnett (1971) to task on her analysis of Euripidean plays (including *IT*) which, she claims, contain satyr-play 'motifs', by showing

most basic component of a satyr play is the chorus of satyrs themselves, and any play which does not have a chorus of satyrs, is *not* satyric in type.

Finally, we should note that to categorize Euripidean plays as 'comedies' is to read history backwards. There is no doubt that New Comedy is greatly indebted to techniques employed by Euripides, techniques such as mistaken identities and recognition scenes which Euripides exploits to tragic effect in Aristotelian terms, but techniques which also have the potential to be used for comic purposes[19]. However, chronologically, one simply cannot read New Comedy back into Euripidean tragedy. Euripides was notably criticised and ridiculed in Aristophanic plays for many things in his own life-time: for dressing his characters in rags, for his strange prologue speeches, for the poor quality of his lyrics, but never for importing material belonging to the realm of Attic comedy onto his tragic stage.

The verb εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζειν has been misused in an attempt to construe Euripides' *IT* and other plays as 'tragicomic' or 'comic', when in fact the term seems to have been coined to describe Aristophanes' parodies of Euripides[20]. Barnes also treats *IT* as a tragicomedy, and she analyzes such plays as different from tragedies in the following way: 'we are left with ambivalent feelings, aware that we cannot quite sum it all up, either intellectually or emotionally, in any clear statement or attitude'[21]. But ambivalent feelings in Euripides are not something surprising, as illustrated by Von Fritz' perceptive remark on 'the divisive discord which Euripides struck in *nearly all of his plays* and which, in many of them, is also expressed in the blatant discrepancy between the action and the apparently happy ending'[22].

In modern terms Euripides' *IT* could be called tragicomic. Mastronarde argues sensitively that modern 'terminology of genres', which includes the terms 'tragicomic' and 'melodramatic', 'is useful as a heuristic device, for the help it gives us in differentiating various tones and emotional effects' in Euripides[23]. But such a position of interpretation, reading literature backwards through genres that did not exist at the time of original composition, can only be arrived at *after* an analysis of the play within its *original context*. Once aware of the context, one can avoid the pitfalls of anachronistic interpretation, and as

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that precisely the qualities she names as 'satyric' are in fact equally applicable to an analysis of the *Bacchae*, which no one has ever suggested is not a 'proper' tragedy. Sansone argues his point in much greater detail than I have, and I direct the reader to his article.

[19]On New Comedy's debt to tragedy, see Hunter (1985)114-36.

[20]The term is misused by E. Segal (1995) 46ff., as also noted by Gregory (2000) 60 n.8, who also discusses the real meaning of the term.

[21]Barnes (1965) 131.

[22]Von Fritz (1932) 316.

[23]Mastronarde (2000) 38.

composition, can only be arrived at *after* an analysis of the play within its *original context*. Once aware of the context, one can avoid the pitfalls of anachronistic interpretation, and as Mastronarde suggests, we can use modern terms as heuristic devices[24]. It is the purpose of this thesis to examine *IT* within its original *tragic* context, though we should note with Mastronarde, that various contemporary genres also contribute to our understanding of the ancient tragic genre (e.g. epic and lyric poetry)[25]. However, tragedy and comedy remained two very separate art forms in the ancient world, both in subject matter, costume and diction[26]. The stark divide between the two genres, and here, I finally return to the figure of Aegisthus, is exemplified by the early 4th century Choregoi vase (below[27]). In this depiction, Aegisthus has stumbled out of the tragic world and onto the comic stage. We see the striking contrast between his tragic costume and mask and the paunch, phallus and grotesque face of each of the comic actors he has interrupted. Tragedy and comedy were two separate spheres, and if the discussion led by Socrates at the end of Plato's *Symposium* (223d) concludes that one and the same poet *ought* to be able to compose both comic and tragic verse, this simply highlights the fact that they did not. Euripides does not abandon or corrupt a fixed genre, he explores the potentialities of a *living* one[28].

[24]Goethe's *Iphigenie*, discussed in the Appendix, is a 'Schauspiel' rather than a modern tragedy, but the play does have Aristotelian tragic features, see Appendix n.3.

[25]Mastronarde (2000) 33-4.

[26]See Taplin (1986) on the distinctions between tragedy and comedy in the fifth century; cf. Mastronarde (2000) 28 on the comic actor and tragic actor as distinct.

[27]Image copied from Taplin (1993) Plate 9.1; for further discussion of this image, see Taplin (1993) 55-63.

[28]This concluding sentence is a paraphrase of a point made by Mastronarde (2000) 34.

# 2. *Stagecraft*

The production of ancient tragedy is an area which has only in recent decades received the scholarly attention it deserves[1]. No stage directions survive for ancient plays, and like all studies of ancient stagecraft, this chapter will rely on close examination of the text to re-establish as much as possible of the performance of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* in an original context[2]. Goldhill uses the problematic 'miracle-scene' from Euripides' *Bacchae* to stress the ambiguity of the tragic text which, he argues, is necessarily at odds with a single fixed performance. He asks 'Is not a performance necessarily only a selection from among the plural potentialities of the text?'[3]. The answer, of course, is 'yes', but for all the ambiguities, there are also many certainties of staging which are retrievable from the text. My analysis of the stagecraft of *IT* is not intended as a recreation of the first production, which is irretrievable. Rather I have sought to visualize the staging as it is suggested by the text. Some avenues of investigation have had to be left open to a plurality of possibilities, but this does not detract from the value of the exercise, which assists us in understanding the tragic text by remembering that it is designed primarily for *performance*. Indeed, Goldhill himself has acknowledged that, if it avoids 'critics saying how they would direct plays, or the mere listing of entrances and exits', 'stagecraft criticism can explore the conventions and possibilities of staging to illumine the nature of theatrical representation and its production of meaning'[4]. This has been the aim of the present chapter.

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[1] Cf. Taplin (1977) on Aeschylean stagecraft, and Taplin (1978) which emphasizes performance in Greek tragedy more generally, Seale (1982) on Sophocles, Halleran (1985) on Euripides, though the earlier work on production in Euripides by Hourmouziades (1965) remains authoritative. Two recent studies of specific Euripidean plays devote considerable space to discussion of stagecraft: Mossman (1999) 48-68 on *Hecuba*, Allan (2000) 40-85 on *Andromache*. For a general overview of tragic performance in the fifth century BC, see Easterling (1997c).

[2] On stage directions as implicit in Greek tragic texts, see Taplin (1977a).

[3] Goldhill (1986) 282.

[4] Goldhill (1997) 339.

## 2.1 Setting and *skene*[5]

*Iphigenia in Tauris* is set in the land of the Τα*ύροι*, as we are told (30) in the customary Euripidean prologue speech[6]. The Taurians live in the Tauric Chersonese which lies on the north coast of the Black Sea, between Chersonesus and Theodosia, in the Crimea on the southern tip of modern-day Ukraine (see map p.14). In ancient mythology, the area of the Black Sea is one of the outermost reaches of the world, a terrifying and remote place, inhabited by fierce creatures such as Amazons, traditionally associated with the city of Themiscyra in Pontic Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey), and Colchians (most famously the barbarian sorceress Medea) who traditionally flayed alive the foreigners who landed on their shores[7]. Similarly we are told by Iphigenia at 38-39 *θύω γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ νόμου καὶ πρὶν πόλει,*| *ὃς ἂν κατέλθῃ τήνδε γῆν Ἕλλην ἀνήρ*[8], and it is on the shore that the temple which serves as the main backdrop for the play is located. This is made very explicit at the end of the play when, as Iphigenia explains that she must conduct a purification ceremony in the sea, Thoas asks (1196) *οὔκουν πρὸς αὐτὸν ναὸν ἐκπίπτει κλύδων;* In order to set the escape plan into motion, Iphigenia must then plead the necessity for an isolated place (1197). The setting of plays on the shore is not uncommon in Greek tragedy[9], and in this context, we should take

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[5] I assume throughout my treatment of the play that the actors performed on a low raised platform, connected by means of steps to the orchestra below, where the chorus sang and danced their odes. Whether or not there was a raised stage in the theatre when all the great tragedies were originally produced is a vexed question. Down to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, scholars never doubted that there was a raised stage. However in the last century, Pickard-Cambridge (1946) 69-74 was influential in arguing that there was no raised stage, basing his hypothesis on lack of archaeological evidence; more recently, Wiles (1997) 63-66 has taken up this view. However, Hourmouziades (1965) 58-74 argues persuasively for a low raised stage (cf. also P. Arnott (1962) 28-40), and as noted by Taplin (1977) 441 'we cannot rule out a low stage made of wood and, say, one metre high [with] several low steps'. Even Pickard-Cambridge (1946) had conceded (68) that 'in some plays at least, broad steps in front of the building seem to be required'. In the case of *IT* a raised stage seems to be indicated by the setting of a temple, which was normally approached by a flight of steps. In Eastern Greece, the temple altar was also approached by broad flights of steps (see Boardman (1996) 82).

[6] In contrast to Aeschylus and Sophocles, whose prologue speeches give us immediate context for the action, Euripides tended to open with explanatory prologues which deal with the events leading up to the current situation he wishes to present and often, as in *IT*, included a genealogy; see Erbse (1984) 1-6.

[7] Braund (1994) 38

[8] The text of 38-41 is problematic and several excisions have been suggested. 38-9 are excised by Platnauer (1938) and Diggle (1981), who also excises 41 (for a defence of this excision, see Diggle (1981a) 75-6); 38 and 41 are excised by Kovacs (1999); Sansone (1981) retains the whole passage (see Sansone (1978a) for a defence of this reading). Strohm (1949) and Cropp (2000) retain 38-9 and delete 40-1 as an explanatory interpolation. This last reading is the most persuasive in my view, and this is how I have read the play. As argued by Cropp *ad loc* '38-9 are needed because Iphigenia's essential duty (sacrificing strangers) needs to be stated now in preparation for the narrative at 53-8 (n.b. 53 'this stranger-killing duty which I have')'. However, the information given at 40-1, that Iphigenia consecrates while others slaughter, as Cropp argues, is 'not properly connected to what precedes'. It 'will only become important at 620-4 and is better concealed until then so that the prospect of Iphigenia killing her brother with her own hand can remain effective'.

[9] Cf. S. *Ajax, Phil.*, E. *Hec., Hel., IA;* and cf. *Phaeth.* where the scene is the palace of Merops, King of Ethiopia, i.e. the eastern edge of the world which is bounded by the river Oceanus.

note of recent work on contemporary cultural significances of the shoreline. It seems that the ancients regarded the sea as a connecting force rather than associating it with separation and division, as we do today[10]. This very means of communication afforded by the sea provides a context for contemporary interpretation of Euripides' depiction of the Taurians. We know, for example, that there were Greek colonies in this area of the Crimea at least from the sixth century BC[11] and that this century also saw Black Sea fisheries gaining major economic importance from the development of salt-pickling plants for preservation[12]. Pericles is reported to have embarked on a Pontic expedition, sailing around the Black Sea in a display of might, probably around 436/5 BC[13]. With the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 BC, the Black Sea was to prove an invaluable source of food and money. It is impossible to say whether Euripides himself had visited areas of the Black Sea, though it seems likely that he did not[14]. Certainly *IT* gives no real suggestions that Euripides had first-hand knowledge of local topography, but he would not have needed to go there to procure such information, since there was definite interaction between this Black Sea area and mainland Greece during Euripides' lifetime. The land of the Taurians, as it is presented in the play, however, is set in the mythic past, and is still very much remote, inaccessible, marginal and pastoral[15]. It is on the ἄξεινος πόντος (as referred to at 124-5, 218, 253, 341, 395, 438, 1388; cf. 94 γῆν ἄξενον) rather than the εὔξεινος πόντος, a common fifth-century euphemism for the Black Sea[16]. This reflects the ambiguity of the Greek concept of the sea.

[10]See esp. Hordern and Purcell (2000) who show how this theory of connectivity explains many episodes in Mediterranean colonial history, stating, 396, that 'the sea contributes more than just a line of communication with home. It also supports a framework within which labour may be supplied, and the product of the settlers' efforts redistributed'.

[11]The two main settlements founded in the Tauric Chersonese were Panticapaeum in the east (an important source of corn for Athens; see Bury and Meiggs (1978) 239) and Heraclea or Chersonesus in the west.

[12]Hordern and Purcell (2000) 196, who base their discussion on both literary and archaeological sources.

[13]See Braund (1994) 124-5.

[14]Euripides did spend the end of his life in Macedonia but cf. Armayor (1978) who argues that even Herodotus did not ever go to the Black Sea, though the Periclean expedition proves the fact that travel to this area was very much a possibility at the time.

[15]Pastoralism, represented in *IT* by the Herdsman and his fellow cattle-herders described in his messenger-speech (260ff.), is one of the typical resources of the marginal landscape; see Peatfield (1994) 21; cf. also the theory put forward by de Polignac (1984) esp. ch. 2 which explains the emergence of sanctuaries situated in marginal or border regions (such as the temple in *IT*) in terms of their function of cementing relations between town and country; on the Taurian community presented as a *polis*, see ch. 5.1, 97-8.

The actual geographical topography of the Tauric Chersonese is also noteworthy. It is a shoreline which comes at the base of a mountainous part of the Crimean peninsula, starkly different from the surrounding flatlands; cf. Buxton (1994) 82, on the prime importance of pasturage in an *oros* ('a height outside inhabited and cultivated space'). Topography thus reinforces marginality. Although *IT* makes no mention of surrounding mountains, this feature of the land of the Tauri was noted by Herodotus 4.99, and must have been known to contemporaries through trade and expeditions such as Pericles'.

[16]Braund (1994) 38 suggests that the name 'Euxeinos' or 'Euxine' came about through an attempt to legitimate and glorify Greek presence in the Black Sea; but see also Bury and Meiggs (1978) 71-2, who explain the name 'in accordance with a habit of the Greeks to seek to propitiate adverse powers by pleasant

On the one hand a positive force, it could also be treacherous and savage, as is implied by *IT* 1394-7, where it is reported how a sudden swell prevents the launch of the ship: *δεινὸς γὰρ ἐλθὼν ἄνεμος ἐξαίφνης νεὼς| ὠθεῖ πάλιμπρυμν' ἱστί'· οἱ δ' ἐκρατέρουν| πρὸς κῦμα λακτίζοντες· ἐς δὲ γῆν πάλιν| κλύδων παλίρρους ἦγε ναῦν.* The ambiguity of the sea is reflected in myth, which includes accounts of the sea as an agent of salvation[17]. Contemporary communication and exhange between Athens and the *εὔξεινος πόντος* serves to contextualise the undercurrent tension between Greek and barbarian on the *ἄξεινος πόντος* which permeates the play, and assists Euripides in deconstructing traditional polarizations[18].

In spite of the alien setting, the temple building itself is represented as Doric in style[19]. It has *ἀμφίβλητρα...τοίχων...| ὑψηλά* (96-7) and the *πύλας* (100) have *χαλκότευκτα κλῆθρα* which Orestes considers *λύσαντες μοχλοῖς* (99; cf. 1286: *εὐγόμφους πύλας*). The façade is decorated with triglyphs (113), which Pylades contemplates[20]. The chorus sing of *εὐστύλων| ναῶν χρυσήρεις θριγκούς* (128-9; cf. 405-6: *περικίονας| ναοὺς*). Bacon comments that most of the terms applied to the Taurian temple are the same as those applied to the temple of Apollo at Delphi in *Ion*[21], the only other temple façade to be described in any detail in extant tragedy[22]. In fact, however, the Delphic temple is strikingly different. It is described as having a 'twin façade' (188-9 *διδύμων προσώ-|πων*), which is odd, and may simply refer to the east and west façades, only one of which is evident on stage, or it could refer to the temple of Apollo, and the off-stage temple of Athena[23]. In any case it does not clearly indicate a difference in appearance to the temple in *IT*. More significantly, however, the gates of the Delphic temple are described as having *ῥόπτρα* in contrast to the 'bronze-wrought bars' of the temple in *IT*. At *Ion* 1612-3, Creusa exclaims *νῦν δὲ ῥόπτρων χέρας| ἡδέως ἐκκριμνάμεσθα καὶ προσεννέπω πύλας*. The ring knocker on a temple door was usually clung to in supplication, though in this case, Creusa hangs onto it through delight at

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names' and 239 on Pericles' Euxine expedition aiming to impress. Like the propitious name 'Euxeinos', the Furies (Erinyes) were often called 'Eumenides' (the kindly ones); on the title of A. *Eum.* see Sommerstein (1989) 11-12.

[17]See Buxton (1994) 97-104, who notes (101) the story of the recovery of Perseus and his mother Danae cast adrift in a chest (Paus. 10.19.3, Call. fr. 197); but cf. the myth surrounding the salvation of Thoas from death in Lemnos and his arrival in the land of the Tauri, discussed p. 102n.61.

[18]See ch. 5.1.

[19]Cf. Hall (1989) 182 'the Taurians' temple in *IT* seems to have been constructed on purely Doric lines'.

[20]113-4 actually reads †*ὅρα δέ γ' εἴσω τριγλύφων ὅποι κενὸν| δέμας καθεῖναι*†. On the implications of this rather bizarre suggestion, with 'inside the triglyphs' generally taken to mean 'inside the temple' see Cropp (2000) *ad loc*, and see Sansone (1976) for further discussion of the textual problems here; triglyphs seem to be incorporated into *skenographia* by Euripides at *Ba.*1214, *Or.*1372.

[21]Bacon (1961) 132.

[22]Temples serve as a backdrop for the first part of A. *Eum.* and for all of E. *Hik.*.

[23]These are two of the suggestions listed by Owen (1939) *ad loc*; another possibility is a reference to statues.

the positive resolution of events[24]. It is also a gesture of deference to the superior power of the gods at the end of the play. The temple of Apollo is a place for consultation of the oracle and the Priestess who interprets it, and it makes sense that there should be knockers on the doors. However, the possibility of consultation and supplication creates a strong contrast to the 'well-bolted gates' and 'bronze-wrought bars' of the temple in *IT* where there is no recourse to supplication. The temple of Artemis is a threatening and unwelcoming presence in a place from which there is no escape. The coping stones of the temple are also mentioned in *Ion*, but although the temple is described as golden, the coping stones themselves are not said to be gilded as in *IT*[25]. The only other reference made to the physical appearance of the temple building in *Ion* is that it is εὐκίων (185)[26]. This is comparable to the εὔστυλος of *IT* 128. The Taurian temple is also περικίων (405), but most Greek temples were peripteral, certainly the temple of Apollo at Delphi was. Although both descriptions adhere to the Greek style of temple, the significant difference between them reflects their very different functions. In *IT*, the temple-building is described in more detail because it is a much stronger focus for audience attention and a much greater proportion of the stage action is centered around the doorway. It is used for exits and entrances more than twice as often as in *Ion*[27], and represents the ominous threat of the inauspicious rites that are carried out inside as part of temple worship. There is no such threat inspired by the stage-building in *Ion*.

Apart from the temple-building, there is one constant prop present throughout the play. This is the sacrificial altar which must lie on stage right outside the central temple door[28]. Although altars are the most common prop in Greek tragedy, nowhere is one so strikingly exploited as here. Like the temple door, an altar in Greek tragedy usually marks off a place of supplication[29], but the blood-stained altar in *IT* visually represents all the goriness of Artemis' cult of human sacrifice[30]. In the first stasimon, the chorus sing (403-6)

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[24]See Owen (1939) *ad loc.*, who notes that in Hdt. 6.91, a fugitive clings to a temple door-knocker until his hands are cut off.

[25]At *Ion* 156-7, the chorus sing αὐδῶ μὴ χρίμπτειν θριγκοῖς| μηδ' ἐς χρυσήρεις οἴκους.

[26]There is a passing remark made to the temple gates at 515, and two references to coping stones (172, 1321).

[27]The *skene* is used seven times in *Ion* at 82, 183, 219, 424, 516, 1319, 1368, while it is used sixteen times in *IT* at 1, 66, 137, 392, 455, 470, 638, 642, 724, 726, 1089, 1156, 1205, 1222, 1233, 1307; all these instances in *IT* will be discussed in more detail during the course of this chapter.

[28]Altars normally stood to the east outside the temple (see Boardman (1996) 82), which would be stage right in the Theatre of Dionysus.

[29]Altars are used as places of refuge in A. *Hik.*, S. *OT*, E. *Her.*, *Hcld.*, *Hik.*; cf. Thetis' shrine in *Andr.*, and Proteus' tomb in *Hel.*

[30]Cf. Burkert (1985) 59 'The asylum of the altar stands in polar relation to the shedding of blood; the shedding of human blood constitutes the most extreme, yet dangerously similar contrast to the pious work'. Blome (1998) examines how the altar is used as a *locus* for horrific acts in iconography, which ties in with

of coming to this ἄμεικτον αἶαν, ἔνθα κούρα| Δίᾳ τέγγει| βωμοὺς καὶ περικίονας| ναοὺς αἵμα βρότειον. The reference to a blood-stained altar recalls the exchange between Orestes and Pylades in the second half of the prologue (72-3) Ορ. καὶ βωμός, Ἕλλην οὗ καταστάζει φόνος;| Πυ. ἐξ αἱμάτων γοῦν ξάνθ' ἔχει τριχώματα. These two passages strongly suggest that blood was represented on the altar in some way by means of red paint or fabric which would have created great dramatic effect and impact from a distance[31]. That the altar is smeared with blood reflects common Greek religious practice whereby the blood of a large sacrificial victim (too large to be held over the altar) was caught in a vessel and then smeared onto the top and sides of the altar[32]. By implication it also suggests that the male human victims sacrificed by the female are too large to be held aloft, unlike Iphigenia's experience where she was held high over the altar as she was sacrificed by males[33]. The reference by the chorus to the temples being drenched with blood, as well as the altars, is problematic. A definite contrast between temple and altar has been constructed earlier in the play. The θριγκούς of the temple are said to be χρυσήρεις (129), but the altar is stained with blood. The chorus (403-6) must mean that the temple is stained with blood by implication rather than in actual fact.

The description of the altar has troubled critics. The manuscript reading of τριχώματα in line 73 has been emended by recent editors to θριγκώματα[34]. But the original reading 'heads of hair'[35] makes much better sense than 'coping stones', which are mentioned again in the next line. It was known that the Scythians scalped their enemies, and that the Taurians lived in Scythia[36]. As I understand this passage, the blond hair mentioned represents the scalps of sacrificial victims which have been affixed to the covering stone of the altar as trophies, in the same way as animal skulls and war booty were displayed on altars and temples in Greek ritual practice[37]. This is implied by 74-5 Ορ. θριγκοῖς δ' ὕπ' αὐτοῖς

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the use of the sacrificial altar in *IT*.

[31]Cf. the use of the colour red in the *Oresteia*: the red draperies, and blood-covered Clytemnestra in *Ag.*, the bloody net and the bloody Orestes in *Cho.*, and with a very different, positive, effect, the red metic robes bestowed upon the Furies in *Eum.*; the image of 'dripping' blood also recalls the *Oresteia*, on this see ch. 7.1, 179-80.

[32]See Burkert (1983) 5 and (1985) 59; for vase paintings showing smears of blood on the sides of altars, see fig. 2 in Marinatos (1988) and fig. 7 in van Straten (1988).

[33]On Iphigenia's sacrifice see ch. 6.1; on gender relations in this play see ch. 5.2. On my reading of the play, the audience is led to believe for the first half of the play that Iphigenia actively performs human sacrifice, see p. 8n.8.

[34]Emended by Cropp (2000), Kovacs (1999), Diggle (1981), Grégoire (1950).

[35]Retained by Sansone (1981), Strohm (1949) and Platnauer (1938).

[36]For Scythians as scalpers, see Hdt. 4.64 and Hartog (1988) 159, for Taurians living in Scythia see Hdt. 4.99.

[37]See Burkert (1983) 6 and n.26 and (1985) 92 and 372 n.93; cf. E. *El.* 6-7 (also noted by Cropp (2000) *ad* 74).

σκῦλ' ὁρᾷς ἠρτημένα; Πυ. τῶν κατθανόντων γ' ἀκροθίνια ξένων. It has generally been thought that the trophies mentioned are human skulls[38]. It is a strong possibility, but scalps seem to fit the context quite well, and their presence may be supported by the bizarre occurrence in Iphigenia's dream, which she has just explained[39]. At 50ff., Iphigenia says that she dreamed there was only one pillar of her house in Argos remaining, and that it grew blond hair from the top (51-2 ἐκ δ' ἐπικράνων κόμας| ξανθὰς καθεῖναι) which she sprinkled with lustral water in consecration for slaughter. If the scalped hair of victims is displayed on the altar, this lends added significance to Iphigenia's dream. This hair, which is the only physical human attribute of the pillar (though it does speak 52), will become the last visual reminder of human existence after death through the cult of Artemis.

It is possible that both scalps and human skulls were displayed[40]. The only source which tells us that the Taurians fixed impaled heads on temple walls is late[41]. The decapitation and impalement described by Herodotus (4.103) is reflected in Thoas' rage towards the end of the play when he orders his men to chase the fugitives, so that (1429-30) ἢ κατὰ στύφλου πέτρας| ῥίψωμεν ἢ σκόλοψι πήξωμεν δέμας; No heads or skulls are specifically mentioned, though. Whether the trophies are scalps or skulls, one thing is clear, the set of *IT* is fit to strike terror into the heart of an audience. There is clear evidence that humans are slaughtered here as part of religious worship. The temple is a stronghold, well-wrought, and well-bolted, a powerfully inhospitable and foreboding setting. All the elements of the set reflect some aspect of Greek ritual practice, smearing the altar with the blood of a sacrificial victim, displaying trophies, and the architectural features of the temple. Yet each of these is more extreme than common Greek practice in a strongly negative way. The set shows familiar Greek ritual practice pushed to a barbaric extreme[42].

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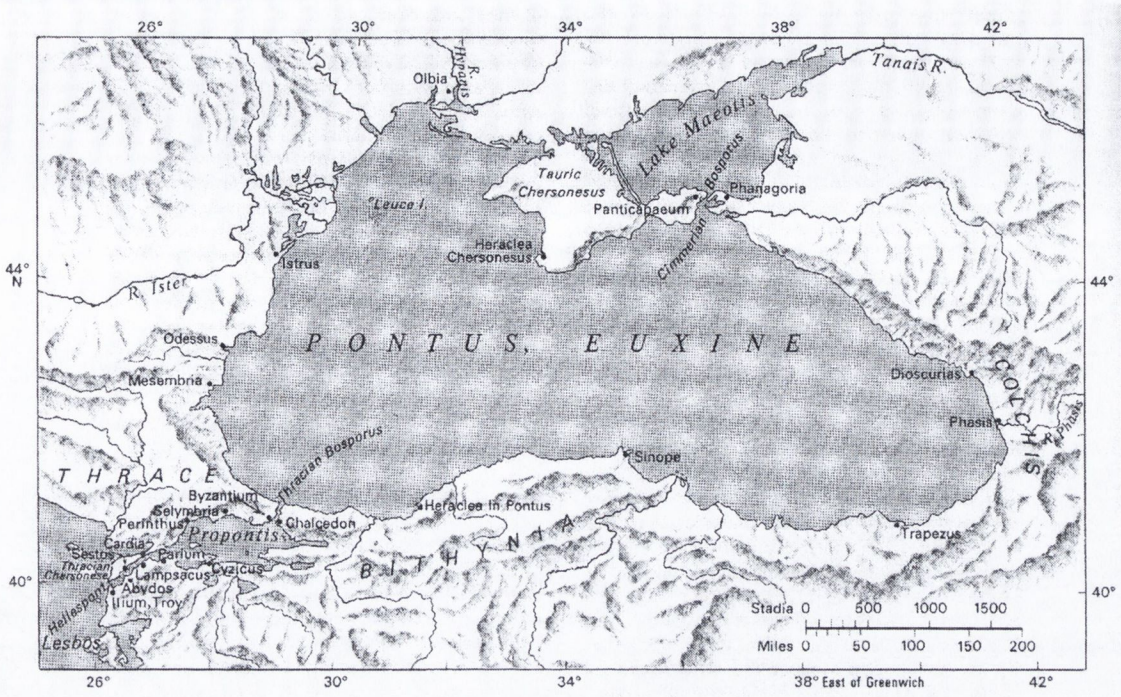
[38]O'Brien (1988) discusses this possibility in the context of the Oenomaus myth and Herodotus' references to Taurian practices of impaling heads of victims, concluding, 106, that 'it seems almost certain that these words [i.e. 74-5] refer to a display of severed heads'; Hourmouziades (1965) 52-3 retains the manuscript reading of τριχώματα but identifies the copings as belonging to the temple, and the trophies as being severed heads which he suggests are depicted by a row of masks are fixed to the temple, not the altar. However, as noted by Cropp (2000) *ad* 73, the temple was last mentioned at 69, and the 'copings' more naturally refer to the altar; also, the coping stones of the temple are specifically 'gilded' at 129. Cropp (2000) *ad* 75 also believes that trophies are the 'heads of human victims'.

[39]Hourmouziades (1965) 52 notes this parallel but offers no further analysis.

[40]Hartog (1988) 159 notes that scalping and decapitation often go together (cf. Strabo 11.14.14). In Diod. 5.29.4-5, ἀκροθίνια are heads of enemy victims, and cf. *IT* 459 where the sacrifical victims Orestes and Pylades are called τὰ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ἀκροθίνια; on decapitation and impalement, see further ch. 5.1, 116-18.

[41]Amm. Marc. 22.8.33.

[42]Some Greek mythological figures have been associated with building temples from human skulls, but the dedicatees of these remain either unnamed or debated. Cycnus, known in this connection from *LSG* Stesichorus fr. 207 dedicates his either to Apollo as an insult, or to his father Ares, or to Fear (see Dawe (1972)); Antaeus dedicates his to his father Poseidon, according to Pindar *Is.* 4.71f., see Janko (1986), 48ff.; noteworthy in the context of the Tantalid house is the myth that prior to Pelops winning Hippodameia's hand, her father Oenomaus beheaded all the suitors who had failed and decorated his palace with their




*The Black Sea*

(copied from Bury and Meiggs (1978) 72)

## 2.2 The Action

**1:** enter Iphigenia, from the temple ?alone[43]. The key distinguishes her as a priestess, but the fact that she comes out of the temple, and explains her position as priestess make her situation very clear. Iphigenia is called *κληδοῦχος* (131) and therefore priestess in the land of the Taurians, just as Athena prescribes she will be at the cult in Brauron (1463). Similarly she is called *πυλωρός* (1153, 1227)[44]. The overwhelming sense which pervades our first encounter with Iphigenia is one of extreme isolation[45]. Her opening words Πέλοψ ὁ Ταντάλειος (1) emphasize her genealogy and therefore her Greek identity. This identity, again, is reinforced by Iphigenia's account of her sacrifice by Greeks and the role of the Greek goddess Artemis, first mentioned in connection with Aulis 8-9 ἔσφαξεν Ἑλένης

heads, see O'Brien (1988).

[43]Although there is no use of attendants in this section of the play, characters of high status are always attended in tragedy except in special circumstances, see Taplin (1977) 79-80. However, since Iphigenia herself delivers the prologue speech, which is often delivered by a divinity or a servant in tragedy, figures who are not normally attended, is it possible that Iphigenia is unattended here? This would certainly emphasize her isolation, though Iphigenia *is* attended when she reappears in the *parodos* to pour libations for her brother.

[44]In art, Iphigenia (in Tauris) is depicted without fail holding the Z shaped key typical of the early Greek form of lock. Although we must beware of reading art as representing specific scenes from tragedy (see Taplin (1993) 21-29), the iconographic evidence in this case does reinforce the general portrayal of Iphigenia in the play.

[45]Garland (1990) 77, notes: 'the most striking feature of Athenian priests and priestesses is their isolation'.

οὕνεχ', ὡς δοκεῖ, πατὴρ| Ἀρτέμιδι κλειναῖς ἐν πτυχαῖσιν Αὐλίδος. We first learn at 29ff. that the temple is sacred to Artemis. In this way, the Greek style temple and its Greek dedicatee Artemis highlight the identity of Iphigenia herself, and contrast with the sacrificial altar destined for barbaric sacrifices. Straight after recounting the story of her own sacrifice to a Greek goddess at her own Greek father's hands, Iphigenia explains the savage and barbaric ritual of human sacrifice over which she presides. Her opening speech thus consolidates the physical tension represented on stage by the temple-building and the altar, that is, the tension between Greek and barbarian that runs uncomfortably through the whole play[46].

The dramatic motivation for Iphigenia's stage entrance becomes explicit at 42-3 when she states ἃ καινὰ δ'ἦκει νὺξ φέρουσα φάσματα| λέξω πρὸς αἰθέρ'. Her interpretation of the dream as signalling her brother's death also motivates her stage exit at 66, when she goes back into the temple ἀδελφῳ...δοῦναι χοὰς (61). The building itself is significant in that it functions dramatically both as the sanctuary of the goddess and as the home of Iphigenia. This is made clear by Iphigenia at 65-6 εἶμ' ἔσω δόμων| ἐν οἷσι ναίω τῶνδ' ἀνακτόρων θεᾶς. That a stage building should have such a double function is striking[47], given that priestly dwelling inside the temple is the exception[48]. This emphasizes Iphigenia's close bond to Artemis, and the reality of her isolation and exiled plight- she has no real home, and no family, (as she laments at 220 describing herself as ἄγαμος ἄτεκνος ἄπολις ἄφιλος), but lives permanently in her role as priestess to Artemis[49]. Before she departs, Iphigenia mentions her servants who are Ἑλληνίδας γυναῖκας, again reinforcing her Greek identity, ἀλλ'ἐξ αἰτίας| οὔπω τινὸς πάρεισιν (64-5). This leads us to expect the entry of the chorus. Iphigenia must close the doors of the temple behind her on exiting back into it for Orestes' words at 100-102 to make sense. He concludes ἢν δ' ἀνοίγοντες πύλας| ληφθῶμεν ἐσβάσεις τε μηχανώμενοι,| θανούμεθ'. It is therefore clear that Orestes and Pylades are faced with a temple whose doors have been firmly bolted shut by the key-keeper. The building is ἄξεινος like the land in which it lies.

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[46]See ch. 5.1.

[47]This is a fascinating inversion of the use of the offstage space behind the central door in A. *Ag.* where the family home is turned into the perversion of a sacrificial temple, both through Clytemnestra's references to sacrificial preparations and procedure e.g. 594ff, 1056f., and her particular attention to making the victim Agamemnon 'agree' to his sacrifice by giving the sacrificial nod of walking on the draperies, but also through Cassandra's visionary speech at 1090-1172; the colour red highlights the difference in use of space in both plays, however, with the red draperies leading right up to the palace door in *Ag.* but the representation of blood being confined to the altar in *IT.* On the relationship between *IT* and the *Oresteia*, see ch. 7.1.

[48]See Burkert (1985) 94.

[49]Another striking inversion is apparent here, this time of the motif of the barbarian princess as refugee and exile such as is presented in Euripides' portrayal of Medea in the play of the same title.

***Eisodoi:*** The element of danger in tragedies has been effectively exploited to prove that the *eisodoi* were used in some consistent way, where, for example, one side represents danger, the other safety[50]. Of course, in the case of *IT*, this pattern is not feasible, since danger lurks on all sides. However, in an overview of the exits and entrances, a clear pattern emerges showing one *eisodos* leading from or to the town (A) and the other leading from and to some kind of more remote bay further along the shore (B). It can be traced as follows: Orestes and Pylades enter from the shore (67) and leave through the same *eisodos* (122); the chorus enter from the town (123); the Herdsman enters from the town (236) and exits on the same side (343); Orestes and Pylades then also enter from the town, escorted (456); as does Thoas with attendants (1152); an attendant exits towards the town (1211) Iphigenia, Orestes and Pylades exit towards the shore (1234), which is also from where the Messenger appears (1283). The use of the *eisodoi* is thus both naturally consistent and balanced, with the formal pattern of: entrance (B), exit (B), entrance (A), entrance (A), exit (A), entrance (A), entrance (A), exit (A), exit (B), entrance (B)[51].

**67:** enter Orestes and Pylades from the shore (*eisodos* B), unaccompanied, having left the ship on which they travelled[52]. They are dressed like young Greek male warriors. Orestes at least has a sword which he will use to slaughter the cattle, as reported by the Herdsman at 296ff. Surprise entries are a favourite technique of Euripides', but this case is particularly abrupt in that the spectators have been guided to await the entry of the chorus[53]. The impact

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[50]Wiles' view, 154, that 'the normal *schema* [is] wilderness on the left and civilization on the right' is untenable. He uses the physical setting of the theatre at Athens to support his claim (although no fifth century structures remain) and infers that in the later theatre of Dionysus a straight line can be drawn from the city through the right *eisodos* and onto the stage (similarly for the country and the left side). When his rigid binary theory does not conform to pattern in *Alcestis*, he glosses over the problem by saying, 158 'We must begin by recognising that this is not a typical tragedy, but a surrogate satyr-play', and then, 160 '*Alcestis* is the exception that proves the rule'.

There is no doubt that the *eisodoi* were used consistently, but Wiles' analysis is too prescriptive; see Taplin (1977), 450-1, who remarks 'In each particular play the dramatist... may establish two different and precise directions for the eisodoi. Their particular topographical significance is thus confined to one play, and has to be established afresh for each individual tragedy'.

[51]Cropp (2000) would have all the characters enter and exit from the same side-entrance he calls 'B', with the entrance of the chorus as the only function for side-entrance 'A' (indicated by his stage directions). This over-use of one *eisodos* is both unnecessarily clumsy and refuted by the text, which clearly indicates two areas of operation; Hourmouziades (1965) 132, similarly claims that 'one of the side passages seems to lead to the coast....the opposite parodos might only be used by the chorus...and probably Thoas', but he ignores the fact that the whole area is coastline, geographically speaking, including the location of the temple (cf. 1196), so both side entrances can and must lead to some area of shore. Although both *eisodoi* lead to the shoreline, and the off-stage space is very linear, *eisodos* A goes through and to the town, while *eisodos* B leads to the remote expanse of shore

[52]This is made explicit at Orestes and Pylades' exit, see below 17-18.

[53]Taplin (1977), 11 n.3 argues that this technique is never used by Aeschylus and that the nearest equivalent in Sophocles are the entries of Tiresias and Eurydice in *Ant.*, but these examples are not comparable to *IT* because the entry of Eurydice is announced by the Messenger at 1257, and while Tiresias' entry is perhaps

of this unique false preparation for an entry is two-fold. Apart from bringing about surprise when the anticipated entry of the chorus fails to occur, it serves to build up great tension as we continue to expect the chorus' arrival and experience an agony of concern for Orestes and Pylades, who are in danger of being apprehended at any moment if the postponed entry occurs[54]. Euripides here employs what Taplin terms a 'difficult device' with impressive skill and to great effect[55]. He brings the status of the two men as fugitives to the fore and emphasizes the real danger in which both find themselves through this dramatic technique and the forceful physical presence on stage of the human trophies and blood which complete the altar. The threat of the two men dying at the hands of Orestes' sister is a frightening reality before the recognition scene. The visual element proves Iphigenia capable of presiding over such sacrifices, and her interpretation of her dream as indicating the death of Orestes produces a further strand of tension as we, the audience, are suddenly and unexpectedly presented with the very person Iphigenia believes to be dead. Danger is ever-present and immediately noted by Orestes and Pylades on their entrance 67-8 Ορ. *ὅρα· φυλάσσου μή τις ἐν στίβῳ βροτῶν.* Πυ. *ὁρῶ, σκοποῦμαι δ' ὄμμα πανταχῇ στρέφων.* We observe with Cropp that the opening lines of the pair are matched exactly both in rhythm and in phrasing[56]. The urgency of the opening dialogue provides yet another angle to the overwhelming sense of unease in the second half of the prologue.

Pylades' statement at 76 *ἀλλ' ἐγκυκλοῦντ' ὀφθαλμὸν εὖ σκοπεῖν χρεών* suggests that he moves furtively around the stage area inspecting the building and the altar during Orestes' speech recounting his ordeals (77-103)[57]. This would give Pylades ample opportunity to come up with the possibility of sneaking into the temple between the triglyphs (113-4)[58]. At his suggestion, they both leave in the direction from which they came (*eisodos* B). Pylades

unexpected, it comes directly after a choral ode in which we are given no indication whose arrival to expect. The examples of surprise entries in Euripides noted by Taplin are Orestes in *Andr.*, Iphis and Evadne in *Hik.*, Menelaus in *Tro.*, Pythia in *Ion*, and Pylades in *Or.*, but although these characters are perhaps unexpected in terms of plot, none of these examples builds up an expectation for a specific entry to supplant it by another one as we see in *IT* 65-7. In *Andr.*, the approach of a stranger is announced by the chorus (879-80), Iphis and Evadne are both announced by the chorus by name (980ff. and 1031ff.), similarly the entrance of Pylades is announced by Orestes (725), and while those of Menelaus in *Tro.* and Pythia in *Ion* are not directly announced, there is nothing in the text which would lead us to expect the specific entry of somebody else at this point.

For other examples of surprise exploited by Euripides, see G. Arnott (1973), but again, none of these are directly comparable to this instance in *IT*.

[54]Cf. Taplin (1977), 94-6, on false preparation of events (rather than entries).

[55]Taplin (1977) 94 'It may have been the danger of going astray and the unpredictability of the effect of the technique which led to its virtual disuse'. Here, however, Euripides demonstrates his firm grip on this dramatic technique.

[56]Cropp (2000) *ad loc.*

[57]Cropp (2000) 75, translates 'But I must look around and thoroughly explore' and gives the stage direction '*he explores while Orestes speaks*'.

[58]Temples do not have spaces between triglyphs; on this problematic suggestion, see n.20 above.

urges 106-9 *ναοῦ δ' ἀπαλλαχθέντε κρύψωμεν δέμας| κατ' ἄντρ' ἃ πόντος νοτίδι διακλύζει μέλας| νεὼς ἄπωθεν, μή τις εἰσιδὼν σκάφος| βασιλεῦσιν εἴπῃ κἄιτα ληφθῶμεν βίᾳ*. Although Pylades emphasizes the need to hide away from the ship, there can be no doubt that they exit through the same *eisodos* from which they came, the side which represents the beach, away from the town. It would be clumsy for the pair to leave through *eisodos* A which leads to the town and through which the chorus will presently appear, for it would imply that the chorus cross paths with Orestes and Pylades, and there is no suggestion of this in the text. Furthermore, the caves of which Pylades speaks must have been observed by the pair on their way to the temple, since it is clear that they have just arrived. Therefore, the only conclusion to be drawn is that they leave the stage through *eisodos* B, and we are to imagine this off-stage space as a large expanse of beach, big enough to include both the ship of the two Greeks and the caves which will be far away from it. Their exit is prompted by fear of being caught. The audience, which has been continuously expecting the arrival of the chorus, and who can probably already see the chorus making their way along the long *eisodos*, will feel relief[59]. And now, the chorus finally make their entrance.

**123:** enter chorus[60] of Greek captive women, dressed as Greek maidens, through *eisodos* A, from the town. They do not state specifically that they come from the town but they have no reason to come from the shore and they must not cross paths with Orestes and Pylades. Iphigenia has stated at 63 that they are servants *ἃς ἔδωκ' ἡμῖν ἄναξ*, which associates the chorus with the palace and further suggests that they come from the town. The dramatic motivation for their entrance seems to be a response to a summons from Iphigenia, though it is left unclear how they heard it[61]. At 138 they ask *τί με πρὸς ναοὺς ἄγαγες ἄγαγες*. They are aware that there is some news or reason behind their summons. They ask (137) before

[59]Halleran (1985) 10, is not strictly correct in using 118ff. to say that 'in tragedy one mortal will say to another that one or both of them ought to withdraw because of someone's approach'. Orestes and Pylades are unaware of the chorus' approach. They leave because Pylades feels they will be safer in their mission by night 110-12 *ὅταν δὲ νυκτὸς ὄμμα λυγαίας μόλῃ,| τολμητέον τοι ξεστὸν ἐκ ναοῦ λαβεῖν| ἄγαλμα πάσας προσφέροντε μηχανάς*. Orestes agrees 118, *εὖ γὰρ εἶπας*.

[60]Diggle (1981) gives lines 123-5 to Iphigenia (*εὐφαμεῖτ' ὦ| πόντου δισσὰς συγχωρούσας| πέτρας ἀξείνου ναίοντες*), which means that she comes out of the temple immediately after Orestes and Pylades have left, but there is no obvious reason why Iphigenia should sing these lines, and it seems much more logical that they be sung by the chorus as suggested by Platnauer (1938), Strohm (1949), Grégoire (1959), Sansone (1981), Kovacs (1999), and Cropp (2000). Iphigenia enters after hearing their questions at 137ff. and addresses them *δμωαί* at 143. Furthermore, it seems much more logical that the chorus call for ritual silence and then be led into lamentation by Iphigenia, rather than Iphigenia asking for silence and then crying out 143-7 *ἰὼ δμωαίˈ δυσθρηνήτοις ὡς θρήνοις| ἔγκειμαι, τὰς οὐκ εὐμούσουˈ μολπὰς ἀλύροις ἐλέγοις, αἰαῖ,| ἐν κηδείοις οἴκτοισιν*. Iphigenia's dream was the dramatic motivation for her stage entrance (43ff.), and the pouring of funeral libations for her brother is foremost in her mind as she leaves (61ff.). It is appropriate that when she re-enters the stage, her first utterances should be laments.

[61]Cf. Thoas' orders to launch a pursuit (1422ff.), which are thought of as being heard by the citizens, and Athena's address to the absent Iphigenia and Orestes (1446ff.), on which see p. 31, below.

Iphigenia reappears, ἔμολον· τί νέον; τίνα φροντίδ' ἔχεις; Iphigenia has not called for them directly at any point during the prologue, but the fact that she wondered where they are (64-5), suggests that she has sent for them at some point outside dramatic time, before the opening of the play.

**143:** enter Iphigenia from the temple with attendants, one of whom carries a πάγχρυσον| τεῦχος (167-8) which holds the λοιβὰν Ἄιδα (168-9). A ritual (or sometimes non-ritual) vessel is not an uncommon stage property in tragedy. The urn supposedly containing Orestes' ashes is a feature in Sophocles' *Electra*[62], as is a libation-jug in Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*. Euripides' *Electra* contains the non-ritual water-jug with which Electra fetches water, but all these vessels have very different functions from the libation-jug in *IT*. In S. *El.*, the urn highlights Orestes' deception, while the jug in *Cho.* represents Clytemnestra's fears. In these two cases the stage property reveals Electra's loyalties and precipitates the recognition scene. These are thus more functionally akin to the δέλτος in *IT*, but on an emotional level they highlight a sister's grief at the loss of her brother, like the libation vessel in *IT*. The water-jug in E. *El.* highlights her wretchedness and lack of status. Electra is servile yet of noble stock[63], and the function of the water-jug can be compared to a certain degree to the libation vessel in *IT*, as both reinforce the status of the bearers[64]. But this is much more forceful in *El.*, and in *IT*, although the vessel can serve as a reminder of Iphigenia's priesthood, it more importantly emphasizes her grief and love for her family.

At 167, the vessel is handed over to Iphigenia by the attendant after her order ἀλλ' ἔνδος μοι. At 169, holding the libation-jug herself, she begins the ritual prayer and pours a libation on the ground for the brother she believes dead, as she had previously announced ὦ τάσδε χοὰς| μέλλω κρατῆρά τε τὸν φθιμένων| ὑγραίνειν γαίας ἐν νώτοις (159-61). It is immaterial whether or not there really was liquid in the vessel, but there may have been a little splash for dramatic effect[65]. There is no doubt, however, that the staging here is particularly effective. Not only does it reinforce the atmosphere of ritual which is already so strongly apparent on stage through the blood-stained altar and temple-building, the act of

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[62]On the use of the urn in S. *El.* see Dingel (1971) 355-63 and Ringer (1998) 185-199.

[63]See Zeitlin (2003) on Electra's ambiguous status in this play.

[64]Raeburn (2000) argues that the stage properties in E. *El.* reinforce an interpretation of the play as belonging 'more to the world of comedy or satyr play than tragedy' (150). This is not the place to take issue with Raeburn's arguments, but it should be clear from ch. 1, that I do not subscribe to the view that Euripidean tragedies are more akin to comedy or satyr drama.

[65]Cf. Henderson (1987) on the water-pots used in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata, ad* 319-49 'a real wetting is required for comic purposes, but in practical terms, it is conjectured that the water-pitchers contained only a small amount of water, enough to make a wetting obvious'.

libation also highlights Iphigenia's interpretation of her dream and her strong family loyalties and affections. The formal actions of ritual are reflected in the formal ritual language. The whole *parodos* is a lyric exchange between Iphigenia and the chorus. The lyric anapaests with many spondees substituted create a heavy atmosphere of lament[66]. The important part played by Iphigenia in the *parodos* creates a close bond between her and the chorus. This, combined with the subject matter of the *parodos*, emphasizes both her Greek identity and her plight as exile[67].

**236:** enter the Herdsman, announced by the chorus, from *eisodos* A, the town. He may wear the distinctive barbarian cap and trousers, although no attention is drawn to his costume[68]. He engages in dialogue with Iphigenia. Although the account of the Herdsman is mostly set in the off-stage space leading from *eisodos* B (the shore), and he is announced by the chorus (236) as *ἀκτὰς ἐκλιπὼν θαλασσίους*, we know that the whole area is coastline, and he explicitly mentions bringing the two captives to the king, 333-5 *πρὸς δ' ἄνακτα τῆσδε γῆς| κομίζομέν νιν· ὁ δ' ἐσιδὼν ὅσον τάχος| ἐς χέρνιβάς τε καὶ σφαγεῖ' ἔπεμπέ σοι.* This means that the Herdsman comes in from the palace, and therefore the town. It is clear that he has come ahead of the pair in order to announce their arrival to the priestess. He is the first non-Greek character we encounter. His narrative consolidates the shoreline as an important off-stage space, and provides a structural preparation for the mirror Messenger scene whose narrative also deals with events on the shore, in the space conceived of as off *eisodos* B at 1283ff.. The stichomythia at the beginning of the exchange between the Herdsman and Iphigenia quicken the pace and entice us into the Herdsman's vivid narrative[69]. Iphigenia's response to his news is one of resignation and the Herdsman exits (through *eisodos* A) to intercept the strangers, who are already on their way, at her command 342-3 *εἶέν· σὺ μὲν κόμιζε τοὺς ξένους μολών,| τὰ δ' ἐνθάδ' ἡμεῖς ὅσια φροντιούμεθα.*

The golden vessel from which Iphigenia poured libations for her brother must still be present on stage, probably handed back to an attendant after the ritual had been performed.

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[66]Cf. the chorus of women in mourning in A. *Cho.* and see further Cropp (2000) *ad* 123-235 with bibliography.

[67]On Iphigenia's bond with the chorus, see ch. 4.1.

[68]Vase paintings show Thoas and Taurian attendants wearing a specifically barbarian costume, with the distinctive cap and trousers (worn only by barbarians). The earliest vase is Attic and dates from the early fourth century, 390-80 BC, about 30 years after the original production of *IT*. It shows Thoas in barbarian costume, see *LIMC s.v.* Thoas (fig. 1); cf. the barbarian attendant in costume on the bell crater depicting Iphigenia in *LIMC s.v.* Iphigenia (fig. 27). But it is impossible to treat vase paintings as evidence for original productions, see e.g. Goldhill (1997) 337.

[69]On this function of stichomythia in Euripides and his increased exploitation of this technique in his later plays, see Schwinge (1968) and Seidensticker (1971) 209-220.

This serves to remind us of Iphigenia's interpretation of her dream and her belief that Orestes is dead, and heightens the atmosphere of suspense. The dream has had the effect of steeling her more than usual to the task of presiding over the fate of the victims. At 348-50 she says νῦν[70] δ' ἐξ ὀνείρων οἷσιν ἠγριώμεθα|...δύσνουν με λήψεσθ', οἵτινες ποθ' ἥκετε[71]. Iphigenia and attendants must exit back into the temple at 391. Cropp and Kovacs both have Iphigenia stay onstage for the whole choral ode[72], but this is unnecessary and problematic. There is no specific reference to this in the text, but implicit in Iphigenia's lines at 342-3, quoted above, is the understanding that she must go inside to prepare for the ritual. From a practical point of view, the libation-jug must be returned within the sanctuary, whether this is done by Iphigenia or her attendants.

**456:** enter Orestes and Pylades from *eisodos* A, announced by the chorus. They are no longer armed but appear as prisoners, a strong visual contrast to their previous appearance. Their announced entry immediately draws attention to the fact that the pair are bound, 456-7 ἀλλ' οἵδε χέρας δεσμοῖς δίδυμοι| συνερεισθέντες χωροῦσι. They are escorted by Taurians and enter through the opposite *eisodos* from the one through which they left. These factors make concrete their transition from fugitives to captives[73].

**456-65:** enter Iphigenia from the temple, attended. Iphigenia must reappear on hearing the chorus announce the arrival of the victims. She must be on stage before 467 for her tone of resignation and apathy to be effective. Her εἶεν· (466-7) stands outside the metre and marks a strong break which develops her previous εἶεν· at 342 (though this εἶεν· is not *extra metrum*) to give even more force to her apathy. Delivery of this significant word would lose much of its effect if the audience were distracted by Iphigenia's movement as she enters the stage. The strong stop is echoed by Iphigenia at 471-2, when she exclaims φεῦ. This highlights the burden Iphigenia bears in her role as priestess of the cult. At 468-9, the Taurian escorts obey her orders and untie the hands of Orestes and Pylades μέθετε τῶν ξένων χέρας| ὡς ὄντες ἱεροὶ μηκέτ' ὦσι δέσμιοι. She continues in this authoritative manner

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[70]Note νῦν as opposed to πρὶν (344). This is an echo of *Iliad* 21. 99-113 where Achilles claims to be no longer merciful after the death of Patroclus, see Jacobson (2000).

[71]349 δοκοῦσ' 'Ορέστην μηκέθ' ἥλιον βλέπειν seems to be an unnecessary explanatory interpolation and is rightly excised by both Diggle (1981) and Cropp (2000); Platnauer (1938) retains it but admits *ad loc.*, that it appears to be an interpolation.

[72]Cropp (2000) 97 inserts the stage direction *'Iphigenia remains while the Chorus sings'*; Kovacs (1999) includes no stage direction at this point which implies that he assumes Iphigenia is present throughout.

[73]Cf. Andromache's entrance with hands bound at *Andr.* 501, which marks her transition from suppliant to captive, with her life in danger.

470-1 *ναοῦ δ' ἔσω στείχοντες εὐτρεπίζετε*| *ἃ χρὴ 'πὶ τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ νομίζεται*. The sequence of thought as revealed by these consecutive lines indicates that Iphigenia must still be speaking to the Taurian escorts here, who leave the stage having unbound the prisoners. It is conceivable that Iphigenia sends other attendants into the temple, but it makes more sense for the Taurian guards to be absent in order to provide the dramatic opportunity to move towards a recognition and conspiracy scene as the three Greeks remain alone on stage, with only the presence of Iphigenia's attendants and the sympathetic chorus to contend with[74]. Other attendants guard Orestes and Pylades while Iphigenia fetches her letter at 642, and these leave at 724[75].

In answer to Iphigenia's question (492-3) *πότερος ἆρ' ὑμῶν ἐνθάδ' ὠνομασμένος*| *Πυλάδης κέκληται; τόδε μαθεῖν πρῶτον θέλω*, Orestes points at Pylades replying 494 *ὅδ', εἴ τι δή σοι τοῦτ' ἐν ἡδονῇ μαθεῖν*. It is crucial for dramatic tension that Iphigenia does not recognize the name 'Pylades', but does not yet learn that of Orestes. Having ascertained that the pair are from her homeland, Iphigenia strikes a deal with them. She will spare one if he brings her *δέλτος* back to Argos (578ff.).

**642:** exit Iphigenia into the temple, while her attendants guard Orestes and Pylades, with Iphigenia having voiced her intent to fetch her *δέλτος* 636-8 *ἀλλ' εἶμι, δέλτον τ' ἐκ θεᾶς ἀνακτόρων*| *οἴσω.....*|(*to the attendants*) *φυλάσσετ' αὐτούς, πρόσπολοι, δεσμῶν ἄτερ*. Here, dramatic opportunity is provided for Orestes and Pylades to discuss Iphigenia in her absence which furthers the development of dramatic tension. We know from the previous exchange that Orestes and Pylades believe Iphigenia to be dead 564-5 Ιφ. *τί δέ; σφαγείσης θυγατρὸς ἔστι τις λόγος;* Ορ. *οὐδείς γε, πλὴν θανοῦσαν οὐχ ὁρᾶν φάος*. The time given to them here alone leaves them free to question her identity (660 *τίς ἐστιν ἡ νεᾶνις;*), and argue over who should be the one to live, both reinforcing their ignorance of Iphigenia's true plight and heightening the sensation of danger through debating and finally deciding (674-722) that Orestes should be the one to die (unbeknownst to all, at the hands of his sister)[76]. This danger of Orestes being slaughtered under the supervision of his sister is very real until the recognition scene and is consolidated by the visual evidence of the sacrificial altar.

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[74]Cf. Kovacs' (1999) stage direction at 471which reads '*exit some of the servants into the temple*', though he doesn't specify whether or not these are the Taurian guards or other temple attendants.

[75]Bain (1981) 37 understands the sequence of events as I do: '(1) After 468ff., Orestes and Pylades are released from their bonds and the men who brought them go into the temple; (2) Attendants are told to guard Orestes and Pylades till Iphigenia returns (638f.); (3) These attendants depart when Iphigeneia returns and dismisses them (725f.)'. There are clearly two groups of attendants, though see Bain (1981) 37-8 on the confusion in the commentaries.

[76]On the bond of friendship that exists between Orestes and Pylades, see ch. 3.3, 61-2.

**724:** enter Iphigenia from the temple with the tablet. She orders the attendants to go inside 725-6 *ἀπέλθεθ' ὑμεῖς καὶ παρευτρεπίζετε| τἄνδον μολόντες τοῖς ἐφεστῶσι σφαγῇ*. The three are now completely alone, apart from the presence of the chorus, and free to orchestrate their plan[77]. The *δέλτος*, which Iphigenia has brought back on stage with her, and which will now become a major focus for audience attention, had been written for her by a sacrificial victim, an *αἰχμάλωτος* (585), who pitied her (*οἰκτίρας* 584). He wrote the letter for her before he was sacrificed, judging that Iphigenia was not guilty (585-7). The letter/ writing-tablet is an unusually small and novel prop, exploited particularly by Euripides to very different effect in three of his extant plays, *Hipp.*, *IT* and *IA*, and also in several fragmentary plays[78]. Euripides was the only one of the three great tragedians to develop the association between writing and immutability, whether positive or negative, by making the letter a material object on stage. In *Hipp.*, the letter and its message represent the striking lack of communication that pervades this play[79], and in *Hipp.* the tablet is destructive. In *IA* the tablet which we actually see on stage is intended as salutory (as opposed to the one previously sent, outside dramatic time, which was deceptive), but ultimately fails to fulfill this function because it is intercepted, and the message from the first tablet sent remains unchanged. In *IT*, the message contained in the folds of the tablet becomes articulated in words by the message-giver herself and thus the written word is opened to questions which can be answered by the person in authority. Indeed, Iphigenia *is* questioned and repeatedly interrupted, much to her annoyance, as she attempts to recount what the letter explains (cf. 772, 777, 780).

The main dramatic function of the tablet in *IT* is to precipitate the recognition scene. In the build up to this recognition scene, tension mounts and becomes embodied in the physical stage-property of the *δέλτος* which seems on the point of being handed over to Pylades from Iphigenia's entrance at 727, but the exchange is delayed, first by Iphigenia's demand of an oath[80], and secondly by her decision to recount the contents of the tablet[81].

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[77]It is possible that some attendants remain, but unlikely given the situation of urgency and secrecy. If attendants do remain they must be inconspicuous and are certainly irrelevant to the action.

[78]Aeschylus and Sophocles tend to use the image of the tablet as a metaphor for committing something to memory. Sophocles makes actual reference to a letter in his *Trachiniai*, but this is never produced as a stage property. Euripides' use of the *deltos* as a prop stems from his interest in literacy and in the contrast between the spoken word, and the written word, see Torrance (forthcoming).

[79]See Taplin (1978) 95.

[80]There are several instances in tragedy where physical contact is required to bind two parties in an oath (e.g. S. *Trach.*1181ff., E. *Alc.*1115ff.), but this is probably not the case here. There no evidence for contact in the text, and Iphigenia's disgust and indignant response to Orestes' embrace may further suggest an absence of physical contact during the oath-making, see p. 25, below.

[81]A similar tension is built up repeatedly in S. *Phil.* surrounding the handing over of the title character's bow; see Taplin (1971).

Attention is drawn repeatedly to the tablet throughout this scene by use of deictic pronouns which engage audience attention closely around this point of the stage[82]. Gesturing towards this prop, unusually small by Greek standards, would have been important in emphasizing its significance to an audience, many of whom may not have been able to see it quite clearly. When Iphigenia reveals her identity, Pylades can then lightheartedly take the tablet from her and pass it to Orestes, which he must do at 791-2 saying *ἰδού, φέρω σοι δέλτον ἀποδίδωμί τε,*| *Ὀρέστα, τῆσδε σῆς κασιγνήτης πάρα*. There is no other obvious or logical point for him to come into possession of the tablet.

In *IT* it is very doubtful whether any of the characters are proposed to be literate themselves. Iphigenia could not write herself and does not seem to be able to read. She says at 761 *λόγῳ φράσω σοι*, which does not indicate that she actually *reads* from the tablet[83]. And there is no suggestion that Pylades could read it himself to reveal the message. The only proposed solution is for Iphigenia to explain. But the fact that Euripides uses the tablet, albeit through the medium of seemingly illiterate protagonists, to construct a recognition scene represents a different angle of investigation into the relationship between the written and the spoken word. The spoken word here supersedes the written both in importance and in the extraction of positive results. In *Hipp.* and *IA*, no good comes out of the written word itself for different reasons in each play. In *IT*, the silent written word is a threat. It conceals the identities of the characters from each other, but the spoken word reveals the truth and can be elaborated through discussion. The voice that screams from the tablet at *Hipp.* 877 is not the truth, but there is no way to question it[84].

This concept of literacy and the qualities of the written word, be they positive or negative, which seem to have intrigued Euripides, are developed in *IT* through the spoken account taking precedence over the written record and making it redundant. In terms of plot, the tablet and its message create the opportunity for the recogition scene to develop. It is Orestes who lays the tablet aside after being handed it by Pylades, indicating that it is now void, 793 *παρεὶς δὲ γραμμάτων διαπτυχάς*. Such a small prop can easily be discarded unnoticed on the stage. He rushes to embrace his sister at 797 after exclaiming 795-7 *ὦ φιλτάτη μοι σύγγον', ἐκπεπληγμένος*| *ὅμως σ' ἀπίστῳ περιβαλὼν βραχίονι*| *ἐς τέρψιν εἶμι, πυθόμενος θαυμάστ' ἐμοί*. But Iphigenia, who has not recognized the true identity of Orestes,

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[82]Cf. 727, 733, 735, 744, 745, 764, 767, 786, 787.

[83]Cf. the Old Man in *IA*, who must hear Agamemnon explain the contents of the letter for his spoken word to tally with the written 117-8; note also *IA* 113 = *IT* 761 *λόγῳ φράσω σοι*.

[84]The superiority of the spoken word over the written develops here, in the examples from tragedy, in a way which is echoed in Plato's *Phaedrus*. The dialogue ends with a discussion of the inferiority of books and wiriting in general to oral discussion, precisely because the written word cannot be questioned, and this reflects the growing engagement with issues of literacy and orality at the end of the fifth century BC.

indignantly pulls away and his embrace catches her robes but ultimately falls short, 798-9 *ξέν', οὐ δικαίως τῆς θεοῦ τὴν πρόσπολον| χραίνεις, ἀθίκτοις περιβαλὼν πέπλοις χέρας*[85]. After listening to Orestes' proofs, however, she relents and embraces him at 827-8 *ὦ φίλτατ'- οὐδὲν ἄλλο, φίλτατος γὰρ εἶ-| ἔχω σ', Ὀρέστα*[86]. They hold each other until Iphigenia releases him when she turns to address the chorus some lines later at 842 *ἄτοπον ἡδονὰν ἔλαβον, ὦ φίλαι.*

This recognition scene is most readily comparable with those of Orestes and Electra in *Cho.* and the two *Electras*[87]. In all three recognition scenes between Orestes and Electra, the recognition is orchestrated and controlled by Orestes from the outset. In *IT* the force of fate and coincidence reveals the identities of the Greeks in *IT* rather than the careful planning of Orestes. The spontaneous rushed embrace which makes Iphigenia rebuke Orestes detracts from any cunning quality typically associated with Orestes[88], while also reinforcing Iphigenia's chastity and status in her role as priestess. During this recognition scene between Orestes and Iphigenia, when the pair discuss Pylades (915ff.), the use of deictic pronouns referring to him is striking (915, 916, 917, 918, 920). This has the effect of excluding him from this intimate and personal moment for the siblings and detaches him from the immediate family bond which joins brother and sister through blood.

After the three have decided on a plan of action, Iphigenia supplicates the chorus to keep silent about their scheme. At 1068-70, she addresses them in turn saying, *ἀλλὰ πρός σε δεξιᾶς| σὲ καὶ σ' ἱκνοῦμαι, σὲ δὲ φίλης παρηίδος| γονάτων τε καὶ τῶν ἐν δόμοισι φιλτάτων.* Iphigenia's description of her supplication conforms to what Gould terms 'the ritual act in its 'complete' or strongest form'[89]. That the supplication here is in its most formal terms suggests that Iphigenia's supplication of the chorus may be, at least partly, a physical act[90].

[85]Cf. Electra's initial rejection of Orestes at E. *El.* 223, and Helen's of Menelaus in *Hel.* 567, where both women are appalled by the advances of their unrecognized *philoi*.

[86]Embraces are part of the convention of recognition scenes, see Kaimio (1988) 35-9 for discussion and parallels.

[87]For a more detailed discussion of the recognition scene, see ch. 3.3.

[88]Pylades is presented as the more cunning and rational of the two friends in *IT*, with Orestes characterized, in contrast, by emotion, see ch. 3, 50, and 62-3 for further discussion.

[89]Compare perhaps the best known description of traditional supplication, that of Zeus by Thetis in *Iliad* 1. 500-502. Here Thetis stretches up to Zeus' chin with her right hand, while crouching at his feet and touching his knees with her left hand. Gould (1973) 76 comments 'The significant elements in this sequence of actions are those of lowering the body and crouching (sitting or kneeling), of physical contact with knees and chin, and of kissing. Of these gestures, only touching the knee is found exclusively in the act of supplication, and we shall see supplication in some sense can be said to take place without any of them, but together they constitute the ritual act in its 'complete' or strongest form'. Of these actions, the only one not mentioned is kissing, though it is possible that Iphigenia made to kiss the hand of a chorus-member during her supplication.

[90]Supplication is not always physical, cf. e.g. Odysseus' figurative supplication of Nausicaa in *Odyssey* 4.141ff., on which see Gould (1973) 77; Kaimio (1988) 56 believes that Iphigenia's supplication here must remain figurative, but there may be an element of actual physical supplication also, particularly if a

A physical supplication would highlight the immediate danger of the situation, and the formality of Iphigenia's supplication indicates the seriousness of her desire to escape. My understanding of the staging at this point is that Iphigenia is in close proximity to the chorus on or by the steps communicating with the orchestra, though she is still above their level[91]. With Iphigenia on a slightly higher level than the chorus-members, she will not be obscured, and can be positioned quite close to them[92]. The chorus-members she appeals to will be on either side of her, sideways-on to the audience, so as to be able to communicate with Iphigenia without having their backs to the audience. She falls to the ground at 1068 as she starts her appeal. She will then reach up towards the right hand of one chorus member, then a second, then a third, then a fourth, and reach up to their face before motioning to the knees of the fifth member. It is not necessary for her to physically touch each one, it may suffice for her to outstretch a hand, but she may physically clasp that of the chorus-member nearest to her, and simply motion to those who are further away. This piece of staging is unique in extant tragedy, but the action of throwing oneself to the ground is one favoured by Euripides[93]. Iphigenia rises at the encouraging words of the chorus in response to her entreaty, 1075 *θάρσει, φίλη δέσποινα, καὶ σώζου μόνον*. She wishes the chorus well, then turns to address Orestes and Pylades at 1079 saying *σὸν ἔργον ἤδη καὶ σὸν εἰσβαίνειν δόμους*. They obey her and exit. She follows them into the temple at 1088, after her prayer to the goddess.

**1152:** enter Thoas, with attendants, from *eisodos* A (the town). His arrival is not directly announced but has been suggested by Iphigenia at 1080-1 *ὡς αὐτίχ' ἥξει τῆσδε κοίρανος χθονός,| θυσίαν ἐλέγχων εἰ κατείργασται ξένων*. This builds up dramatic tension before the arrival of Thoas. Up to this late point in the play, the only non-Greek to appear has been the minor character of the Herdsman. Thoas, the barbarian king, is therefore the first, and in fact the only barbarian character of noble rank in the play. There is no direct reference made to any barbarian costume in *IT*, and Euripides does not seem to favour designating

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chorus-member is in close proximity.

[91] On my understanding of the raised stage, see n. 5, above.

[92] This passage of *IT* has been used to argue against the use of a raised stage (e.g. Pickard-Cambridge (1946) 57). However, this supplication or indeed any interaction between chorus and actors can easily be effected through the use of steps connecting the orchestra with the stage. In *Hecuba*, the title character falls to the ground at 438 and lies prostrate until 505, throughout the first stasimon (444-483), see further Mossman (1999) 57-8. Without a raised platform characters who fall to the ground will be obscured by the chorus-members, and will not be clearly visible to the most important spectators, those in the *proedria*, who will be seated at roughly the same level as the orchestra (cf. Csapo and Slater (1995) 82 'there is no...change of elevation between the front seats (*proedria*) and the orchestra').

[93] See Mossman (1999) 57-8 and n.37.

foreigners by specific distinction either in speech or in dress[94]. However Thoas may have worn the distinctive Asian cap and trousers. This is how he is depicted in vase-paintings, where he also holds a sceptre[95]. A sceptre is not mentioned in the text, but it is probable that Thoas had some attribute which distinguished him as the king, and a sceptre would be most appropriate for this purpose.

**1156:** enter Iphigenia from the temple, ?alone[96], announced by the chorus, and holding the carved statue of Artemis in her arms. This prompts Thoas' astonishment 1156-8 *ἔα·| τί τόδε μεταίρεις ἐξ ἀκινήτων βάθρων,| Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖ, θεᾶς ἄγαλμ' ἐν ὠλέναις;* Thoas must make a move towards Iphigenia as he says these lines to which she responds, 1159 *ἄναξ, ἔχ' αὐτοῦ πόδα σὸν ἐν παραστάσιν* (i.e. 'Do not come any further forward'). He does as Iphigenia asks and proceeds to question her as to her actions and intentions, and she moves the deception plot forward with her answers and explanations. The stichomythia between the two change to *antilabe* at 1203 as the pace of the action quickens[97]. Thoas must have at least three servants in attendance. At 1205, Thoas orders two into the temple to fetch some ropes with which to tie Orestes and Pylades (*ἴτ' ἐπὶ δεσμά, πρόσπολοι*), and Iphigenia asks that they bring the prisoners back outside (1206), then the third is ordered back into the town to announce that all should stay inside for fear of contamination of pollution at 1211 *στεῖχε καὶ σήμαινε σύ*. He exits through *eisodos* A. The servants of Thoas who are to accompany Iphigenia and guard the prisoners, must be the same two who have been sent into the temple to tie Orestes and Pylades up. Iphigenia asks for some of Thoas' men to accompany her because she is anxious to seem mistrustful of the strangers. She first asks that the servants be bound, even though Thoas asks quite logically *ποῖ σ' ἐκφύγοιεν ἄν*; (1204). So when Iphigenia asks for some of his men to be sent with her, and Thoas replies 1208 *οἶδ' ὁμαρτήσουσί σοι*, he must point in the direction of the temple from which these men have yet to emerge. It is conceivable that Thoas assigns some other attendants to escort Iphigenia,

[94]See Bacon (1961) 121-7.

[95]On barbarian costume and evidence from vase-paintings, see p. 20n.68.

[96]Iphigenia may be attended here, but she is about to lead the procession off the stage, which requires several attendants to carry the various accoutrements included in the ceremonial procession. This may mean that she enters alone and that the attendants follow her out of the temple. A further factor which seems to suggest Iphigenia is unattended at this point is that she is standing right in the doorway of the temple. This is evident from 1159 where she asks Thoas not to come forward past the doorposts. This means that she is effectively blocking the exit for attendants here. Iphigenia must move out of the way at least before 1205 to allow Thoas' servants to enter the temple.

[97]Hogan (1997) 120-121 comments quite rightly on this passage of *antilabai*: 'The complex effect of intertwined speech that the series of suspended statements creates enhances the tone of the dialogue from mere request-and-assent to fervent conspiracy' and what he calls a 'feverish tone'. However, I do not agree that the *antilabai* help 'to portray Thoas as an enthusiastic dupe and as Iphigenia's willing agent'. Thoas *is* enthusiastic, but is motivated by his piety, not his stupidity. On Thoas' character, see further ch. 5.1.

but it seems logical that the henchmen who put fetters on Orestes and Pylades should act as the bodyguards in the exit procession.

Throughout this conversation, Iphigenia holds the statue of Artemis in her arms. Statues, like altars, are not infrequent props in Greek tragedy. In *IT*, however, both the altar (as we have seen above) and the statue are exploited most unconventionally and innovatively. Instead of being a constant prop, as the statue almost invariably is in other plays[98], this statue appears three quarters of the way through the play. It is considerably smaller than the usual free-standing statue, at the base of which characters often fall in supplication, as it is small enough to be carried in Iphigenia's arms. The production of the cult statue at this late stage in the play emphasizes its absence up to this point. Indeed the sibling deities, Artemis and Apollo, patrons of the mortal siblings Iphigenia and Orestes, who are the strongest link between the human level and the divine in this play, are notably absent[99]. The presence of the statue of Artemis on stage serves as a reminder of the goddess' patronage, and guides the audience to expect *her* intervention if there is to be any divine epiphany in the play[100]. Just as the statue is silent, however, so the goddess remains silent and it is Athena who will appear to resolve the situation. Inside the stage-building is Iphigenia's domain, and that of Artemis. When the statue has been removed from the sanctuary, however, the temple becomes devoid of function, for the cult statue embodies the essence of the temple[101]. Thus Iphigenia takes control of the essence of the interior space as she leaves it, reinforcing her absolute control of the theatrical space in contrast to Orestes and Pylades who are, in a sense, at her mercy, and also with Thoas and his retinue who are blind to Iphigenia's convincing deceit.

**1222:** enter Orestes and Pylades from the temple, escorted by Thoas' men and announced by Iphigenia. They are bound and their heads are veiled with garments (1207 *κρᾶτα κρύψαντες πέπλοισιν*)[102]. Thoas pulls his cloak over his eyes when they come out, as

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[98]Statues feature in A. *Eum.*(though the statue may not be constant in this play, see Taplin (1977) 377), A. *Hik.*, *Sept.*, E. *Hipp.*; on the statue of Artemis in this play as a *xoanon*, see further ch. 6.1, 138-9.

[99]On the absence of the patron deities in the *exodos*, see ch. 6.3, 149-52.

[100]In *Hippolytus* where Artemis' statue is worshipped, she is the deity who appears to resolve the action in the *exodos*.

[101]Cf. Burkert (1985) 88 'The temple is the dwelling place, *naos*, of the deity; it houses the anthropomorphic cult image'. That Iphigenia dwells in the temple is made explicit at *IT* 65-6.

[102]Halleran (1985) investigates the formal dramatic structure for announced or unannounced entrances in Euripides, which is a very worthwhile exercise, but I cannot agree with his analysis of this entrance where he says of Orestes and Pylades, 17 'they are announced in iambic trimeter, but no special attention is drawn to their entrance'. In making this remark, Halleran completely ignores the visual aspect of the stagecraft, for at this point, Orestes and Pylades enter with their heads covered in contrast to the other characters on stage which can *only* draw attention to them.

Iphigenia instructs him 1218 [χρὴ] πέπλον ὀμμάτων προθέσθαι, and he understands immediately that this is to avoid pollution (μὴ †παλαμναῖον λάβω†). They are followed by the temple attendants, carrying θεᾶς κόσμους, and νεογνούς τ' ἄρνας as sacrificial animals[103], along with σέλας λαμπάδων[104] and τὰ τ' ἄλλ'. Although this is not the finale, the procession is extremely lavish and comparable in grandeur only to that which brings the *Oresteia* to a close[105]. Aeschylus' procession serves a very different purpose, however. It is a positive culmination of events and an effective glorification of Athens. This procession in *IT* on the other hand, is a sham, and every step taken by it runs the risk of discovery. It is no joyous procession, either, with two of the main participants bound and veiled. The stage must be quite crowded at this point, which suggests that Iphigenia starts leading the procession after she announces the entrances from the temple, and as she is proclaiming her warning to the citizens and praying to Artemis (1226-33). As she does so, the other characters will fall into line behind her, and Thoas exits into the temple with his attendants and bolts the doors behind him. Thoas is following Iphigenia's order at 1216 ἄγνισον χρυσῷ μέλαθρον. He must bolt the temple doors behind him for the next scene to be effective: the Messenger will arrive seeking Thoas and banging on the closed doors. The fact that Thoas is veiled as he exits into the *skene* emphasizes his good faith, and how completely deceived he has been by Iphigenia. Just as he is physically blind at this moment, having drawn his cloak to cover his face, so also he is metaphorically blind to Iphigenia's deception. The procession exits through *eisodos* B[106]. As it leaves, Iphigenia's control of the situation is reinforced by the staging. Not only does she lead the procession, but all the male characters who are not servants are veiled (Thoas, Orestes and Pylades) and very much under her control[107].

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[103]Lambs are appropriate sacrificial offerings given the circumstances, since the blood of a lamb could be used as a substitution for the blood of a killer, see Parker (1983) 372; cf. A. *Eum.* 1006f. for sacrificial animals on stage and Taplin (1977) 412.

[104]There is no reason to doubt that the torches were alight, cf. Taplin (1977) 413 on the torches used in *Eum.*; torches are also used in E. *Tro.* 298-352 and *Hel.* 865-872. This last example in which the Egyptian priestess purifies the air and the ground with torches is a striking contrast to the situation in *IT*. In *IT* a Greek priestess performs a Greek ritual in a barbarian land using torches appropriate for worshipping Artemis who is called the 'torch-bearing goddess' at line 21 (on the significance of this, see ch. 3.1, 39). In *Hel.* a barbarian (Egyptian) priestess performs a barbarian ritual using torches (Greeks did use fire for purification (e.g. *Od.* 22. 480-501), but did not normally purify the air (cf. Hdt. 2.37 on Egyptians obsessed with purity).

[105]On the grandeur of the procession in *Eum.*, see Taplin (1977) 410-15; Aristophanes' *Frogs* also ends with a torch-lit procession, but there is no mention of other ritual items.

[106]The procession exits towards the more remote part of the beach (*eisodos* B) where the ship lies at anchor. The fact that an attendant was sent to the town to announce that all citizens should stay indoors simply emphasizes the danger of pollution and its potential to reach the whole community, and does not imply that the fugitives exit through *eisodos* A.

[107]On Iphigenia as a female controlling the males, see ch. 5.2 *passim*.

But I need to defend my acceptance of the manuscript reading of *χρυσῷ* in 1216, which all recent editors emend to *πυρσῷ*[108]. Purification by gold is mentioned in various ancient sources, although it is never explained exactly how this was carried out[109]. Parker conjectures that 'it was perhaps [a] sprinkling of water from a gold vessel'[110]. This does not seem wholly satisfactory, for if purification by gold is in effect purification by water, why does Pindar, for example, draw such a contrast between the two (n. 109)? There is no firm basis for much interpretation here. The text of *IT* helps us towards gaining a picture of this enigmatic ritual, in that in the context of the play, it seems unlikely that purification by gold should entail gold offerings of some kind, since Thoas is sent to purify the temple forthwith, without any chance to obtain such offerings. Indeed this is confirmed to a certain extent by the fact that offerings are not mentioned by sources in connection with this purification by gold. However, if we are to reconcile the Pindaric description, it should 'shine out like a blazing fire in the night'. Although I am not convinced that water was involved in this ritual, Parker must be right in assuming that gold vessels are used in the process. This fact may also be implied by *IT*. We note that although the ritual vessel used to pour libations by Iphigenia during the *parodos* is made of gold, there is no mention of gold vessels in the mock procession, in spite of a clearly lavish array of ritual items listed (e.g. torches and sacrificial lambs at 1223-4). This may point to the use of such gold vessels in the purificatory ritual which must stay within the temple at this point for the purification by gold to take place.

**1283:** enter the barbarian Messenger, all battered and bruised from *eisodos* B. He wears a mask which shows injuries to his face and may wear the distinctive barbarian cap and trousers. He draws Thoas' attention to his wounds at 1366 *τὰ δεινὰ πλήγματ' ἦν γενειάδων*. He enters in a hurry to find Thoas. The chorus-women manage to stall him for nearly twenty lines, but it is not long before he is pounding on the temple-door and calling out to

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[108]I include Platnauer (1938), Strohm (1949), Diggle (1981), Sansone (1981), Kovacs (1999), Cropp (2000).

[109]Cf. Pin. *Ol.*1.1-2 *Ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ ἅτε διαπρέπει νυκτὶ μεγάνορος ἐξοχα πλούτου*; this passage is particularly appropriate to the development of the image of gold in *IT* (which is positively resolved in human terms at this point in the play) in its singling out of this type of gold as 'above haughty wealth'; cf. ch. 4.2. Compare the following passage of Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* 153: *παραγγέλλει δέ, ἐν ἱερῷ ἄν τι ἀκούσιον αἷμα γένηται, ἢ χρυσῷ ἢ θαλάττῃ περιρραίνεσθαι, τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ καὶ ⟨τῷ⟩ καλλίστῳ τῶν ὄντων, σταθμωμένῳ τὴν τιμὴν τῶν ἁπάντων*. Here note the reference to blood being spilt in a temple, which coincides with the idea of blood pollution in the temple of *IT*, and the specification of *sea* water. Cf. also inscriptions from Kos dating from the third century BC: 154 A 29, 30, 44 and B 2, 4, 6, 15, 26 in Sokolowski (1969).

[110]Parker (1983) 228.

his king and the attendants, 1304-6 *ὠή, χαλᾶτε κληθρα- τοῖς ἔνδον λέγω-| καὶ δεσπότῃ σημήναθ' οὕνεκ' ἐν πύλαις| πάρειμι καινῶν φόρτον ἀγγέλλων κακῶν.*

**1311:** enter Thoas from the temple. He calls out for a pursuit launched by all the citizens (1422) who should put reins on their horses (1423). This cannot apply to the servants attending him, who will not count as citizens, but this seems to be a general cry of frustration and intent and he does not actually send anyone off. It is assumed that the citizens hear him[111], however, as Athena later asks Thoas to call off his armed pursuit (1437). Thoas' anger and his astonishment at the Messenger's narrative illustrate the success of the deception.

**1435:** enter Athena unannounced on the roof. Athena may be distinguished by one of her usual attributes, perhaps a helmet or the aegis[112], or both, though neither is specified in the text. In any case she announces her identity at the beginning of her speech, 1456 *ἄκουσον τῆσδ' Ἀθηναίας λόγους*. Although an entrance on the roof does not necessarily entail the use of the *mechane*, 1487-9 suggest that Athena may be airborne. She says, as she is leaving *ἴτ', ὦ πνοαί, ναυσθλοῦτε τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος| παῖδ' εἰς Ἀθήνας· συμπορεύσομαι δ' ἐγὼ| σώζουσ' ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς σεμνὸν βρέτας*. Another possibility is that Athena may remain suspended rather than alighting onto the roof. This might tie in well with her address to the absent Orestes and Iphigenia, and emphasize the supernatural carrying of her voice[113]. Mastronarde includes this instance in the cases for which he advocates the use of the crane, comparing *IT* to *Helen*. The simultaneous appearance of two actors playing the Dioscuri at the end of *Helen* convinces Mastronarde of the need for a *mechane* in this play. The structural similarities between these two plays leads him to conclude the use of the crane in *IT* also[114]. However, Hourmouziades, who also compares these two plays, stating that 'common to both cases is the need to convey the impression of suddenness to the audience as well as to the persons on stage' decides that, in the case of *IT*, 'the slow procedure of a mechane-appearance should be precluded'[115]. Although there is no firmly conclusive evidence, use of the *mechane* seems appropriate in the context of travelling, and I do agree with Mastronarde that a *mechane* was probably used. The use of the crane seems to have been gaining in popularity at the end of the fifth century as is attested by references in

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[111]See p. 18n.61 above.

[112]Cf. E. *Ion* 1580 and A. *Eum.* 404 where Athena is wearing her aegis.

[113]Cropp (2000) *ad* 1435-89 notes both of these possibilities.

[114]Mastronarde (1990) 283.

[115]Hourmouziades 167.

Aristophanes[116]. As regards the suddenness demanded by Hourmouziades, it can easily be effected with regard to the characters. Thoas is the only one for whom the appearance need be sudden and there is no way he would be able to see Athena approach, no matter how slow the maçhinery, unless he turned around and looked up, which he has no reason to do. The chorus are in a distracted state of lament fearing both for their mistress and for their own fates, and Thoas himself is otherwise frantically engaged in trying to organize the armed pursuit of the escapees. For the spectators, in turn, it is no less exciting to have a slow entrance by Athena, as we wait anxiously for the characters to acknowledge her presence and for the resolution of the plot. The fact that Thoas must be taken aback by Athena's sudden entry emphasizes his god-fearing nature, as he immediately heeds her words in spite of being in a state of rage. Athena makes her exit, flying away on the crane, at 1491.

**1496:** Exeunt omnes.

[116]Cf. e.g. *Clouds* 218-37 (produced 423), *Peace* 173-76 (produced 421), *Birds* 1202 (produced 414).

# 3. *Characterization*

Euripides' characters have often been criticized for their inconsistency, particularly for seemingly abrupt changes of heart, and more generally, Greek tragedy has often been treated as not essentially concerned with character[1]. Like the recurrent complaint that Euripidean choruses are poorly integrated and irrelevant to their plays (which will be addressed in the following chapter)[2], these criticisms can also be traced to Aristotle[3]. That Aristotle disregards the importance of characterization in Greek tragedy has been highlighted as very questionable indeed by Mossman, among others, who argues convincingly that the statement of priorities made in the *Poetics* (that character is secondary to plot) 'implies as plainly as anything is made plain in the *Poetics* that while plot is indispensable, character is scarcely less so if the plot is to be intelligible'[4]. In analysing *IT*, I hope to show that characterization is indeed extremely important for the development of the play.

This chapter will deal with the Greek characters of the drama, namely Iphigenia, Orestes and Pylades. The barbarian characters and their relationship with the Greeks will be touched on briefly here where appropriate, but will be fully discussed in ch. 5.1. Iphigenia is the central and most powerful character in this play. We have glimpsed at one of her defining characteristics in the preceding chapter, her absolute control of the stage action, particularly in the second half of the play. There are two defining aspects to Iphigenia's character: her failed marriage and her status as priestess. To avoid overlap, the latter strand

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[1] Cf. Goldhill (1990) 111-112 on the influential Tycho von Wilamowitz and his followers, 'for whom any demonstration of character is absolutely subordinate to 'dramatic effect'', with Euripides as 'the dramatist who is most often accused of...sacrificing consistency or credibility of characterization to a desire for good plots or even just good rhetorical arguments'. However, engagement with characterization in Greek literature predates tragedy considerably (see e.g. Taplin (1990) and (1992)). Furthermore, Easterling (1973) 5-6 and *passim* shows that dramatic technique is only meaningful when is it also intelligible in human terms; cf. also Easterling (1977) who uses support from ancient sources to show that Sophocles is indeed profoundly concerned with creation of character.

[2] I argue that the choral odes of *IT* and the chorus as a character are in fact extremely important to the development of the play and very carefully constructed by Euripides; other scholars have shown the same to be true about choruses in other Euripidean plays, e.g. Allan (2000) 196-232 on *Andr.* and Mossman (1999) 69-93 on *Hec.*

[3] See *Poetics* 1454a32: here Aristotle complains specifically about Iphigenia's character in *IA*. The characters of this play, especially Iphigenia, Menelaus and Agamemnon arguably have the most powerful changes of heart of any Euripidean or indeed ancient tragic character, but this is a particular feature of *IA* (cf. Griffin (1990) 140, 143-49).

See also *Poetics* 1449b36-1450a7: this passage of Aristotle has been traditionally interpreted as implying that character is not important in Greek tragedy because it is secondary to plot.

[4] Mossman (1999) 138-9; cf. Jones (1962) 29-46, Halliwell (1986) 138-67, Nussbaum (1986) 379, Heath (1987) 115-123.

will be discussed in ch. 6.1. Iphigenia's relationship with the chorus will be analyzed in ch. 4.

### 3.1 Iphigenia's Failed Marriage

Although Iphigenia's sacrifice and the pollution of the Atreid house are inextricably linked, this play separates the two. The lure of marriage which gives way to slaughter becomes a central element of paramount importance in the play. The family crimes of the Tantalids are forever lurking in the background, but Iphigenia repeatedly defines herself in terms of her marriage that was betrayed and the death that replaced it. Indeed, it is natural that Iphigenia should be much more deeply concerned with her own fate than with the misdeeds of the founding generations of her line. This dichotomy in importance is reflected in the structure of the prologue speech. The first five lines give a brief account of Iphigenia's lineage. It then takes Iphigenia over twenty lines to relate the events at Aulis. Iphigenia's extreme grief and anger are emphasized in her opening speech, and the subsequent threnodic *parodos*, and this mood is retained until the recognition scene.

It is striking that Euripides should devote such a relatively large proportion of his play to repeating the atrocities of Aulis. Substantial accounts of Iphigenia's sufferings are found at 6-29, 209-17, 354-77, 853-67, with shorter references at 337-9, 538-9, 565-6, 770-1, 784-6, 818-21, 920, 992-3, 1082-4, 1418-9 (cf. 1113, 1187). But why is Euripides so relentless in his reminders of Aulis? A significant part of Iphigenia's grief stems from her failed marriage[5]. The first mention of the prospective marriage to Achilles is recounted as an appendage to events at Aulis at: 24-5 *καὶ μ' Ὀδυσσέως τέχναις| μητρὸς παρείλοντ' ἐπὶ γάμοις Ἀχιλλέως*. That Odysseus is responsible for the scheme is not surprising[6], but the image of Iphigenia being taken from her mother is quite violent. Not only does it emphasize her

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[5] Achilles is not implicated among those responsible, just as his character in E. *IA* is oblivious to the scheme that has used his name and reputation as a lure. Michelakis (2002) 84-5 has argued with regard to the *IA* that 'the use of Achilles' name without his consent is in all likelihood an innovation by Euripides'. If this is the case, and given that *IA* postdates *IT*, Iphigenia's suppression of Achilles' involvement in her sacrifice in *IT* once more highlights her desire for him/ marriage; cf. Michelakis (2002) 188 'The Achilles of tragedy can be both the object of desire and a desiring subject'. Although Michelakis overlooks Achilles' importance in *IT* (both in terms of Iphigenia's failed marriage and as conflated with Thoas - see ch. 5.1) and does not include this play in his discussion of Achilles in Greek tragedy, nevertheless, his analysis of Achilles as object of desire is very much applicable also in the context of *IT*. In E. *Hec.*, Achilles' ghost is directly responsible for the sacrifice of Polyxena, see Michelakis (2002) 66-7, 79-83, Mossman (1995) 31-4.

[6] Cf. Brown (1996) 1060 'He not only resorts to trickery by necessity but sometimes revels in it, as when he boasts of his triumph over the Cyclopes (9. 473-525); and his lying tales on Ithaca are elaborated with relish as Athena observes (13. 291-5)'; on the characteristics of the Odyssean type of literary figure through the ages, see Stanford (1963); on the parallel between the end of *IT* and the Odyssean boast to the Cyclops, see p. 59, below.

innocence, as a child still dependent on her mother, it also suggests an element of unsettling intrusion. The next passage which addresses the issue reinforces grief and betrayal, and is in fact Iphigenia's lament at being cheated out of marriage (214-221) *ἱππείοις ⟨δ'⟩ ἐν δίφροισι*[7]*| ψαμάθων Αὐλίδος ἐπέβασαν| νύμφαν, οἴμοι, δύσνυμφον| τῷ τᾶς Νηρέως κούρας, αἰαῖ.| νῦν δ' ἀξείνου πόντου ξείνα| δυσχόρτους οἴκους ναίω,| ἄγαμος ἄτεκνος ἄπολις ἄφιλος,| ἃ μναστευθεῖσ' ἐξ Ἑλλάνων,*[8]*| οὐ τὰν Ἄργει μέλπουσ' Ἥραν*. The lyric form reflects high emotional intensity. The reiteration that there was an unnamed group who enticed her to her death in '*they* set me on the sands of Aulis' reinforces the idea of a complete conspiracy. It also emphasizes Iphigenia's isolation at the moment of her slaughter[9], and this is reflected in her present plight. The festival of Hera, as the patron of married women, which is evoked in greater detail in Euripides' *Electra*[10], is one in which Iphigenia wishes she could participate. Like many other tragic heroes and heroines, she wishes for marriage, children, her city and friends[11]. She continues her lament 222-8 *οὐδ' ἱστοῖς ἐν καλλιφθόγγοις| κερκίδι Παλλάδος Ἀθίδος εἰκὼ| ⟨καὶ⟩ Τιτάνων ποικίλλουσ'*[12]*, ἀλλ'| †αἱμορράντων δυσφόρμιγγα| ξείνων αἱμάσσουσ' ἄταν βωμοὺς†*[13]*| οἰκτράν τ' αἰαζόντων αὐδὰν| οἰκτρόν τ' ἐκβαλλόντων δάκρυον*. The suggestion of weaving the image of Athena and the Titans must be a reference to the *peplos*, presented to Athena at the Panathenaia[14]. This activity is carried out by older

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[7] The association made by Foley (1982) 161 between Iphigenia's arrival on a chariot in *IA* as perhaps 'evoking the ominous arrivals for sacrifical death of Agamemnon and Cassandra at Argos in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, or of Clytemnestra in Euripides' own *Electra*' is equally pertinent here.

[8] Reading line 208 between 220-221. The text here is difficult. Grégoire (1959), Diggle (1981) and Cropp (2000) all cut 208 and insert it between 220-21, because (Cropp *ad loc.*) 'The line fits well after 220. After 207 (L) it makes no sense' (cf. Diggle (1981a) 96); the manuscript order is retained by Kovacs (1999), but he inserts an explanatory line before 208 and reads *⟨οἵαν ἄρ' ἔχω μοῖραν, ἀρίστων⟩ ἃ μναστευθεῖσ' ἐξ Ἑλλάνων*; Platnauer retains the line position but emends it to *τᾷ μναστευθεῖσᾳ 'ξ Ἑλλάνων* stating 'the line in either position refers to Clytemnestra'; cf. Sansone (1981), who follows Badham, inserting 208 after 209, making the line refer to Clytemnestra ('*ipsum nomen Clytemnestrae videtur respici*').

I agree with Diggle (1981) and Cropp (2000) that 208 refers to Iphigenia (not Clytemnestra). The song is Iphigenia's lament at being cheated out of marriage, and her subsequent inability to perform the activities of a wife. This is an extremely important aspect of Iphigenia's character which is developed throughout the play.

[9] Unlike *IA*, there is no retinue accompanying her from home. Indeed, the women are specifically mentioned singing wedding hymns for her *in Argos* and *in the palace* (*IT* 365-9).

[10] E. *El.* esp. 167-212; for its implications in the play as a whole and the character of Electra, see Zeitlin (2003).

[11] Line 220 is very emphatic; cf. Electra's lament at *Or.* 310, where she is *ἀνάδελφος ἀπάτωρ ἄφιλος*. On tragic characters as without city or friend, and for females, without marriage or children, see *Conclusion* 185-6.

[12] Note that this term is echoed when the chorus describe their longing to participate in wedding dances as they used to, wearing *πολυποίκιλα φάρεα* (1150).

[13] The text of 225-6 is slightly corrupt, but different readings do not alter the basic sense: Kovacs (1999) reads 'with blood-stained death of foreign men, death no lyre accompanies, I stain the altars', and Cropp (2000) 'I inflict a bloody fate, unfit for the lyre, on strangers'. See also Cropp (2000) *ad loc.* for textual problems.

[14] Gantz (1993) 447 explains that 'Hellenistic and later writers commonly confuse Titans and Gigantes, merging them together into one set of opponents for the Olympians', but clearly the Titanomachy is being

women, helped by very young girls (the *arrhephoroi*)[15]. Like Euripides' Electra in her name play (and indeed, Electra's character as mentioned in *IT*[16]), Iphigenia is unable to take part in festivals for married women. Of course, one basic difference between the two cases is that Iphigenia is trapped in a foreign land while Electra is still in Greece. But this difference is not as important as it first may seem, for in many ways, Euripides' Electra is also trapped in her unconsummated marriage and peasant life. The symbolic death undergone by a maiden on her marriage has been experienced literally by Iphigenia (although she has ultimately escaped actual death). Like Electra's *θανάσιμον γάμον* (E. *El.* 247), a ceremony of perverted marriage has taken place for Iphigenia, but she remains a virgin and is in effect married to death[17].

A direct contrast is set up (and emphasized through shared line position) between the destiny Iphigenia could have wished for herself (*καλλιφθόγγοις*), and the reality of her grim predicament (*δυσφόρμιγγα*)[18]. The horror of the slaughters committed in the cult of Artemis is particularly strongly expressed here by Iphigenia. The repetition of 'I make bloody' and 'blood-sprinkling' is very forceful, and reveals what she originally feared to express in the prologue (37)[19]. It consolidates the visual blood-imagery of the set, which has been described by Orestes and Pylades at 72-3, and confirms that Iphigenia herself has overseen these bloody sacrifices[20]. The couplet which ends her description relates the tortured end of those who are sacrificed. The syntax of 227 is echoed precisely in 228 which further strengthens the message (*οἰκτράν τ' αἰαζόντων αὐδὰν| οἰκτρόν τ' ἐκβαλλόντων δάκρυον*), while the repetition of 'piteous' once more highlights the horror of the situation. This powerful contrast serves two important purposes. Firstly it develops and underlines Iphigenia's readiness and desire for marriage. Secondly, it confirms for the audience the gory reality of the cult, while highlighting Iphigenia's unhappiness at her part in it.

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conflated with the Gigantomachy which was embroidered on the peplos for Athena at *IT* 222-4, which shows that the confusion also occurs well before the Hellenistic period. The conflation also occurs at *Hec.* 466-74, see Cropp (2000) *ad IT* 222-4.

[15]See Price (1999) 33.

[16]On the figure of Electra in *IT*, see 39-40, below.

[17]Iphigenia's marriage as a marriage to Hades is further developed in *IA*, but cf. the setting of *IT* as a kind of Hades on which see below ch. 3.2.

[18]Cf. Iphigenia's lament for her brother which she describes as *ἀλύροις* (146). As Wilson (2000) 433-4 argues, such terms indicating the absence of the lyre emphasize the presence of destructive Dionysian *aulos* music, the instrument of tragedy. In *IT* the image comes full circle in the second stasimon where Apollo is imagined accompanying the Greeks on their voyage home *ἔχων| κέλαδον ἑπτατόνου λύρας* (1128-9). But this will prove to be a vain hope as Apollo fails to appear.

[19]This foreshadows the pattern of refusal to speak, followed later by the divulgence of the information (particularly prominent in the recognition scene, where Orestes at first refuses to answer Iphigenia's questions, but then does so after all).

[20]Cf. *IT* 403-6 and see ch. 2.1.

Iphigenia was happy to go to her wedding to Achilles and delighted in her life, as is most poignantly revealed in lines 364-8. Far from the Iphigenia of Aeschylus who is silent and gagged[21], Euripides' Iphigenia remembers how she pleaded with her father using precisely the horrifying image of the perverted wedding he prepared for her (364-71): *Ὦ πάτερ, νυμφεύομαι| νυμφεύματ' αἰσχρὰ πρὸς σέθεν· μήτηρ δ' ἐμὲ| σέθεν κατακτείνοντος Ἀργεῖαί τε νῦν| ὑμνοῦσιν ὑμεναίοισιν, αὐλεῖται δὲ πᾶν| μέλαθρον· ἡμεῖς δ' ὀλλύμεσθα πρὸς σέθεν.* The force of the repeated *πρὸς σέθεν* 'at your hands' (365 and 368, cf. *σέθεν* 366) is noteworthy. Here it emphasizes Iphigenia's natural disbelief and anguish that she could be so brutally betrayed by her own father, as does the reference to the ritual singing of marriage-hymns by appropriate, but absent, females.

Iphigenia's failed marriage is recalled as a proof of identity by Orestes in the recognition scene[22]. Orestes had previously recalled the ceremony, still unaware of Iphigenia's identity at 538-9: *Ορ.....ἄλλως λέκτρ' ἔγημ' ἐν Αὐλίδι.| Ιφ. δόλια γάρ, ὡς ἴσασιν οἱ πεπονθότες.* The reference is brief, but nevertheless sums up the two most significant features of the wedding as repeated throughout the play: the concept of a vain marriage and the betrayal through deceit. These two characteristics are very much associated with the Atreidae throughout the play. By emphasizing the evil *dolos* of their forefathers, Euripides paves the way for the contrasting well-intentioned and god-ordained *dolos* of Orestes and his sister[23].

The final reference to the wedding at Aulis comes directly after the recognition scene. Picking up from Orestes' statement at 850-1 *γένει μὲν εὐτυχοῦμεν, ἐς δὲ συμφοράς,| ὦ σύγγον', ἡμῶν δυστυχὴς ἔφυ βίος*[24], Iphigenia's response is very clear. She recalls the greatest disasters that affected her. Firstly 852-3 *ἐγῷδ' ἃ μέλεος, οἶδ' ὅτε φάσγανον| δέρᾳ 'φῆκέ μοι μελεόφρων πατήρ.* She continues 856-61 *ἀνυμέναιος, ⟨ὦ⟩ σύγγον', Ἀχιλλέως| ἐς κλισίαν λέκτρων δόλιαν ἀγόμαν·| παρὰ δὲ βωμὸν ἦν δάκρυα καὶ γόοι.| φεῦ φεῦ χερνίβων ἐκεί⟨νων· οἴμοι⟩.* This passage reveals once more that the lure of marriage is vividly present in Iphigenia's mind when she remembers her sacrifice. The revelations of 364-8 are developed here. While the women were singing wedding-hymns in Argos, Iphigenia's actual arrival in Aulis is unsung by joyful hymns and accompanied by wailing. This is emphasized by Iphigenia herself breaking out into exclamations of lament at 861.

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[21] For further analysis of the Aeschylean sacrifice scene, see ch. 7.1, 166, 182-3.

[22] See p. 65, below.

[23] Compare also Artemis who 'stole' (*ἐξέκλεψέ* 28) Iphigenia from Aulis and brought her to the Taurian land. This is mirrored at the end of the play by Iphigenia stealing the *agalma* of Artemis and bringing it to Greece.

[24] Cf. concept of being well bred, see p. 54, below.

Iphigenia's unfullfilled marriage is a real factor in her grief[25]. Her status as a virgin servant of Artemis adds greatly to the pathos of her dwelling so significantly on the false wedding. Artemis is presented as Iphigenia's salvation in contrast to her murdering father[26], but Iphigenia is far from happy in her current situation (cf. 36-9). The emphasis on the false marriage at Aulis serves to reveal the character of Iphigenia in the first half of the play. At a time when she was ripe for marriage, Iphigenia becomes virgin priestess of Artemis. Rites of marriage and sacrifice both require a voluntary death, either real or symbolic[27]. While Iphigenia was willing to undergo symbolic death to marry Achilles, her accounts of Aulis and the appeals she makes to her father in this play show that she was an unwilling victim in the face of real death. She laments that her father is killing her (364-71) which implies that her sacrifice is involuntary. This is noteworthy in the context of Euripidean tragedy, whose sacrificial victims tend to die voluntarily[28]. Seaford[29], among others[30], explains:

'Marriage and animal sacrifice are analogous. Both impose civilized form, passing through anxiety to joy, on the submission and death (symbolic/real) required for natural processes (sex/eating) vital for (social/individual) survival. Moreover the bride, like the sacrificial victim, may have a lock of hair cut, is led adorned and isolated in procession, the centre of attention, and must consent to the transition'.

We recognize Iphigenia's situation for the most part in this description. One notable exception is that Iphigenia has not 'passed through anxiety to joy', but remains very much trapped in a limbo of anxiety. Furthermore, the suggestion in the play, that Iphigenia does not consent to her transition (from life to death) runs contrary to ritual prescription, as explained above[31]. It is true that Iphigenia does not go so far as to reject her fate outright, but her sense of betrayal is very clear and vocal. The ultimate outcome of Iphigenia's present fate is that she is neither married nor dead/ married to Hades and remains trapped in priesthood and believed dead by all (cf. 8, 176, 831). Although unmarried, the land in which

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[25]O'Brien (1988) 112 notes 'Aulis means several things to Iphigenia: a betrayal of her hopes for marriage, a threat of death, an escape and the beginning of exile', but he does not develop the theme of betrayed marriage further.

[26]Artemis is described as having 'stolen' (ἐξέκλεψέ) Iphigenia from her slaughter (28). Otherwise the verb σώζω is used (784, 1083; cf. 1399 where Iphigenia prays to Artemis for salvation once more).

[27]See Rose (1925) and Vernant (1980) 137-8.

[28]Contrast the voluntary sacrifices of the following Euripidean characters: Alcestis in her name-play, Polyxena in *Hec.*, Macaria in *Hcl.*, Menoeceus in *Pho.*, Evadne in *Supp.*, Iphigenia in *IA*, and probably at least one of the daughters in *Erechtheus* (see Collard et al. (1997) 148-55). On Euripides' plays of voluntary self-sacrifice and the concept of dying for the city, see Wilkins (1990). Cf. Andromache in her name-play, who is willing to give her life to spare her son's (*Andr.* 408-12), though both their deaths are ultimately averted, and of course, Orestes and Pylades who are both willing to die for each other in *IT* (674-715).

[29]Seaford (1994) 307-8.

[30]Cf. Vernant (1980) 137-8, Burkert (1983) 62, Foley (1985) 84-6, Bloch (1992) 69.

[31]This is one reason why it is so important for Clytemnestra to persuade Agamemnon to walk on the red draperies in A. *Ag.*- his death is presented as a (perverted) sacrifice and his consent to walk on the draperies is his consent to death.

Iphigenia finds herself can be seen as a Hades for Greeks, a land of death in effect, since any strangers are slaughtered[32]. Furthermore the associations between Iphigenia/Artemis and Hecate (linked with crossroads, transitions, ghosts of the dead and Hades) that were current in fifth century Greece make this hypothesis all the more appealing[33]. One difference between the two goddesses is that Hecate always carries torches and never a bow, while Artemis can carry either. But we note that in *IT,* Artemis is described (21) as φωσφόρῳ θεᾷ. This is the very first epithet associated with her, and in the context of Iphigenia's slaughter at Aulis, it must remind an audience of her associations with the Underworld[34]. Indeed, her Taurian cult makes her a mistress of the passage from life to death, though she herself has not completed the transition.

The theme of Iphigenia being denied the ritual of marriage is developed through contrast and comparison with reports of her sister Electra. Traditionally the proverbial spinster in Aeschylus and Sophocles[35], Euripides grants her Pylades in marriage only at the end of his *Electra* (1249-50; cf. 1340-1) and *Orestes* (1658-9)[36]. This marriage is to be consummated, unlike Electra's previous union with the *autourgos* (in E. *El.*), but this consummation must necessarily take place outside dramatic time. In *IT*, Euripides builds on his previous interpretation of the myth and Electra is already married to Pylades (682), though they do not yet have any children. It is because of this marriage, Orestes insists, that he should die and not Pylades, since the ancestral house can thus survive through their children (695-8, cf. 716-18, 922).

Although Electra is Pylades' δάμαρ[37] (696), he is her πόσις (922), and there are references to the γάμος (682) and the λέχος (716), she is first mentioned as a παρθένος at 562 when Orestes states that 'Ηλέκτραν γε παρθένον μίαν is the only child of Agamemnon to be left in the house. This seems to indicate that although they are married, Pylades and Electra have not yet consummated their marriage. This construction of Electra's marriage

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[32]See ch. 3.2 for further discussion.

[33]Iphigenia is equated with the goddess Hecate in Hes. *Cat.* 23b = Paus. 1.43.1 and Stesich. frg. 215 *PMG* = Philod. *Peri Euseb.* p. 24 (these references are collected by Lyons (1997) 203); cf. Hes. fr.23a M-W 24-26, and Larson (1995) 17, 118; Burkert (1985) 171 discusses the similarities of depictions of Artemis and Hecate in iconography and lists the following references for evidence of their relationship: A. *Supp.* 676, E. *Pho.*109, *IG* I 2nd ed. 310.192-4, *LSCG* 18 B11.

[34]Iconographical representations of Artemis as torch-bearing or Phosphorus are the most frequently encountered types of votives found at Brauron, where Iphigenia is to take up her new role prescribed at the end of the play; see Sourvinou-Inwood (1996) 183.

[35]Note the pun on the name'Ηλέκτρα and ἄλεκτρα 'without a marriage bed' i.e. 'unwedded' exploited by Sophocles in his *Electra* at 493 and 962.

[36]But note that *Orestes*, like *Iphigenia in Aulis*, is a later play than *IT*.

[37]Cf. δάμαρ used by Iphigenia at 385 to describe Leto's relationship with Zeus as the bearer of Artemis; the Homeric echoes of this word also recall the undertones of heroic status attributed to Pylades and Orestes in this play (see n.65 below).

serves two purposes. Firstly, it sets Electra up both as a contrast and a parallel to Iphigenia. She is married and expected to produce offspring, but is also still a maiden representing the barren and polluted state of the current Atreid *oikos*. This allows Euripides to develop the theme of non-marriage and childlessness in respect of Iphigenia also. Secondly, it emphasizes the relentlessness of Orestes' torment after the matricide. For it must be that Pylades as a true friend, accompanying Orestes through his trials (cf. 94 where Orestes calls him *μοι τοῦδε συλλήπτωρ πόνου*), has abandoned his marriage in order to fulfill his duty as Orestes' *philos*[38]. Electra has completed the transition which Iphigenia failed to accomplish, but Electra has not yet completed the transition to womanhood achieved on the birth of the first child[39]. This in turn points to the irresponsibility and rash commands of the god Apollo, as well as his failure to relieve his protegé's anguish, and further illustrates that the future of the Atreid *oikos* hangs on the pollution and purification of Orestes.

Euripides, who is so preoccupied with Electra's marginality in the play that bears her name, develops this approach to a female character even further in *IT*. Iphigenia's obvious physical marginality in a barbaric land as a priestess officiating over human sacrifices, with all her kin believing her dead, is drawn from the fantastical element of myth. Here, Euripides couples the extraordinary with the ordinary in highlighting very basic human concerns: lack of marriage and childlessness. The theme of the *oikos* in this play thus develops from Iphigenia's regret at her failed marriage, through the hope of continuation of the line with Pylades and Electra. But no guarantee of continuation of the line is given by Athena at the end of the play. Iphigenia longs so strongly for her homeland of Argos throughout the play[40], and it is this dream of return which seems almost tangible in the second half of the play. But the "happy" ending (i.e. salvation for all) conflicts with the wishes of the characters as previously expressed. Iphigenia's wishes are denied her on all levels. The end of the play prescribes that she remain in the service of Artemis for the rest of her days, unmarried and childless. She will not live in Argos but in *σεμνάς....λείμακας| Βραυρωνίας* (1462-3). So, Iphigenia escapes from one prison to another, and the end of this tragedy is in fact dark and disturbing.

In myth, images of meadows are associated with virgins just prior to rape or marriage, particularly in the context of a young girl picking flowers and the obvious symbol of defloration[41]. A well-known Euripidean inversion of this motif, which, like *IT*, involves a

[38]On the bond of *philia* which exists between Orestes and Pylades, see below 61-2.

[39]On female transitions see ch. 6.2.

[40]Esp. 774-6; cf. 175, 221, 515, 639-42, 750-2; and note that the main purpose of the escape plan is originally to get back to Argos.

[41]Compare the figures of Persephone in the opening of *HH to Demeter*, Creusa in E. *Ion* 887-96. Iphigenia

meadow sacred to Artemis, is the case of Hippolytus. The male virgin gathers flowers for garlands with which to adorn Artemis. He picks them from her sacred meadow which only he can enter, but he remains unseduced. The destruction of Hippolytus in his name-play is linked to his worship of Artemis to the exclusion of Aphrodite[42]. Although Hippolytus himself vehemently rejects physical love, his untouched meadow becomes eroticized by Phaedra at 208-211 who longs for the relief she wishes to find in this meadow[43]. In *IT*, the motif of the meadow is not nearly so prominent, and there is not the same degree of inversion, but Artemis' meadow once again proves to be an area which will not become a ground for seduction, although it is an obvious place for poetic love-making. Often, when a maiden is seduced or abducted from a meadow, she is carried off from a chorus of maidens, and 'the motif of abduction from a meadow and a group of maidens suggests the girl's readiness for marriage'[44]. Iphigenia's readiness for marriage is reinforced visually in the play by Iphigenia and her chorus of attendant-women, and verbally by their laments about maidenhood at various points (e.g. 203-35, 1137-52).

The particular type of meadow which is mentioned here as Iphigenia's new home is a λεῖμαξ (or λειμών)[45]. This kind of meadow is especially associated with flowers, more so than other words for meadow or garden[46]. Compare the following terms: ἄλσος and ὕλη both imply a forest-type area[47]; κῆπος implies the presence fruit-bearing trees, but is also associated with sexual activity[48]; ποίη is the closest in connotation to λειμών[49]. In this way,

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in *IA* is sacrificed in the meadow of Artemis (see Foley (1982) 161). Europa being carried off by Zeus while she is picking flowers is depicted in art from the early 6th century (see *Der Kleine Pauly* 2.447); cf. also Oreithyia in S. fr. 956 in Radt (1977). See further Seaford (1987) *passim* on plant imagery used in the context of marriage.

Brauron itself, where Iphigenia will remain, is also a locus for the abduction of females in Hdt. 4. 145, where we are told that the Pelasgians had abducted Athenian women from Brauron.

[42]On the associations between Hippolytus' doom and the meadow, see Goff (1990) 58-62, e.g. 60 'The absence of pasturage and agriculture suggests not only sanctity but also sterility, the end of life'.

[43]See discussion in Bremer (1975) 277-9, Segal (1986) 175, Goff (1990) 61.

[44]Foley (1993) 34; cf. 33 'Nausicaa and her maidens face a potential male threat of this kind when Odysseus emerges from the bushes at Scheria'.

[45]Cf. *LSJ s.v.* λεῖμαξ: = λειμών.

[46]The lexicographers Hesychius, Suidas and Zonaras describe λειμών as a τόπος ἀνθηρός; cf. Pollux *Onom.* I, 229 ὁ μὲν πάντων ἀνθῶτόπος, λειμών; on gardens and meadows in ancient Greece, see Motte (1973) *passim*; cf. *HH to Dem.*, *IA* 1296ff., and *Hipp.* 73-8 with Goff (1990) 61-2 'When Hippolytus picks flowers, he can be seen to align himself with the other mythical virgins who amuse themselves with the same innocent pastime in the moment before desire and death intrude'.

[47]But cf. the use of ὕλη in *Hipp.* 17, 215, which associates it with the meadow of desire.

[48]Cf. Sappho 2 and Ibycus 5 both of which feature apples and a λειμών in the former case, a κῆπος in the latter- these are discussed by Bremer (1975) in the context of E. *Hipp.* 73ff; cf. also Zeus and Hera who are thought to have consummated their marriage in the garden where the Hesperides tend the golden apples which Earth offered them as a wedding gift- see W. Barrett (1964) *ad Hipp.* 742-51 for evidence, and see Motte (1973) 104-114, and 216-225 on Hera's associations with gardens.

[49]At *Iliad* 14.346-5, Zeus lies with Hera in the ποίη which is home to the crocus and hyacinth and clover; cf. the flowers listed in the *HH to Demeter* 6-8 when Persephone is carried off from the λειμών: crocus,

by choosing a λεῖμαξ as the specific type of meadow in which Iphigenia will serve, Euripides highlights her readiness for marriage once more. Conversely, the fact that she will be denied this marriage becomes even more poignant. By placing Iphigenia in this position for evermore, Euripides sentences her to live the rest of her life in a state of suspension. The image of the meadow shows Iphigenia's desired marriage as almost, but never, fulfilled.

In a further ironic twist, women who die in childbirth will have their clothes dedicated in honour of Iphigenia[50]. In her maidenhood and through her priesthood, Iphigenia has a very close bond with the goddess Artemis. Λοχία, one of the many epithets of Artemis, is found in the second stasimon of *IT* at 1097. Iphigenia describes her own birth, 205-7 singing ἐξ ἀρχᾶς| λόχιαι στερρὰν παιδείαν| Μοῖραι συντείνουσιν θεαί. Iphigenia then laments that she was μναστευθεῖσ' ἐξ Ἑλλάνων (208) only to become a victim of her father at Aulis[51]. In this context of courtship, the three-termination adjective στερρός -ά -όν 'harsh' may recall its two-termination homonym στερρός -όν 'barren'. Iphigenia's upbringing is harsh but also barren from the beginning, and as we have seen, this is how her life will stay.

Euripides thus develops the motif of the fictitious marriage at Aulis, from being a simple element in the plot to lure Iphigenia to her death, to becoming a most significant source of anger and grief for Iphigenia. The redundant marriage takes on an importance equal to the actual sacrifice, and develops the character of Iphigenia in terms of her longing for marriage and children. We saw both elements first introduced in the prologue speech and used to highlight Iphigenia's mood in her present situation. The parenthesis of her first account of her death 'so people believe' (8) is a reflection of her belief that she has been forgotten, in contrast to Aulis which she describes as κλεινή (9). The chorus develop this contrast in the *parodos*. They address Iphigenia at 140-2 as ὦ παῖ τοῦ τᾶς Τροίας πύργους| ἐλθόντος κλεινᾷ σὺν κώπᾳ| χιλιοναύτα μυριοτευχοῦς|†'Ατρειδᾶν τῶν κλεινῶν†[52]. It is not the sacrificed Iphigenia who is famous, but the fleet which sailed to Troy and the Atreidae themselves. Being famous, or remembered, especially after death is something one should

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hyacinth, narcissus, roses, violets and irises (and roses and hyacinths in the λειμών at *IA* 1297-8).

[50]Note with Wolff (1992) 323, that 'what Euripides has chosen to have Athena speak about are dedications on occasions of failure- the deaths of mothers, and nothing is said about whether or not the children survived'. This last fact reflects the omission of descendants from the prescription for the future of the Atreidae.

Meadows are also associated with death in various ways: cf. Goff (1990) on *Hipp.*, Persephone is abducted directly to Hades, and compare also the motif of abandoning unwanted children in a meadow (*leimon*), found at *Pho.* 24 (see Mastronarde (1994) *ad loc.*).

[51]Cf. again Euripides' *Electra* where it is that of Electra that μνηστῆρες ἧττον Ἑλλάδος πρῶτοι χθονός (21), but instead she lives in an unconsummated marriage, without a clearly defined status.

[52]The metre and syntax of 142 are defective, see Platnauer (1938) *ad loc,* but the text as it stands does not alter the point here.

strive for in Greek thought[53]. One of the reasons Iphigenia's character gives for her willing sacrifice in *IA* is precisely this[54]. But Iphigenia is only remembered in that she died. There is no glorious reputation. Iphigenia's response to the chorus in the *parodos* of *IT* ends with a further reference to her homeland (176) ἔνθα δοκήμασι| κεῖμαι σφαχθεῖσ' ἁ τλάμων. The land itself, Argos, is κλεινός, as Orestes calls it (508). This use of the term 'famous' to describe places and people associated with Iphigenia's slaughter adds pathos to Iphigenia's belief that she has been forgotten by the world. This belief will be confirmed by Orestes at 564: Iphigenia asks him (563) σφαγείης θυγατρὸς ἔστι τις λόγος; Orestes replies οὐδείς γε, πλὴν θανοῦσαν οὐχ ὁρᾶν φάος. When Iphigenia and Orestes both recognize each other's identity, Orestes' words once again reflect the truth of Iphigenia's belief (831) κἀγὼ σὲ τὴν θανοῦσαν, ὡς δοξάζεται[55].

The focus on Iphigenia's failed marriage highlights her emotional progression from the first to the second half of the play. References occur mostly before the recognition scene (24-5, 214-17, 369-71, 538-9), once during (818-21), and once immediately after (856-61). After the recognition scene, Iphigenia becomes more preoccupied with the fate of her *oikos*. She renounces her anger to the point that she claims to feel no rancour any longer at the man who killed her, and now focuses her efforts on the attempt to escape: 990-993 θέλω δ' ἅπερ σύ, σέ τε μεταστῆσαι πόνων| νοσοῦντά τ' οἶκον, οὐχὶ τῷ κτανόντι με| θυμουμένη, πατρῷον ὀρθῶσαι †θέλω†. Her concern for the house and the fact that she has been reunited with the brother whom she believed dead lend credibility to her newly announced rejection of her anger towards her father. It is significant that she doesn't actually use the word 'father' as she repeatedly does when describing her sacrifice (8, 211, 360ff., 565, 784, 854, 920, 1083; cf. 862). Here she uses 'the man who killed me' which has the effect of distancing her father from the crime. Raising up her ancestral house is worth risking her life for, as shown by 1004-5 addressed by Iphigenia to Orestes οὐ μήν φεύγω γ', οὐδέ σ' εἰ θανεῖν χρεὼν| σώσασαν. Grief at her foiled marriage and her childlessness is now replaced by a new hope of return to her ancestral house and the continuation of her line. This explains the absence of reference to the wedding in (roughly) the second half of the play. The quickened pace of the second part of the play also favours shorter references to the slaughter at Aulis.

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[53]Compare, for example, Hdt. 1. 30-31 where Solon explains to Croesus that Tellus of Athens and Cleobis and Biton are the happiest of men because they gained a glorious name in their death.

[54]Iphigenia at *IA* 1383-4 states that the *kleos* she will achieve is motivation for her self-sacrifice (see the rest of this speech for other reasons); cf. *IT* 905 where Pylades conversely speaks of attaining τὸ κλεινὸν ὄνομα τῆς σωτηρίας.

[55]On the significance of the illusion of Iphigenia's slaughter, and its relation to the theme of appearance vs. reality in this play and in *Helen*, see Wright (2002) 192-200.

Can we call this emotional development? I would say yes. Goldhill applies Barthes' distinction between 'figure' and 'person' to the understanding of characters in ancient tragedy, and argues that we are free to discuss 'the necessary elements of characterization....without requiring or leading to the uncritical position of treating a character as a 'person', because, 'there can be no sure and fixed answer to what a character is 'really feeling', 'really thinking', 'really wanting'[56], but in fact we are given clear indications of what Iphigenia really feels, really thinks, and really wants. She feels angry at her fate, hopeless when she believes Orestes is dead, and grief-stricken at her abortive marriage. She wants to go home. Iphigenia's character cannot be treated as a 'type'[57]. Once her hope has been rekindled through the figure of Orestes, she undergoes a clear emotional development from grief to joy, but more significantly from anger to the release of this anger[58]. The complete turnabout in the mood is emphasized by use of lyrics. Lyric which was used in the *parodos* to lament is now used to express jubilation (827-899). These are the only two instances of Iphigenia singing in this play. Furthermore her characterization interacts with the play's themes[59], particularly the concept of Greeks as sacrificers of humans, the theme of marriage, and pollution of the Atreid *oikos*[60].

### 3.2 Orestes: Polluted Epic Hero on a Katabatic Mission

The term τέχνη, meaning 'trick', is used by Orestes when we first meet him. Orestes explains Apollo's command concerning the theft of the statue (89) λαβόντα δ' ἢ τέχναισιν ἢ τύχῃ τινὶ. This immediately recalls Odysseus, whose τέχναι (24)[61] engineer Iphigenia's deceptive lure to Aulis, and indeed, Orestes' character and behaviour in this play often bring Odysseus to mind, though ironically not through his τέχναι[62]. In broad strokes, the

[56]Goldhill (1990) 113. It is clear, however, from classical sources, that it would have been expected for a contemporary audience to be emotionally affected by their sympathy for a dramatic character, on which see Lada (1993); cf. also Stanford (1985) and Heath (1987) 90-98 on sympathy for the drama's focal character.

[57]See Pelling (1990) 245 on *not* understanding Greek characters as 'types'; cf. Easterling (1990) who argues that Gould (1978) gives too much weight to the stylization of Greek tragedy.

[58]This ties in with Silk's analysis of character development in Greek drama (1990) 156 'development implies a progression from one perceived state to another via shifts of emphasis between the identifiable details'.

[59]Cf. Pelling (1990) 261 on interaction of character and theme.

[60]On Greeks practising human sacrifice, see ch. 5.1, 109-16 and ch. 6.1, on pollution in the Atreid *oikos*, see ch. 3.3, below.

[61]The term τέχνη is used in just three more instances in this play, each time to mean trickery: at 712 of Apollo, at 1032 of women and at 1355 of Iphigenia (here coupled with δόλια).

[62]Orestes is also an Odyssean character in the plays that deal with the matricide. In each of these, he comes back by stealth and murders by deception. In *Cho.* (e.g. 888) the stealthy treachery is emphasized as being an appropriate requital for Clytemnestra whose deception played a large part in her murder of Agamemnon. In S. *El.* Orestes is presented as a shining (λαμπρός 685), Homeric-type hero in the description of his

characters are quite similar: both are driven relentlessly by the gods, wandering over land and sea. They move around stealthily on first arrival in a foreign land, and Orestes' mission to the land of the Taurians can be analysed as a *katabasis* of the Odyssean type. The point that Orestes' journey resembles a *katabasis* is made by Hartigan. She argues as follows[63]:

'Orestes' Apolline directed journey to the land of the Taurians is, in fact, his *κατάβασις*, his "descent" to the land of the dead. Like other epic heroes he must face and overcome death. He knows the risks involved (kindunon [90]) and upon what his successful return depends. His quest does not require that he make sacrifices to the dead, as did Odysseus', but he himself may well be the sacrificial victim; Orestes shares the destiny of his sister. With Herakles he shares a similarity of motif, but not of object: As the son of Alkmene had to bring back (steal) the apples from the Garden of the Hesperides or Cerberus from the Underworld, so Orestes has to bring back (steal) the *agalma*. His successful conquest would purify him and then render him beyond the earthborn Furies' pursuit. Thus Orestes, by his journey, confrontation with death, acquisition of a sacred object and successful return, would be worthy to be considered a hero similar to the other heroes who journeyed to the Realm of the Dead, who completed equivalent tasks and passages. Orestes, unlike Herakles but like Odysseus and especially like Jason, needed the aid of a woman to achieve his goal. In his story the clever female is his own sister, not a "witch" with romantic interests, and thus he can both attain his own salvation and save his sibling from her uncomfortable duties and restore her to the world from which she had been so long concealed. Orestes' *κατάβασις*, then both finalizes his purification and completes his restoration of his House'.

Although I do not agree with all of Hartigan's arguments[64], the concept of Orestes' mission as a type of *katabasis* is very convincing. This analysis works extremely well in the play, and fits in with other heroic resonances in the characterization of Orestes. Orestes' *katabasis* is clearly Odyssean in type because of the Homeric echoes in this play and the identifiable parallels between Orestes and Odysseus[65]. However, Hartigan is quite right to point out the theft motif which recalls Heracles' *katabasis*. It also echoes Orpheus' descent into Hades to retrieve his wife, comparable on certain levels to Orestes retrieving his sister in the land of the Taurians (though he is unaware of this at the beginning of his mission, and Orpheus ultimately fails in his)[66]. In what follows, I will flesh out the basic comparison and analyse the concept of Orestes' mission as a *katabasis* within the context of the play and against the model of *Odyssey* 11. Several elements in the play (unmentioned by Hartigan) favour such an interpretation of *katabasis*. We have seen how Iphigenia is neither dead nor

glorious chariot-race which ends with his alleged death, and we are constantly reminded that he is the son of Agamemnon, who was cut down as woodmen fell an oak (98-9), another Homeric image. But of the three Electra plays, it is in E. *El.* that Orestes is most Odyssean, as his recognition is effected through a scar, on which see Goff (1991).

[63]Hartigan (1991) 95-6.

[64]For example, Hartigan overlooks Pylades' important role and Orestes' dependence on him for the strength to complete his mission, and the fact that Orestes needs divine help to succeed as well as his sister's; also, the restoration of the 'House' is left extremely vague at the end of the play as Orestes is sent off to Halai, Iphigenia to Brauron and Pylades remains unmentioned, although it is possible (but improbable in my view) that this is addressed in the lacuna at 1469, see Cropp (2000) *ad loc.*

[65]On epic style in *IT* cf. 132-6, 170, 235-391, 392-455, 456-826, 828-30, 1000, 1042, 1091, 1136, 1234-83, 1327-1419 with Cropp (2000) *ad loc*; parallels between Odysseus and Orestes will be discussed in the present section.

[66]Our main sources for the Orpheus myth are Virgil *Georg.* 4.453-525 and Ovid *Met.* 10.1-11.84, but it was known in the fifth century, cf. E. *Alc.* 357-62.

alive and how the mythological figure of Iphigenia is conflated with the figure of Hecate and her associations with the Underworld[67]. The fact that local custom is to slaughter all strangers who land there sets up the land as a sort of 'land of the dead', and a place from which there is no return[68]. This is reflected in Iphigenia's comment to Orestes and Pylades at 480-1. They have just arrived in the land of the Taurians and she says ὡς διὰ μακροῦ μὲν τήνδ' ἐπλεύσατε χθόνα,| μακρὸν δ' ἀπ' οἴκων χρόνον ἔσεσθε δὴ κάτω. Iphigenia herself is assumed dead by all Greeks[69]. In effect, she is a ghost from Orestes' past who reveals her plight to Orestes, in a similar way as Odysseus' encounters with ghosts from his past develop in *Od.* 11. Iphigenia is not literally a ghost, of course, but her liminal state of being alive but thought dead by all creates a clear parallel to a ghost-like figure. Neither Iphigenia nor Orestes are aware of each other's identity while first extracting information from each other; however, the exchange of information works in a similar way to *Odyssey* 11.

The geographic location of the land of the Taurians, like the location of Hades, is on the boundaries of the world in 5th C BC thought. It has been argued that Odysseus sails *west* in order to get to Hades, which is strictly speaking under the world, while the land of the Taurians is positively to the *east* of Greece[70]. However, this does not negate the parallel. Indeed the east is more suited to a barbarian setting[71]. And I am not claiming that Orestes' mission *is* a *katabasis* to Hades, since it clearly is not. However, the parallels with *katabatic* journeys to the Underworld are too striking to be ignored, and Orestes' mission in *IT* is clearly katabatic *in type*. The arduous journey itself to the edges of the earth and the prophetic force behind it (Apollo in the case of *IT*, Circe in the case of the *Odyssey*[72]) is very much a part of the katabatic theme. The actual voyage to the land of the Taurians undertaken by Orestes and Pylades is mentioned at several points in the play. The first

[67]See n.33 above.

[68]Cf. Enkidu's dream about dying, *Gilgamesh* 7.4..35-6 where he sees 'the Dwelling from which he who enters never comes forth,| On the road by which there is no returning' (trans. in Bowra (1964) 80).

[69]Compare the story of the vanishing Scythian Aristeas in Hdt. 4.14. He allegedly died in a fuller's workshop, but was then seen on the road to Cyzicus, and was nowhere to be found when his relatives came for his body. He reappeared seven years later, composed a poem, and vanished again. He then appears some two hundred and forty years later to the people of Metapontum and orders them to erect a statue. The land of the Taurians is in Scythia, which reinforces the connection of disappearances in or to this part of the world.

[70]Cf. Austin (1975) 95 '*Zophos* is the region of its settings, it is both westerly and downward', and Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) 60, who comments on the common associations of the Sun rising in the east and setting in the west, which is therefore an area of darkness.

[71]The east is particularly associated with the barbarian practice of Heliolatry, clearly connected with the fact that the sun rises in the east. Conversely, the west, where the sun sets, is easily associated with the darkness of Hades. But the whole divide between east and west and the location of insubstantial places like Hades may be more fluid than this schema allows, and does not negate the development of the eastern Taurian land as a kind of Underworld; cf. Romm (1992) 12, who notes that for Hesiod, the underworld is 'measured along a vertical rather than a horizontal axis' (with n.8 for further parallels).

[72]Cf. Phineus in Ap. *Argo.* and Nelis (2001) 39ff.

report of the two Greek men who have reached the land is given to Iphigenia by the Herdsman who explains 241-2 *ἥκουσιν ἐς γῆν, κυανέας Συμπληγάδας| πλάτῃ φυγόντες, δίπτυχοι νεανίαι*. The image of the Symplegades, or 'Clashing Rocks' is repeated just 19 lines later (at 260) in the first line of the Herdsman's long report. The repetition is particularly emphatic as the word holds exactly the same line position in both cases. The point of these references is to convey to the audience that the land of the Taurians lies *beyond* the Symplegades, and that a voyage to this place involves the treacherous ordeal of passing through them. It has been noted that in early Greek sources, there is no distinction made between the Symplegades and the Planktai[73]. If we recall Circe's speech at *Od.*22.55-72, we see how she sketches out Odysseus' arduous journey home for him and explains that he must pass through the Planktai (61). Even if the two pairs of rocks are not the same, they represent an element of mortal danger which the hero must endure, and are the gates through which he must pass from this world into the next[74]. So, the fact that Orestes passed through the Clashing Rocks is the most significant motif of his journey. When the Greeks are attempting to escape, a voice exclaims 1388-89 *ἔχομεν γὰρ ὥνπερ οὕνεκ' ἄξενον πόρον| Συμπληγάδων ἔσωθεν εἰσεπλεύσαμεν*. It is clear that his successful passage through the Clashing Rocks is the defining factor in the success of his voyage, while his obtaining the statue and Iphigenia (albeit through little planning of his own) mark out the success of his mission[75].

The difficulty of getting past these Rocks is emphasized by the chorus in the first stasimon[76], and the path of the journey itself is elaborated, particularly in the second strophe. They wonder how Orestes and Pylades passed through *τὰς συνδρομάδας πέτρας* (422). Their wonder underlines the difficulty of the feat. The chorus' amazement continues, as they list the places which would have been passed on the journey (423-8) : *πῶς Φινεΐδας*

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[73]Crane (1987) 33-4 notes the lack of distinction in Pindar *Pyth.* 4.207-12, and quotes Herodotus 4.85 where Darius is described sailing through the Kyaneai (usually an epithet of the Symplegades as at *IT* 241), which he says were formerly known as the Planktai. Crane further remarks, 34, that 'Apollonius....first clearly distinguishes between the Clashing and the Wandering Rocks', but goes on to explain the complex and conscious relationship between Apollonius and Homer; on this last important topic, see Nelis (2001) *passim*, esp. 1-22.

[74]Cf. Nelis (2001) 234, on the Symplegades as a representation of the 'gates to the Underworld through which the hero must pass to reach the other world', with extensive bibliography in n.35.

[75]Cf. Jason and the Argonauts in E. *Med.* The defining moment of their journey is the passage through the Symplegades, mentioned by the Nurse (2). And see Page (1938) *ad loc* on the obscurity of the location of the Symplegades and their poetic conflation with the Planktai: 'It is clear from this line that Eur. thinks of Argo passing through the Symplegades on the *outward* journey.....But the incident happens on the *homeward* voyage in Homer'.

[76]Iphigenia, at 354-6, assumes that a wind sent from Zeus would be needed to bring Helen on a ship through the Symplegades; at 746, she assures Pylades that she will see him safely past the Dark Rocks (i.e. the most dangerous part of the journey); and at 889-91 she worries about the long journey through the Dark Rocks' narrow passage.

†ἀύ-| πνους†[77] ἀκτὰς ἐπέρα-| σαν παρ' ἅλιον αἰγιαλὸν ἐπ' Ἀμφιτρί-| τας ῥοθίῳ δραμόντες,| ὅπου πεντήκοντα κορᾶν| Νηρήδων < > χοροὶ| μέλπουσιν ἐγκύκλιοι, and (435-8) τὰν πολυόρνιθον ἐπ' αἶ-| αν, λευκὰν ἀκτάν, Ἀχιλῆ-| ος, δρόμους καλλισταδίους,| ἄξεινον κατὰ πόντον; This list of mythical and somewhat magical places which are passed by Orestes on his journey once more reinforce the evocation of an Odyssean type of *katabasis*[78]. Achilles is located in the White Island only after his death, which again helps create the atmosphere of danger and liminality[79]. The figure of Phineus also serves as another analogue to Orestes. Both were hounded by female monsters, Phineus by the Harpies (emphasized by the fact that his shores are 'unsleeping'), Orestes by the Furies. Phineus' blindness parallels Orestes' distorted vision through his madness (discussed below)[80].

In Orestes' first scene on stage, he addresses Apollo and recounts the god's orders to come Ταυρικῆς... ὅρους χθονός (85). It is note-worthy that Orestes is ordered to go the ὅροι of the Taurian land. Similarly, Odysseus stays on the threshold of Hades, on the edge of the streams of Ocean, for the whole duration of his mission. Like Odysseus in his *katabasis*, Orestes is literally on the threshold of death, and on the water's edge, throughout the play[81]. We have seen how the land of the Taurians is a fringe-community, on the edge, on the shore of the Black sea, and how Orestes' life hangs in the balance both before the recognition scene (at the hands of Iphigenia) and afterwards (at the hands of the Taurians), until Athena resolves the action. Furthermore, a similar atmosphere can be detected in both katabatic missions through the strong link between blood and sacrifice[82] (on arrival, Odysseus must sacrifice for the ghosts to drink blood and Orestes is confronted with an altar dripping with the blood of Greeks)[83]. Both figures engage in their mission as part of their *nostos*[84]. Both

[77]Metrically defective, it does not correspond to the antistrophe, see Cropp (2000) *ad loc.*

[78]Note the Homeric word πλησιστίος, found in Homer at *Od.*11.7=12. 149 (as noted also by Cropp (2000) *ad loc.*). This further links the description to an epic context.

[79]See Cropp (2000) *ad loc.* for sources placing Achilles on the White Island.

[80]Phineus is an important character encountered in the journey of the Argonauts as recounted by Apollonius. Although this *Argonautica* is Hellenistic, cf. Nelis (2001) 23 'the archaic version of the Argonautic saga predates both Homer and the *scriptor cyclius*'. The reference to the mythological Phineus here certainly reinforces the concept of a dangerous journey through magical places.

[81]All the action and reported action takes place on the shoreline; see ch. 2, 8, 18.

[82]On blood imagery in this play, see ch. 7.1, 177-80.

[83]Note also the clamour of ghosts which is compared to the cry of birds (*Od.*11.605), and the fact that the chorus compare themselves being trapped in this land to wingless birds lamenting (*IT* 1089ff.); cf. also S. *OT* 168ff. where the souls of those who perish take flight.

[84]Lange (2002) 102-115 explores the relationship between *IT* and the *Odyssey* as *nostos* patterns, but he does not develop the concept of the Taurian journey as a *katabasis*. He notes some significant parallels between Orestes and Odysseus (e.g. that they are driven by the gods, and opposed by Poseidon), but I am not convinced by his comparisons between Penelope and Iphigenia. In particular, Lange does not take into account the disturbing nature of Iphigenia's weaving described in the recognition scene, which records ancestral crimes (discussed in ch. 3.3 below), when he likens Iphigenia and Penelope through their female activity of weaving (106-7), nor is the weaving a Homeric echo by simple virtue of the fact that it is a

have been wandering and driven from place to place and prevented from going home, Orestes by the Furies (*IT* 970ff.), Odysseus by Poseidon[85], and in their absence, their kingdom is out of their control (cf. *IT* 929 Μενέλαος ἄρχει· φυγάδες ἐσμὲν ἐκ πάτρας). Both must undertake this journey to proceed in their aim, Odysseus to return home, Orestes to be purified and return home, and both are directed to go on this mission without really understanding why. Odysseus is told he must consult Teiresias, Orestes that he must steal the statue of Artemis, but there are much deeper reasons for the necessity of the journey in each case, which are revealed through the narrative/ action. Through their journey, both are confronted with their past and their future. Orestes meets his long-lost sister, who is believed dead, and is forced to recount his past and that of his family to Iphigenia, while at the end of the play he learns the fate of his future through the words of Athena. Odysseus meets his comrades in arms from the past and his mother who has died in his absence, but the whole episode looks forward to his reunification with his family[86]. In both instances, there is an exchange of news, as the characters learn about their families.

Orestes' quest, then, is presented in the epic mould, but the character of Orestes himself, although he bears some similarities to other mythical heroes, ultimately falls short of an epically heroic status. The epic hero is a brave, strong, glorious, handsome warrior, an Achilles, or an Iliadic Ajax. Odysseus is a more complex type of epic hero in that his character is also defined in terms of deceptive skills, but he is also daring and merciless[87]. Throughout the drama, Euripides plays with the concept of Orestes as epic hero of both Iliadic and Odyssean type[88]. While at times suggesting Orestes' heroic qualities, he then undermines them in various ways. Orestes wavers between cowardice and bravery, but his outbursts of bravery are more often than not inappropriate. Although Orestes is the one whose mission it is to retrieve the statue, it is Pylades who keeps stealthy watch and comes up with a plan. It is apparent from the very earliest stages of the play that Orestes is plagued by his madness and is not in control of the situation. The image of a twisting or circling force, which is often associated with madness in Greek tragedy[89], occurs twice in Orestes' first monologue. He firstly refers to δρόμους τε πολλοὺς....καμπίμους (81) which he has

recognition token (as Lange (2002) 108-9 seems to argue).

[85]But Poseidon also opposes Orestes as he tries to escape (1414-15) and is only calmed at Athena's request (1444-5).

[86]On this see De Jong (2001) 271.

[87]On concepts of the hero in archaic poetry, see Nagy (1979).

[88]Cf. Easterling (1997a) on the concept of 'heroic vagueness' in tragedy which (36) 'allows a range of possible interpretations to exist'.

[89]Note Aeschylus' use of the verb στροβέω to describe the madness of Cassandra at A. *Ag.* 1216, and that of Orestes at *Cho.* 1052; cf. E. *Her.* 1069 where Herakles is twisting and turning as he wakes from his madness. On tragic madness in general, see Padel (1995).

completed, being driven by the Furies, and then he explains how he is seeking to reach an end to his *τροχηλάτου μανίας* (82). Ironically, these expressions of madness are also sporting metaphors, usually an indication of heroic and athletic prowess[90]. The circles of madness which characterize Orestes contrast with Pylades' opening words (68) *σκοποῦμαι δ' ὄμμα πανταχῇ στρέφων*. Rolling eyes, in particular, are a very common form of expression for representing madness in Greek tragedy. It is therefore highly ironic that Pylades' circling eye is sane, and a powerful iteration of Pylades' control of the situation[91].

This madness, which becomes much more explicit as the play develops, may be seen as a factor which negates Orestes' status as a hero. His kindred pollution and fits of insanity strongly detract from any claim Orestes' character may have to hero status[92]. Euripides' presentation of Orestes in the opening scene does not inspire our confidence, and this helps to set the tone for undermining situations in which he may seem heroic. On arrival before the temple of Artemis, Orestes desperately questions Pylades as to what they should do (95-100), and then, without waiting for Pylades to respond, concludes that they should abandon their mission and run away (103 *φεύγωμεν*). Although he subsequently takes Pylades' advice to stay and face the danger, he has first of all shown himself to be a coward, and ironically unresourceful, in contrast to the figure of Odysseus with whom his character and situation beg comparison. After the *parodos*, we receive news of the strangers (Orestes and Pylades) being apprehended on the shore. Through the Herdsman's report, Orestes' character is further developed as the pathetically delusional hero, completely consumed by his madness.

When the two young men are spotted on the shore, the Herdsman relates how they were originally thought to be divine, and one of the cowherds prays aloud 270-4 *Ὦ ποντίας παῖ Λευκοθέας, νεών φύλαξ,| δέσποτα Παλαίμον, ἵλεως ἡμῖν γενοῦ| εἴτ' οὖν ἐπ' ἀκταῖς*

[90]Cf. S. *El.* 680-763 where Orestes' fictitious death is recounted as a tragic but glorious and heroic chariot race. As noted by Kells (1973) *ad loc*, the 'description has a fore-runner in Homer's description of the chariot-race in the Funeral Games for Patroclus (*Il.* 23. 271ff.) from which Sophocles has borrowed freely for this composition'.

[91]For rolling eyeballs associated with madness, cf. esp. descriptions of the title character in E. *Her.* at 868, 931-4, 990; see also A. *PV* 882 where the frenzied, gadfly-driven Io describes how her eyeballs roll and turn; E. *Ba.* 1123 and 1166 which report Agave's crazed trance; *Hel.* 1557 where the bull that Menelaus and Helen are trying to load onto their ship refuses to embark and digs its heels into the gangway and rolls its eyes; note also the effect of Medea's poisons on the princess at Corinth which cause her eyes to roll and mouth to foam in E. *Med.* 1173-75. Sophocles' Ajax in his name-play has rolling eyes and wits at 447.

Padel (1995) notes some of these examples and how this concept of rolling eyes remains associated with madness in much later times (30, 73-4). She explains, 74, that 'inverted vision ...is central to tragic madness'.

For the concept of the turning eye used elsewhere in Euripides in the context of a look-out, compare the exchange of Electra with the chorus at *Or.* 1261-67.

[92]The divine hero Herakles is also broken by his madness in E. *Her.*, but unlike Orestes, Herakles only commits his crimes *because* he has been driven mad, while Orestes is driven mad *as a result* of his crimes, which he committed while he was in full control of his faculties.

θάσσετον Διοσκόρω,| ἢ Νηρέως ἀγάλμαθ', ὃς τὸν εὐγενῆ| ἔτικτε πεντήκοντα Νηρήδων χορόν.
This prayer seems to glorify the two men as they are compared to gods in a Homeric fashion (cf. e.g. the very common Homeric epithet δῖος). However, the figures mentioned in the comparison have a negative edge in the context of the play. The invocation of Palaimon and his mother Leucothea is disturbing. Leucothea is the name given to Ino after her death, and the two names are commonly conflated as one (Ino-Leukothea)[93]. Legends surrounding her cults vary, but one important and recurring element of the mythological background of Ino-Leukothea is infanticide. Euripides uses this story in his *Medea* at 1284-89. In this version, the chorus sing about Ino as the only woman known to them who killed her children. She did so after being driven mad by Hera (like Herakles), and then threw herself into the sea[94]. The effect of mentioning Ino-Leukothea and her son Palaimon in *IT* is that it associates Orestes and Pylades with resonances of kindred killings which are appropriate to Orestes' family context, but nevertheless unsettling. Furthermore, it suggests the transformation that the characters will undergo through their journey to the Taurian land. Ino became Leukothea after her plunge into the sea, and while the characters in *IT* will not undergo any name changes, Orestes and Iphigenia nevertheless undergo a transformation through their symbolic ritual deaths. Iphigenia will be worshipped and deified at Brauron, and Orestes obtains release from pollution and persecution by the Furies[95].

The Dioscouroi are, in a different way, an appropriate image to describe Orestes and Pylades, since they are traditionally an inseparable pair of young males. The comparison also contains a sinister edge in that the Dioscouroi are the brothers of Helen, who is named repeatedly as the cause of Iphigenia's sufferings (8, 354-6, 439-45; cf. 525). But, like Ino-Leukothea, the Dioscuroi are also divided between the world of the living and that of the dead. They spend half the year in the world of the living, while the other half is spent below the earth (allegedly at Therapnae near Sparta[96]). Their association here with the Taurian land thus strongly reinforces the katabatic theme and the parallel between the

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[93]On the change of name, see Page (1938) *ad Med.* 1284; for the conflation of names, cf. *Od.* 5.333ff., where Ino-Leucothea helps Odysseus at sea (see Larson (1995) 123-5 on Ino-Leukothea and her cult); this passage of *IT* is perhaps meant to recall *Od.*5, drawing a further point of comparison between Odysseus and Orestes, who are both in trouble at sea.

[94]This is meant to put the enormity of Medea's deed into perspective with Ino's death as a contrast to Medea's anticipated escape; see Mastronarde (2002) *ad loc.* for more detail on this passage, and Newton (1985) *passim*; cf. also the hypothesis to Euripides' fragmentary *Ino* which survives in Hyginus. In this version, Ino contrives to make her husband's new wife kill her own children; in fury, Athamas, her husband, kills one of his sons by Ino and Ino subsequently kills herself along with her second son.

[95]Orestes' purification is never made explicit, but Krummen (1993) 210-11 offers the following attractive analysis: 'Orestes' fictive death stopped the Erinyes from hunting him since an allegedly dead person coming back to the world is thought to be no longer the same person'.

[96]See Parker (1996).

Taurian land and the Underworld. So, the deities mentioned by the Herdsman emphasize return from death, and transformation through death, consolidating the picture of Orestes' voyage as a *katabasis*.

The reference to the Nereids is a direct echo of the *parodos* where Iphigenia has just lamented her lure to Aulis (216-7) as a *νύμφαν....δύσνυμφον*| *τῷ τᾶς Νηρέως κούρας*. This final comparison consolidates the negative undertones of the prayer. Once again, it seems appropriate to suggest that the figures sitting in the cave are sons of the Nereids, who themselves have strong associations with caves by the sea[97]. However, the association with Achilles and Aulis imply destruction and death. The glory which the prayer seems to attribute to the two youths Orestes and Pylades is undermined by the particular choice of comparisons within the context of the play. This precipitates the rejection of the idea that Orestes and Pylades are deities[98]. The comparisons to divinities and its subsequent rejection confirm the duality of Orestes' heroic status. He is heroic in type and therefore comparable to deities, but is ultimately a defective human, flawed by his madness, which is *caused* by deities, not suffered by them[99].

The Herdsman then describes Orestes' seizure of madness on the shore as he has hallucinatory visions of his mother's Furies who are trying to kill him. The severity of Orestes' madness is indicated by the Herdsman's confession 295-6 *ἡμεῖς δὲ συσταλέντες ὡς θανουμένου*| *σιγῇ καθήμεθ'*. How they expected Orestes to die is not made explicit, but it highlights the striking contrast between the original suspicion that the pair were divine, and the actual reality that Orestes is so lost in his insanity that the herdsmen fear it will cause his death. Next comes another moment of epic-type narrative, following the comparison of the two youths to divinities. This is the Homeric-style simile which is used to describe Orestes' slaughter of the cattle he believes to be the Furies 296-300 *ὁ δὲ χερὶ σπάσας ξίφος*,| *μόσχους ὀρούσας ἐς μέσας λέων ὅπως*,| *παίει σιδήρῳ λαγόνας ἐς πλευράς ⟨θ'⟩ ἰείς*,| *δοκῶν Ἐρινῦς θεὰς ἀμύνεσθαι τάδε*,| *ὥσθ' αἱματηρὸν πέλαγος ἐξανθεῖν*[100] *ἁλός*. The Homeric resonances of the simile are reinforced by the line position of *λέων ὅπως* which comes at the end of the line in a formulaic fashion[101]. The function of this type of simile in Homer, as here, is to describe a

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[97]On this see Buxton (1994) 106-8.

[98]The irony that the man who prays is called 'god-fearing', while the one who rejects the idea that Orestes and Pylades are gods is called 'irreverent' is discussed in ch. 5.1, 108-9.

[99]See Padel (1995) 3-10 and *passim*.

[100]For the different meanings of *ἐξανθεῖν* and cognates, see Borthwick (1976); here it describes the frothing of the sea with blood.

[101]Cf. Coffey (1957) 114 'The short comparison is found most frequently at the end of the line, the most convenient position metrically'.

movement of attack comparable to that of a predatory animal[102]. It also reflects the ferocity and viciousness of the attack[103]. In the context of Orestes' madness, however, the fury of a lion may further express his fit of insanity[104]. Orestes is not the only tragic character to attack and kill innocent victims in a hallucinogenic fit of madness. Herakles, driven mad by Hera, slaughters his own family while thinking that they are Eurystheus' in Euripides' *Herakles*, but Sophocles' title-character in *Ajax* provides an even stronger parallel for Orestes' actions in *IT*. Although it happens outside dramatic time in *Ajax*, Athena (41-73) relates how Ajax was crazed with jealousy for the armour of Achilles and was intent on slaughtering his fellow Greeks. However, Athena darkened his vision and instead[105], he ruthlessly slaughtered the cattle and sheep that were round about, believing all the while that they were the Greeks. We see how both Orestes and Ajax slaughter animals in the belief that they are the enemy, though their situations differ on important levels. Ajax's thirst is for human blood, and his fury is caused by envy. Orestes' madness is caused by the Furies and he is attempting to relieve himself from their onslaught by killing them.

Orestes is the only character in tragedy to be described in this specifically formulaic and Homeric way as leaping like a lion[106]. This simile is important for the character development of Orestes. We already know that Orestes is heavily deluded, so there is no question that the audience will take the Homeric simile as anything but ironic. But the little phrase λέων ὅπως which draws a parallel between Orestes and the noble warriors of epic, greatly increases the pathos of his situation, while the physical act of slaughtering the cattle indicates that his madness is absolute. The final line in the description of Orestes' attack (300) ὥσθ' αἱματηρὸν πέλαγος ἐξανθεῖν ἁλός consolidates the epic feel of the passage. Cropp *ad loc.* notes that 'πέλαγος... ἁλός and similar pleonasms are derived from epic'[107]. This

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[102]Coffey (1957) 118; the simile occurs very frequently in the *Iliad*, but cf. Moulton (1977) 139 who explains how 'A...sequence of images [in the *Odyssey*] which is...clearly paradeigmatic of Odysseus' victory portrays him as a lion'.

[103]Cf. E. *Pho.* 1557 where Polyneices and Eteocles are described as fighting each other like lions; this then causes their mother to take her own life (but note 1570-76 are excised by Diggle (1994)). Orestes and Pylades are called 'Greek twin lions' by the Phrygian slave at *Or.* 1402-3, which highlights what he sees as their vicious attack, but also emphasizes their stealth in this context; cf. 1555 where they are called 'twin lions' this time by Menelaus to reflect the savagery of their deeds, and also A. *Cho.* 938 where the 'double lion' mentioned by the chorus is usually taken as Orestes and Pylades (see Garvie (1986) *ad loc.*).

[104]Compare the mad Herakles in E. *Her.* whose mood is described as that of a wild lion at 1211. This is an ironic contrast to the sane Herakles who overcame wild lions (cf. 360, 466, 579, 1271).

[105]See Padel (1995) 67, 70 on inversion of vision and madness.

[106]The Greek army is an ὠμηστὴς λέων at A. *Ag.* 825, but this is a metaphor rather than a simile, and the Greek army are a collective rather than a single character.

[107]Cropp (2000). He gives the example of *Od.* 5.355, and refers us to Diggle (1981a) 79-80; the metaphor of the sea blooming blood recalls *Ag.* 659, see ch. 7.1, 180 for further discussion.

places Orestes in an epic context, but the objects of the slaughter, cattle rather than men, reveal once more the compromising nature of Orestes' madness.

In spite of his hallucinations, Orestes shows that he is a formidable fighter, so much so that the herdsman confesses that he and his companions summoned help, because (305-5) *πρὸς εὐτραφεῖς γὰρ νεανίας ξένους| φαύλους μάχεσθαι βουκόλους ἠγούμεθα.* Superficially, this report reveals the two young men in a heroic light, a Greek epic contrast to the barbarians[108]. However, this is subtly undermined once again by the description of the pair as *εὐτραφεῖς* 'well-bred' (also 'large in stature', which contributes to the idea of their military prowess). The audience knows that the fit of madness experienced by Orestes is caused by his matricide, and he has just mentioned his mother amid his ravings at lines 289-90. The term *εὐτραφής* contains implications of nourishment and rearing, which are particularly associated with the mother-child bond[109]. Indeed this very term is exploited by Aeschylus in his *Choephoroi* to weaken the natural bond between Orestes and his mother by presenting Cilissa the *Τρόφος* 'nurse' (but literally 'nourisher/ rearer') as his real mother-figure (esp. 754; cf. 908). Therefore, when the Herdsman fears that Orestes is *εὐτραφής*, there is a deep irony in that although Orestes comes from a line of kings, it is his breeding which has led him and his *oikos* into their current state of suffering pollution[110].

This irony behind the description of Orestes as 'well-bred', when he is in fact deeply polluted by kindred killings, is then heightened by subsequent events: *πίπτει δὲ μανίας πίτυλον ὁ ξένος μεθείς,| στάζων ἀφρῷ γένειον* (307-8). Once again here, the severity of his madness is emphasized as he foams at the mouth at the end of his fit. Like rolling eyes, foaming at the mouth is a recurring motif in the description of tragic madness[111]. As Orestes drifts into unconsciousness, however, Pylades protects him 310-12 *ἄτερος δὲ τοῖν ξένοῖν| ἀφρόν τ' ἀπέψη σώματός τ' ἐτημέλει| πέπλων τε προυκάλυπτεν εὐπήνους ὑφάς*[112]. Pylades thus shows true affection for his friend[113]. But the choice of the verb *προυκάλυπτεν* reinforces the

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[108]But see ch. 5.1, 94-6 for further discussion of this passage.

[109]Cf. *LSJ* (9th ed) 1814 col.i. *τρέφω* '*bring up, rear,* esp. of children bred and brought up in a house' (with examples).

[110]Compare Aeschylus' treatment of the family curse which is descibed in the *parodos* of *Ag.* as *τέκτονα σύμφυτον* (153). Note also the combination of Orestes being described as a lion and then as well-bred in *IT*, which recalls the parable of the lion-cub reared in the house in the second stasimon of A. *Ag.* One interpretation of the parable is that Orestes is the lion-cub who reverts to his savage nature once brought-up, see Knox (1979) 27-38, and see ch. 7.1 for further discussion of Aeschylean images used in *IT*. On the issue of breeding vs. nobility, compare the characterization of the peasant in E. *El.*.

[111]Cf. E. *Med.* 1174, *Her.* 934, *Ba.* 1122 (and n. 91 above for contexts), *Or.* 220 where both Orestes' mouth and eyes are frothy; note also *Pho.* 1381 where Eteocles' and Polyneices' beards are flecked with foam as they go to attack each other in fierce frenzy.

[112]Cf. Electra who cares for Orestes in *Or.* and wipes the foam from his mouth and eyes at 219-222, but note that she does not veil him.

[113]Cf. Blundell (1989) 35 'There are times when a friend's need or pleasure is paramount, and a true friend

image of death, when the dead are veiled, feeding in once more to the concept of Taurian land as underworld[114]. The off-stage image will subsequently materialize on stage in the fictitious procession in which Orestes and Pylades are visibly veiled[115]. Orestes manages to throw off his madness: ἔμφρων δ' ἀνάξας ὁ ξένος πεσήματος (315). As the herdsmen continue their attack with stones, it seems that they may be gaining the upper hand, but we are then told 320-2 οὗ δὴ τὸ δεινὸν παρακέλευσμ' ἠκούσαμεν·| Πυλάδη, θανούμεθ', ἀλλ' ὅπως θανούμεθα| κάλλιστ'· ἔπου μοι, φάσγανον σπάσας χερί. Now unveiled, Orestes rises up as a heroic warrior. The sight of him ready to fight strikes fear into the hearts of his enemies, who flee (323-4). This particular report is significant because 320-2 is intended as a direct quote from Orestes. Previously we have heard Orestes' mad ravings reported in direct speech (285-91), but now Orestes seems to have shaken off his madness, and this indicates the first stage of his purification. The contrast between the two reports of Orestes' direct words is strengthened by the fact that both begin with an address to Pylades[116].

The conscious decision made by Orestes to die nobly indicates that he has taken his friend's advice on board (cf. 114-5 ἀγαθοὶ| τολμῶσι). Orestes shows himself to be the leader of the pair in this incident, but the audience knows that his courage and daring had to be rekindled by Pylades (111 τολμητέον, cf. Or. 122 τολμητέον, here decisively spoken in the final line position and with strong punctuation)[117]. This is something the herdsmen are unaware of and therefore Orestes seems to them to be a more formidable enemy. The herdsmen continue bombarding the pair with stones, ἀλλ' ἦν ἄπιστον· μυρίων γὰρ ἐκ χερῶν| οὐδεὶς τὰ τῆς θεοῦ θύματ' εὐτύχει βαλών (328-9). This miracle develops the characters of Orestes and Pylades a step further within the framework of the narration's epic style. The Herdsman assumes that the strangers are untouched by the stones because they are victims for the altar of the goddess, and therefore that they are divinely protected. Their description

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cares about such needs for the friend's sake rather than his or her own' and her discussion of such emphasis found in Aristotle. In *IT* Orestes also proves a good *philos* to Pylades when he insists on dying in his stead (688-707). His motives are not simply altruistic since he sees that Pylades can save the Atreid house and perpetuate the family line through his marriage to Electra; cf. also Gill (1996) 326-33 on altruism in Greek thought, discussed in n. 138, below.

[114]Compare the conflation of marriage and death in the *Oresteia*, developed by the image of the 'veil' or 'covering' (*kalumma*), which is used to describe Cassandra's bridal veil (*Ag.* 1178) and also the coverings laid over Agamemnon's corpse (*Cho.* 494); cf. *IT* 372 for *kalumma* as a bridal veil, and S. *El.* 1468 for *kalumma* as a shroud for the dead. These examples are discussed by Rehm (1994) 44, cf. 47-8, and 171n.4.

[115]Cf. ch. 2.2, 29.

[116]See also Bers (1997) 83-5 who discusses the significant amount of direct speech in the messenger speeches in *IT*, and argues that it is exploited 'to throw extra weight on sympathetic characters' (84).

[117]Indeed, the fact that Orestes and Pylades depend on each other at different points in the play, and function very much as a pair is emphasized by the use of the dual, and other pairing terms in describing them (cf. e.g. 242, 281, 310, 323). The term δίπτυχοι used of Orestes and Pylades at *IT* 242 recalls the same expression used by the Dioscouroi to describe themselves at E. *El.* 1238.

as the 'goddess' victims' perhaps suggests that it was the goddess herself who did not want a bruised offering. This is consistent with the final capture of the two Greeks which does not involve any wounding but a slow and steady subdual of two men by a much larger number (330-33)[118]. A more obvious agent of Orestes' protection would be his patron Apollo, though the Herdsman is understandably unaware of the god's association with Orestes. The concept of divine protection is very much a factor in the mission of an epic hero, who often has a divine patron[119]. The audience knows that Orestes has been sent on such an epic-style mission, though the heroic nature of his quest is marred by his polluted status. The audience's minds may be led to wonder about the possible involvement of the god Apollo, whom we know to be Orestes' patron and the instigator of the mission. But given the outcome of the play and the clear parallels between Orestes and Odysseus, perhaps a different agent suggests itself, though I mention this only tentatively. The presence of the goddess Athena may be suggested, foreshadowing her appearance *ex machina*. In the *Odyssey*, she shields Odysseus from harm by shrouding him in mist, and in *Ajax*, she keeps the Greek leaders from harm by dulling Ajax' wits to make him believe the animals are in fact his enemies. Athena is the only force who manifestly comes to the aid of the siblings in *IT*, notably by asking Poseidon to calm the seas which he had raised up against the Greeks (and who also opposes Odysseus), and by ordering Thoas to hold off his armed pursuit.

The herdsmen resort to subduing the pair by sheer force of numbers but as the herdsman admits τόλμῃ μὲν οὐ (330). This lends credibility to the swordsmanship and fighting abilities of Orestes and Pylades. It is only μόλις (330) that a much larger group is able to bring the two men down. The Herdsman ends his report by telling Iphigenia that she should pray to have strangers such as Orestes and Pylades to sacrifice and she can thus make amends for her sacrifice at Aulis (336-9). The implication here is that Orestes and Pylades are of the kind who sacrificed Iphigenia, i.e. Greek war heroes, and that if they are slaughtered at the goddess' altar, there is some kind of appropriate atonement for the injustice Iphigenia has suffered. This final part of the speech thus consolidates the picture of Orestes and Pylades as heroic figures of the kind drawn from epic. But their heroic status has been undermined by Orestes' madness and his consequent wavering in the prologue.

In the lead up to the recognition scene and indeed during the recognition scene itself (on which, see further below, 3.3), Orestes' nobility is repeatedly implied and emphasized.

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[118]Here we can compare Iphigenia's response to the entry of the captured Greeks (468-9) μέθετε τῶν ξένων χέρας| ὡς ὄντες ἱεροὶ μηκέτ' ὥσι δέσμιοι.

[119]Athena is Odysseus' patron, Thetis is Achilles', Venus is Aeneas'.

Iphigenia says to Orestes at 591 that he does not seem to be *δυσγενής*. However, like the Herdsman's notion earlier that Orestes is *εὐτραφής*, there is an undercurrent sense of dislocation surrounding the expression of Orestes' nobility which is felt by the audience. This has been expressed though Orestes' behaviour onstage (67-122) and continues to be suggested throughout the play. At the end of the *parodos*, Iphigenia concludes her lament 230-35 *τὸν δ' Ἄργει δμαθέντ' ἀγκλαίωι σύγγονον, ὃν ἔλιπον ἐπιμαστίδιον| ἔτι βρέφος, ἔτι νέον, ἔτι θάλος| ἐν χερσὶν ματρὸς πρὸς στέρνοις τ'| Ἄργει σκηπτοῦχον Ὀρέσταν*. This is an extraordinary description of Orestes. The fact that he is a new-born infant is very strongly underlined by repetition of *ἔτι* followed by attributes. Yet the final line calls him as 'sceptre-bearing', an odd term indeed to describe a baby. This term 'sceptre-bearing' once more reflects a Homeric undercurrent. It is often used in a formulaic way in conjunction with the word 'king' in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and symbolizes kingly authority[120], but it is never used to describe a baby. Orestes is figuratively 'sceptre-bearing' as the male figure in authority in the house during Agamemnon's absence, yet this does not completely explain the striking juxtaposition of images. Iphigenia's words here echo the chorus' lament at 187-8 *ἔρρει φῶς σκῆπτρόν <τ'>, οἴμοι,| πατρίων οἴκων*. But while the concept of an ancestral house having a sceptre sits together comfortably, there is certain tension between the idea of a infant being new-born, yet also 'sceptre-bearing'. This tension fits in with the overall pattern of Orestes portrayed as almost fitting the Homeric hero's mould but ultimately falling short. Euripides helps to make the audience aware of this at this early stage in the play by using a Homeric adjective in an inappropriate context. We know from myth (and Iphigenia does not) that Orestes has never been in control of the kingdom of Argos. The implication for the audience is that Orestes was most in control of Argos when still at his mother's breast, i.e. not at all[121].

As we await the arrival of the captured Orestes, Iphigenia laments her fate, remembering how she refrained from kissing her dear brother as an infant for shame as she was leaving for Aulis as a bride (372-6)[122]. She continues 378-9 *ὦ τλῆμον, εἰ τέθνηκας, ἐξ οἵων καλῶν| ἔρρεις, Ὀρέστα, καὶ πατρὸς ζηλωμάτων*. There is never any doubt that Iphigenia

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[120]Cf. *Iliad* 1.279, 2.86, 14.93, *Odyssey* 2.231=5.9, 4.64, 8.41, 47; see Griffin (1980) 9ff., Easterling (1989).

[121]The fact that Orestes is 'suckling at the breast in his mother's arms' is poignant indeed in the context of what the audience know of Orestes' matricide. Unlike in Aeschylus, there is no snake metaphor of Orestes as the snake suckling at his mother's breast (in *IT*, the Furies are the snakes), and there is no Nurse. The bond evoked between mother and child here seems absolute. This indicates a degree of normality in the house before Iphigenia's departure for Aulis, and shows us the family as Iphigenia remembers it. On snake imagery, see further ch. 7.1, 176-7.

[122]Cairns (1993) 307 n.150 notes that this sense of shame is an 'undifferentiated (and powerful) inhibition-feeling caused by the prospect of the transition from virginity to womanhood'. Here the implication is that Iphigenia's shame was in vain since the prospective transition never occurred.

loves her brother (cf. 640 where Orestes is implied ὃν μάλιστ' ἐγὼ φιλῶ), but again the concept of fine and enviable things coming from Orestes' father seems out of place. She has just repeated an account of her slaughter at Aulis and then proceeds to proclaim her contempt for divine wisdom. This is typical of the confused appearance of this speech in the context of the play[123]. At this point, Iphigenia's emotions of grief and anger are at a climax. She grieves for her brother, feels hardened towards Greeks in general, is bitter at her father's actions, and finally bursts out against her patron Artemis. Iphigenia's first address to the strangers when they come on stage is as follows: 472-5 φεῦ· | τίς ἆρα μήτηρ ἡ τεκοῦσ' | ὑμᾶς ποτε | πατήρ τ' ἀδελφή τ', εἰ γεγῶσα τυγχάνει; | οἵων στερεῖσα διπτύχων νεανιῶν | ἀνάδελφος ἔσται. Once again, the implication is that they are of high birth and fine young men. However, Iphigenia mentions their mother first. Not only does this reflect her own grief at being childless, it also reminds the audience once more of Orestes' matricide, and his polluted status. The irony continues at 609 where Iphigenia exclaims ὦ λῆμ' ἄριστον, ὡς ἀπ' εὐγενοῦς τινος | ῥίζης πέφυκας τοῖς φίλοις τ' ὀρθῶς φίλος. The cowardly Orestes from the first scene of the play has now disappeared, but there is no doubt that Euripides is continuing to problematize Orestes' noble and heroic status by exploitation here of γένος cognates and references to family members, though he is a good *philos*.

During this exchange, Iphigenia manages to elicit information from Orestes although he seems at first unwilling to provide any answers. There is one question, however, which he resists answering. Orestes refuses to divulge his name, saying (503) ἀνώνυμοι θανόντες οὐ γελώμεθ' ἄν. This is typical of the archaic code of heroes where being the object of laughter was unendurable[124]. There are obvious dramatic reasons for this (if he reveals his name, the suspense is over), but the withholding of the name may remind us also of Odysseus' encounter with Polyphemus at *Od.* 9.366-7 where he tricks the Cyclops by telling him that his name is Οὖτις[125]. The parallel is not exact, but is firmly reinforced by the incident of leaving the area in each case, while exclaiming their true name (Odysseus from the land of Cyclopes and Orestes from the land of the Taurians). The land of the Cyclopes itself also serves as a parallel to the Taurian land. Both places are remote and practise a horrific inversion of Greek *xenia*. Instead of providing food for his *xenoi*, Polyphemus eats his

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[123]This speech is discussed in more detail at ch. 6.3, 144-9.

[124]This code is used by both male and female characters in tragedy: Sophocles' Ajax (e.g. 79, 303, 367) and Creon in *Ant.* (483, 647) but also Antigone (839), the Sophoclean Electra (807, 1153, cf. 277) and Orestes (1295) and Medea (383, 404, 797, 1049-50, 1355, 1362).

[125]Lange (2002) 109 prefers to see the parallel between this passage of the *Odyssey* and Orestes' claim that he is Δυστυχής 'Unfortunate' (*IT* 499) rather than give his name, but does not analyze further.

guests, while similarly the Taurians sacrifice their *xenoi* rather than providing them with sacrificial fare[126].

This parallel is developed as the attempted escape is discovered by the Taurians. They ask Orestes (1358-60) *τίνος τίς ὢν <σὺ> τήνδ' ἀπεμπολᾷς χθονός;* Orestes' reply is proud, and reflects Odysseus' behaviour on leaving the land of the Cyclopes, at *IT* 1361-3: *ὁ δ' εἶπ'· Ὀρέστης, τῆσδ' ὅμαιμος, ὡς μάθῃς,| Ἀγαμέμνονος παῖς, τήνδ' ἐμὴν κομίζομαι| λαβὼν ἀδελφήν, ἣν ἀπώλεσ' ἐκ δόμων.* In contrast to the earlier part of the play (500ff.) where Orestes had refused to give his name for fear of being laughed at, here, he feels confident enough in the success of his escape, to reveal his name in a boastful fashion. He boasts like Odysseus did to the Cyclops at *Od.* 9.502-5 *Κύκλωψ, αἴ κέν τίς σε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων| ὀφθαλμοῦ εἴρηται ἀεικελίην ἀλαωτύν,| φάσθαι Ὀδυσσῆα πτολιπόρθιον ἐξαλαῶσαι,| υἱὸν Λαέρτεω, Ἰθάκῃ ἔνι οἰκί' ἔχοντα.'* But Odysseus' boast has severe consequences. The Cyclops is the son of Poseidon, and he uses Odysseus' name to pray to his father for vengeance[127]. Poseidon answers his son's prayer, opposes Odysseus' homecoming, and brings to fulfillment the Cyclops' curse that he may return alone to many troubles (*Od.* 9.526-35). Unlike Odysseus, Orestes is not yet sailing away when he boasts, and the force of Poseidon already begins to work against him as the ship is being run aground by a *δεινὸς...κλύδων* (1389)[128]. Some lines later the Messenger explains to Thoas 1414-17 *πόντου δ' ἀνάκτωρ Ἰλιόν τ' ἐπίσκοπεῖ| σεμνὸς Ποσειδῶν, Πελοπίδαις ἐναντίος,| καὶ νῦν παρέξει τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονος γόνον| σοὶ καὶ πολίταις.* The parallel between the situations of Orestes and Odysseus is striking, both attempting to escape from a land at the edges of the earth, though the reference to the Taurians as 'citizens' sets them apart from the primitive Cyclopes[129]. But Orestes is as yet unable to escape, and the fight that ensues is an unarmed fist-throwing brawl between the Greeks and the Taurians. The two youths here *do* force back the servants (1367-71), which shows that they excel not only in sword-fighting (as recounted in the first battle), but also in the type of kickboxing studied by young Greek males (*pankration*). They do not succeed in routing the servants completely, however, as these take to hurling stones at the Greeks from a greater distance[130].

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[126]On the exploitation of the concept of *xenia* and killing *xenoi*, see ch. 5.1, 112-16.

[127]Cf. Heubeck (1989) *ad Od.* 9. 500-5: 'By identifying himself Odysseus exposes himself to the curse which follows (528-35); we have here the ancient belief that knowledge of a man's name bestows some kind of magical power over him'.

[128]This real wave mirrors the metaphorical *κλύδωνα πολεμίων* (316) in the first battle scene which subdues Orestes and Pylades.

[129]On the Taurian land as a *polis*, cf. ch. 5.1, 97-8

[130]On stones and stoning in Greek tragedy, see ch. 5.1, 94-5.

In *IT* we have the unique feature of having two battles between the same two groups of people[131]. The contrast between the first and second battle scene reveals that Orestes has now reached the final stages of his purification. Whereas the first scene begins with Orestes' hallucinations in full swing, and he must rely on Pylades for protection, here, the Furies are nowhere in sight (or mind), and Orestes takes charge physically, placing his sister into the boat. Pylades is notably absent from this account and is also unmentioned in the *exodos*. This reinforces Orestes' new self-reliance in a moment of crisis. He longer depends on Pylades, and Pylades has no further function as a character in the drama. The fact that Pylades' marriage to Electra remains unmentioned at the end of the play reflects the supremacy of divine concern over those of the *oikos*[132]. But in spite of Orestes' brave attempts at fending off the barbarians, the escape of the Greeks is thwarted (1391-5). The Greeks persevere in their attempts to flee and Iphigenia prays once more to Artemis for help (1398-1402), but divine forces are against them and they must ultimately be saved by Athena[133]. The appearance of Athena at the end of the play is partly explained by the parallel developed between Orestes and Odysseus[134]. Orestes, who is opposed by Poseidon in a manner similar to Odysseus, is now saved from death by Athena, who is also Odysseus' patron.

### 3.3 Iphigenia, Orestes and Pylades: Recognition and Intrigue

In the particularly tense and protracted recognition sequence, Iphigenia continues to control the action, and the relationship between Orestes and Pylades is further explored. After Iphigenia has arrived at her plan to send a letter and goes back into the temple to fetch it, Orestes addresses Pylades who has been silent in this scene so far. Pylades is a rational character, and as we have seen, his role at the opening of the play contrasts with Orestes' panic. As the tension of anticipated recognition mounts, it is protracted by a development of the contrast between the two men. Orestes, amazed at Iphigenia's astute questions, deduces that she is of Argive descent (665-6). In response, Pylades tries to cast doubt on this assertion by saying that everyone knows the fate of Agamemnon (670-1). We, the audience,

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[131]Using epic elements to describe a battle scene is not uncommon in Euripides, but the specific parallel between Orestes and Odysseus is particularly striking here. Cropp (2000) *ad* 301-35 notes the following examples of battles with epic flavour: *Andr.* 1118ff., *Hel.* 1589ff., *Ba.* 731ff., *Or.* 1474ff. and *Mel. Des.* fr. 495. In contrast to *IT*, it Pylades has more prowess as a warrior at *Or.* 1474ff. where the Phrygian slave compares him to Hector and Ajax (1480-3).

[132]Cf. ch. 6.3, 156-8.

[133]See ch. 6 *passim* for discussion of the role of the gods.

[134]On Athena's appearance from the *mechane*, see ch. 2.2, 31-2.

know that Pylades is wrong, and that Iphigenia did not know the fate of Agamemnon (cf. 378-9). By making it clear to us that Pylades is wrong here, we are less likely to believe that his present conviction of faith in Apollo is justified. Believing he is on the point of death, Orestes laments his fate concluding that Apollo played him false, causing him to kill his mother with Orestes now perishing himself in turn (711-15). By contrast, Pylades' reply is full of hope 719-22 *ἀτὰρ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σ' οὐ διέφθορέν γέ πωl μάντευμα· καίτοι κἀγγὺς ἔστηκας φόνου.l ἀλλ' ἔστιν, ἔστιν ἡ λίαν δυσπραξίαl λίαν διδοῦσα μεταβολάς, ὅταν τύχῃ.* This is not the first time that Pylades seems to function as the mouthpiece of Apollo. He had previously urged Orestes to persist in his misson so as not to slight the god's oracle (104-5)[135]. Unlike this first instance, in which Pylades is successful in his persuasion of Orestes, at 719-22, Orestes is beyond believing in Apollo, and so he replies *σίγα· τὰ Φοίβου δ' οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ μ' ἔπη* (723)[136]. He has the last word in the conversation which is brought to a close by Iphigenia's return from inside the temple. The fact that we are led to disbelieve Pylades at this point means that we are left with this feeling of distrust in Apollo, which may leave an audience wondering whether recognition will be thwarted by divine will, contributing to the tension as the build-up to the recognition escalates.

In between Pylades' assertions that Agamemnon's death is common knowledge and that Apollo may yet save the day, the two friends have an important debate as to who should die. In terms of *philia*, we witness that their friendship is a deep one[137], but also a balanced one. While each friend wants to die for the other, each man's arguments reflect a certain degree of self-interest rather than completely altruistic self-sacrifice[138]. Pylades argues at length that it is shameful for him to live while Orestes dies (cf. 674 *αἰσχρὸν*, 683 *αἰσχύνης*). He explains that he will obtain a reputation for cowardice and baseness (676 *δειλίαν γὰρ καὶ κάκην*) as the people of Argos will suspect him of taking advantage of the evil fortunes of the Argive house (677-82). It is not simply out of love for Orestes that Pylades wants to die in his stead, but also out of concern for himself, his reputation and his future[139]. This type of argument involving self-interest is the most persuasive type a *philos*

[135]On Pylades as the mouthpiece of Apollo in *IT* and *Cho.*, see ch. 7.1, 181-2

[136]After this, Pylades only speaks again at 902-08, where he tries to urge the siblings to plan rather than catch up with each other's misfortunes. He persuades Orestes, but Iphigenia is not to be moved in her questioning.

[137]Cf. Pylades at *Or.* 735 *κοινὰ γὰρ τὰ τῶν φίλων.*

[138]This combination of altruism and self-interest is part of the Greek ideal of friendship. Gill (1996) discusses Aristotle's views in particular, according to which, 329: 'in the best type of friendship, the friend is 'another self''. Gill (1996) explains, 330: 'the virtuous person is *as* concerned with the friend...as he is with himself'; cf. Blundell (1989) 36 on the importance of such balance in Greek friendship, and n.113, above.

[139]Compare the situation at E. *Or.* 1070ff.; there Pylades wishes to die with Orestes, since Orestes is his only friend, and Pylades himself feels it is right to share Orestes' fate as they committed murder together. In

can use. But Orestes responds with an even more powerful argument of the same type. He claims that his life is not worth living as diseased and ill-fated, but, he says to Pylades 695-8: *σωθεὶς δέ, παῖδας ἐξ ἐμῆς ὁμοσπόρου| κτησάμενος, ἣν ἔδωκά σοι δάμαρτ' ἔχειν,| ὄνομά τ' ἐμοῦ γένοιτ' ἄν, οὐδ' ἄπαις δόμος| πατρῷος οὑμὸς ἐξαλειφθείη ποτ' ἄν*. Orestes' decision on this is final and he does not anticipate any further argument from Pylades. This is impressed upon us by a string of imperatives in the next section of his speech in which he instructs Pylades as to what he should do on his return to Argos (699-707). One of the duties he assigns to Pylades is 704-5 *ἄγγελλε δ' ὡς ὄλωλ' ὑπ' Ἀργείας τινὸς| γυναικὸς ἀμφὶ βωμὸν ἁγνισθεὶς φόνῳ*. It is important for his argument that he anticipates being 'purified for slaughter', since purification is what he has been seeking since his matricide[140]. In this sense, he will have achieved his goal and will not be seen as a failure. Orestes has authority over Pylades while Iphigenia is off-stage. This indicates the progression of his return to a position of control, which will only properly occur in the second battle scene. When Iphigenia returns, however, it is *her* authority that is once more very much in evidence, as Orestes reveals his inferior intellect.

Iphigenia seeks an oath to secure the delivery of her message. In response to this, Orestes immediately demands an equivalent promise for Pylades' safe arrival (735-40). Orestes does not trust Iphigenia, which lends further credibilty to her capabilities as officiating over their slaughter. But as Orestes is attempting to be as clever as Iphigenia, he only succeeds in demonstrating his foolishness. It is logical that Pylades could fail to give Iphigenia's message once he escapes. But there is no way he can deliver it for her if he dies. Iphigenia would be thwarting herself if she did not ensure his safe departure. Euripides blatantly confirms for us that female intelligence is superior to male in this play[141]. It occurs to Pylades presently (755-8) that he will not be able to deliver the message should he lose it. Here is another valid point which further emphasizes Orestes' foolishness. It is Pylades' rational mind which precipitates recognition. His rational rather than emotional nature is reflected to a certain degree during Iphigenia's disclosure of her message. Orestes cannot help himself from interrupting her in amazement (cf. 772[142], 777, 780), while Pylades waits

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this version, Electra is expected to die with Orestes, so the arguments Orestes uses to attempt to convince Pylades to flee for his life are not quite the same, but not dissimilar from *IT* either at *Or.* 1075ff.: Pylades still has a country and house and wealth to inherit. He has the possibility of marriage and children which Orestes does not. But Pylades rejects this argument and chooses to share in the fate of Orestes and Electra whom he counts as his wife (*Or.* 1093 *κρίνω δάμαρτα*).

[140]Belfiore (2000) 27, is right to note that the positive bond of *philia* which exists between Orestes and Pylades contrasts with previous intrafamilial violation of *philia*. But this is a feature of all treatments of Orestes and Pylades in myth, and need not indicate positive resolution here.

[141]See ch. 5.2.

[142]On Orestes' surprised interruption of Iphigenia here at a syntactic pause, see Mastronarde (1979) 64.

patiently till the end of the speech. This highlights the general contrast in the characters of Orestes and Pylades, though it is understandable that Orestes should be more excited about Iphigenia's identity than Pylades. The recognition is at first one-sided, with Iphigenia demanding proofs. Orestes provides proof, but in each case it is linked to a family crime.

Iphigenia's and Orestes' acceptance of their family crimes can be observed throughout the play. Agamemnon's slaughter of his child is mentioned on average once every hundred lines throughout the play, and Iphigenia defines herself in terms of this deed. Orestes' matricide plays an important role, not only in dramatic motivation behind his quest, but also in Iphigenia's scheme for their escape. Furthermore, it is the pollution-ridden guilt of *three generations* of Tantalids which forms the nexus of the recognition scene. The insistence on ancestral crimes is comparable to E. *El.*, where they are also heavily emphasized[143]. However, it is the only time in the house of Atreus plays in which the crimes form the focus of the recognition scene and function as recognition tokens. Their use to effect the joyous recognition adds a further incongruous and unsettling dimension to family history in *IT* which is not present in other versions. The first proof is offered by Orestes at 811-12 *λέγοιμ' ἂν ἀκοῇ πρῶτον Ἠλέκτρας τάδε·|Ἀτρέως Θυέστου τ' οἶσθα γενομένην ἔριν;* Iphigenia remembers the quarrel over the golden lamb, and in a personal touch, Orestes reminds her 814-16 *ταῦτ' οὖν ὑφήνασ' οἶσθ' ἐν εὐπήνοις ὑφαῖς*[144]*;|.....εἰκώ τ' ἐν ἱστοῖς ἡλίου μετάστασιν;* These two elements are part of the same story, and there must be only one cloth in question which incorporates both. This has already been made clear by the chorus at 189-98, where they describe the sun's shifting as a consequence of the quarrel[145]. The piece of weaving mentioned in *IT* is much more complicated than that produced in the recognition scene of *Cho.*, for it is not a simple piece of cloth. Iphigenia has incorporated the story of the strife between Atreus and Thyestes into its pattern. As Iphigenia will now prove herself an extremely capable schemer, the suggestion that she is good at weaving is most appropriate[146]. One is forced to pose the question, however, of why she would wish to

[143]Cf. e.g. 'the golden lamb ode' 699-746, on which see Cropp (1988) *ad loc* and Roisvach (1978); for its relation to *IT*, see ch. 4.2, 75.

[144]Compare the identical term used at 312 *εὐπήνους ὑφάς* with which Pylades shields Orestes. There, Cropp (2000) notes *ad loc*, it recalls Aphrodite shielding her son Aeneas at *Iliad* 5.315. Certainly Pylades' action is benevolent and protective, but the image of Orestes being veiled links in with images of death and the Underworld, as discussed above (pp. 54-5). The well-woven cloth here is also sinister, though simultaneously positive in the sense that it helps to being about recognition. For further discussion of this phrase, see ch. 7.1, 170-1, n.71.

[145]See ch. 4.2, 75n.33 for defence of this reading.

[146]It is a Greek idiom that the *Moirai* 'Fates' *spin* man's destiny, and the association between weaving and cunning has been examined in detail by Detienne and Vernant (1991) in their important study of *metis*. They note the fact that in Greek belief 137-8 'the Primordial power weaves, plaits, links and knots together the threads whose interlacing composes the tissue of Becoming, linking the sequence of generations and events in a single complex, as one contrives a trap'.

record such a sordid story[147]. The most obvious parallel for this token comes from Euripides' *Ion*. Creusa recalls that she had woven into Ion's swaddling clothes Γοργὼν μὲν ἐν μέσοισιν ἠτρίοις πέπλων (1421), κεκρασπέδωται δ' ὄφεσιν αἰγίδος τρόπον (1423), and thus proves her identity. The gorgon and snakes may not seem particularly appropriate for a baby's cradle, but the gorgon is an apotropaic image, and Creusa has a serious reason for using this particular motif as she explains (1427-9): δράκοντες· ἀρχαίῳ τι πάγχρυσον γένει[148]| δώρημ' Ἀθάνας, οἷς τέκν' ἐντρέφειν λέγει,| Ἐριχθονίου γε τοῦ πάλαι μιμήσματα. Athena's association with the aegis and Creusa's connection to Erichthonius (her great-grandfather) validates and perhaps even necessitates her choice of subject-matter[149]. Iphigenia has no such reason for hers[150].

In light of the atrocity depicted on the cloth, another parallel suggests itself: that of Philomela. Through her weaving, she records the heinous crimes she has suffered[151]. But again, here there is a good reason for her doing so. It is her only means of communication, her only hope of obtaining justice. In contrast to Philomela's muteness, however, Iphigenia is in full control of her faculty of speech, as Euripides has emphasized[152]. In recording the deeds of one's ancestors, it is usual and expected to record heroic deeds. It seems that Euripides wants to stress here that there *are* no heroic deeds for Iphigenia to record, only atrocities. The fact of recording anything at all implies a displaced and disturbing sense of heroism attached to the deeds recorded. Simultaneously, it highlights Iphigenia's naivety

[147]Compare Seaford (1987) 113, who comments on the 'perversity in the stress laid on the fineness of the woven cloth in which Antigone is found hanged (S.*Ant.* 1222....), clasped by Haimon'; although the cloth in *Ant.* does not tell a story, it still provides an interesting parallel for inappropriate use of fine weaving, just as the family history which Iphigenia weaves into her cloth is inappropriate to a glorious family. Note also in the context of the *IT*, that ritual weaving (of the peplos for Athena) as a positive contrast to the weaving of the recognition, is one of the activities denied Iphigenia and one which she associates with her dream of home, marriage and offspring (222-4).

[148]There is much dispute as to the actual text of 1427. Here I read with Kovacs (1999), since it seems reasonable that the gift of snakes be golden and the family ancient rather than vice versa, but see Owen (1939) *ad loc.* for discussion; whatever the reading, however, it does not alter the basic point. It is clear from any of the chosen alternatives that Creusa's weaving represents the gift of Athena which she bids the family use in the upbringing of their children.

[149]Snake imagery reinforces *Ion*'s serious themes, see Mastronarde (2003) 297ff.

[150]Compare also Helen in *Iliad* 3.125-8 who 'was weaving a great web, a red folding robe, and working into it the numerous struggles of Trojans, breakers of horses, and bronze-armoured Achaians, struggles that they endured for her sake at the hands of the war god' (trans. Lattimore). Again, this is perverse, but not quite in the same way as Iphigenia's weaving. Helen is recording the suffering which *she* has caused. Helen's weaving of destruction in the *Iliad* serves as a contrast to Andromache's who weaves a pattern of flowers into her cloth while Hector is away in battle (22. 441), on this contrast see Kirk (1985) *ad Iliad* 3. 125-7.

[151]Raped by her sister's husband Tereus, who cuts out her tongue to prevent the deed becoming known, Philomela weaves the story into a cloth which she shows her sister Procne. Procne then kills Itys, her son by Tereus in revenge; the story is told in S. *Tereus* (Radt (1977) 435-45; cf. Lloyd-Jones (1996) 290-301), and in A. *Supp.* 60-8 and fr.609; see also Burkert (1983) 179-85.

[152]The spoken word is consistently presented as superior to written signs in tragedy. In *IT*, this is particularly evident when Iphigenia's speech makes the message of her letter redundant, and is shown to be superior in value because it can be questioned; see also ch. 2.2, 23-5.

and shows an attempt on her part to normalize her family history. This is impossible, however, and as she weaves the story of her ancestors, she is soon to become the next victim of the seemingly endless cycle of family crimes.

Next, Orestes offers the proof of his knowledge of the rites performed before Iphigenia's ficticious wedding to Achilles (818-21), and therefore refers to the crimes of Agamemnon. Ορ. *καὶ λούτρ' ἐς Αὐλιν μητρὸς ἀδέξω πάρα;*| Ιφ. *οἶδ'· οὐ γὰρ ὁ γάμος ἐσθλὸς ὢν μ' ἀφείλετο.*| Ορ. *τί γάρ; κόμας σὰς μητρὶ δοῦσα σῇ φέρειν;* Ιφ. *μνημεῖά γ' ἀντὶ σώματος τοὐμοῦ τάφῳ*. If the spoils that adorn the *skene* do indeed incorporate the *τριχώματα* (73) of sacrificed individuals[153], this description of ritual action in marriage cannot fail to register as a parallel for sacrifice, not only in the case of Aulis, but also now in the cult of Artemis, for Iphigenia anoints the victims with *χέρνιβες* and possibly dedicates their hair to the goddess. Both *λούτρα* and *χέρνιβες* are used in this play in the context of Aulis, the former at 818, the latter at 861, and these are the only two references to the lustral water of the wedding ceremony in *IT*. Both terms can also be used of libations to the corpse after burial, or to wash the corpse in preparation for burial[154], and it is noteworthy that the term *χέρνιβες*, with its double implications, is used as often in *IA* as in *IT*[155]. All other uses of *χέρνιβες* in *IT* refer to the consecration of humans about to be sacrificed and further link the present slaughter with the previous one in Aulis.

The final proof of identity is given by Orestes at 822-6 where he explains *ἃ δ' εἶδον αὐτός, τάδε φράσω τεκμήρια·*| *Πέλοπος παλαιὰν ἐν δόμοις λόγχην πατρός,*| *ἣν χερσὶ πάλλων παρθένον Πισάτιδα*| *ἐκτήσαθ' Ἱπποδάμειαν, Οἰνόμαον κτανών,*| *ἐν παρθενῶσι τοῖσι σοῖς κεκρυμμένην*. Again, this knowledge displays intimate acquintance with the palace of Argos and is in this way an appropriate sign of Orestes' identity, but the fact itself is quite disturbing. What is an ancestral spear doing hidden in the girls' apartments?[156]. Although

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[153]See ch. 2.1, 12-13.

[154]Cf. Parker (1983) 35n.11, and see Rudhardt (1992) 171-2 (cf. 248) on *λούτρα* for washing corpses, and 173-4 on *χέρνιβες* as water used for consecrating sacrificial victims.

[155]Although there are textual problems with the *IA*, the use of *χέρνιβες* is still striking in comparison to only five single references in other plays by Euripides (*Or.* 1602, *Pho.* 662, *Alc.* 100, *Her.* 929, *El.* 792); it appears seven times in *IT* (58, 244, 335, 622, 644, 861, 1190), exactly the same number of times as in *IA* (675, 955, 1111, 1479, 1513, 1518, 1569).

[156]Burnett (1971) 64 comments: 'The spear of Pelops, symbol of the family's first crime...turns up like some beribboned Heracles among the princess's gowns in the Argive gynaeceum', but she fails to see this as odd (also, note that Tantalus' crime is the family's first, not Pelops'). Furthermore, the area is *not* referred to in the text as a *gynaeceum*, but as *παρθενῶσι* which literally means 'virgins' quarters' and emphasizes the fact that Iphigenia is a virgin; O'Brien (1988) 113 argues that Euripides places the spear in Iphigenia's apartments to emphasize the parallel between her and Pelops, and Cropp (2000) *ad loc* follows him in this analysis though he sees it as comparing Hippodameia and Iphigenia. But surely the spear itself must represent Pelops, not Hippodameia. Cropp (2000) concludes 'This is an apt resting-place for the spear which accompanied the girl from Pisa from maidenhood to marriage'; cf. Whitman's analysis n.159 below.

It cannot be denied that there is a parallel between Iphigenia and Pelops, in that both are saved from death at the hands of their father by the gods (on which see Sansone (1975)), but the presence of the ancestral

Pelops is usually depicted with a spear in art[157], the traditional story of his winning of Hippodameia usually involves treachery on his part[158]. But here, the spear suggests heroism rather than treachery[159], just as the weaving of deeds of ancestors into a cloth suggests that they are heroic in the first recognition token, until we remember what these deeds are. Unlike the bow of Odysseus, the spear of Pelops is not a clean sign of valour. A spear is easily identifiable as a phallic symbol[160]. I suggest that its presence in the maiden's quarters represents a violation of maidenhood. This is not a literal but a symbolic violation and it reflects directly on Iphigenia's symbolic *αἱματηρὸν γάμον* (371) at the hands of her father. The shedding of blood is meant to end Iphigenia's virginity, but instead it ends her life (at least as far as the Greeks are concerned), and she will never complete the transition out of virginity. The spear of Pelops is an unclean intruder on the maidens' lives, representing a relative. This is analogous to Agamemnon, the relative with his sacrificial knife which is the perverted intruder on Iphigenia's life. The spear was present in her maiden's apartments as an ill omen when she left for the sacrifice/ marriage, of which we have just been reminded in the lines immediately preceding.

Kindred pollution underlies the recognition scene in *IT*[161]. Instead of naive physical tokens, Euripides uses privy knowledge to formulate his proofs. No tokens appear on stage, nor is any physical attribute evoked (like the scar of Orestes in E. *El.*), but Iphigenia's recognition is achieved through description, through words. This is the only one of the Atreid recognition scenes effected without physical proof[162]. It follows on directly as a development from the message of the deltos which is 'put into speech' by Iphigenia (*λόγῳ φράσω* 761) and results in Orestes' realization of her identity[163]. Though the recognition

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spear in the maidens' quarters is a strained parallel indeed. The spear is a man's weapon, such as the bow of Odysseus in *Od.*21.1-60, rightly referenced by Cropp (2000) in his note. This bow makes an excellent parallel as it is an heirloom rather than an ordinary weapon, and it is stored in a special room to which only Penelope has a key. But this is a perfectly suitable and proper place for such an item, which I suggest is not the case here.

[157]See *LIMC s.v.* 'Pelops'.

[158]See O'Brien (1988) 103-6 for the various versions of the myth.

[159]Cf. Whitman (1974) 23 who also notes this: 'the spear also betokens heroism and suggests the grander side of Orestes' heritage', though I do feel that this 'grander side' is strongly undermined, and I do not agree with his suggested reason for the location of the spear, that 'Euripides....might have wanted to connect [Iphigenia], as well as Orestes, with the heroic aspect of the Pelopids'. I feel this location is much more disturbing than Whitman allows.

[160]The Greeks were not unaware of sexual symbolism; cf. the use of the same term *λόγχη* in a sexually suggestive context by Aristophanes in *Thes.* 826; in the tragic context, note the powerful sexual metaphor in A. *Ag.*1389-92; for Zeus' thunderbolt as a phallic symbol, see Rabinowitz (1993) 69.

[161]For further discussion of recognition as a motif in Greek literature, see Matthiessen (1964) 93-144.

[162]There are no concrete recognition tokens in E. *Hel.*, but there Helen and Menelaus recognize each other from their *physical* appearance in contrast to *IT*, where the siblings who have not seen each other since Orestes was an infant cannot recognize each other from outward appearance.

[163]Cf. *Ion* 1415ff.; although Creusa describes with words the swaddling clothes and the sacred branch which

tokens are presented apparently achronologically (grandfather, present generation, great-grandfather), the order of the recognition tokens is no accident. The central evocation of Aulis is framed by the unheroic deeds of forefathers presented in terms of false heroism. The weaving of the first token reminds us of Iphigenia's marriageable age, which serves as an introduction for the recollection of Aulis, while the last token reminds us that Iphigenia is still a virgin, although she was ready for marriage and has left the virgin's quarters. The framing first and third tokens also serve to reinforce the atrocity and deception of the false wedding.

As soon as Iphigenia recognizes her brother, she takes it upon herself to contrive an escape plan 876-9 *τίνα σοι <τίνα σοι> πόρον εὑρομέναι πάλιν ἀπὸ πόλεως, ἀπὸ φόνου πέμψωι πατρίδ' ἐς Ἀργείαν,ι πρὶν ἐπὶ ξίφος αἵματι σῷ πελάσαι*; Iphigenia's response to crisis is in clear contrast to that of Orestes, who had addressed Pylades in panic at 95-6 saying *Πυλάδη....τί δρῶμεν*;[164]. Iphigenia rather turns to herself to find a solution[165]. Pylades (at 902-8) takes the initiative of suggesting that their escape plan should become their top priority. Orestes agrees with him, but Iphigenia overrides them both and continues her questions as she pleases (912ff.). For almost eighty lines, tension mounts as the audience fear the trio will be interrupted in their complicity and be punished. Indeed, this fear is confirmed by Iphigenia's assertion at the end of the scene when she tells Orestes and Pylades to go into the temple *ὡς αὐτίχ' ἥξει τῆσδε κοίρανος χθονός,ι θυσίαν ἐλέγξων εἰ κατείργασται ξένων* (1080-1). Iphigenia's disregard for Pylades' advice reinforces her powerful presence and once more demonstrates her control over the situation and over both the young men. Furthermore, when the escape plan is contrived, Iphigenia rejects all of Orestes' suggestions, while she herself contrives a novel plan. The plan is novel is the sense that she will use the truth to a very large extent to deceive the king and escape. During the deception scene, as the pace quickens from *stichomythia* to *antilabai*, Iphigenia is the one who instigates each line while Thoas responds, thus indicating her control over the deception[166].

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should be found in the cradle, in contrast to the *IT*, Ion physically holds the tokens on the stage.

[164]Compare Orestes' desperate appeal to Pylades at *Or.*778 *πῶς ἂν οὖν δρώην*; In that play, Pylades and Electra are the ones who contrive the plan of revenge, Pylades the murder of Helen, Electra the holding hostage of Hermione. In *Or.*, as in *IT*, Orestes does not contribute to the plan.

[165]Note also Orestes' plea at 983-4 where he comes across as helpless indeed when he says *ἀλλ', ὦ φιλητεῖσ', ὦ κασίγνητον κάρα,ι σῶσον πατρῷον οἶκον, ἔκσωσον δ' ἐμέ*. When they return to discussing a plan of action, Iphigenia does wonder aloud about how they will accomplish their escape (1017-18), but this is not a direct address to Orestes, and she proceeds to dismiss all his suggestions.

[166]Cf. Cropp (2000) *ad loc.*, and Hogan (1997) 120-1 on the use of *antilabai* to quicken the pace of the action.

It has been said that Euripides' characters are 'carefully tailored persons'[167]. This is certainly true of the characters created in *IT*. This tragedy is ultimately about Iphigenia. She is the main recipient of our sympathy throughout the play, and we follow her character development through grief and anger to jubilation and simultaneous anxiety. Although she is absent from the final scenes of the play, the implications of her final predicament are made clear for the audience. She is to be denied return to her *oikos*, as well as the marriage and children she longs for. Her fate is one of the crucial factors in ultimately shaping this play as deeply dark and disturbing (along with the role of the gods in particular). It is only through Iphigenia's characterization that we can appreciate the subtleties implied in this final outcome. In turn, Iphigenia's character is developed through her interaction with others, particularly Orestes, whose character is second in importance to hers. Orestes is, of course, also important in his own right. His characterization in terms of epic hero reveals his noble intentions, though he is dogged by the Furies and his pollution. He develops from being cowardly and polluted to brave but foolish, and is never in control of the stage-action. The mission is presented as being controlled first by Pylades, then by Iphigenia, and finally by the gods. Although Orestes' wits are inferior to both Iphigenia's and Pylades', his physical strength and fighting abilities are shown to be just as important to the attempted escape at the end of the play. Thus his pollution is no longer an impediment to his heroic character, but he must still contend with divine opposition. In addition to this, the great love shown by Iphigenia and Pylades for Orestes may go some way to inspiring our confidence in him. Pylades' character is more two-dimensional than that of the siblings, and one cannot trace any real development in his character. However he works well in his supporting role, by drawing out and highlighting various characteristics in Iphigenia as well as in Orestes. The next chapters will deal with the interaction between Iphigenia and the chorus, Greek and barbarian, male and female, and human and divine, adding further depth to our understanding of the characters as outlined here.

[167]Said of the *Hippolytus* by Griffin (1990) 140.

# 4. *Chorus*

That Euripidean choruses are badly integrated into their respective dramas is a concept which can be traced back to Aristotle and which influenced many generations of critics[1]. The chorus is among the most challenging aspects of ancient drama for the modern interpreter. The concept and function of the chorus in Greek tragedy is difficult to grasp given that it is something generally alien to modern theatre[2]. However, since tragedy developed from choral singing and dancing[3], the chorus represents its very core, and important advances have been made by scholars in recent decades towards understanding the often complex choral lyrics and their impact on the drama as a whole[4]. Euripides' skill and innovation in manipulating his chorus is very much in evidence in *IT*. All choral participation bears a direct link and relevance to the surrounding action, and the chorus of this play has a strong character of its own, just as Aristotle advises (see n.1). The functions of the chorus emerge as being manifold. Their spoken interjections serve to further the plot, while their lyrics develop both their character and various themes of importance for the drama. Because of the different themes developed by the chorus, this chapter will analyze the choral odes and utterances thematically and according to their function, rather than examining each ode chronologically from beginning to end.

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[1] The relevant passage in Aristotle's *Poetics* is 1456a25-7 *καὶ τὸν χορὸν δὲ ἕνα δεῖ ὑπολαμβάνειν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ μόριον εἶναι τοῦ ὅλου καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι μὴ ὥσπερ* Εὐριπίδῃ *ἀλλ' ὥσπερ* Σοφοκλεῖ. The following sentence of the *Poetics* reads (1456a27-30) *τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὰ ᾀδόμενα οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τοῦ μύθου ἢ ἄλλης τραγῳδίας ἐστίν· διὸ ἐμβόλιμα ᾄδουσιν πρώτου ἄρξαντος* Ἀγάθωνος *τοῦ τοιούτου.* On the basis of this reference to Agathon, it has recently been argued by Hose (1998) 52-3, that Aristotle's condemnation of the Euripidean chorus is not as categorical as it first appears, and that he rather finds fault with Agathon's treatment of choral odes than with Euripides'. But Hose is not the first to notice this; see e.g. Padel (1974) 240n.5. Whatever Aristotle's intended meaning, there is no doubt, as Hose acknowledges, that this passage of Aristotle has influenced many scholars to view Euripidean choral odes as badly constructed and irrelevant to his dramas. One such expression comes from Jebb (1893) 223-4 'The choral odes of Euripides came to be wholly irrelevant to the dramatic context, or connected with it only slightly and occasionally'; this statement is discussed by Mossman (1999) 69n.1.

[2] Cf. Dale (1969) 210 'the Chorus....proves itself the greatest stumbling-block in modern productions of these plays'.

[3] See e.g. Calame (1995); for a discussion of the origins of tragedy, see Winnington-Ingram (1985).

[4] Most importantly: Vernant (1980), Henrichs (1995), Gould (1996), Goldhill (1996); on the treatment of the chorus in the context of single plays, see esp. Mossman (1999) and Allan (2000).

## 4.1 Choral Identity and Iphigenia

The identity of the chorus in *IT* as Greek maidens highlights Iphigenia's[5]. As maidens living by the sea's edge, in a mountainous landscape, the chorus resemble a *thiasos* of nymphs commonly identified as ritual followers of Artemis (for whom maidenhood is a prerequisite)[6]. Certainly the visual element of one female figure, a maiden more important and more prominent[7] than her group of maiden followers recalls Artemis herself and her nymphs[8]. We are reminded of sea-nymphs' ties with the locale in the first messenger-speech, when Orestes and Pylades are mistaken for 'darlings of Nereus' (273-4), ὃς τὸν εὐγενῆ| ἔτικτε πεντήκοντα Νηρήδων χορόν. It is noteworthy that the fifty daughters are described as a χορός in the scene which directly follows the entry-song of the chorus, and thus helps associate the two. In turn the figure of Iphigenia is conflated with that of Artemis at various points in the play, which consolidates the image of the chorus as followers of Artemis (see ch.6.1).

The amoibaic *parodos* serves to strengthen the ties between the chorus and their mistress[9], as they respond to Iphigenia's lament. In structure, this ode bears strong similarities to the amoibaic *parodos* of Euripides' *Helen*, but in *IT* it reinforces the divine bond that exists between Iphigenia and her servant-women, a bond which does not exist between Helen and her fellow Greek captive women. In *IT*, the chorus begin the *parodos* with a highly ritualized and formal address to Artemis, acknowledging themselves as servants of her key-keeper Iphigenia (123-142). Iphigenia then responds with her lament at the thought of her brother being dead (143-177), to which the chorus respond in turn with their lament for the misfortunes of Iphigenia's ancestors (178-202), and Iphigenia responds to this, lamenting her own birth and plight, which concludes the ode (203-235). In *Helen*, however, it is Helen who begins the *parodos*, and her fellow Greek captives who respond.

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[5] By an oversight, Castellani (1989) 9, comments on the 'female choruses in Euripides.....of mature or even elderly women (as apparently.....in *Iphigenia Among the Taurians* and *Helen*)'. The chorus in *IT* is clearly *not* made up of elderly or mature women (cf. their longing for children at 1097). Their virgin status is extremely important in the play, and appropriate to their role as servants of Artemis. The chorus in *Helen* are also addressed as κόραι (193).

[6] On the Taurian landscape, see ch. 2.1, 8-10; on the association between nymph-cults and marginal landscapes, see Buxton (1992) 87, 106-8, 110-12.

[7] The effect would be enhanced if, as I believe, there was a raised stage for the actors with the chorus singing and dancing their odes on a lower level; see ch. 2.1, n.5.

[8] Compare the description of Nausicaa and her handmaids in *Od.*6 where she is compared to Artemis and is taller than her nymphs 102-109: οἵη δ' Ἄρτεμις εἶσι κατ' οὔρεα ἰοχέαιρα,| ἠὲ κατὰ Τηΰγετον περιμήκετον ἠὲ Ἐρύμανθον,| τερπομένη κάπροισι καὶ ὠκείῃς ἐλάφοισι·| τῇ δέ θ' ἅμα νύμφαι, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,| ἀγρονόμοι παίζουσι- γέγηθε δέ τε φρένα Λητώ-| πασάων δ' ὑπὲρ ἥ γε κάρη ἔχει ἠδὲ μέτωπα,| ῥεῖά τ' ἀριγνώτη πέλεται, καλαὶ δέ τε πᾶσαι· ὣς ἥ γ' ἀμφιπόλοισι μετέτρεπε παρθένος ἁδμής.

[9] On amoibaic constructions in tragedy, see Popp (1971) 221-75.

The *parodos* unfolds as follows: Helen begins her lament (167-178), to which the chorus respond having heard Helen from a distance and coming to see what is wrong (179-190), Helen explains her woes in detail (191-211), the chorus lament her destiny (212-228), and Helen concludes by lamenting the beginnings of her misery (229-251). The fact that Helen begins the *parodos* in *Helen* and the chorus begin it in *IT* marks out the different identities of the chorus, who in *IT* are very definitely Iphigenia's servants, and have come in response to a previous summons (cf. ch. 2.2, 18-9), but in *Helen* there is no such suggestion of servitude[10], and the chorus come out of concern once they have overheard Helen lamenting.

In content, there are also some strong similarities between the two *parodoi*, though again, the differences highlight each individual situation. Helen has just received news of the fall of Troy, that everyone blames her for the war, that her mother killed herself in shame, that her husband Menelaus has disappeared, and that her two brothers killed themselves in shame at her acts. This is what prompts Helen's lament. In structural terms the information she has received rather corresponds to the news Iphigenia extracts from Orestes about her family, and what is said about her also at *IT* 513-570. However, the final piece of information Iphigenia receives here, that Orestes is alive, is a great cause of joy for her, and there is no cause for lament. In the *parodos* of *IT*, Iphigenia is expressing her sorrow at her belief, through her interpretation of her dream, that Orestes is dead. The visual aspect of the two *parodoi* will also be very different. Helen is a suppliant at the tomb of Proteus, while Iphigenia is a commanding figure, in control, and engaged in the ritual act of pouring libations for her brother. There are some small points of comparable detail in the bodies of the laments[11], but by far the strongest parallel between the two odes is the final section in which both protagonists revert to tracing their ill-fate through the course of their lives. Here also, however, there is a difference. Iphigenia traces her misfortune right back to her birth (203-213), while Helen's ill-fate begins when Paris seeks her beauty (*Hel.* 229-240). The fact that Iphigenia counts even her birth as unfortunate, even though at this point she is unaware of her father's death at the hands of her mother, reveals the depth of her misery, but the image also serves to develop the theme of birth-giving and motherhood which will be something Iphigenia is denied forever by the end of the play.

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[10]See Dale (1967) *ad Helen* 179-90.

[11]The laments are called 'lyreless' in both cases (*IT* 146, *Hel.* 185), and both are in a sense 'barbarian': Helen calls for the accompaniment of the 'Lybian flute' at 170-71, while the chorus in *IT* respond to their mistress with 'Asian laments' at 180 (on this last passage, see ch. 5.1, 151-2). Both *parodoi* contain examples of *anadiplosis*: *IT* 138, 153, *Hel.* 195, 215.

The eagerly anticipated entry of the chorus[12] evokes an atmosphere of ritual which is heightened by the substitution of many spondees in the metre which establishes a solemn and heavy mood[13]. There is no short syllable until 130, and lines without a single short syllable abound throughout the *parodos*[14]. The first choral utterance (123)[15] εὐφαμεῖτ' is a particularly ritualistic expression[16]. A comparison worth noting here is the call for religious silence made by the chorus of thiastic maenads in their entry-song at *Ba.* 70 στόμα εὔφημον ἅπας ἐξοσιούσθω[17]. The *Bacchae* is a play whose chorus has a very powerful ritual identity as followers of Dionysus. The comparable sentiment expressed in the two *parodoi* thus reflects the religious identity of the chorus in *IT.* It is also worth noting that these two plays both involve deep perversions of sacrificial rituals. The call for holy silence in the *parodoi* perhaps reflects the ominous nature of the cults, which are so uncivilized that they should not be mentioned[18]. Like the *Bacchae*, which contains many examples of the dochmiac metre (though not in the *parodos*), the *parodos* of *IT* is composed in dochmiacs[19], a metre which always expresses an urgent or emotional context[20]. The metre thus reinforces Iphigenia's personal emotion, which is very much a part of the *parodos* as she pours libations for the brother she believes dead. The chorus' response to their mistress' lament (179-85) contrasts with their opening lines requesting holy silence, and shows them following their mistress' lead. The religious bond between the chorus and Iphigenia is also emphasized by their formal address to Artemis, through the juxtaposed repetition of the adjective ὅσιος 'holy' referring first to Iphigenia and then to themselves (126-31): ὦ παῖ[21] τᾶς Λατοῦς| Δίκτυνν' οὐρεία,| πρὸς σὰν αὐλάν...ὁσίας ὅσιον πόδα παρθένιον| κληδούχου δούλα πέμπω.

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[12]See ch. 2.2, 15-18 on manipulated audience expectation of choral entry.

[13]Noted by Cropp (2000) *ad* 123-235; cf. Dale (1968) 59 'Euripides favours....the 'dragged' [dochmiac]'; this occurs at *IT* 126, 127 (see Dale (1983) 80).

[14]See Dale (1983) 80-5.

[15]Diggle (1981) attributes 123-5 to Iphigenia, but see ch. 2.2, 18 with n.60.

[16]It developed from indicating the use of words of good omen and therefore avoidance of unlucky utterances to meaning being silent as the surest method of avoiding ill omen; see *LSJ s.v.* εὐφημέω.

[17]The only other case in tragedy of the chorus calling for εὐφημία is at *Eum.* 1035 and 1038. However, at the very end of the trilogy, it has a function specific to the *Oresteia.* Coupled with the *ololugmoi* of 1043 and 1047, it serves to redress the earlier negative silences (e.g. Iphigenia being gagged and unable to speak at *Ag.* 235-43) and the destructive *ololugmon* of *Ag.* (e.g. associated with the capture of Troy and the murder of Agamemnon 28, 587, 595, 1118). Now at the end of the trilogy, both terms are used in a positive light as is the general pattern of the *Oresteia*; for more detail, see Sommerstein (1989) *ad loc.*

[18]Cf. Iphigenia's words at line 37 'as for the rest, I am silent'; on silence and speech in this play, see pp. 23-5, 58; on this intertext with Aeschylus, see ch. 7.1, 167.

[19]See Dale (1983) 80-5 on the *parodos* of *IT*, and 142-146 on dochmiacs in E. *Ba.*.

[20]See West (1992) 142-5.

[21]Note how ὦ παῖ addressed to Artemis at 126 is reflected in ὦ παῖ addressed to Iphigenia at 139, thus establishing a verbal association between the two from the very entry of the chorus.

The conflation between Iphigenia and Artemis is revealed through the chorus' terms of address for Iphigenia[22]. They call her 'mistress' five times during the course of the play. The first four times they use the term *δέσποινα* (181, 445, 1075; cf. *δεσποσύνοις* 439). But in the second stasimon, they sing (1123-4) *καὶ σὲ μέν πότνι'*, *'Αργείαι πεντηκόντορος οἶκον ἄξει*. Up to this point, and in all other instances, *potnia* is used to denote Artemis[23], but this final usage may ambiguously refer to both Iphigenia and the statue of Artemis. The context of lines 1123-4 is as follows: the chorus lament the destruction of their native city and sale into slavery and then confess 1117-22 *ζηλοῦσα τὸν διὰ παν-| τὸς δυσδαίμον'· ἐν γὰρ ἀνάγ-| καις οὐ κάμνει σύντροφος ὤν.| μεταβάλλειν δυσδαιμονία· τὸ δὲ μετ' εὐτυχίαν κακοῦ-| σθαι θνατοῖς βαρὺς αἰών*[24]. The chorus are clearly drawing a contrast between their own fate, once prosperous[25] and now miserable and Iphigenia's, which has always been unfortunate. The verbal echo back to the *parodos* is striking. At 203-5, Iphigenia describes her life in precisely the terms used here by the chorus: *ἐξ ἀρχᾶς μοι δυσδαίμων| δαίμων ⟨ | ⟩ τᾶς ματρὸς ζώνας| καὶ νυκτὸς κείνας* These are the only two occurrences of *δυσδαίμων* in the play and must surely recall each other. So although the term *potnia* may remind us that the statue of Artemis will also be travelling back to Greece on the ship, we should also note here that the audience have not yet seen this statue and therefore will be less inclined to associate the term *potnia* with the statue of the goddess. The main purpose of the term in this instance is to denote Iphigenia, whose fate is being contrasted to their own.

This transition from the chorus addressing Iphigenia as *despoina* to referring to her in terms previously reserved for Artemis is important at this point in the play. It emphasizes the depth of their religious bond to Iphigenia and the solemnity of their promise to keep silent about the intrigue. This prepares us for the self-sacrifice of the chorus in the final stages of the play and helps explain their mute acceptance of their subsidiary status throughout. This being said, their loyalty is apparently not something Iphigenia takes for granted. Their mistress, she supplicates them in formal ritual fashion, begging each one individually to help hide the plan[26]. Like Iphigenia who dwells so heavily on her unfulfilled marriage at Aulis[27], the chorus similarly lament their lack of husband and children in the

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[22]On the conflation of Artemis and Iphigenia, see further ch. 6.1, 137-8.

[23]*Potnia* is used three times before 1123: at 463 when the chorus address Artemis, at 533 and 1082 Iphigenia refers to Artemis.

[24]Different editors have slightly different readings of this passage. Here I quote Diggle's (1981) text, but none of the other conjectures alters the basic meaning of the sentence or cancels out the verbal echo to 203-5.

[25]See esp. 1138ff. for description of the chorus' once prosperous life.

[26]See ch. 2.2, 25-6.

[27]See ch. 3.1.

second stasimon (discussed below, 4.4). The ode closes with the chorus lamenting their lack of participation in weddings and dances (1143-52). This futher reinforces the parallel with Iphigenia who is also unable to take part in typical female activities.

### 4.2 Greek Lust for Gold

The chorus introduce us to the gold on the temple, which at first seems to be a simple expression of honour to the goddess[28]. However, in the context of this particular play, the theme of gold and riches is developed in negative terms. Ironically it will be the Greeks and the gods who are presented as greedy for gold, whereas the barbarians are content to use gold for ritual purposes (for example, the libation jug, and temple decoration[29]). Although golden props do not necessarily indicate barbarians, there is no doubt that the Greek mind held strong associations between barbarians and gold[30]. But in *IT*, while gold is clearly available, there is no evidence of extravagant luxury among the Taurians. Indeed, as we have seen, the temple to Artemis is equipped with imposing doors and sturdy bolts rather than being a decadent temple of luxury. This is a strong contrast to the *skene* of *IT*'s sister play *Helen*, where the palace of the Egyptian king Theoclymenus is so luxurious that Teucer wonders if it is the dwelling of Wealth himself (*Hel.* 69; cf. 295-6). The concept of barbarians as extravagant in their wealth and luxury is often coupled with the idea that they are soft and lack self-restraint[31], but this is not how the Taurians are presented. In fact Thoas immediately restrains himself from attacking the fugitives at the end of the play, when he is commanded to do so by Athena (1475ff.).

It is *Greek* lust for gold which is introduced in the *parodos*, through the ancestral quarrel between Iphigenia's forefathers Atreus and Thyestes over the golden lamb[32]. It is presented by the chorus as an important juncture in the misfortunes of the line. The story is

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[28]The temple in *Ion* is also described as golden (157), but see p. 10-11 for discussion of the important differences between the two temples.

[29]See ch. 2.2, 19-20 on the functions of the libation jug as a stage property.

[30]In tragedy, see for example, the repeated references to the Persians' gold which characterizes them in A. *Per.* 3, 9, 45, 53, 79, 159; the Phrygians are called rich in gold at *Hec.* 492 (cf. *Tro.* 18); Hecuba accuses Helen at *Tro.* 991-6 'You saw [Paris] shining with gold on barbarian garments and your mind became wanton. For in Argos you lived with small means, but you thought that by being free from Sparta you would be able to flood the city of Troy which is awash with gold, with your extravagance'; cf *IA* 74, 786 and *Andr.* 169 for Trojans associated with gold (and *Her.* 643-5 for Asiatic gold); in *Hec.*, Polymestor, the barbaric Thracian is motivated by lust for gold in his crimes, and Hecuba subsequently uses his insatiable greed to lure him to his punishment (see Mossman (1999) 184-88); Medea uses barbarian gold and luxuries to lure Jason's new wife to her gruesome death.

[31]See E. Hall (1989) 80-1, 127-8.

[32]Compare also the ancestral greed suggested by Agamemnon's desire for the victory crown of Troy, which Iphigenia presents as one of the reasons for her sacrifice (*IT* 11).

told at 189-201, with the strife over the golden lamb portrayed as the reason for later troubles. Although syntax and metre are defective in several lines here, we easily recognize the myth of Zeus reversing the course of the Sun as a result of the quarrel between Atreus and Thyestes over the golden lamb[33]. The image of gold is also exploited by Euripides with regard to this myth in the 'golden lamb' ode (i.e. the second stasimon) of his *Electra*, where the golden lamb is presented as the root of family evils[34]. In *Electra*, gold is ambiguous. It symbolizes royalty and power in a positive sense, but this power is abused by the quarrel over the golden lamb. Electra cannot go to the festival of Argive Hera because she has no golden necklaces, she has no symbol of her royal status[35]. Clytemnestra does, by contrast, but she is barbarized by associations with Trojan gold, which hint at an excess of luxury and remind us of her murder of Agamemnon who won these Trojan trophies[36]. In *IT*, gold is not associated with royalty, neither is the golden lamb presented as a symbol of authority as it is in *Electra*. Rather in *IT*, the image of gold develops in terms which highlight human greed, and specifically Greek greed. Thus the reference to the strife-causing golden lamb in the

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[33]The text at 189-97 is difficult but the content seems clear. I agree with most scholars in reading that the winged horses are those which pull the daily chariot of the sun across the sky. This is possible with Diggle's (1981) punctuation though the syntax is defective; cf. Kovacs' (1999) reading and emendation, and Platnauer (1938) *ad* 192: 'I am inclined to think that, from the *immediate* mention of the sun, it is to *his* horses that reference is here made' (Platnauer's italics). See also O'Brien (1988) 105n.17 with references, who also argues that horses belong to the sun.

Cropp (2000), however, suggests *ad loc.* that the winged horses are those of Pelops, and that there is a missing reference to Pelops' chariot race here. For references to the winged horses of Pelops, Cropp (2000) cites *Or.* 989 (but see Willink (1986) on the mythical variant used by Euripides at 988-94), and Paus. 5.17.7 according to whom the 6th C BC chest of Cypselus at Olympia depicted Pelops with winged horses.

But a reference to Pelops here is not necessarily to be expected, and the horses are more likely to be those of the sun. This passage deals specifically with the *woes* of the house, and as Sansone (1975) has pointed out Pelops rather serves as a parallel to Iphigenia in *IT*, as they both *escape slaughter* at the hands of their father. Furthermore, as recorded in Pindar's *Ol.* 1, Pelops' winged horses were provided by Poseidon, but we are told at *IT* 1415 that Poseidon *opposes* the *Pelopids*, which suggests that Euripides is *not* drawing on Pindar's version of the myth (cf. discussion of *IT* 385-91 in ch. 6.3, 144-9). Given the further reference to the 'sun's shifting' mentioned in the recognition scene (814), it seems more suitable that *IT* 189-97 be read in the context of E. *El.* 699-746, where the chorus relate the quarrel over the golden lamb and cite this as the cause of the sun's change of course (cf. *Or.* 992-1012). The chorus in *El.* proceed to discount the story as false, but we need not accept the chorus' opinion, see Rosivach (1978) 196ff., and for a parallel in *IT*, see ch. 6.3, 144-9). In a much later interpretation of the myth (Seneca's *Thyestes*), nature's extreme rejection of the horrors committed by Atreus in killing his nephews (the day becoming night, i.e. the sun changing course) is a theme exploited to very disturbing effect, particularly in the fourth choral ode: see Davis (1989) esp. 431-34.

[34]In *IT*, ancestral crimes are traced further, back to Pelops and Tantalus.

[35]Rosivach (1978) analyzes the second stasimon of *Electra* and shows how the image of gold, among others, unifies the ode and relates it to the context of the play.

[36]Cf. E. *El.* 314-18 where Clytemnestra is barbarized by association with Trojan gold. This prepares us for Clytemnestra's grand entrance at 998ff.; the affinity between Clytemnestra and her Trojan slaves is well-captured by Cacoyannis' cinematic version in which the geometric patterns on the costumes of the slaves reflect Clytemnestra's own, see Torrance (forthcoming (a)). The fact that Agamemnon won all this wealth through his victories at Troy but came home to a pitiable slaughter is something which is repeatedly emphasized in E. *El.*, see Cropp (1988) *ad* 8.

*parodos* paves the way for the chorus' more categorical condemnation of lust for gold in the first stasimon.

In the first antistrophe of the first stasimon, the chorus discuss the subject of gold-seeking travellers to barbarian lands. They wonder whether the captive men were driven (409-10) φιλόπλουτον ἅμιλλανι αὔξοντες μελάθροισιν; The colonial history of ancient Greece proves that to the Greek mind there was no shame in seeking one's fortune abroad. However, these choral lyrics are powerfully dark in their description of man's greed for barbarian riches, and the final few words recognizing that not all men succumb to this does not negate the importance of the rest of the antistrophe. The travellers are φιλόπλουτοι. This is the only example of this term in Euripides and it is never found in Sophocles or Aeschylus. In fact this is the earliest usage of the term. Combined with the noun ἅμιλλα, which involves the concept of vying with others for superiority, and the verb αὔξω, it cannot be doubted that φιλόπλουτος is used here in a bad and avaricious sense[37]. Through mortal struggle and pains (ἐπὶ πήμασι 414) for wealth, the hope for riches becomes ἄπλητος (415), again a very negative word, generally used regarding greed for money or lust for blood[38]. By contrast, the word ὄλβος is usually a positive term indicating worldly happiness and prosperity. A person who is ὄλβιος is 'happy' or 'blessed'. But in line 415, ὄλβος is a βάρος which must be borne literally and metaphorically. The term is repeated at 419-20 in conjunction with an ἄκαιρος γνώμα reinforcing the notion that ὄλβος is distinctly *not* 'happy' or 'blessed' in this context[39]. Moreover, the men described are πλάνητες (417), a condition which is far from desirable in Greek myth, as attested by the cases of Odysseus, Io, Oedipus and Orestes. Indeed the case of Io has just been recalled by the chorus in the opening strophe of this stasimon, which immediately precedes the antistrophe we are discussing. The ode begins with a reference to the οἶστρος which flew from Argos to Asia (392-6). This can only be a reference to Io[40]. Both Io and the sailors wander, not on calm seas, but struggle ἐπ' οἶδμα (394, cf. 417). Apart from the obvious parallels between the fate of Io and the description of hypothetical sailors, this phrase, which occurs in exactly the same line position in strophe and antistrophe, links the two stories firmly together. The men sail ῥοθίοις εἰλατίνας δικρότοισι κώπας (408-9), an image full of movement and vigorous energy,

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[37]One might compare the similar compound adjective φιλότιμος which mostly has very negative connotations of ambition in writers of the fifth century (see *LSJ s.v.*).

[38]Cf. Thgn.109, S. *El.* 1336, Hdt. 1.187, 212, A. *Eu* 976 .

[39]Cf. Kannicht (1956) 105 who shows that ὄλβος is used in the sense of πλοῦτος here.

[40]See esp. A. *Supp.* 291-315 and *PV* 561-886; the figure of Io provides a parallel for Iphigenia in that she was also made priestess to the goddess who was the cause of her troubles, i.e. Hera (Apollod. 2.1.3).

which indicates their drive in search of riches[41]. Indeed the Black sea was well-known as being treacherous for sailors. The vessel described is not a plain ship, but a *νάιον ὄχημα* (410), an image which links in well with the concept of *ἅμιλλα* as the chariot is generally associated either with racing or with war. Finally, the idea of *κοινᾷ δόξᾳ* (421) suggests that there are many such wanderers driven by their own personal gadfly, which is insatiable lust for gold. In light of all these negative effects involved in the speculation that the two sacrificial victims have arrived in these parts in search of riches, the token phrase *τοῖς δ' ἐς μέσον ἥκει* (420-1) hardly redresses the balance. We are left with an overriding sense of general condemnation for those who greedily travel in search of barbarian gold[42]. We learn in the second stasimon that the chorus-members were sold by their captives to the Taurians *ζαχρύσου δὲ δι' ἐμπολᾶς* (1111)[43]. The identity of their captors is unspecified, but in the context of the first stasimon, there is surely an implication of lust for barbarian gold. The fate of the Greek chorus-women ironically recalls the fate of the enslavement and captivity of Trojan women at the hands of Greeks as presented in tragedy[44].

But if we adopt the manuscript reading of 1216, as I have argued we should[45], Iphigenia's order to purify the temple with gold represents an important symbolic redress in previous human attitudes to gold which have been developed so far. Unlike her ancestors who, though brothers, fight amongst themselves for the golden lamb, or travellers driven by greed, Iphigenia and the Taurians are content that gold be used for ritual purposes, especially as this purification is presumably designed to keep Thoas distracted while she makes her escape with her brother. If this is the case, it throws the treatment of Apollo's greed for gold, described in the third and final stasimon, into even sharper relief, beginning as it does just 18 lines after Iphigenia orders the purification by gold. In the last stasimon, Apollo is called *χρυσοκόμας*. This is an epithet used elsewhere by Euripides to describe the god[46]. Here, however, the adjective functions as a verbal echo for the image of Apollo sitting *τρίποδί τ' ἐν χρυσέῳ* (1254)[47] at the end of the opening strophe, and marks the

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[41] See Diggle (1970) *ad Phaeth* 80 for the qualities of sound and motion as the primary forces of *ῥόθιος*.

[42] Compare the prologue of *Medea*, where the Nurse recounts how Jason and his men sailed in search of the *πάγχρυσον δέρος*, which became the beginning of Medea's woes.

[43] Note here a parallel for the fate of the chorus-women in the rationalization of the myth of Io at Hdt. 1.1, where he claims that she was kidnapped by Phoenician traders.

[44] Captive Trojan women feature in A. *Ag.*, perhaps in A. *Cho.* (but the identity of the captive chorus-women in not specified), E. *Andr.*, *El.*, *Hec.*, *Tro.*

[45] See ch. 2.2, 30.

[46] Cf. E. *Supp.* 975, *Tro.* 254; on a physical attribute like this used to develop the image of gold, compare how the *χρυσωπὸν* Sun at E. *El.* 740 picks up the previous images in the ode of the golden lamb and gold-wrought sacrificial altars, see Rosivach (1987) 190ff.

[47] The image of Apollo dispensing oracles from his golden tripod is introduced by Orestes at 976-8 *ἐντεῦθεν αὐδὴν τρίποδος ἐκ χρυσοῦ λακὼν| Φοῖβός μ' ἔπεμψε δεῦρο διοπετὲς λαβεῖν| ἄγαλμ' Ἀθηνῶν τ' ἐγκαθιδρῦσαι χθονί.*

progression to the revelation that he took possession of the Delphic oracle by force, because *πολύχρυσα θέλων λατρεύματα σχεῖν* (1275). As the theme gains positive resolution in human terms, it is almost immediately transposed into the divine realm with all its negative aspects, thus providing a shocking picture of heavenly greed, giving a bleak picture of human morals failing in divine terms[48].

### 4.3 Non-Lyric Choral Utterances

Just as specific themes and images can be traced through the choral odes, so also non-lyric choral utterances form a certain pattern as the play develops, and contribute to various themes, often reinforced through choral lyric. At the end of the *parodos*, the chorus announce the entry of the Herdsman (236-7). After listening to the full narrative of his speech, they exclaim 340-1 *θαυμάστ' ἔλεξας τὸν φανένθ'*[49], *ὅστις ποτὲ | Ἕλληνος ἐκ γῆς πόντον ἦλθεν ἄξενον*. This is the first of several times the chorus express astonishment at the action of the play. This particular instance is reinforced by their assertion that the words of the Herdsman were indeed true at 461-2, once they see the sacrificial victims arriving *οὐδ' ἀγγελίας ψευδεῖς ἔλακεν | βουφορβὸς ἀνήρ*. Similarly after the reunification of Orestes and Iphigenia, the chorus comment 900-01 *ἐν τοῖσι θαυμαστοῖσι καὶ μύθων πέρα | τάδ' εἶδον αὐτὴ κοὐ κλύουσ' ἀπ' ἀγγέλων*[50]. Here it becomes clear that their previous astonishment and apparent disbelief involves a general distrust of reported speech[51]. A contrast developed between the chorus' attitude to the revelations of the siblings, which are believed though astonishing, and to the messenger's news which is certainly not so amazing, yet doubted more deeply[52]. This serves to highlight choral sympathy for the siblings, and prepares us for choral initiative and intervention towards the end of the play.

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We note that Apollo only gives this decree after Orestes has given him an ultimatum in desperation at his sufferings (973-5).

[48]The third stasimon is discussed in more detail in ch. 4.6.

[49]Reading *φανένθ'* with Cropp (2000) and Kovacs (1999). Diggle (1981) reads *μανένθ'* but see Cropp (1997) 29-30.

[50]On the importance of first-hand knowledge rather than hearsay in tragedy, cf. *Med.* 654-5 with Mastronarde (2002) *ad* 654.

[51]De Jong (1991) 63-116 has shown how the factual reports of the Euripidean messenger-speech do not preclude subjectivity; bearing this in mind, the chorus' doubt as to the truth of the herdsman's report becomes more understandable and legitimate. It is not unknown for the tragic messenger to lie (e.g. the Paidagogos in S. *El.* 680-763), and we note with De Jong 67, that most 'messengers' in tragedy are not so by profession, but rather by accident, and this is the case in *IT*.

[52]We may compare *Hel.* 306-309, where the chorus doubt the news of the destruction caused by the Trojan war. Again it is reported speech which is doubted, but in *Helen* the chorus actively seek to dissuade Helen from believing the news, whereas in *IT* it is probably correct to assume rather more astonishment than disbelief in the exclamations of the chorus; cf. Stinton (1990) 236-64, who treats tragic expressions of disbelief not as firm rejections, but as strong expressions of astonishment. In *IT*, however, there are two

At 1284ff., when the messenger races on stage looking for Thoas to tell him the news of the attempted escape of Iphigenia with Orestes and Pylades, the chorus take control of the scene. From the entry of the messenger, the chorus feign ignorance and distract the messenger from his immediate search for the king by asking (1288) *τί δ' ἔστιν, εἰ χρὴ μὴ κελευσθεῖσαν λεγεῖν;* The messenger spends four lines briefly explaining the situation and provoking the chorus' apparent disbelief and pronouncement of the king's previous departure: 1293-4 *ἄπιστον εἶπας μῦθον· ὃν δ' ἰδεῖν θέλεις| ἄνακτα χώρας, φροῦδος ἐκ ναοῦ συθείς.* Here, their disbelief is feigned and designed to support the pretence that they are unaware of the escape plan. Although *ἄπιστον*, is a much stronger term than *θαυμάστον*, the chorus display a consistent attitude to reported speech, here with the extra motivation of distracting the messenger. The chorus lie outright, and knowing very well that the king is in the temple, they send the messenger off at 1296-8: *οὐκ ἴσμεν· ἀλλὰ στεῖχε καὶ δίωκέ νιν| ὅπου κυρήσας τοῦσδ' ἀπαγγελεῖς λόγους.* The chorus must be pointing in the direction of eisodos A, the town, leading away from the off-stage shoreline where the fugitives are, and from where the messenger has just come. The deception will thus be visually reinforced. Up to this moment, the chorus seem to have the upper hand, but all of a sudden, the messenger bursts out, exclaiming 1298-9 *ὁρᾶτ' ἄπιστον ὡς γυναικεῖον γένος·| μέτεστι χὐμῖν τῶν πεπραγμένων μέρος*[53]. The messenger may be alerted to someone's presence inside the temple by a noise of some kind. It is striking that he uses the same word to describe the chorus, as they had used to describe his tale, that is *ἄπιστον*. It emphasizes the final turnabout in the control of the scene. The chorus protest in their defence and keep up the deception 1300-01 *μαίνῃ· τί δ' ἡμῖν τῶν ξένων δρασμοῦ μέτα;| οὐκ εἶ κρατούντων πρὸς πύλας ὅσον τάχος;* They refer to the escapees (their compatriots) as *ξένοι* in an obvious attempt to distance themselves from the fugitives, but the messenger is no longer to be swayed by them. The expression *κρατούντων πρὸς πύλας* here means the gates of the king's palace, of course, but the only other *πύλας* mentioned throughout the play are those of the temple in front of them[54], indicating that their attempted deception has failed, as the messenger prepares to hammer on the doors of the *πύλας* which are in front of him to see whether or not the king is inside (1302-6).

Although they ultimately fail in their deception, this scene represents unusally important choral intervention in the action of the play[55]. It is very rarely that a tragic chorus

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levels of choral astonishment/ disbelief at work, depending on the identity of the speaker.

[53]On the implications of this passage for portrayal of gender in *IT*, see ch. 5.2, 123.

[54]100, 1286, 1305, 1308; cf. Iphigenia as *πυλωρός* at 1153 and more generally *ναῶν πυλωρὸς* at 1227.

[55]Choruses in other plays do take some initiative. For example, in *Hec.*, the chorus of Trojan captives have left their assigned quarters, without leave, to bring Hecuba news, and their complicity makes possible the

demonstrates any involvement in plot development[56]. This scene has been aptly compared to *Choephoroi* 766ff[57], where the chorus take it upon themselves to persuade the nurse Cilissa to summon Aegisthus without his bodyguard, against the instructions of Clytemnestra. In both cases, the chorus act on their own initiative, and are privy to knowledge denied their addressee (in *IT* they are aware of the escape plan, in *Cho.* they know that Orestes is not really dead). However, there are important differences between the two situations. In *Cho.*, the chorus never really put themselves in a situation of danger. That Cilissa is unsympathetic to Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, and therefore sympathetic to the chorus, has been made clear[58], while by contrast the messenger in *IT* is very much in the enemy camp and extremely hostile once he discerns what is afoot. This hostility also stems from the very different type of intervention in both plays. While the chorus of *Cho.* ask Cilissa to omit a small detail from her message (i.e. that Clytemnestra wants Aegisthus to bring his henchmen when summoned), that of *IT* tells outright lies and attempt to fool the enemy face to face. This behaviour is typical of the respective choruses. The foreign captives of *Cho.* incite others to action throughout the play, but they always direct their opinions through a third party. Having urged Orestes and Electra to perpetrate the murders for most of the play, and particularly in moments when Orestes wavers in his resolve[59], they then distance themselves from the horror of the matricide as soon as it is carried out[60]. The chorus-members of *IT*, however, are completely consistent and selfless in their support for Iphigenia. We see from Thoas' reaction to their part in the plot that they will suffer for their actions, although he does not threaten death, 1431-33 ὑμᾶς δὲ τὰς τῶνδ' ἵστορας βουλευμάτων,| γυναῖκες, αὖθις, ἡνίκ' ἂν σχολὴν λάβω,| ποινασόμεθα. The chorus must have expected punishment if found

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revenge on Polymestor (see Mossman (1999) 69-71). In *Ion* the chorus of Creusa's slave-women also put themselves in danger and further the action of the plot by telling Creusa that Ion is Xuthus' new son, in spite of Xuthus' threat to kill them should they speak (666-762, see further discussion overleaf). However, the chorus in *IT* are unique in that they tell bare-faced lies to the enemy. In these cases, the chorus and those they help are women. The common bond that exists between women is a recurring motif in Euripidean tragedies, and is a bond which can transcend race, as it does in *Med.*, *Andr.* and *Pho.*, for example (cf. also Mossman (1999) 70 n.4); on the staging of choral intervention in *IT*, see ch. 2.2, 30-1.

[56]Castellani's statement (1989) 10 and n.21 that apart from supplications, 'women are relatively helpless to prevent others' action or to initiate much action of their own' overlooks the importance of female involvement in the action of *IT*, not only of the title character, but also of the chorus. It is true that their attempts are unsuccessful, but they do *initiate* this part of the stage action; cf. also n.54 above on female choral involvement.

[57]Mentioned briefly by Hose (1998) 61-2.

[58]Esp. *Cho.* 747ff. which emphasizes Cilissa's maternal feelings for Orestes and so undermines Clytemnestra's and highlights her hypocrisy; see Garvie (1986) *ad loc.*

[59]See esp. choral interjections at *Cho.* 306-553.

[60]*Cho.* 1007-9: the chorus address Clytemnestra's corpse 'Ah, ah the pitiful work. The dismal death that was your ending. He (i.e. Orestes) is left alive; pain flowers for him', i.e. it will soon be Orestes' turn to suffer for his crimes; cf. Garvie (1986) *ad loc* on Orestes' angry retort at 1010 'he clearly understands the Chorus to be questioning the legitimacy of *his* killing his mother'.

out, yet they express fear only for the life of Iphigenia and her brother (at 1420-1), whose lives seem to be in danger. In this respect, the chorus of *IT* may more appropriately be compared to the chorus of *Ion*, who have been threatened with death by Xuthus (666-667), should they reveal the news of his new son to their mistress, who is to remain childless. They therefore appear to put themselves in danger by revealing the news to Creusa, and change the course of the action in that their news precipitates the attempted murder. I say 'appear' because, in contrast to the chorus in *IT*, Creusa's servant-women will still have their mistress to defend them against Xuthus, should he find out. But Iphigenia's servants will have no one to be their champion, since they have been abandoned in a barbarian land. I suggest that the chorus of *IT* put themselves in a more dangerous situation that that of *Ion*. This is reinforced by the fact that the chorus of *Ion* tell the truth to their mistress, while that of *IT* attempts to deceive the enemy.

### 4.4 Escape

It seems strange, at first glance, that the chorus should be more concerned for Iphigenia's life than for their own. Indeed they do not once complain of being abandoned in this barbarian land, which is striking in light of their longing for home. Before suggesting a conclusion to this apparent anomaly, let us take a look at the second stasimon where desire for escape is most strongly expressed. This ode may aptly be compared to two other escape odes in Euripides, already fruitfully analyzed as a pair by Padel, namely *Hipp.* 732-75 and *Hel.* 1451-1511[61]. Each ode consists of two strophic pairs, but in contrast to *Hipp.* 732-75 and *Hel.* 1451-1511, *IT* 1089-1152 does *not* introduce the god (or gods as in the case of *Helen*) who resolves the action at the end of the play[62]. In light of this pattern in the other two escape odes, the audience may be led to expect the intervention of Apollo as *deus ex machina* in *IT*, who is introduced in the second strophe, and envisioned accompanying Iphigenia on her voyage home[63]. Like the other escape odes, however, the second stasimon in *IT* describes the voyage to Greece of the female protagonist as paralleled by the flight of birds, and the final strophe includes reference to participation in a wedding[64]. Within the structure of *IT*, the second stasimon recounting the voyage home responds neatly to the first describing the voyage *from* home[65]. The escape ode in *IT* is comparable to those of *Hipp.*

[61]Padel (1974).

[62]Padel (1974) 227.

[63]On audience expectation of an epiphany by Artemis or Apollo rather than Athena, see also pp. 28, 149-52.

[64]These general points are made by Padel (1974) 227.

[65]A point also made by Kannicht (1956) 114.

and *Hel.* in different ways. Like the chorus of *Hipp.*, the chorus in *IT* wish that they themselves could escape, but like the chorus of *Hel.* they also sing of their mistress' return to Greece. Again, there are differences within these similarities. Although the chorus of *Hipp.* sing of escape from troubles to lands of mythical paradise, they are at home, and their wish cannot be realistically fulfilled[66]. In *Hel.* the ode deals exclusively with Helen's joyous return to Greece, without mention of the chorus returning[67]. Like the two other escape odes, the second stasimon of *IT* is a direct reaction to events in the play. Iphigenia has just left the stage to set her escape plan into motion. What is most striking about the escape ode in *IT*, is the great sadness of the chorus and the contrast evoked between their abandonment and the joyful escape of their mistress.

The ode opens with the image of a *lamenting* bird in captivity. Bird and wing imagery, which is so commonly associated with escape[68], as it will be in the final antistrophe of this ode, here functions as an ironic contrast to escape, a contrast emphasized by the position of ὄρνις as the very first word of the opening strophe. There is no mention of flight in connection with the halcyon, only lament[69]. In fact the chorus compare themselves to an ἄπτερος ὄρνις, thus consolidating the association of this image here as purely one of lament, which is intensified by the emphatic opening words of lines 1095-7 θρήνους.....| ποθοῦσ'.....| ποθοῦσ'. The chorus pine for their marriage, childbirth and their homeland[70], which is described as λίμναν θ' εἱλίσσουσαν ὕδωρ| κύκλιον, ἔνθα κύκνος μελωι-| δὸς Μούσας θεραπεύει. The lake from home thus contrasts with the present locale, the πετρίνας| πόντου δειράδας in the opening lines, and represents a far less hostile environment[71]. Similarly the beautiful songs of the swan counteract the halcyon-like lament of the chorus[72]. The strophe is thus brought to a careful structural and poetic conclusion.

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[66]W. Barrett (1964) *ad Hipp.* 732-75 analyzes the function of this first strophic pair in terms of distracting the audience from 'the pain of realities on stage' (i.e. the imminent suicide of Phaedra) through 'the beauty and pain of fairyland, poignant only in that it lies beyond mortal reach'. Compare the chorus of S. *Trach.* at 953ff. who wish to be swept away by the wind from their home rather than see their master dead. See also W. Barrett (1964) *ad Hipp.* 732-4, and 1290-3 for tragic characters wishing to escape from where they are, or to get where they are not.

[67]As noted by Dale (1967) *ad Hel.* 1451-1511 'The Chorus do not intrude any nostalgia of their own, unless it may be a sigh in the passing wish to join the flight of the cranes'.

[68]Escape can include death, e.g. S. *OT* 168ff. where the dying are like birds, an easy comparison in Greek thought (see Dawe (1982) *ad loc*); in S. *El.* 1058-97 the behaviour of birds is used to highlight natural instincts of parenthood (see Burton (1980) 147-8 *ad OT* 175ff., and 208 *ad El.* 1058-97).

[69]The nightingale is commonly associated with lament in tragedy, cf. e.g. A. *Ag.* 1145-6, S. *El.* 107, 1077, *Trach.* 963 with Easterling (1982) *ad loc.*

[70]For other examples of lyric laments for home, see Kranz (1933) 246-7.

[71]Note the contrast between the wish for childbirth here as the chorus sing from their seaside crag, and the third stasimon, where Leto gives birth in a seaside crag (1240 δειράδος εἰναλίας). What is unattainable in human terms is thus shown taking place in the divine realm.

[72]The swan can also be used as an image of lament, e.g. A. *Ag.* 1444, E. *El.* 151-7.

The image of flowing water, this time associated with lament, continues in the corresponding antistrophe, which opens with the lines *ὦ πολλαὶ δακρύων λιβάδες,| αἳ παρηίδας εἰς ἐμὰς| ἔπεσον*. The chorus proceed to recall the destruction of their town and their subsequent captivity and enslavement in the land of the Taurians. Thus the first strophic pair form a personal lament at the chorus' own situation. It is only in the second strophe that the chorus turn their attention to Iphigenia's escape. The emphatic difference between their respective situations is revealed by the opening words of the strophe *καὶ σὲ μέν*, which capture choral sentiment of abandonment in contrast to Iphigenia's anticipated escape. This sentiment is picked up again in the final sentence of the strophe (1132-3) †*ἐμὲ δ' αὐτοῦ λιποῦσα| βήσῃ ῥοθίοις πλάταις*·[73]. Similarly, there is a strong contrast between the sounds associated with lament in the first strophe particularly, and the triumphant sounds of jubilation which will accompany Iphigenia on her divinely-escorted journey home (1125-1130) *συρίζων θ' ὁ κηρόδετος| Πανὸς οὐρείου κάλαμος| κώπαις ἐπιθωύξει,| ὁ Φοῖβός θ' ὁ μάντις ἔχων| κέλαδον ἑπτατόνου λύρας| ἀείδων ἄξει*. The image of the *ναὸς ὠκυπόμπου* ends the strophe and leads us into the chorus' wish for their own winged escape in the final antistrophe.

That the chorus should revert to their own fate here is unusual, for example, in contrast to the escape ode in *Hipp.*, where the first strophic pair deals with the chorus' wish to escape and the second with the fate of their mistress. In *IT*, there is a strong imbalance in the escape ode which is concentrated on the plight of the chorus rather than that of Iphigenia (cf. the escape ode in *Hel.* which deals exclusively with the fate of Helen). The chorus' wish to escape in the final antistrophe is expressed through optatives (*βαίην, λήξαιμι, ἐνσταίην*), in contrast to the future indicatives used to describe Iphigenia's escape (*ἄξει, ἐπιθωύξει, ἄξει, βήσῃ*)[74]. This adds further pathos to the chorus' wish, which seems unattainable, while that of Iphigenia is presented as assured.

The climactic expression of the chorus' desire for escape in the second stasimon is prepared at several points during the course of the play. In an ironic choice of words, the chorus had sung at 447-51 *ἥδιστ' ἂν δ' ἀγγελίαν| δεξαίμεθ' Ἑλλάδος ἐκ γᾶς| πλωτήρων εἴ τις ἔβα| δουλείας ἐμέθεν| δειλαίας παυσίπονος*. This is, on one level, exactly what happens for Iphigenia, and thus prepares us for the recognition scene, but the chorus have no share, either in escape with sailors or in news from home. Their wish here at an early stage in the play therefore adds to the pathos of their subsequent abandonment. We remember how the

[73]These lines are obelized because they are not an exact responsion to 1147-8, see Platnauer (1938) *ad loc.* On further issues of metrical inconsistency in *IT*, see Sansone (1979).

[74]A similar point is made by Padel (1974) 230 on the escape ode in *Hipp.*

chorus' wish to learn about their family is cruelly ignored by both Orestes and Iphigenia, and wonder how they can stay so consistently loyal to their mistress. During the lead up to the recognition scene, when Orestes is giving Iphigenia news of the Greeks, the chorus, who have been silent for over one hundred lines, interrupt the proceedings at 576-7 asking φεῦ φεῦ· τί δ' ἡμεῖς οἵ τ' ἐμοὶ γεννήτορες;| ἆρ' εἰσίν; ἆρ' οὐκ εἰσί; τίς φράσειεν ἄν; This is clearly an emotional subject for the chorus, indicated by the opening φεῦ φεῦ·, but their questions elicit no response. It occurs before we become aware of the destruction of the chorus' home town (related 1106ff.), and serves both to reinforce the subsidiary status of the chorus and to evoke audience sympathy for their plight. The mention of parents also creates an ironic contrast between the normality of the chorus' familial relationships, and the perversion in Iphigenia's *oikos*. It is true that, in her supplication of the chorus, Iphigenia promises to come back and save them 1067-8 σωθεῖσα δ', ὡς ἂν καὶ σὺ κοινωνῇς τύχης,| σώσω σ' ἐς Ἑλλάδ'. But in light of Iphigenia's treatment of the chorus up to this point in the play, which shows disregard for their fate, and without any real plan for the salvation of the chorus, Iphigenia's statement seems to be something of a throwaway remark. This may reflect the fact that the supplicatory ritual in contemporary late fifth century Greece was becoming less and less binding, and 'more or less emptily metaphorical'[75] mainly due to political realities[76]. Of course, in dramatic terms, the fate of the chorus in tragedy is never the main focus of audience engagement. It is the fate of the protagonists in which we are interested, and one of the functions of the chorus is to help maintain and influence that interest. In *IT*, however, the imbalance in the second stasimon, which deals mainly with the chorus' own fate in contrast to other escape odes, which express concerns for the main character primarily, makes the chorus more of a focus for audience sympathy than choruses in other tragedies.

Indeed the chorus' self-sacrifice highlights an error in Iphigenia's judgement. Their attitude reveals how wrong Iphigenia was when she addressed them at 351-3 saying καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρ' ἦν ἀληθές, ἡσθόμην, φίλαι·| οἱ δυστυχεῖς γὰρ τοῖσιν εὐτυχεστέροις| αὐτοὶ κακῶς πράξαντες οὐ φρονοῦσιν εὖ[77]. The chorus in this play do exactly the opposite. They *do* wish their mistress well in her chance to escape although they themselves remain unfortunate in

[75]Gould's phrase (1973) 101.

[76]See esp. Gould (1973) *passim* on the supplication scenes in Thucydides. He concludes, 101, that by the fourth century 'the language of supplication has become....little more than an empty shell'.

[77]These lines are deleted by Diggle (1981) and Kovacs (1999). It is true that this deletion creates a smooth transition between the idea that Iphigenia is hardened towards whoever has ventured into this land (350) and her subsequent wish that it was Helen (354ff.), but I agree with Cropp (2000) *ad loc* that this deletion is 'excessive'. I would also argue that lines 351-3 are a carefully formulated interjection in the narrative. Iphigenia is expressing her own feelings of frustration and anger which set up a striking contrast to the chorus' altruism; on altruism in Greek thought, cf. ch. 3.3, n.138.

their plight. But what logical reason can there be from the point of view of the chorus for them to demonstrate such fierce loyalty in spite of their subordinate treatment? The fact that Iphigenia is their mistress is, I suggest, the firm basis for this. The chorus are bound to Iphigenia in religious servitude, just as they are to Artemis. The relationship between Iphigenia and the chorus is not a reciprocal friendship like that of Orestes and Pylades. The chorus are bound to serve Iphigenia, while she bears no responsibility for them. If we see Iphigenia as an Artemis figure and the chorus as her band of nymphs, Iphigenia's lack of regard for the fate of her servants creates a clear parallel for Artemis' lack of regard for Iphigenia's fate.

### 4.5 Apollo

There is a palpable tension in this play between divinely inflicted adversity and divine responsibility for the situation. The chorus play an active role in developing the character of the god Apollo, who is in many senses the author of Orestes' misfortunes. He is an absent character, but intimately connected with the drama. From Orestes and Pylades, we see Apollo as prophet, based on their own experiences and frustrations. From the chorus, however, we get a much broader and less subjective insight into the god and his nature. Their lyric passages which refer to Apollo, logically, appear after the chorus and Iphigenia have been made aware of Apollo's involvement in the situation at hand. He is mentioned in the second stasimon, as accompanying Iphigenia on her homeward journey to Greece at 1128-31, in terms of his identity as prophet and musician. The suggestion that Apollo will accompany the ship on its journey, however, produces a mixed reaction. One would expect escort by a god to indicate a salutary outcome, but in light of choral utterances after the narration of Orestes' trial, the audience must strain to believe that Apollo can really guide towards salvation. Furthermore, it is not one of Apollo's many characteristic functions to accompany a travelling retinue. This duty rather falls under the jurisdiction of Hermes[78]. At the same time, however, it must occur to an audience that the possibility of introducing Apollo as *deus ex machina* still exists (as he appears in *Or.*). But as we will see, it is not to be, and this is very much consistent with the signals of Apolline failure to which the chorus have alerted us[79].

The brief insight of the second stasimon into Apollo's character foreshadows the final stasimon which deals exclusively with Apollo. A short ode, comprising just one

[78] See Mikalson (1989) 91-2 *ad Rh.* 224-41.

[79] For further discussion of divine failure in *IT*, see ch. 6 *passim*, esp. 6.1, 6.3 and 6.5.

strophic pair, this stasimon is nonetheless packed with symbolism pertinent to the play. We have seen how the theme of lust for gold which was previously developed with regard to mortals, transposed to the realm of the gods. However, the gods do not suffer the consequences for their evil actions or desires, and although Apollo is portrayed as greedy and underhand, the chorus nevertheless praise the truth of his oracular shrine at Delphi (1254-57). This passage has been interpreted as signalling the salutary outcome of the play[80]. But the implications of the song are not so simple. The chorus explain, 1245-49: *ὅθι ποικιλόνωτος οἰνωπὸς δράκων| σκιερᾷ κατάχαλκος*[81] *εὐφύλλῳ δάφνᾳ| γᾶς πελώριον τέρας, †ἀμφέπει μαντεῖον χθόνιον†*. Euripides' choice to have the serpent as original owner of the Delphic seat is no accident[82]. This serpent recalls the Furies, also chthonic and ancient, and strongly associated with snakes. The particular description of a Fury in *IT* as a *δράκαινα* (286) strengthens the parallel between the serpent at Delphi and the chthonian powers of the Furies. The fact that Apollo destroys the fierce snake which guards the oracular seat foreshadows Orestes' final release from the bloodthirsty pursuit of the Furies. But again, the contrast between divine and mortal is clear. In the choral ode, it is an easy kill for Apollo who is (1250-51) *ἔτι νιν ἔτι βρέφος, ἔτι φίλας| ἐπὶ ματέρος ἀγκάλαισι*[83] *θρῴσκων*. This contrasts with the prolonged and inescapable hounding of Orestes by the Furies. However, Apollo's killing of the snake-guardian is not wholly successful for gaining control of the oracle.

The chorus explain how Earth took revenge on Apollo on behalf of her daughter Themis, 1262-4: *Χθὼν ἐτεκνώσατο φάσματ' ὀ⟨νείρων⟩,| οἳ πόλεσιν μερόπων τά τε πρῶτα| τά τ' ἔπειθ', ὅσ' ἔμελλε τυχεῖν*. And so the oracle was made redundant. As in the *Oresteia*, again Apollo the Olympian is faced with opposition from the ancient chthonic powers. Now that mortals have prophetic dreams, they no longer need his oracular advice, and Apollo, still an infant, solves the problem, and regains his authority by seeking the assistance of

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[80]E.g. Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 231.

[81]The manuscript reading *κατάχαλκος*, a Homeric term for warriors, here used to describe the serpent, contrasts well with the *χρυσοκόμαν* Apollo; although the phrasing is difficult, I see no need to emend to *κάτεχ' ἄλσος* as do Diggle (1981) and Kovacs (1999); cf. Cropp (2000) '[*κάτεχ' ἄλσος*] is not compatible with *ἀμφέπει μαντεῖον*'.

[82]In the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and Alcaeus' *Hymn to Apollo*, for example, Apollo himself is the founder and first deity to control the oracular seat; in A. *Eum* 1-8, the transfer of the oracle is a peaceful process from Gaia to Themis to Phoebe to Apollo; in Pin. fr. 55 Apollo violently seizes the seat from Gaia who wants him banished to Tartarus; in E. *Or.* 163-5, the Delphic tripod is called Themis'.

[83]Note the verbal echo to 289, and the inversion of the image, with the mother (Clytemnestra) being held in the arms (*μητέρ' ἀγκάλαις*) of the snakes (Furies) like a burden of stone with which they threaten Orestes, a striking contrast to Apollo who kills the snake while still in his mother's arms. For a dead body used as a weapon, compare figs. 101 and 102 in Woodford (1993), where Neoptolemus uses the body of Astyanax to batter Priam who has taken refuge at an altar.

another Olympian, this time Zeus 1270-82 (cf. his seeking of help from Athena in the *Oresteia*): ἐπὶ δ' ἔσεισεν κόμαν[84] παῦσαι νυχίους ἐνοπάς (1275).

Through her analysis of the Previous Owners myths, Sourvinou-Inwood has offered valuable observations on this ode, and these will make a good starting point for our discussion. Apart from comparing this Euripidean version of the myth with other versions, she notes how the Gaia-Themis (mother-daughter) relationship is implicitly compared with the Zeus-Apollo (father-son) relationship, with the female represented as inferior[85]. This is important for gender relations in the play. In general, the female is stronger throughout the *IT*, but here we have an exception in the divine realm[86]. However, as we have noted, Gaia and Themis belong to the chthonic powers, like the Erinyes, who must always bend to the will of the Olympians in tragedy. Sourvinou-Inwood argues that the negative element, 'the dark side' of prophecy 'drifts to Gaia'[87], and that Apollo's oracle is presented as its opposite, guaranteed by Zeus[88]. There are two significant factors in this choral ode, however, which portray Apollo and his prophetic powers in a negative light. First, the deliberately negative characterization of Apollo, and secondly, the resolution of the theme of dreams in the play.

Euripides has moulded his version of Apollo's taking possession of the Delphic oracle carefully and deliberately. It shows Apollo as a violent and selfish god, greedy and power-hungry. As we saw in 4.3 above, within the context of the play, Apollo's lust for gold is particularly apparent at this point, brought into contrast by the mortals' purification of the temple with gold, undertaken in the immediately preceding scene. His slaughter of the guardian-serpent is not given a second thought, and he only becomes concerned with Gaia and Themis after Gaia's dreams threaten his prophetic powers. Apollo pays no penalty for his outrage on the chthonian powers[89]. The picture of the child Apollo twining his hand

[84]The concept of shaking one's head to indicate assent, rather than denial (as the English phrase 'to shake one's head' implies), is the norm in Greek literature; see Boegehold (1999) 59-61 for implications of this in S. *Ant.* 441-3; cf. also *Iliad* 1.514, 524.

[85]Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 231.

[86]See ch 5.2, 124 for further discussion of this point.

[87]Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 232.

[88]Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 231-2.

[89]I cannot agree with Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 231, that 'the violent take-over of the oracle in myth, foreshadows and thus symbolically characterizes, and will in its turn be characterized by- the end of the play: the violent take-over of an especially holy statue and the establishment of a superior civilized cult'. Of course, there will be a less violent cult of Artemis established at the end of the play, but this is not characterized by a violent take-over, and cannot be seen as a simple parallel to Apollo's accession at Delphi. The removal of the cult statue by its priestess can hardly be described as 'violent', nor is the scuffle on the shore between the Greeks and Taurians comparable to killing and overthrowing an ancient power. Also, the cult of Artemis Tauropolos stays essentially the same when transposed to Greece, with the single, though major, alteration of the human blood being shed not resulting in death. Apollo's accession to the seat at Delphi involves a complete rejection of the original presiding deity.

around Zeus' throne in supplication (1271), which elicits Zeus' amusement (*γέλασε* 1273) implies that Apollo is taking advantage of his father's affections for him. This is typically childlike, and Zeus is portrayed as an affectionate and good-natured father, but at the same time, we are not given any indication that Apollo's character has matured at all with age. Severe doubts are expressed as to the validity of Apollo's oracle at several points in the play (78-103, 570-5, 711-15, 723), and each time by his own protegé, Orestes. It is true that Apollo's oracle is validated by the end of the play, but it is equally true that Gaia's dreams are. Although Iphigenia proclaims that her dream was false when she finds out that Orestes is alive (569), it was not the dream itself which was false, but *her interpretation* of it. In her dream, she saw that her house fell crumbling to the ground, with one pillar remaining which grew hair and which she sprinkled with lustrations. She judges, correctly in fact, that the pillar symbolizes Orestes. Her next conclusion that Orestes is already dead, is plausible but mistaken. Her mistake is that she reads the dream as revealing a past truth, when it actually reveals both the past and a warning of future truth. To the audience, the significance of the crumbling palace is obvious as symbolizing the murder of Agamemnon (and perhaps also of Clytemnestra). The future element of the dream very nearly comes true in the most literal sense. Iphigenia will literally sprinkle lustrations over her brother's hair to consecrate him to death, but the ritual is ultimately avoided through the recognition scene.

Iphigenia's anger provoked by her misinterpretation of her dream is pitched against the chorus' attitude to dreams as a pleasant relief in the stasimon which immediately follows this speech of Iphigenia's. Having described the pains of their slavery, they sing at 452-5 *⟨κἀν⟩ γὰρ ὀνείροισι συνεί-| ην δόμοις πόλει τε πατρῴ-| α, τερπνῶν ὕπνων ἀπόλαυ-|σιν, κοινὰν χάριν ὄλβου*. This reminder of the pleasant nature of dreams balances Iphigenia's unpleasant night visions, although it is clear that these are two distinct dream-types. The prophetic dream can be seen as predetermined to be misinterpreted by what is revealed in the final stasimon, i.e. that Zeus 'took away from mortals the truth of night appearances' (1276). The dreams are not false [illegible]

Gaia's dreams, but have yet to be convinced of the validity of Apollo's prophecy. Furthermore, it does not increase our sympathy for Apollo that he remains silent for the whole drama, although he is known to be Orestes' patron. By contrast, Gaia, who is not involved in the fate of either sibling, has sent a prophetic dream which can be recognized by the audience as valid and correct[90]. I therefore conclude that the myth recounted in the third stasimon is not a straightforward proof of the superiority of Apolline power, but rather a condemnation of how Apollo gained this power, and a testament to the perseverance which is characteristic of the chthonian powers encountered in this play (namely Gaia and the Erinyes)[91].

By the final stasimon, choral identity has been well established and developed. It is therefore not surprising that the last ode does not contribute to the character development of the chorus. As one of Euripides' dithyrambic odes, this is the only stasimon which deals exclusively with mythical elements outside the immediate concerns of the characters. But these are very much relevant to thematic constructions in the play. A further function of the ode is that its hymnal register accompanies the mock procession led by Iphigenia as they leave the stage area[92]. The whole song has a very Homeric feel, particularly in its treatment of the gods, who have distinctly human characteristics and flaws (Zeus is amused, Apollo is greedy)[93]. It is Athena, however, who brings the play's conclusion. The chorus' closing words acknowledge Athena's power and rejoice at the unexpected turn of events 1492-6[94]. But, this final choral remark is ambiguous. The chorus are clearly relieved on two counts: first that their mistress, whom they have been attempting to protect, will escape death, and secondly that they themselves will also leave the Taurian land (1467-9). However, the seeming optimism expressed in the closing statement of the chorus is undermined by

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[90]On dreams in Greek literature in relation to *IT*, see Valakas (1993), and further discussion, ch. 7.1, 167-9.

[91]According to Hesiod *Theog.* 211-13, it is Night who begets dreams, but in Euripides it is Gaia; cf. *Hec.* 70-1 where Earth is the mother of dreams and A. *Supp.* 885ff. where the chorus appeal to Mother Earth to release them from their terrible dream.

[92]Cf. Furley (1995) 38 'The chorus cast a ritual veil, as it were, over the clandestine plot of the Argives', and see 38-41 on the ritual language of the stasimon; however, Furley is mistaken when he says, 37 that 'the procession [is] led by Iphigenia....from Thoas' palace to Artemis' sanctuary by the sea', and offers the analysis 'The hymn, then, is a prosodion: choral worship on the way from residential to sacred ground'. The *skene is* Artemis' sanctuary by the sea, which is why Iphigenia must justify her need to leave the area by saying that a deserted place is required for purification (1196-7). Thoas' palace is part of the off-stage space, and the chorus do not move with the procession, but rather stay in the orchestra, ready to distract the messenger from finding the king.

[93]The treatment of the gods is Homeric, but the language and style of the whole ode is dithyrambic, comparable to Bacchylides' dithyrambs; on the relationship between tragic and earlier choral lyric, see Hutchinson (2001) 427ff.

[94]1490-91 must be spoken by Athena rather than the chorus to make sense, see Cropp (2000) *ad loc.* and Kovacs (2000) 21f.; lines 1497-9 (where the chorus pray for victory) are rightly excised by Diggle (1981), Kovacs (1999) and Cropp (2000), who notes *ad loc.* that these lines have 'no dramatic significance'.

implications of the events in the play[95]. The close of the play once again contrasts the plight of the chorus to that of Iphigenia. This time, however, their fates are reversed. The chorus are rewarded for their γνώμης δικαίας (1469), by being sent back to Greece. The salvation of the chorus, like that of the siblings, is only revealed in the *exodos*, and there have been no dramatic reasons for expecting this to be predetermined. The dangers which the chorus face, and their longing for home are real. Ironically, while their wish to return home will be fulfilled, Iphigenia remains a prisoner in the cult of Artemis. Of course, she will no longer preside over human sacrifices. These rituals were part of the worship of Artemis only in the Taurian land. Yet here also there is an ambiguity in the cult which was denounced as a barbarian custom, but honours a Greek deity. This tension between Greek and barbarian will be explored in the next chapter.

[95]Compare choral comments of jubilation at the end of S. *El.* with Kells (1973) *ad loc.*.

# 5. *Polarities*

Polarity is central to the formulation of Greek argument, particularly of Greek philosophical argument, most notably in the Pythagorean Table of Opposites, but in all Greek philosophy[1]. Pythagorean pairs of opposites included: limit and unlimited, odd and even, one and plurality, right and left, male and female, rest and moving, straight and curved, light and darkness, square and oblong[2]. Of these opposites, one of the most widely explored in tragedy is the male/ female antithesis[3].

Although fifth century literary consciousness displays an awareness of traditional polar opposites, the complexities of Euripides' tragedies leave no simple binary oppositions[4]. The best known Euripidean play which focuses on, and most overtly deconstructs, such opposites is the *Bacchae*, which deals with a wide range of antitheses: Greek/barbarian, male/female, slave/free, citizens/aliens, gods/mortals[5]. Other Euripidean plays too contain explorations and deconstructions of apparent opposites. In *Medea* the title character takes on the persona of a god in the *exodos*[6]. In *Helen*, we are presented with an intricate conflict between illusion and reality[7]. In *Hippolytus* there is a blurring of sexual boundaries[8]. Euripides is master of blurring distinctions and obscuring boundaries delineated by traditional thought. Such is the case for two important themes in *IT*[9]: Greek and barbarian, and male and female.

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[1] As noted by Lloyd (1966) 15, Aristotle claimed that all his predecessors used opposites as principles; see e.g. *Physics* A 5. 188b27ff, and see Lloyd (1966) 15 with n. 1 for further references.

[2] See Lloyd (1966) 16.

[3] But cf. also light and dark as opposing forces exploited in A. *Or.*, and the how the question of one versus plurality is explored in S. *OT* by the confusion over whether there were many murderers of Laius, or one.

[4] Cf. Wright (2002) 180-87 on conception of binary oppositions in fifth century sophistic thought, and 195ff. on the deconstruction of polarities in Euripides' escape plays.

[5] Important scholarship on this play and its issues of 'otherness' includes Goldhill (1986) 265-86, Vernant (1988) 381-412, Segal (1997); cf. Carpenter and Faraone (1993) on different aspects of the ambiguous god Dionysus. Cartledge (1993) uses very similar pairs of opposites as those we find in the *Bacchae* to analyze the Greeks' perception of themselves and others from a historical perspective.

[6] On Medea raised to a quasi-divine status in the *exodos*, see Mastronarde (2002) *ad* 1293-1419.

[7] See Wright (2002) 188-225, who also discusses this theme in *IT*.

[8] See Goff (1990) 27-54

[9] There are also more subtle deconstructions of polarities in *IT* which are not discussed in this chapter; on life and death, see ch. 3.2, on Iphigenia and Artemis (mortal and god), see ch. 6.1.

## 5.1 Greek and Barbarian

Much work has been done on examining the theme of 'Greek' and 'barbarian' in classical Greek literature. The polarity between Greek and barbarian has been stressed by a number of scholars, who have shown how the 'barbarian' is defined in terms of how it is unlike the 'Greek'. This in turn has been seen as the *creation* of a Greek identity through defining the 'other'/ non-Greek. Herodotus in particular has attracted scholarly attention[10]. However, within this exploration of the self through the other, there arises a visible blurring of boundaries in Herodotus, with recognition of the self in the other and the other in the self, as Pelling argues. Indeed he concludes by making a compelling comparison between the *Histories* and the *Iliad*. Both begin with people who seem very different from one another, but the end of the *Iliad* sees Achilles and Priam 'linked by the universality of death', while the end of the *Histories* shows that 'the Athenians will not be so very different from the Persians, as imperialism turns out to have its own universally aggressive and brutal characteristics'[11].

In Aeschylus' *Persians*, there is a tension between the Persians as barbarians, which is very apparent in this play, and the sympathy evoked for their plight[12]. But Euripides' plays, in particular, deconstruct and problematize the 'Greek' and 'barbarian' polarity[13]. Many of the barbarians in Euripidean tragedy are Trojans, whose surviving legacy must be strongly influenced by their general portrayal as valiant warriors, brave heroes, and loving wives in the *Iliad*. This facilitates a positive depiction of Trojans in tragedy, and these barbarians are often contrasted with decadent Greeks[14]. Conversely, the Taurians are uncivilized and murderous. They practice human sacrifice and are associated with impalement, though it should be noted that the only fifth century evidence for their customs,

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[10]See e.g. Redfield (1985), Hartog (1989), Romm (1989), Cartledge (1990). Tragedy has also been a fertile field for the discussion of the Greek and barbarian polarity, particularly through the influential arguments of E. Hall (1989). On Greek perception of 'otherness' more generally, see Romm (1992), Cartledge (1993) and the invaluable collection of essays in Harrison (2002); for reactions against the polarization theory, see Thomas (2000) who uses the evidence of medical writers to argue 70, that 'ethnography is being utilized not so much to show difference...as to make connections across the whole of the human world'; and see also J. Hall (2002) *passim* and esp. 172-228, who argues that in the fifth century literature, rather than being diametrically opposed to Greeks, 'barbarians are more commonly viewed as being situated at the other end of a linear continuum which did in fact permit category crossing' (8).

[11]Pelling (1997a).

[12]See E. Hall (1989), Pelling (1997), Goldhill (2002), though Harrison (2000a) argues for a more unsympathetic reading of the play; on the Persian wars as a catalyst for racial prejudice, see Diller (1961) 39 and *passim*.

[13]See Saïd (1984) and E. Hall (1989) 201-223.

[14]Cf. E. Hall (1989) 212 'Most of the noble barbarians in Greek tragedy are Trojan'; see also 217, 220-21; for Greeks depicted as barbarians in tragedy, see Saïd (1984) 44-53.

apart from Euripides' *IT*, comes as a few scraps from Herodotus[15]. Euripides has ample material here to develop and emphasize the cruelty of the barbaric Taurians. Instead, however, I will argue that he undermines their barbarity by reminding us throughout the play of the human sacrifice of Iphigenia at the hands of her Greek father[16], and developing the cult of Artemis, the Greek goddess, as bloodthirsty and ruthless. The Taurians are characterized by their piety, and their king Thoas, who is portrayed in terms reminiscent of the Greek hero Achilles, is decent and devout. This parallel is one of the elements which contributes to the creation of a positive relationship between Iphigenia and Thoas.

The following discussion may strike the reader as somewhat Herodotean in approach, dealing with the landscape, political system, and religious customs of the Taurians, but these are the elements which come to the fore in the play. Indeed, we get a far more detailed view of Taurian life in *IT* than we do from Herodotus, though in many respects, in the *Histories*, Taurian customs reflect Scythian customs more generally. Herodotus distinguishes between the Taurians and the Scythians, in his description of the geography of Scythia. The Taurians live in Scythian territory, but are not technically Scythian (4. 99). However, living in Scythia, in such close proximity to other Scythian tribes, valid parallels may still be drawn between Taurians and Scythians.

In *IT*, Scythians are nowhere mentioned, the Taurians are referred to generically as 'barbarians', and there is a great emphasis placed on the fact that this is a 'barbarian land'[17], ruled by a king who is a 'barbarian among barbarians' (31). But the 'barbarian land' in which they live in fact recalls Greece through its physical features, as presented in the play. In the *parodos*, the chorus sing 132-6 Ἑλλάδος εὐίππου[18] πύργους| καὶ τείχη χόρτων τ' εὐδένδρων| ἐξαλλάξασ' Εὐρώπαν[19],| πατρῴων οἴκων ἕδρας. But well-wooded pastures and horses are just as much a feature of the Taurian land as they are of Greece. At line 261, the

[15]Hdt. 4. 99-103, 119.

[16]Cf. 8, 211-3, 360, 366, 784, 853-4, 1083, and see ch. 3.1.

[17]See ch. 2.1, 9-10.

[18]Cropp (2000) *ad loc* notes that 'this evokes the 'horse-grazing'...lands and 'horse-taming'....heroes of epic, connoting prosperity and an aristocratic way of life'; he refers us to *Pho.* 17, *Ba.* 574, S. *OC* 668 and A. *PV* 456-6. This is an important observation, but one should also point out that by then showing Thoas to have swift horses at his disposal, Euripides strengthens the link between Thoas and a Greek epic hero. Achilles, in particular, with whom Thoas is compared (see pp. 102-5), has a special relationship with his talking horses.

[19]E. Hall (1987) has argued that this should read Εὐρώταν rather than Εὐρώπαν, to make sense of the geography, since the Tauric Chersonese must be seen as part of Europe (cf. Diggle (1994a) 417-9) in accordance with ancient sources on the boundaries between Europe and Asia (see E. Hall (1987) 431). But the play is set in a barbarian land which is continually brought into a superficial contrast with Greece. Most notably, it is on the inhospitable sea, and it is also past the Symplegades, a boundary between Europe and the uncivilized world (see ch. 3.2, 46-8 on this). I do not think we need take the geography so literally here. Furthermore, if this word does refer to the Spartan river, it is strange that, as Cropp (2000) notes *ad loc* 'the home city whose destruction the chorus later describes (1106-12) remains anonymous'.

Herdsman relates how he and his companions were driving their *βοῦς ὑλοφορβοὺς* towards the sea[20]. Then, in the final stages of the play we see Thoas order an armed pursuit on horseback (*πώλοις* 1423; cf. *ἱππεύμασιν* 1428) to race along the shore (*παράκτιοι δραμεῖσθε* 1424)[21]. The Taurians also have *οἱ δ' ὠκυπόμπους...πλάτας* (1427) to put them on a par with the sea-faring Greeks. In fact, at the end of the play, the Greek ship is decidedly 'unswift' which would have given the Taurians a naval advantage had Athena not intervened.

It has been suggested that the Taurians are primitive because they fight with stones and use conch shells to summon help. But there is no reason for herdsmen to carry swords, and the stoning of Orestes is an appropriate reaction, in Greek terms, to his fit of madness[22]. They start pelting Orestes with stones at 308-10 (cf. 318-19 *ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ ἀνίεμεν πέτροις| βάλλοντες*). Stoning is appropriate given the depth of Orestes' madness at this point. Keeping one's distance from a mad man is common Greek response to madness, and stoning appears as an appropriate punishment not only for madness, but also for crimes incurring the most serious pollution, which the audience know Orestes has committed[23]. Indeed, threats of stoning, and references to stoning, abound in Greek tragedy in response to the many characters who have committed, or are thought to have committed, appalling crimes. Although stoning is a savage punishment[24], there is nowhere any indication in the tragic texts that it is associated with barbarians. In fact, all references to stoning (apart from *IT*) involve Greeks being stoned by their own[25]. Euripides' plays, in particular, repeatedly

[20]Cropp (2000) *ad loc* argues that 'the lushness of 'Europe' is implicity contrasted with the barrenness of the Taurian land' and uses 218-9 and 399-402 in support of this. But *δυσχόρτος* (219) is a rare word and need not necessarily mean 'barren', but probably means something more like 'wretched grassland', for it is clear from the Herdsman that the area is *not* barren. Compare Hdt. 4.58 on Scythian *ποίη* as 'the most bile-producing' grass: it does not mean there is *no* grass.

Lines 218-9 come in the middle of Iphigenia's lament about her plight and we are not surprised that she calls the place wretched. 399-402 simply refer to the waters of the Eurotas and its fresh green reeds which is contrasted to the Taurian land in terms of its altar being soaked with blood. The purity of the water in Greece provides a striking contrast for the flow of human sacrificial blood, but there is no suggestion here that the Taurian land is barren although it is definitely unwelcoming- note especially the presence of the hostile temple (see discussion ch. 2.1, 12-17).

[21]Note also the parallel between Thoas with his swift of foot and horses, and Iphigenia's forefather Oenomaeus who is recalled in the prologue *θοαῖσιν ἵπποις* (2). This strengthens the bond between Iphigenia and Thoas; on the positive relationship between Iphigenia and Thoas, see 156-76, below. Horses are also particularly associated with Scythia, see Hdt. 4.128, and book 4 *passim*.

[22]See full discussion of madness in ch. 3.2, 49-55 and *passim*.

[23]Cf. Parker (1983) 194-5.

[24]Stoning is one of the savage punishments that Apollo associates with the Furies at A. *Eum.* 185-90; other punishments mentioned include impaling, decapitation, eye-gouging and mutilation.

[25]Orestes' sentence to death by stoning in E. *Or.*, by his own Argive people because of his pollution, is central to that play (50, 442, 536=625, 564, 614, 863, 914, 946; cf. 1477). This kind of stoning represents condemnation by the whole community who collectively carry out the sentence. Conversely Orestes is the malevolent instigator (with the apparent support of Apollo) of the stone-throwing mob against Neoptolemus at Delphi in E. *Andr.* (1128). Neoptolemus' crime had been his *hubris* against Apollo. In S. *Aj.* it is feared by the chorus that Ajax will be stoned because of his intended crime (254) and Teucer comes under the threat of being stoned by the army because he is Ajax's brother (726-8). Achilles is threatened with stoning

address the concept of stoning, and his *Orestes* contains a whole system of rock/ stone imagery[26]. Execution by stoning, as far as we can tell from the sources, was a very uncommon occurrence in 5th C BC Athens[27]. Perhaps in reflection of everyday life, the physical act of stoning in tragedy does not come to fulfillment in most cases. *IT* is one of the few examples of a character actually being pelted with stones[28]. *This* stoning, however, it not an act of condemnation, though there are justifiable reasons for it to be so. Rather, it is an act of self-defence against a mad man. The herdsmen have just seen an eye-rolling, mouth-foaming, ranting Orestes slaughter their cattle. So, when they see that Orestes is weak, they attack. It is not surprising that the herdsmen find Orestes and Pylades 'terrifying', and does *not* highlight inferiority because of barbarian status. Once Orestes recovers from his fit, he and Pylades attack the herdsmen who are unarmed, and these resort to throwing stones. The herdsmen are not warriors. There is therefore no implication that they are primitive because they do not fight in a like manner when faced with Homeric-type warriors[29]. The same is true of the Egyptians in E. *Hel.*. They have been used as a parallel for the Taurians in *IT* because of their inferior weapons[30]. They fight with sticks, but again it

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in two plays: in A. *Myrmidons* for refusing to fight in Troy (cf. the threat to Dikaiopolis in Ar. *Ach.* e.g. 236, and see Michelakis (2002) 24-6), and in E. *IA* (1349-50) when he tries to save Iphigenia from sacrifice (see Michelakis (2002) 119, 139). Helen is also twice threatened by stoning in tragedy and escapes both times (E. *Tro.* 1349-50 and *Or.* 59). In S. *Ant.*, it is decreed that the person who buries Polyneices will be stoned (21-36), and in A. *Sept.* Eteocles threatens those who do not support him with stoning (196-99). In E. *Ion*, Creusa is condemned to death by stoning for attempting to murder Ion (1112, 1222-25, 1237). Iolaus and the children of Herakles are condemned to the same fate at E. *Hcl.* 60; cf. 141-2. Pentheus furiously says he will stone Dionysus at E. *Ba.* 356-7. Aegisthus stones Agamemnon's tomb at E. *El.* 327-31. The murder of Agamemnon is to be punished by stoning at A. *Ag.* 1117-8 and 1615-16, while Oedipus in S. *OC* explains how he wanted to be stoned when his crimes were first revealed to him (434-6). Most of these examples are discussed by Rosivach (1987).

The cases of Orestes and Ajax in their name-plays are linked to madness. Compare also how Athena stops Herakles' fit of insanity by hurling a *stone* at his chest, at the place where Madness had entered (E. *Her.* 1004, cf. 863). In this context, Padel (1995) 101 argues that 'it seems... important that those marked by even a moment of madness should be driven out of civilization with the physical element of which civilization is built'.

[26]This runs from the mention of Tantalus' rock in the prologue to Orestes asking the Phrygian at 1520 whether he is afraid of being turned to stone, see also O'Brien (1964).

[27]Cf. Hdt. 9.5, our principal source for the case of Lycides who was stoned for Medism in 479, and see esp. Rosivach (1987) who discusses this case and that of Alcibiades (cousin of the famous Alcibiades) stoned in 409.

[28]This is also the case in *Andr.* (1128), *Mel. Des.* fr. 495.12, and also E. *Pal.* where it is highly likely that Palamedes was stoned to death for treachery (cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 105 and the scholion *ad Or.* 432); note also *IA* 1349-50 which implies that stones were actually thrown at Achilles. Rosivach's (1987) comprehensive collection of stoning mentioned in tragedy, 242-5, refers us to most of the plays noted in n.121 above (though he does not always quote all references), with the exception of *Andr.*, *Her.* and *Mel. Des.* He also overlooks the two instances in *IT* (310, cf. 318-20, 327, and 1376).

In the dramatic context, it is interesting to note that throwing stones at actors for a bad performance was reported to happen: Dem. 19.337; though Rosivach 232n.2 comments that 'this tradition was perhaps, like the modern one of throwing rotten vegetables at similar targets, more often spoken of than actually practiced'.

[29]On Orestes' portrayal as a Homeric-type warrior, see ch. 3.2.

[30]Cropp (2000) *ad* 301-35.

is a case of weaponless sailors being ambushed by εὐειδεῖς Greeks, i.e. Greek warriors from Troy (*Hel.* 1540), with swords hidden under their cloaks (*Hel.* 1574-5). The sailors, who are caught by surprise, grab and make what weapons they can (*Hel.* 1597-9). Indeed, Thoas, whom one would expect to have sophisticated fighting abilities as king, *does* plan to chase the fugitives with his δόρυ (1326), a weapon identifiably used in Greek hoplite warfare, which was an integral part of the *polis* (on the Taurian community as a *polis*, see further below)[31]. By contrast, the Greeks fight as τοξόται (1377) from the boat, the bow being foreign weapon *par excellence*, particularly associated with Scythians, and considered contemptible by Greek *polis* infantry[32]. Indeed, although the Greeks are armed with bows against the stone-throwing locals, the locals actually win out by stopping the Greek ship from sailing off. When the second messenger comes to deliver his news to Thoas, he describes what happened 1407-8 χὠ μέν τις ἐς θάλασσαν ὡρμήθη ποσίν,| ἄλλος δὲ πλεκτὰς ἐξανῆπτεν ἀγκύλας. With the aid of Poseidon's wave which drove the ship back towards the rocks (1394-97, cf.1414-15), the barbarians' resourcefulness has stopped the Greeks from escaping. Thus, rather than being portrayed as primitive in their fighting techniques, the Taurians are shown to be ironically more Greek than the Greeks themselves. They almost stone a madman, would use a spear as a weapon of choice, and possess the virtue of resourcefulness.

Similarly, the conch shells which the herdsmen use to summon help (at 303) do not necessarily imply a primitive community, though this is what Hall argues[33]. She uses the lexicographer Hesychius' entry under *kochlos* to prove her point. This says that *kochloi* 'conch shells' were 'regarded as the instruments men used *before the invention* of trumpets' (Hall's italics)[34]. However, West notes that in classical Greek literature, conch shells 'are occasionally mentioned as being used by common people, especially rustics, for attracting the attention of neighbours'[35]. It seems to me, that the conch shells used by the herdsmen

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[31]See Snodgrass (1986) 51-2 on hoplite warfare as representative of the *polis*. In *Hel.* it is the Egyptian Theoclymenus who provides Menelaus with bronze arms worthy of Pelops (1263-4). Clearly, the Egyptians, like the Taurians, *do* also have access to real weapons of war, although the Egyptian land is *not* characterized as a *polis*. Note that Herodotus says that the Taurians ζώουσι δὲ ἀπὸ λῃΐης τε καὶ πολέμου (4. 103). This would be impossible if they only had such primitive weapons as stones. By contrast, the Agrippaei tribe has no weapons (Hdt. 4. 23).

[32]See Snodgrass (1986) 51 for long range missiles as contemptible. The Scythians are all experts at using bows from horseback at Hdt. 4. 46. On the distinction between Greek hoplite warfare and foreign archery in Herodotus, see Pelling (1997a) and Hartog (1989) 49-57, who argues that when the Persians are fighting the Scythians, the Persians take on the role of self as opposed to the Scythian other.

[33]E. Hall (1989) 122.

[34]West (1992) 121 states that conch shells are attributed to 'some foreign peoples not civilized enough to have war trumpets'.

[35]West (1992) 121, with n.193 for references.

reflect the pastoral nature of their occupation, rather than suggesting primitive barbarians. Certainly, it would be odd indeed for herdsmen to carry trumpets about with them, which were normally used for signals on the battle-field[36]. But the location of the action on the shoreline makes it an ideal source for such conch shells used by the herdsmen[37].

The Taurians are a pastoral community governed by a king, but the terms used to describe their political system do not betray any sense of being non-Greek. Thoas' kingly office is described variously as *anax, tyrannos* and *basileus*[38], but none of these terms is used exclusively of Thoas. *Anax* and cognates are used to describe Agamemnon (11, 17, 545) as well as deities (Zeus 749, Artemis 1230, Apollo 1270, Athena 1475[39]). *Tyrannis* is used to describe the ruling of Argos (681), and the ancestral kings of Argos are *basileis* (190, cf. 670). This aligns Thoas' rule with that of Greeks and reinforces his lack of typically barbarian qualities. The only term of authority used to describe him and no-one else is *koiranos* (1080, 1287), but this is such a Homeric term that not only does it reinforce the projection of Thoas into the world of epic heroes, but also, it cannot imply any sense of the barbarian. Thoas calls his people ἀστοὶ (1422), just as the Taurian community is repeatedly called a πόλις[40], and its inhabitants πολιτάς (1226, 1417). Within the play, the Taurian *polis* must beg comparison with other *poleis* mentioned, all Greek: Athens specifically, which is also called a πόλις (1088; cf. πόλισμ' at 1014), but also the native city of the chorus at 453, and at 505 Iphigenia, knowing that Orestes is Greek, asks him from which πόλις he comes[41].

In Herodotus, the Taurians are treated as one of the ἔθνη inhabiting Scythia (4. 99). They are one of the nations who decline to assist the nomadic Scythians in fighting the Persians (4. 119). The Taurians themselves are not mentioned after this, but while there is

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[36]West (1992) 119. It is worth remarking that Homer's heroes never use trumpets, and that *IT* is set in the same mythological time as Odysseus' *nostos*, cf. *IT* 533-6.

[37]Note the associations of conch shells with sea deities such as Tritons and Nereids (West (1992) 121); cf. the availability of murex shells in this area, see Cropp (2000) *ad* 260-4. The fact that the herdsmen were washing their cows in the sea is odd. Washing in the sea suggests purification for sacrifice, as paralleled with Iphigenia's alleged purification of Orestes and Pylades, but there is no suggestion that the cows are to be sacrificed.

[38]Cf. Hdt. 4.102, where the Taurians have a *basileus*.

[39]This echoes Athena's address to Thoas at 1435 where she calls him *anax* which implies a certain degree of respect on Athena's part for Thoas. Indeed, she shows a similar appealing and respectful attitude towards Thoas here as does Aeschylus' Athena to the Furies at the end of the *Eumenides* (e.g. 848-50). But by contrast, there is no need for Athena to *persuade* Thoas. As a mortal, he immediately consents to her wishes. The divine Furies in *Eum.*, on the other hand, take a great deal of persuading before renouncing their harmful behaviour.

[40]Cf. 38, 464, 595, 878, 1209, 1212, 1214.

[41]The fact that Thoas is sole ruler and that the citizens are his subjects does not detract from a comparison with Greece because the setting is pre-democratic. Indeed Argos is called a τυραννίς (681). Compare the conflation of democratic ideology and mythical monarchy in E. *Supp.*

no suggestion that they are nomadic, neither is is it suggested anywhere that they live in a *polis*. Herodotus talks about the γῆ and the χώρα of the nomadic tribes like the Blackcloaks and Cannibals (4. 125). The Budinians have a *polis* called Gelonus which is surrounded by wooden walls and they practice Greek religious customs (4. 108). *But* the Budinians, Herodotus tells us, were originally Greek, and their language is a mixture of Scythian and Greek. We do know that the Tauric Chersonese was colonized by Greeks at least from the 6th century BC[42], but neither Herodotus nor Euripides presents the Taurians as being of Greek descent, and we should not analyze them as such for the purposes of this play. Clearly Euripides' insistence on defining the Taurian community as a *polis* in *IT* is part of his undermining of the traditional differences between Greek and barbarian.

Euripides develops the notion that the Taurians are part of the 'civilized' world of the *polis*, by creating a contrast between them and surrounding tribes. After the recognition, Iphigenia searches aloud for the means by which Orestes may be saved and return home. The lyrics reflect her high degree of emotion at 876-91 as she exclaims τίνα σοι πόρον εὑρομέναι πάλιν ἀπο πόλεως ἀπὸ φόνου πέμψωι πατρίδ' ἐς 'Αργείαν...θανάτῳ πελάσεις ἄρα βάρβαρα φῦλαι καὶ δι' ὁδοὺς ἀνόδους στείχων. This reinforces the idea that this land is impossible, or at least extremely difficult, to return from[43]. The description of the surrounding barbarians as φῦλα contrasts with the Taurian community which is called a πόλις. Indeed, if we consider Herodotus' account of the surrounding barbarian tribes and their gruesome customs, particularly the Cannibals to the very north of Scythia, who have no sense of right and wrong, and no customs or traditions (4. 106), Iphigenia is right to be worried. But the contrast works favourably for the Taurians, who are distanced from these other dangerous tribes.

Although the Taurians are distanced from other barbarian tribes and aligned with Greeks in many cases, they refer to *themselves* as barbarians. At 1170, for example, Thoas asks ἀλλ' ἦ τιν' ἔκανον βαρβάρων ἀκτῆς ἔπι; (cf. 1174). The barbarians are thus *distancing themselves* from the Greeks in spite of the parallels being developed between the two races. In making the barbarian king aware that he, his people and land are barbarian, Euripides highlights the failure of the Greeks to recognize the barbarity of the crimes they have committed against their own *nomoi*[44].

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[42]See ch. 2.1, 9 and 104 n.72, below.

[43]On the Taurian land as one of no return, cf. p. 46 n.68 and ch. 3.2 *passim*.

[44]On 'barbaric Greeks' in Euripides, see E. Hall (1989) 211-22. She mentions *IT* briefly, rightly noting 211, that 'Euripides uses imagery to link Agamemnon's sacrifice of his daughter with the human sacrifice practised by the Taurians'. On the significance of *nomoi* in this play, see discussion below, 109-12.

It is very much the case in *IT* that the barbarians are distinguished from the Greeks only in that they are called 'barbarians'. In terms of language, the Taurians are not literally *barbaroi* (i.e. speaking 'barbar') since they speak perfect Greek[45]. It has been noted that Euripides is the tragedian who uses the least amount of exotic vocabulary or elements of dress, or indeed any other methods, to characterize barbarians in his plays, as compared with Aeschylus or Sophocles[46]. But he does draw attention to oriental speech in other tragedies[47]. In *IT*, there is attention drawn to barbarian speech, but *the Greeks* are the ones who employ it, and seemingly 'become' barbarians through the language that they use[48]. To be more specific, the use of barbarian language comes in the form of singing, used only by the chorus and Iphigenia[49]. The first instance of this is in the *parodos*. Here, the chorus

[45]The Greeks sometimes draw attention to language difference between nations and sometimes do not; cf. Harrison (1998) who discusses Herodotus' conception of foreign languages and concludes 'Herodotus and the Greeks emerge then finally as adopting a number of different, even contradictory, strategies: they may ignore language difference, caricature it; they may seek to differentiate between foreign languages, and they may assimilate all foreign languages into a single 'barbarian language'; they may seek to distance foreign languages from Greek, and then they may see connections between their own and foreign languages'; on the origin of the term *barbaros* meaning 'non-Greek speaker', see Schwabl (1961).

[46]Bacon (1961) *passim*, and esp. 167-72; West (1997) 544, examining the correlation between motifs found in Aeschylus and in ancient Near-Eastern traditions, argues that Aeschylus presents us with striking orientalisms while Euripides and Sophocles do not; in fact Euripides' plays *do* present us with a residue of western Asiatic influence, see Torrance (forthcoming), though certainly less so than Aeschylus. The discrepancy is especially noteworthy given the larger number of Euripidean plays extant; see Bacon (1961) 15-63 on Aeschylus and 64-114 on Sophocles (most of the evidence for Sophocles comes from fragments). Aeschylus in particular made a concerted effort to make his barbarians sound and look foreign. The speech of the Egyptian herald at *Supp.* 825-902 is particularly cacophonous, and he uses actual foreign words in this play and the *Persae* to characterize his barbarians (on which see E. Hall (1996) 22-25). Both these plays abound with references to foreign dress. Bacon (1961) 34-45, argues that Aeschylus is also aware of foreign religious institutions in these plays, but see E. Hall (1996) 15-16 and *passim*, who argues that Persian religious beliefs are described in Greek terms. Timotheus' poem *Persae*, which tells the story of the Battle of Salamis, and was influenced by Aeschylus' play, also gives the barbarians distinguishing features: they speak differently (see Hordern (2002) *ad* fr. 791.150-61), they are cowardly (see Hordern (2002) *ad* fr.791.98-138), they can't swim; on inability to swim as a characteristic of barbarians, see E. Hall (1993). Timotheus' *Persae* was probably written at the end of the 5th century BC, i.e. he was a young contemporary of Euripides (see Hordern (2002) 15-17 on dating). E. Hall (1989) 119 argues that Timotheus' *Persae* inspired the lyric lament of the Phrygian slave in Euripides' *Or.*

[47]Cf. the Phygian slaves' lyric lament which he calls a 'barbarian cry' at *Or.* 1385, comparable to the cries of the Phoenician women in the eponymous play (cf. *Pho.* 679-80, 1301; cf. the 'Phoenician cry' 301). Although references to a foreign accent in these plays are 'purely conventional' (Mastronarde (1994) *ad Pho.* 301), and the Asiatic characters speak in Attic Greek, it is nevertheless noteworthy that the barbarians in *IT* are not even characterized by this convention.

[48]Cf. Harrison (1998) who notes in his conclusion that the Athenians in particular were criticized for importing foreign words into Greek in e.g. [Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 2.8.

[49]Saïd (1984) 30-32 notes how Euripides was known for using exotic rhythms; she asks 31 'Mais cette prétendue exclamation barbare n'est-elle pas en fait bien grecque? En tout cas, elle se retrouve à plusieurs reprises dans des bouches grecques, sans qu'on signale son caractère exotique'. But the two examples she adduces to support her argument are not comparable to the examples in *IT*. *Pho.* 1519 and *Her.* 172 are simple references to lament, without any specification of being 'barbarian' or 'Asian'. Saïd concludes 32 'il paraît difficile, en considérant l'ensemble du théâtre d'Euripide, de maintenir l'éxistence d'une véritable frontière sonore entre les Grecs et les Barbares'. I certainly agree that the boundary between Greek and barbarian sounds is unclear in Euripides, particularly as his barbarians speak perfect Greek, but there must be a further dramatic reason for drawing attention to the fact that the Greeks in *IT* sound barbarian. I suggest that it helps to complete the picture at the end of the play of the Greeks being more 'barbarian' than

respond to Iphigenia's lament singing (179-81) *ἀντιψάλμους ὠδὰς ὕμνων τ'| Ἀσιητᾶν σοι βάρβαρον ἀχὰν| δέσποιν'*, *ἐξαυδάσω*. Considering the distinction between Europe and Asia which is drawn by the chorus themselves (cf. 135, 393ff., 711), it is noteworthy that they choose to sing the 'barbarian clamour of Asian hymns'. It is true that barbarian chanting is associated with mourning, but given the loaded context of 'barbarian' in this play, the Greek chorus seem to draw unnecessary attention to the barbarian style of their lament (note that it is both 'barbarian' *and* 'Asian'). Unlike other plays in which characters are said to lament in a barbarian fashion, this particular play has already set up an opposition between Greeks and barbarians, which means that such a reference to barbarian mourning must necessarily reflect on this theme[50]. However, it seems to have gone unnoticed that in *IT Greeks* are themselves admitting to, and being labelled as, singing in a barbarian fashion, in contrast to parallels from other tragedies which all involve foreigners[51]. Having established that they will sing Asian hymns, the chorus then proceed to recount the evil fortunes of Iphigenia's Greek ancestors. The implication here is that the crimes of the house of Atreus are so barbaric that they deserve to be lamented with barbarian dirges[52].

We later hear by report in the final stages of the play that Iphigenia herself has been "acting the barbarian", as it were. The Messenger recounts the story to Thoas as follows (1336-8) *χρόνῳ δ', ἵν' ἡμῖν δρᾶν τι δὴ δοκοῖ πλέον,| ἀνωλόλυξε καὶ κατῇδε βάρβαρα| μέλη μαγεύουσ', ὡς φόνον νίζουσα δή*. This passage is fascinating, in that a barbarian is describing Iphigenia's chants as 'barbarian', with the suggestion that such barbarian chants are incomprehensible to him. The 'ululation' or 'sacrificial cry' is commonly associated with Greek women's rituals, and can be profane[53]. Cropp notes that the description of 'barbarian chants' is 'amusingly accurate here, since foreign-sounding names and terms were often used in Greek magical incantations to give an impression of special knowledge and

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the barbarians.

[50]In Aeschylus' *Persians*, by contrast, the Greeks make Greek sounds and Persians make Persian sounds. The Persian Messenger recounts how the Greeks' courage at the battle of Salamis was manifested through the terrifying paean they sang, while Persians replied with a confused *rhothos* (393-406), see E. Hall (1989) 77, and (1996) *ad* 406.

[51]I have been unable to find a parallel for Greeks lamenting in a barbarian fashion. The only possible, but highly unlikely, case is the chorus of *Cho.* who mourn in 'Arian' and 'Kissian' fashion (423-4). Their identity is uncertain, though they have long been assumed to be Trojan, but they are certainly captives, see Garvie (1986) *ad* 22-83. The closest parallel is *Hel.* 167-73, where Helen invites the Sirens to lament with her accompanied by a Libyan flute or pipes or lyres. But this not a reference to a Greek character using barbarian speech or voice. Rather it is a wish for Sirens, bird-women who live in a fantastical land (at least 'others' if not barbarians), to be accompanied by Libyan music. Furthermore, the foreign effect of the Libyan flute is muted by subsequent reference to the Greek instruments.

[52]Compare Orestes' matricide which is 'beyond barbarian' (1174), see below, 115.

[53]See Rudhardt (1992) 179. The profanity ties in well with the sacrilege of a bogus ritual in *IT*. On the sacrilegious theft in *IT*, see ch. 6.5, 155-6.

power'[54]. But there is no reason to see the incantations as 'amusing'. Such practice seems to have been frowned upon in the classical period. Like the first example of the chorus singing a 'barbarian' *and* 'Asiatic' dirge, here, Iphigenia is not only singing 'barbarian' chants, she is also 'acting the magician', a practice associated with barbarians. The very word *magos* 'magician' in Greek is taken from the Persian 'Magoi' and 'had pejorative overtones suggestive of a sham diviner or magician'[55], precisely the connotations suggested here as Iphigenia tries to deceive the Taurians through a sham ritual. The customs of the Magoi were certainly reported to be very different from Greek ritual practice[56].

In other Euripidean tragedies, magic[57] is denounced by a Greek (Iphis at *Supp.* 1110), and imagined by a barbarian (the Phrygian slave at *Or.* 1498), which consolidates the association between magic and barbarians[58]. But the *actual* barbarians of *IT* have no knowledge of magic. We have seen how the Taurians have used the term 'barbarian' to describe themselves, but here we are presented with the reverse, the Taurian explaining how the Greek Iphigenia acted in a barbarian way. Iphigenia's barbarian chants are linguistically removed from the *real* barbarians, who speak perfect Greek, with no foreign quirks. There is no attention drawn to otherness through speech, nor through attire in *IT*, though Thoas and the barbarian messengers may have worn a foreign costume[59]. In contrast to other Euripidean plays where specific attention is drawn to barbarian accessories[60], there is no mention of the Taurians having any defining features of barbarian dress. Indeed, unlike other barbarians, notably Trojans, the Taurians do not seem to have fine clothes and golden luxuries. As we saw in the last chapter, there is a clear contrast in the play, developed by the chorus, between greedy Greeks and gods and moderate Taurians, who are neither excessively wealthy, nor lust after gold, nor abuse weath. This may also be suggested by Herodotus. Nothing is said about Taurian attitudes to gold or wealth, but a contrast is

[54]Cropp (2000) *ad* 1337.

[55]E. Hall (1989) 194n.107; cf. Graf (1997) 21 on the negative connotations of the term *magos* in classical Greece.

[56]See Hdt. 1.132. Note how the religious customs of the Persians are set up here as *not being Greek* in typical Herodotean fashion. The function of the Magus, Herodotus tells us, is to chant a theogony, 'at least that's what they say the song is about', he adds. This reinforces the notion that the chant of the Magus is incomprehensible to Greeks, at least. If this parallel is applied to *IT*, it once again aligns the barbarians with Greeks outside the play, as not understanding the 'magic' incantations.

[57]Specifically *mageia* as opposed to *pharmaka* or other terms associated with magic.

[58]Cf. S. *OT* 387, where the deluded Oedipus imagines Teiresias as a scheming *magos*. E. Hall (1989) 194 points out how 'the language used is clearly intended to bring to mind the stories of the machinations and court intrigues of Persia'.

[59]See ch. 2.2, 20n.68.

[60]Cf. the Phygian slave's 'barbarian slippers' at *Or.* 1370 and his circular fan made of feathers, with which he fans Helen 'in a barbarian fashion' at 1429-30. Trojans are generally characterized by luxurious clothing, and wealth in gold in Euripides (see ch. 4.2, 74n.30, 75n.36). On barbarian characteristics in the plays of Euripides, see also Bacon (1961) 115-72 and E. Hall (1989) 127-8, 136-7.

implied between the customs of the Taurians and those of the Agathyrsians, which are described immediately afterwards. This latter tribe *is* noted for wearing golden jewellery (4. 104).

Before we explore the tensions between 'Greek' and 'barbarian' in the religious customs of the Taurians, let us examine first of all the character of Thoas, their king[61]. Although we do not meet Thoas until very late in *IT* (1152), he is introduced in the prologue speech and his persona is constructed through a series of references before he actually takes the stage. He is named and described by Iphigenia as follows, 31-3 *...γῆς ἀνάσσει βαρβάροισι βάρβαρος| Θόας, ὃς ὠκὺν πόδα τιθεὶς ἴσον πτεροῖς| ἐς τοὔνομ' ἦλθε τόδε ποδωκείας χάριν*[62]. There is a strong contrast here between the initial and forceful 'barbarian over barbarians', and the subsequent naming of Thoas, with the astonishing explanation of this name by exploitation of one of the commonest epithets of the Greek hero Achilles[63]. Cropp *ad* 32-3 notes that '[t]here are ...intriguing similarities between Iphigenia's guardian Thoas with his swift foot...and 'swift-footed'...Achilles whom Iphigenia was expected to

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[61]There are several unrelated mythological characters who bear the name Thoas. Apart from the king of the Taurians, the main homonymous figures are: Thoas king of Lemnos (*Il.* 14.230, 23.745) and father of Hypsipyle (E. *Hyps.* fr. 64.105); Thoas son of Hypsipyle and Jason (E. *Hyps. passim*); and Thoas who is a warrior in the Trojan war (*Il.* 2.638ff.); see *RE* for more details.

According to Hyg. *fab.* 15, the Lemnian king Thoas is saved by his daughter who secretly sends him off in a ship in order that he might escape death, and he washes up on the Taurian peninsula. This association merits our attention. There is a possibility that the Lemnian king and the Taurian king are one and the same. However, there is not a single reference to Lemnos in Euripides' *IT*, and as Bond (1963) notes *ad* E. *Hyps.* fr. 64.103ff., this fragment suggests that Thoas was restored to rule in Lemnos. That does not rule out the possibility that the same Thoas also ruled for a time in the Tauric Chersonese. *Hyps.* was probably produced after *IT* (see Bond (1963) Appendix III), but this does not indicate any chronological link between the two stories; cf. *IA* which was produced after *IT*. The evidence is far from conclusive. A further link which can be adduced is fr. 357 of Aristophanes' *Lemnian Women*, quoted by commentators *ad IT* (32) (cf. Platnauer (1938), Cropp (2000)), but the general consensus seems to be that Euripides invented the Taurian Thoas (so Cropp (2000) *ad loc*, cf. E. Hall (1989) 110).

The fragment of Aristophanes reads *ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐτυράννευεν Ὑψιπύλης πατὴρ| Θόας, βραδύτατος ὢν ἐν ἀνθρώποις δραμεῖν*. This is clearly a parody of *IT* 32, but this does not necessarily make the two figures the same; cf. O'Brien (1988) 107n.28 who sees Ar. fr. 373 as 'a comical link between one Thoas and the other', but concludes, 107, that 'there is no evidence that Thoas was the name of a Taurian king in legend or fact before the date of *I.T.*'.

There are suggestions that Thoas as king of the Taurians appeared in plays by Sophocles, though again the evidence is not conclusive: note Hyg. *fab.* 120-1 which may well be the plot summary of Soph. *Chryses* (see fr. 726-30 in Radt (1977) and also Lloyd-Jones (1996))- this explains how Orestes and Iphigenia meet up with Chryses as they escape from Thoas and the latter helps Orestes kill the king; cf. also Hyg. *fab.* 122 which may recount the plot of *Aleites*, attributed to Sophocles, but probably not by him (see Radt (1977) p. 146)- according to this, Electra visits the oracle of Apollo at Delphi to inquire about information she has received that her brother was sacrificed in the land of the Taurians, she is reunited there with Iphigenia and Orestes and they return home where Aleites, the son of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, is killed and Orestes regains the kingdom. I conclude that Thoas, as he is presented in *IT,* is a separate mythological figure from his namesake who ruled Lemnos.

[62]His name suggests that he is 'the swift one', from *θοός* 'swift' and *θοάζω* 'to be swift'.

[63]The Egyptians in *Helen*, Theonoe and Theoclymenus, also have Greek etymologies for their names, and furthermore, have a distinct Greek ancestry as the children of Proteus. However, Thoas is different in that he clearly has no Greek ancestry, yet the etymological explanation of his name specifically evokes the Greek hero Achilles.

marry and who still practices his running not far away on the White Island (cf. 436-7)'[64]. These facts are indeed intriguing, but they must be further explored. What is the effect of this combination of factors, and what is Euripides' purpose in bringing them together in this way?

Throughout the *Iliad* the words ὠκύς and πόδας are used together to describe Achilles[65]. By using a strikingly similar version of that epithet to describe the barbarian king, Euripides reinforces two important aspects of the play. First, he develops for the audience a sense of the relationship that exists between Thoas and Iphigenia. The introduction of Thoas continues straight on from Iphigenia's account of her sacrifice at Aulis and her lure on the pretext of marriage to Achilles. With Achilles mentioned just seven lines before Thoas who is swift of foot, one is forced to make a connection between Thoas and Achilles, which implies a startling parallel between the two figures. At many points during the play, Iphigenia laments her fictitious marriage, showing us that she would have been most content to marry Achilles[66]. Therefore this parallel between Thoas and Achilles suggests that although Thoas is a 'barbarian among barbarians', Iphigenia's relationship with the king is not a hostile one[67]. Secondly, by using this epithet, Euripides implies a merging of the barbarian 'other' with the Greek 'self'. In terms of Greek and barbarian, the epithet 'swift-footed' which is well-known for Achilles and is now applied to Thoas, coupled with the fact that they both live on the Black Sea, blurs the boundaries of Greek and barbarian in typical Euripidean style. In likening the barbarian king to the Greek hero who was a most glorious and valiant- indeed semi-divine- warrior, Euripides implicitly deconstructs undercurrents of polarity between Greek and barbarian from the very outset of the play[68].

As noted by Cropp, the chorus remind us of Achilles' present home in their first stasimon 435-8 τὰν πολυόρνιθον ἐπ' αἶ-| αν, λευκὰν ἀκτάν, 'Αχιλῆ-| ος δρόμους καλλισταδίους,| ἄξεινον κατὰ πόντον, which produces a further parallel between Achilles and

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[64]Cropp (2000) *ad loc.*

[65]E.g. 1. 58, 84, 148, 215, 364, 489, 9. 196, 307, 606, 643, 11. 112, 607, 16. 48, 28. 78, 97, 187, 19. 55, 145, 198, 419, 21. 222, 23. 93, 776, 24. 138, 559, 649, 751; cf. also 19. 295, 21. 211, 22. 188, 229, 23. 218, 24. 621; the epithet is not quite identical, but the similarity certainly merits an investigation into the parallels between Thoas and Achilles.

[66]See ch. 3.1.

[67]This is one aspect of the play which Goethe develops in his version. There, Thoas is so enamoured with Iphigenie that he is constantly pressing her to marry him, while she virtuously resists through her priestly office. Of course, we may also see the inspiration of E. *Hel.* here where Helen is courted by Theoclymenus against her will; see Appendix, p. 192 and n.22.

[68]Cf. Mossman (1999) 97 on the figure of Achilles: 'it does not seem likely that a poet could have created a cowardly Achilles, because Achilles is *essentially* brave', and this in contrast to Odysseus whose wiles can be interpreted as good or as evil. A parallel with Achilles can thus *only* be positive in terms of courage.

Thoas[69]. The fact that Achilles is described in the context of running strengthens the link between swift-footed Thoas and Achilles. In terms of habitat, we note that both Thoas and Achilles are now living on the Black, inhospitable sea, in marginal shore-areas. The myths surrounding the figure of Iphigenia are bursting with elements of marginalization and liminality, and the shore-line is ever-present, particularly in this play[70]. That Achilles is also marginalized serves as a parallel to Iphigenia's fate but also as a contrast. We know that Achilles dwells on the White Island after his death, but Iphigenia among the Taurians is in a permanent state of suspension between life and death. She is technically alive, but believed dead by all as is emphasized a number of times at different points in the play (cf. 8, 176, 831)[71].

Hommel has argued that Achilles, who was worshipped by the Greeks who colonized the Black Sea area from Asia Minor from the late 7th C on, was originally a god of the dead and that Thoas is a doublet of Achilles, with Iphigenia as his priestess/ queen. I do not feel that this analysis can be applied to Euripides' *IT*[72]. Nevertheless, Hommel's research on Achilles touches on two important elements for the play. First, the notion that the land of the Taurians is a sort of Underworld or land of the dead, and secondly, the fact that Achilles functions as a parallel for Thoas. The parallel between Achilles and Thoas decidedly improves Thoas' heroic aspect and contributes to the positive picture of the barbarian king.

The projection of Thoas into the epic world of heroes is important in that it complicates his trust of Iphigenia in the deception scene. It implies that it is his straightforwardness, not barbarian stupidity which causes him to be so easily deceived by

[69]It is a small poetic inconsistency that Iphigenia does not seem to share the chorus' knowledge of Achilles' fate when she questions Orestes at 357. However, the fact that Iphigenia does not realize the similarities between Thoas and Achilles is immaterial. What is important is that the audience are aware of them.

[70]The play is set on the shoreline (see ch. 2.1, 8). For Iphigenia herself as a marginal a figure particularly associated with the sea's edge, see Buxton (1992); he quotes Brulé (1987) 179 who shows that Brauron (where Iphigenia will end her days) was in ancient times a coastal settlement, although today it is some 400 metres from the sea's edge.

[71]On Iphigenia as a mistress of the passage between life and death, see ch. 3.1, 38-9.

[72]Hommel (1980) 35 argues 'Da es sich um das Gebiet handelt, in das auch der Heros Achill nach seinem Tote versetzt worden ist [i.e. both Iphigenia and Achilles are dwelling in the Black sea], und da nach einer antiken Sagenversion Iphigenie auf Leuke als Gattin des Achilleus ('Αχιλλεῖ σύνοικος) und als ἀθάνατος δαίμων erscheint, so liegt der Schluß nahe, daß seine Gefährtin in einer älteren Schicht des Mythos selber dort als Herrin der Toten an Achilleus' Seite waltete' and 36, that 'der bei Euripides und anderwärts als König von Taurien erscheinende Thoas dürfte nach allem bisher Erschlossenen letzlich nichts anderes sein als eine rationalisierte und ins Diesseits versezte Dublette des Gottes Achilleus'.

We know that Achilles was worshipped by Black sea Greeks who colonised from Asia Minor, but that is not to say that an Athenian audience would have identified the Achilles mentioned in tragedy as a god of the dead, rather than the hero of the Trojan war. Indeed the characters of Achilles and Thoas, although we can trace parallels between them, have very different dramatic functions: Achilles is a constant reminder of Iphigenia's fictitious marriage, while Thoas is a foil for the theme of Greek and barbarian as well as the deception and escape.

her[73]. Women in tragedy are traditionally persuasive enough to charm generals and war heroes[74]. Accordingly, the concept of persuasion in Greek thought as a woman's skill, finds its opposite in force, as a man's skill[75]. Associating Thoas with the epic hero makes him a prime candidate for a persuasion involving *dolos* or trickery[76], for such persuasion involves the weaker party outwitting the stronger[77]. If Thoas were simply a stupid barbarian, then persuading and deceiving him would not be a real obstacle and there would be no real dramatic tension surrounding this scene. So it is important that Thoas' character be worthy of this elaborate deception. Euripides makes him worthy in the minds of the audience, before we ever meet him, by associating him with Achilles and painting him in a positive light as a ruler. Thoas' anger and ferocity are roused only *after* he has been betrayed, and he immediately relinquishes all desire for revenge at the command of Athena.

Iphigenia also contributes to the positive picture of Thoas at an early stage. She informs us that her Greek servant-women were given to her by the king (63-4). This implies a good relationship between Iphigenia and Thoas. It is certainly not the mark of a ruthless and bloodthirsty man to allow these Greek women to serve their compatriot Iphigenia when an alternative fate of concubinage or slavery to a barbarian, for example, would have been worse[78]. Later on in the play we learn that these women were bought by Thoas, but he did not originally enslave them (1111-12)[79]. Again this revelation does not portray Thoas as a villainous ruler.

After our initial introduction to Thoas, he remains unmentioned for a large portion of the play. His authority is recalled in the build-up to the recognition scene, when Iphigenia promises to send one of the young men home in return for him carrying her message. Orestes asks 741, *ἦ καὶ τύραννος ταῦτα συγχωρήσεται*; Iphigenia replies *ναί·| πείσω σφε, καὐτὴ ναὸς ἐσβήσω σκάφος*, (i.e. to ensure the safety of the young man). Iphigenia is extremely confident in her abilities to persuade the king. The *ναί* stands outside the metre

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[73]For barbarian stupidity exploited in comedy, see Long (1986) 133, 139, 152.

[74]Cf. e.g. Clytemnestra's persuasion of Agamemnon on his return from Troy (A. *Ag.*), Helen's charming of Menelaus while still on the site of the Trojan war (E. *TW*), Medea's persuasion of Jason (E. *Med.*); on maternal persuasion in Greek tragedy see Foley (2001) 143-4, 272-99; on persuasion in Greek tragedy more generally, see Buxton (1982).

[75]See Buxton (1982) 58; note the character of Clytemnestra in *Ag.* is anomalous in that she embodies both skills of persuasion and of force, and Medea is similar.

[76]The Messenger uses cognates of *dolos* to describe Iphigenia's deception at 1316 and 1355. This contrasts with the shameful *dolos* which Agamemnon used to lure Iphigenia to her death, recalled at 371, 539, 859.

[77]Cf. Phaedra's deception of Theseus (E. *Hipp.*) and Hecuba's of Polymestor (E. *Hec.*); see Buxton (1982) 63-4.

[78]The evidence from the text is limited to suggesting the sacrifice of males, see below 121 with n.148, so a sacrificial death may not have been a prospect at any time for the chorus-women.

[79]Thoas is not explicitly named here, but this would be the only feasible explanation.

and strongly emphasizes the affirmation. This certainty on Iphigenia's part highlights and foreshadows her persuasive abilities in the later events of the play. It shows female in control of male[80], but it also adumbrates a certain clemency on Thoas' part if he can be persuaded to release one of the captives, and this in turn reinforces the concept of amicable relations between Thoas and Iphigenia.

When the deception scene finally takes place, it will be Thoas' piety that is most clearly in evidence[81]. The piety and superstitious nature of the Taurians and their trust in Iphigenia's priestly office is stressed throughout the play, and coincides with Herodotus' description of the Scythians[82]. That Thoas is pious is evident from the moment he enters. His shock at the removal of Artemis' statue from the temple is apparent. His exclamation ἔα· (1157), like ναί above, stands outside the metre and draws attention to the action. The exchange which follows shows Thoas anticipating Iphigenia's actions and explanations. Iphigenia tells him that the victims are unclean, and then that the statue of Artemis turned backwards and closed its eyes (1163-5). Thoas then asks what caused this reaction in the statue: ἡ δ' αἰτία τίς; ἦ τὸ τῶν ξένων μύσος; (1168). He conjectures that they must have killed someone to be tainted with such pollution (1170). He's right again! Although Thoas is being duped, the deception is based on the truth, and the fact that his conclusions are correct does not suggest that he is a dim-witted character. His piety is what motivates his desire to comply with Iphigenia's plans at every turn: he is eager to cleanse the sanctuary of the goddess (a task with which he is charged at 1216), and to provide her with clean victims. Indeed he is delighted by what seems like Iphigenia's conscientiousness in her religious duties: at 1202 Thoas praises Iphigenia saying δίκαιος ηὐσέβεια καὶ προμηθία. And he is equally impressed by what he understands to be Iphigenia's protection of the *polis* and himself (1213-14). The fact that Thoas considers himself to be implied when Iphigenia mentions her *philoi* consolidates the emerging picture of the positive relationship that exists between them.

Thoas' only concern is that religious etiquette be observed, and that the victims be purified for the goddess. This is apparent from his approval of purifying the strangers in the sea at 1194, and from his closing advice to Iphigenia at 1220 τὰ τῆς θεοῦ πρᾶσσ' ἐπὶ σχολῆς καλῶς. Of course, there is an excruciating irony which underlies this scene, which is heightened as the exchange progresses, and this is reflected in the change of pace from

[80]On which see ch. 5.2.

[81]Thoas is often compared to Theoclymenus in E. *Hel.* as a barbarian king on the edge of the world, but in fact the two characters are very different. Theoclymenus is *impious*, in contrast to his sister Theonoe (cf. *Hel.* 1020-21), and his wish to kill Menelaus has nothing to do with religious observance.

[82]See Hdt. 4. 68 on the Scythians' trust of their diviners.

*stichomythia* to *antilabai* at 1203. During the stichomythic exchange, Thoas ironically finds Greece responsible for Iphigenia's wisdom: σοφήν σ' ἔθρεψεν Ἑλλάς, ὡς ἤσθου καλῶς (1180)[83]. Thoas is already convinced of Iphigenia's story, but she responds to this statement by fabricating an extra lie. She claims that the strangers tried to entice her (again here Thoas anticipates) with news from Argos, saying that Orestes and her father were alive and well (1181-1185). Once more, Thoas understands that the strangers would come up with such fabrications in order to avoid death (1184). This creates a further layer of irony: Iphigenia is lying about a lie. Following on from the assertion that Greece reared Iphigenia to wisdom, this consolidates the association between Greeks and deceit. Iphigenia had been the victim of her own father's deceit, but now her hellenicity seems to make her create an extra lie, where there is no real need for one. If Greeks are prone to lying in contrast to barbarians, then the contrast is more one of deceit vs. honesty than cleverness vs. stupidity[84]. This is evident also in Herodotus 4. He tells us that the Black Sea is home to the most ignorant peoples in the world, except for the Scythians, whom he emphatically excludes from this judgement of ignorance (4. 46). Nevertheless, these not so foolish Scythians, who are surely to be admired for the way in which they toy with the Persians who are attempting to subdue them, are deceived by the Ionian Greeks who have been corrupted by Persian power. The Ionians lie to the Scythians and agree to betray Darius for their own freedom, and the Scythians believe that the Ionians are telling the truth. So through the Ionian deception, the Persians manage to escape (4. 136-42). The Scythians here, like the Taurians in *IT*, are honest rather than foolish. Furthermore, Thoas has a reason to trust Iphigenia. He assumes

[83]Compare the philhellene Croesus, who prizes Greek wisdom and invites Solon to his court (Hdt. 1. 29-34). By beginning his *Histories* with a Lydian king who is fascinated by Greece and Greek customs, Herodotus begins his *oeuvre* by blurring the boundaries between Greek and barbarian, see Pelling (1997a).

[84]Other barbarians are also associated with honesty. Compare the Persians, who study only three things until they are twenty: horsemanship, archery, and honesty (Hdt. 1. 136). Lucian's *Toxaris* has a pertinent discussion on this topic. Although the Scythians have deified the Greek duo Orestes and Pylades as a model of true friendship, Toxaris reproaches Greeks in general with dishonesty. In contrast to the Scythians, he argues (9) that the Greeks are untrue to their word in the matter of friendship. Although Greeks have many fine poetic examples of honesty and friendship, they themselves fall short in real life. I owe this point to my colleague Karen Ní Mheallaigh. The *Toxaris* is, of course, primarily concerned with friendship, and Lucian is himself a non-Greek, but the dishonesty which he attaches to real-life Greeks is also an important feature of Greek identity in literature.

This is found as early as the Epic Cycle, which tells of the wooden horse with which the Greeks deceive the Trojans and raze their city. Deception is also an important theme in all dramatic treatments of the House of Atreus myths, see Karatzoglou (2001) 55-79. On lying in epic and lyric poetry, see Pratt (1993), who discusses positive associations of lying and deceiving created in archaic poetry. But note the arguments of Hesk (2000) concerning late fifth and early fourth century Athens. He explains the paradox, 293: 'The sophist and the logographer are demonised as the deceptive other, and are then strategically imagined to lie inside and behind every political opponent. Just as Euripides' Andromache and Peleus trope Menelaus' lies as typically Spartan *and at the same time* as typical of *any* Greek general, Demosthenes imagines dishonesty to be consistent with Athenian national character *and at the same time* to be present within his Athenian adversary Leptines'. On deception in the context of friendship in Greek tragedy, see Whitlock-Blundell (1989) 82-5 and *passim* (see index *s.v. dolos*).

that she would side with the goddess rather than with the Greeks (1186), a natural assumption given that Greece destroyed her, as she admits (1187). This again shows Thoas' logical trust in Iphigenia as priestess of Artemis, and as is proper, he has no desire to see secret rituals (1198)[85], which were an important element in *Greek* religion.

During Iphigenia's deception of Thoas, the latter gives way to her wishes because he believes she is trying to restore purity to the statue and make the victims worthy of the goddess. Iphigenia thus tricks the king by using his piety against him. Thoas' religious beliefs as revealed through this scene are very much in keeping with traditionally Greek beliefs: the concept that a deity can manifest itself physically through its statue (1166)[86], that killing incurs pollution (1170)[87], that matricide is unspeakably heinous and uncivilized (1174), that lustrations are necessary for sacrifice (1190), that running water is appropriate to purifications (1192)[88], that certain rituals are secret (1198), that veiling is necessary to avoid the stain of pollution (1218). The fact that these rituals are part of the barbarian worship of Artemis emphasizes the Greek aspect of the deity and implies that the Greek rituals have been transposed into the barbarian land[89].

The piety of the Taurians is also demonstrated through the two messengers, and their respect for Iphigenia is also apparent[90]. The first messenger (i.e. the Herdsman) encourages Iphigenia to get revenge for her sacrifice at Aulis (336-9), and the second fears for her safety (1339-41). The end of the play, which sees Greek impiety win out over barbarian piety, is foreshadowed by an event reported in the first messenger speech. When Orestes and Pylades are originally spotted by the Herdsman and his companions (265ff.), they are thought to be some kind of deities, and one of the herdsmen who was *θεοσεβής*,... *ἀνέσχε χεῖρα καὶ προσηύξατ' εἰσιδών* (268-9). The account continues (275-7), *ἄλλος δέ τις*

[85]In Ar. *Thes.*, the fact that secret rituals are performed at the festival of the Thesmophoria is exploited to comic effect, as men try to sneak into this women's festival.

[86]See further ch. 6.1, 138-9.

[87]See Parker (1983) 104-43

[88]See Rudhardt (1992) 171-2 on terms of purification, and Burkert (1985) 77-9 on the importance of running water.

[89]Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood (2003a) 140, who explains that Greeks defined themselves, above all, through 'perceived ancestry, language and religious customs', but that 142, 'ancestry was not *the* defining criterion of ethnicity'. The Taurians do not have an ancestral claim to Greek ethnicity, but they certainly have Greek language and religious customs, as they are presented in *IT*.

[90]Messengers in tragedy have generally been dismissed as mere functionaries relaying information. Recently, however, J. Barrett (2002) has drawn attention to the fact that the messenger in Greek tragedy is not merely functional. He states 15: 'tragedy is fundamentally committed to the partiality of all speech and its dissociability from the speaker'. This follows on from De Jong's study of the Euripidean messenger-speech as focalized narrative, which showed that 'no narrative is ever objective' (De Jong (1991) 65). J. Barrett explores a wide range of Greek tragedies (though not *IT*), which show the variety of figures which can be cast as messengers, and their role in the 'self-reflection of the tragic texts' (J. Barrett (2002) 22). So the messenger's identity in Greek tragedy *is* of consequence to the play, and affects how his message is received.

μάταιος, ἀνομίᾳ θρασύς,| ἐγέλασεν εὐχαῖς, ναυτίλους δ' ἐφθαρμένους| θάσσειν φάραγγ' ἔφασκε τοῦ νόμοῦ φόβῳ. Euripides takes care here to make a strong contrast between the prudent, god-fearing man and the arrogant, impious one. Immediately after this contrast is drawn, the irreverent man is proved right while the pious one is almost ridiculously wrong. This emphasizes the arbitrary nature of the gods and how piety is not necessarily rewarded. The second messenger and his fellow attendants are also characterized by their piety, in the sense that they dare not go to assure themselves of Iphigenia's safety through fear of witnessing the secret purification rites (1342-4). Ultimately, like the incident reported by the first messenger, the attendants turn out to be justified in their decision to act impiously and investigate.

Like Thoas, the messengers trust Iphigenia. The second messenger fears for her *safety* rather than fearing her treachery (1339-41). However, once the treachery is discovered, the barbarian messenger is to be deceived no longer. The chorus fail to convince him that Thoas is not in the temple, in spite of their particular effort[91]. This, combined with Thoas' complete surprise at the news, highlights the fact that Iphigenia has exploited the barbarians' trust in her to set her plan in motion. Her deception was believed because the barbarians had trusted her status as a priestess. But once her treachery is uncovered, the barbarian messenger's response to the chorus' lies shows that the barbarians will no longer believe what the Greek women tell them, having been duped by sham Greek rituals.

The one ritual, or *nomos*, which is denounced as non-Greek in *IT* is that of human sacrifice. The chorus pray to Artemis at 463-6 ὦ πότνι', εἴ σοι τάδ' ἀρεσκόντως| πόλις ἥδε τελεῖ, δέξαι θυσίας| ἃς ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν νόμος οὐχ ὁσίας| ἀναφαίνει[92]. But Euripides creates a tension in this presumption through the figure of Iphigenia and the constant reminder that she had been sacrificed not by a foreigner, but by her *father*[93]. As the play progresses, it becomes clear that the Greek goddess Artemis is responsible for the cult of human sacrifice, and not the Taurians[94]. And Greek responsibility for the cult is visually emphasized by the Greekness of the *skene*-temple[95]. It is true that the goddess Artemis can be associated with non-Greek communities, and that Greek authors of this period often attached their own

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[91]On the significance of choral intervention at this point, see ch. 4.3, 79-81.

[92]Cropp's (2000) translation here is slightly misleading: 'O Mistress, if to your satisfaction| our community offers you this rite, receive these sacrifices| which by the law of our own land| it is unholy to offer'. The contrast between the Greeks and the Taurians is much stronger than Cropp's translation allows; 'our community' should rather be rendered *this* community.

[93]It is evident from 336-9 that the Taurians also hold the Greeks responsible for Iphigenia's sacrifice.

[94]The Greek element is also present in Herodotus, who tells us that the Taurians sacrifice humans to Iphigenia herself, and further qualifies this, by telling us that she is Agamemnon's daughter (4. 103).

[95]On the *skene*, see ch. 2.1, 10-13. Herodotus tells us that it was not the custom of the Scythians to make altars or temples for any of their gods except Ares.

Greek names to corresponding foreign deities[96]. But the Scythians in fact were thought by Herodotus not to worship Artemis at all[97], and the Artemis presented in *IT* is the same goddess to whom the Greeks sacrificed Iphigenia at Aulis and the same goddess whose cults will be established at Brauron and Halai. Nowhere in the play is it suggested that the goddess is not Greek. In fact quite the opposite is implied from the outset[98]. Artemis is served by a Greek priestess whom she herself appointed[99], and who in turn, is attended by Greek women.

Human sacrifice itself is associated more with Artemis than with the Taurians. The very first mention of the cult describes Artemis as *νόμοισιν ἥδεται* (35). Orestes and Pylades, as sacrificial victims, are spoken of in terms of Artemis: *τὰ της θεοῦ θύματα* (330). The rite of human sacrifice is referred to many times in the play as a *nomos*[100], which reflects the contemporary importance of this concept in Greek thought[101]. Indeed Euripides' plays reveal the influence of the *nomos/ physis* debate, which was particularly important in sophistic thought in the latter part of the fifth century[102]. It is the local *nomos* to sacrifice Greeks who land on the shore according to the demands of the Taurian worship of Artemis. Iphigenia explains about the festival of Artemis as follows: 38-9 *θύω γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ νόμου καὶ πρὶν πόλει|ὃς ἂν κατέλθῃ τήνδε γῆν Ἕλλην ἀνήρ* [103].

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[96]E.g. Herodotus equates the Egyptian goddess Bubastis with the Greek Artemis (2. 138; cf. 2. 155-6); he also tells us that the only gods the Arabs recognise are Dionysus (Orotalt) and Ourania (Alilat) (3. 8), and that the Thracians reverence only Dionysus, Artemis and Ares (4 .7); see Harrison (2000) 209-14 on Herodotus' translation of foreign gods; cf. E. Hall (1989) 143 'Aeschylus did not explicitly differentiate the religious beliefs of his Persians from those of his Greeks; the same principle usually applies to the foreigners of myth'; and Long (1986) 20 'gods who entered the Greek world [were either identified] with an already known god or [tolerated] as an alien divinity with a limited claim to acceptance'.

[97]Herodotus tells us that the Scythians only worship Hestia, Zeus, Earth, Apollo, Aphrodite, Heracles and Ares (4. 59). There is no mention of Artemis, which further suggests that the deity is a Greek intrusion in the Scythian land, and archaeological evidence seems to support this, see Novichenkova (1996) 208.

[98]Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood (1997) 171-2 who suggests that Artemis' epithet of 'torch-bearing' mentioned in line 21 'would have 'zoomed' the Artemis presented in the prologue to the goddess of Athenian cultic reality, so that the Athenian audience would have perceived the Artemis articulated here as a representation of the Artemis worshipped in Athens'; for associations with Hecate as a torch-bearing goddess, see ch. 3.1, 38-9.

[99]If we believe Proclus' summary of the post-Homeric *Cypria,* Artemis' responsibility for Iphigenia's abduction and placement among the Taurians was well-grounded in myth; see Cropp (2000) pp. 43-6.

[100]Cf. 35, 38, 277, 465, 586, 1189; cf. 471.

[101]Cf. Thomas (2000) 125-6 on Hdt. 3. 38, Plato *Prot.* 337d1-e2 and the Hippocratic *Gen./Nat.Child* 1.1.

[102]For example, the conflict between *nomos* and *physis* which is developed in *Andr.*; on this see McClure (1999) 172-83, who explores the *agon* between Andromache and Hermione in terms of this conflict and shows how, for all Hermione's attacks on barbarian *phusis*, Andromache's arguments are both more incisive and more successful; cf. Allan (2000) 121ff. and (2000a) on the influence of the sophists in Euripides; on the concept of *nomos* and *physis* in fifth century sophistic thought, see Heinimann (1945).

[103]Compare the Herodotean version (4.103), where the Taurians specifically sacrifice ship-wrecked sailors and Greeks they capture at sea. Other captured enemies are beheaded; on the retention of 38-9, see p. 8n.8.

But the Taurian king is rather shown to be a god-fearing man. Euripides could have developed the barbarian characters as bloodthirsty murderers, but he chooses not to[104]. By repeatedly calling the ritual of human sacrifice a *nomos*, Euripides guides the audience towards understanding the custom as an acceptable and required element for the Taurian *polis*. Here we must recall Herodotus 3.38:

'Everyone without exception believes his own native customs, and the religion he was brought up in, to be the best; and that being so, it is unlikely that anyone but a madman would mock at such things. There is abundant evidence that this is the universal feeling about the ancient customs of one's country. One might recall, in particular, an account told of Darius. When he was king of Persia, he summoned the Greeks who happened to be present at his court, and asked them what they would take to eat the dead bodies of their fathers. They replied that they would not do it for any money in the world. Later, in the presence of the Greeks, and through an interpreter, so they could understand what was said, he asked some Indians, of a tribe called Callatiae, who do in fact eat their parents' dead bodies, what they would take to burn them. They uttered a cry of horror and forbade him to mention such a dreadful thing. One can see by this what custom can do, and Pindar, in my opinion, was right when he called it 'king of all''[105].

This passage of Herodotus aptly reflects the concerns of the Taurians as presented in *IT*. They carry out human sacrifce because it is their *nomos*. However, the subtext of the play is much more disturbing than the Herodotean story. A contrast is drawn between the rejection by the Greeks at Aulis of the Greek *nomos* which prohibits human sacrifice, and the Taurians who follow their divinely ordained *nomos* of sacrificing Greeks to Artemis, but immediately agree to refrain from such practice when this is divinely prescribed by Athena (1475-85). The Taurians follow the rules which they see as divinely ordained. An audience's reproach for the practice of human sacrifice is therefore subtly diverted towards Artemis as ultimately responsible, and not the barbarians[106]. Indeed, the Taurians have good reason to worship Artemis according to her demands. The statue of Artemis which is worshipped in the temple is no ordinary statue, but specifically divine and διοπετές (977). A sacred object falling from the sky in Scythia is not unparalleled, and recalls one of the myths about the first kings of Scythia. Herodotus (4. 5) explains that there fell four golden objects from the sky on to Scythia: a plough, a yoke, a *sagaris*, and a cup. He who picked up the objects without being burned became king of the Scythians[107]. Furthermore, it is one of the king's most important jobs to look after the sacred gold (4.7). Here we note the parallel with

[104]Similarly in *Medea*, Euripides underplays the title-character's barbarity, where he might have chosen to capitalize on it; see Mastronarde (2002) 22-28.

[105]Trans. De Selincourt (1996) 169.

[106]It is true that Iphigenia blames the Taurians for the human sacrifice at 389-91, but this comes at the climax of Iphigenia's confusion through grief and anger, and does not negate Artemis' responsibility. This passage is discussed in ch. 6.3, 144-9.

[107]Compare the notion that there is a hole in the sky in Irasa (Lybia) at Hdt. 4. 158.

Thoas, who is most keen to look after the sky-fallen statue in an appropriate way. At the end of the play, Artemis' responsibility for the shedding of blood will be confirmed, as she will *still* demand the *nomos* of human blood in her honour, though not an actual life (1458-61)[108].

Artemis' command to kill *xenoi* is something appalling in Greek terms. *Xenos* can mean 'guest', 'stranger' or 'host' in Greek, based on the idea of reciprocal guest-friendship[109]. When Orestes suggests killing the king in order to escape, it becomes apparent that Iphigenia considers Thoas to be a *xenos* 'host' or 'guest-friend'. At 1020, Orestes asks ἆρ' ἂν τύραννον διολέσαι δυναίμεθ' ἄν; Iphigenia is horrified and replies 1021 δεινὸν τόδ' εἶπας, ξενοφονεῖν ἐπήλυδας[110]. Yet Orestes persists 1022 ἀλλ' εἴ σε σώσει κἀμέ, κινδυνευτέον. But Iphigenia refuses, 1023 οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην, τὸ δὲ πρόθυμον ἥνεσα. From this exchange, several important elements are revealed. The concept of Orestes as a barbaric murderer is reinforced. His suggestion of killing the king comes hot on the heels of the account of his trials and rejection from society as a result of his matricidal pollution. Having already broken one sacred law and bond, it is implied that he now wishes to break another- the Greek *nomos* of *xenia*. The issue is complicated. When Thoas is king of a community which systematically kills *xenoi* 'foreigners', it is difficult to see him in terms of a *xenos* 'host', though, again, it must be stressed that this is the command of Artemis[111]. Such a host would normally be expected to provide hospitality[112]. But this is the clear implication of Iphigenia's response. This has two important effects. First, it suggests that Thoas is *Iphigenia's xenos* 'host', although he cannot be Orestes', and once more emphasises the positive bond that exists between Iphigenia and Thoas. Secondly it reminds us of what civilized behaviour should be. We remember the violations of *xenia* committed by the siblings' ancestors[113]. Iphigenia's refusal to kill the king marks part of the redress of the pollution of her family line, breaking the cycle of violence and of abusing hospitality.

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[108]For further discussion of Artemis as a bloodthirsty goddess, see ch. 6.2.

[109]For the concept of the same term used to denote different things in the context of ethnicity, compare Sourvinou-Inwood (2003a) 123-5 on the use of the term *Hellenikon* to characterize different ethnic groups in opposition to others in Herodotus. This involves a 'strategy of schematizing and then deconstructing the schemata in order to articulate complexities' (123). This analysis could also well be applied to the construction and deconstruction of Greek and barbarian opposition in *IT*. On the bond of *xenia* and its implications in fifth century BC Greece, see Herman (1987) 1-13.

[110]Note that when it is decided to attempt an escape with the statue, Iphigenia is afraid *first* of the goddess, and then of the king at 995-6 τὴν θεὸν δ' ὅπως λάθωι δέδοικα καὶ τύραννον. This reinforces the idea that Artemis 'delights in' the cult of human sacrifice.

[111]Cf. *IT* 585-7, where the one victim of human sacrifice mentioned believes that he is dying under the rites of the goddess, and does not blame Iphigenia.

[112]Cf. Admetus in E. *Alc.* who is Herakles' *xenos* and so conscientious about his duty that he entertains his guest although his house is in a state of deep mourning; see also Herman (1987).

[113]Tantalus abuses his privilege of dining with the gods and serves his son Pelops to them (cf. 386-8 where

Iphigenia's reaction also highlights the tension between the barbaric and the Hellenic within herself. Her shock at the idea of killing the king provides a stark contrast to her eager desire for the opportunity to be able to slaughter Helen and Menelaus and her hopes they might venture her way[114]. This wish is imbued with a thirst for revenge, and conversely implies - as we have been tracing through the play- that Iphigenia is on good terms with Thoas and does not wish him any ill. We know that Iphigenia has previously consecrated to death other Greeks who were *xenoi* in the land of the Taurians, and she verbally hardens herself against the new Greek *xenoi* when she believes Orestes is dead, but she will not consider doing away with the barbarian king.

There is an important difference between the case of killing Thoas and that of killing the *xenoi* who land on the Taurian shore- the latter is prescribed by the cult of Artemis, the former is not. But the specific language used by Iphigenia in her statement of shock at 1021 (quoted above) is a strong verbal echo to Iphigenia's own sacrificial duties which she mentions at 766. Before the recognition scene, Iphigenia relates the message Pylades should give her brother and describes the ξενοφόνους τιμὰς which she holds (776). We note that the terms ξενοφονεῖν and ξενοφόνους occur in exactly the same metrical position in each case, thus reinforcing the verbal echo. In 776, *xenophonia* means the murder of guests or strangers, while in 1021 it means the murder of a host, but the parallel is nonetheless apparent.

The term *xenos* and its cognates are used abundantly in this play variously meaning 'guest' or 'host'. It is interesting to note, however, that between the two parallel compounds of *xenophonia* (776-1021), the term is used only twice at 947 and 955 (cf. ξένια 'hospitality' at 949). These instances occur during Orestes' account of his trials and both refer to his *hosts* in Athens. In fact, before 947, *xenos* is *never* used to denote a host but always a guest or stranger. Thus, by introducing this shift in meaning, Euripides carefully prepares the audience for Iphigenia's shocked reaction and further deepens the impact of the verbal parallel between 776 and 1021.

We may also compare here lines 52-3 from Iphigenia's prologue speech, where she describes her duties in a similar way to 776, i.e. ξενοκτόνον| τιμῶσ'. The *xenos* compound is slightly different in this instance, but has much the same meaning as in 776, and we note that

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Iphigenia claims not to believe this story); Pelops engineers the death of his host Oenomaeus (cf. 1-2; 823-6); Agamemnon is killed by Clytemnestra on his return from Troy (cf. 544-53, and A. *Ag.* in which Clytemnestra's crime is also presented in terms of violation of *xenia* with Agamemnon murdered as he takes a bath and cf. S. *El.* 203 where he is killed at a banquet). Orestes returns to kill his mother and Aegisthus by stealth and abuse of *xenia* (cf. A. *Cho.*, S. *El.*, E. *El.*).

[114]Note how the barbarian Herdsman introduces the notion of Iphigenia exacting revenge for her slaughter through killing the Greek victims of the goddess (337-9); shortly afterwards, Iphigenia prays for exactly this (354ff.).

the same vocabulary of holding office is used in both cases (ἔχω...τιμῶσ' cf. τιμὰς ἔχω). The audience is therefore alerted to Iphigenia's office of guest-killing in the very opening scene of the play, and the concept of *xenoi* as guests or strangers having arrived from a distant land is kept to the forefront until Orestes describes his experiences in Athens and then proceeds to suggest killing Thoas.

When Thoas finally appears, he immediately distinguishes himself as being non-Greek, by specifying Iphigenia's ethnicity in his opening words at 1153-4 ποῦ 'σθ' ἡ πυλωρὸς τῶνδε δωμάτων γυνὴ| Ἑλληνίς; However, he also distinguishes Iphigenia as being Greek from Orestes and Pylades who are *xenoi* 'strangers'. The characters in this play are either Greek or barbarian. This gives the illusion of a simple binary opposition, but Euripides complicates this polarity by developing the Greek contingent not only as Greeks but also as *xenoi*. The chorus and Iphigenia are both called *xenai/ xene* and Greek at different points in the play[115]. The two young men however, are almost always called *xenoi* not only by the Taurians but also by Iphigenia and the chorus[116]. This has various effects of significance for the development of the play.

First and foremost, it serves as a constant verbal reminder that the Greek goddess demands an aberration of Greek *nomos*, but also that the Greeks are far removed from their homeland, which emphasizes their vulnerability. For precisely this reason, Orestes and Pylades are referred to as *xenoi* much more frequently than Iphigenia or the chorus, who have a lamentable fate but are not in such immediate danger. More subtly, by restricting the use of the adjective Greek in describing the three on-stage characters, it allows them to be distanced from the other Greeks, those who were responsible for Aulis and the Trojan war. Logically, these Greeks are *always* called Greeks and never *xenoi*. Thus, the tension between the Greeks of the play who are in a barbaric land and the Greeks at Aulis who are portrayed as barbaric themselves is highlighted and explored. Indeed Orestes himself serves as a bridging force between the two Greek elements. He is inextricably involved in the cycle of crimes of which Iphigenia's sacrifice was a part. Through his matricide, he belongs to the 'barbaric' Greek faction like those present at Aulis. The revelation of the matricide prompts Thoas' appalled reaction at 1174 Ἄπολλον· οὐδ' ἐν βαρβάροις ἔτλη τις ἄν. Matricide is abhorrent to the Taurians[117]. The invocation of Apollo here is also particularly poignant, for

[115]The chorus is called Greek at 64, 1468 and *xenai* at 646; Iphigenia is called Greek at 1154 and *xene* at 218, 597, 665, 1355, 1364.

[116]Orestes and Pylades are referred to as Greeks just three times (247, 459, 495), compared to some thirty-six times that they are designated as *xenoi* (246, 248, 250, 278, 281, 304, 315, 336, 337, 342, 344, 468, 479, 509, 547, 579, 612, 728, 1081, 1154, 1168, 1178, 1186, 1188, 1204, 1206, 1217, 1222, 1225, 1300, 1315, 1324, 1329, 1333, 1340, 1353).

[117]Compare the Persians, who say that none of them has ever killed his father or mother, and cannot

it was this Greek god who prescribed the matricide, although Thoas does not know this. In terms of pollution, even in Greek belief, Orestes' crime is worse than the cult practice of the Taurians[118]. But it is important that the murder of Clytemnestra itself is never described[119]. Orestes cannot bring himself to explain what happened and limits himself to saying that he killed his mother (556, 940-1). This, coupled with Orestes' remorse, contrasts with the detailed descriptions of Agamemnon's crime in deceiving and sacrificing Iphigenia[120], and puts Orestes on a higher moral plane. Yet he toils incessantly to free himself from pollution, and the outcome of the play will finally end the vicious circle of Greek 'barbarity'. Through no planning of his own, Orestes also precipitates the salvation of his sister, and this further serves to redress the barbaric crimes of the house of Atreus.

A further effect of referring to Orestes and Pylades as *xenoi* is that Iphigenia can distance herself from them in her deception of Thoas. She does claim that *πᾶσαν γε μισοῦσ' Ἑλλάδ', ἥ μ' ἀπώλεσεν* (1187), but the contrast that Thoas has introduced by calling her Greek and them *xenoi* is maintained by Iphigenia throughout the deception scene. In this way, she creates the illusion that she and the victims are in two different camps. It is, of course, ironic that Iphigenia should call her brother *xenos*. But it creates a distance between Iphigenia and Orestes, which is exploited in the first half of the play and shows her position of authority. It is noteworthy that the Taurians never call Iphigenia *xene* before her deception is uncovered[121]. Only *after* this does she become a *xene* (1355, 1364) or one of the *xenoi* (1413)[122] who are trying to escape. This fact once more implies close ties between Iphigenia and the local community. All the Taurians respect Iphigenia and her official role in the cult of Artemis. Once she has betrayed them, however, in the eyes of the locals, she is no better than the victims who are to be sacrificed.

There is one final point to be addressed. This is the association between the Taurians and impalement, which has also been used to show the Taurians as uncivilized barbarians. After Thoas has ordered the citizens to harness their horses and pursue the fugitives, he continues saying 1425-30 *σὺν δὲ τῇ θεῷ| σπεύδοντες ἄνδρας δυσσεβεῖς θηράσετε...λαβόντες αὐτοὺς ἢ κατὰ στύφλου πέτρας| ῥίψωμεν ἢ σκόλοψι πήξωμεν δέμας;* The skewering of one's

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conceive of such a thing (Hdt. 1.138).

[118]Kin-killing incurs the most serious pollution, see Parker (1983) 123ff..

[119]This is in contrast to e.g. E. *El.* 1206ff., where Orestes describes the murder of his mother in great detail.

[120]The references are numerous: 17-29, 212-17, 364-77, 537-9, 852-67; cf. 819; see ch. 3.1.

[121]Before this, she calls herself *xeina* at 218, and is called *xene* by Orestes at 597 and 665, when he is trying to ascertain where she comes from.

[122]All these instances occur during the Messenger's account of the attempted escape; Thoas himself never calls Iphigenia *xene*.

enemies as a trophy on a stake (especially their heads) is a typically barbarian practice[123]. Herodotus records (4. 103), that the Taurians decapitate their enemies of war and fix the heads on a stake and place these outside their homes as apotropaic guardians[124]. There is no mention of such practice in *IT*[125], and it is noteworthy that even this brief reference to impalement is suppressed till the end of the play. Thoas' reaction here ties in with the distinction drawn by Herodotus. The Taurians, according to Herodotus (4. 103), sacrifice Greeks and ship-wrecked sailors, but decapitate enemies of war. At this point in *IT*, Orestes and Pylades are no longer sacrificial victims. They have become enemies of the Taurians because of their attempted theft of the statue and the priestess. Thus Thoas' response is in keeping with Taurian custom.

But it is not unknown for Greeks to impale their victims. Compare the end of the *Histories*, where the Athenians bring Artayctes down to the shore, nail him to a panel of wood and stone his son to death before his eyes (9. 120)[126]. The character Orestes in E. *El.* suggests to Electra that she should impale Aegisthus at 898 πήξασ' ἔρεισον σκόλοπι (cf. *IT* 1430 σκόλοψι πήξωμεν). In *Electra*, the title character declines to proceed on this course and chooses verbal abuse rather than physical. Equally, Thoas halts his anticipated chase at the command of Athena. But I come back to the question of *nomos*. Impalement is a barbarian *nomos*. We are not surprised that Thoas, the barbarian king, roused to anger by the deception and theft, should utter such a threat. It is the Taurian *nomos* to impale enemies, and we note that Thoas' anger is roused only *after* the elaborate deception has been uncovered[127]. In Euripides' *Electra*, the suggestion is appalling, as reflected in Electra's Greek response that to revile the dead is shameful and incurs resentment (900-902). A final parallel may be adduced here. The Furies are described as belonging to a place where men

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[123]Xerxes impales Sataspes (Hdt. 4. 43), Scythians practice impalement (Hdt. 4. 72) as do the Getae (Hdt. 4. 94); see also ch. 2.1, 12-13.

[124]Decapitation is also a particularly associated with barbarians, e.g. the Persians who decapitate the Magi (Hdt. 3. 79), Artaphrenes and Harpagus who decapitate Histiaeus (Hdt. 6. 30), the people of Amanthus who decapitate Onesilus (Hdt. 5.114), and Xerxes who orders Leonidas' head to be cut off and fixed on a stake (Hdt. 7. 238). Reinach (1913) discusses the custom of decapitating one's enemies as it appears in many different cultures (Gauls, Visigoths, Irish Celts among others, and this in contrast to the Egyptians (49) for whom the head has a very different religious significance); he notes 45-6, that the custom of carrying severed heads in Bacchic processions derived from the Thracian cult of Dionysus. Decapitation is thus nevertheless associated with Greeks also, as is particularly evident in E. *Ba.*, where Agave decapitates her own son, believing him to be a lion, while in a Dionysiac trance.

[125]The trophies which decorate the set, whether they are representations of severed heads or scalps, are associated with the goddess, the Greek temple and altar; see also ch. 2.1, 10-13.

[126]On the implications of the Athenians committing the kind of atrocities we have come to expect from the Persians, see Pelling (1997a).

[127]Compare the far more outrageous intention of Theoclymenus in *Hel.* to kill his *sister*, after the deception has been revealed at the end of that play. The Dioscuroi are quick to point out that Theoclymenus' anger is not right (οὐκ ὀρθῶς 1642). Not so Athena at the end of *IT*.

are executed by impalement (among other things) at A. *Eum.* 189-90. This is intriguing in the context of *IT* since the same Furies have been hounding Orestes in this land which represents a kind of Underworld. Perhaps the impalement of Orestes would potentially be a suitable punishment for the polluted Orestes in Greek terms also, just as we saw that stoning him was an appropriate response to his madness.

But we need to look at Thoas' reference to impalement in its context. He invokes the help of Artemis and denounces the fugitives, and again here particularly the men, as being *impious*. The implication here is that Artemis is displeased with the attempted escape of the Greeks and the theft of her statue from the temple, and Euripides gives the audience no hint to suppose otherwise. In uttering his orders for the pursuit of the fugitives, Thoas specifies that ἄνδρας are δυσσεβεῖς, and we see yet another instance in which Iphigenia is distanced from the Greek men. Thoas does not seem to blame her for the escape plan. It is true that the Messenger includes Iphigenia as one of the *xenoi* at certain points during his narrative of events, but Thoas seems to retain a certain affection for Iphigenia. When the deception is made clear to Thoas, his reaction is far from being as hostile as one might expect. The Messenger has presented the theft of the statue and the escape as Iphigenia's responsibility primarily (1313-16; cf. 1330-5, 1354-7, 1397-1402, 1417-19 in his full account), but while Thoas is amazed, he utters no curses against the priestess. His reply reads as follows (1317) πῶς φής; τί πνεῦμα συμφορᾶς κεκτημένη; One may almost detect here a hint of concern for Iphigenia through the expression Thoas uses here. The notion of 'wind' implies that the situation was out of Iphigenia's control and that the word σύμφορα '(mis)fortune' perhaps suggests a concern as to what fate has befallen Iphigenia. There is certainly no hostility expressed in Thoas' response. His amazement is echoed in line 1321 ὦ θαῦμα· πῶς σε μεῖζον ὀνομάσας τύχω; When Thoas finally mentions an armed pursuit, it is a direct response to the Messenger and his urging at 1411-13. But Thoas' response is concerned with the two men, and Iphigenia is therefore not a specified target for his pursuit. This points us once more towards Thoas' piety and respect for Iphigenia's priestly office, but perhaps also to his reluctance to harm women. Thoas' threat to the chorus made at 1433 is not life-threatening. They are simply told ποινασθόμεσθα[128].

The end of the play makes Euripides' intention clear. The final *aition* which predicts the future of the cult of Taurian Artemis includes the shedding of human blood as a continuation of the ritual worship of Artemis in Greece. Conversely, the Taurians renounce

[128]Cf. Hdt. 4. 69 where the children of those killed by the Scythian king are also to be killed, but he leaves the female children alone.

## 5.2 Gender[131]

Tragedy as a genre is transgressive. It explores the fates of those who cross traditional boundaries, and the consequences of their actions. In terms of transgression of gender boundaries, perhaps the best known example is the figure of Clytemnestra in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon,* who has taken on the male role of political dominance in the absence of her husband, while her consort Aegisthus is an appropriately effeminate counterpart. Of course this travesty of inversion is firmly redressed in the final play of Aeschylus' connected trilogy, and male primacy over female is restored in no uncertain terms. Zeitlin has been extremely influential in seeing tragedy's tendency to feminize men and masculinize women as part of the contemporary male's investigation of his 'self', as opposed to the feminine 'other'[132]. However, as we also saw in our discussion of Greek and barbarian, there is also a certain blurring of the boundaries between the self and the other in terms of gender. It has been shown that 'the female can be said to have a distinctive voice in tragedy'[133], and Mossman has recently argued, in an analysis of Euripides' *Electra,* that this voice 'might prove not only to be the voice of the Other, but one in which the audience might sometimes discern 'the Self in the Other and the Other in the Self' as Greenblatt put it, and perhaps the polarity between male and female might not only be reinforced but also, and simultaneously challenged'[134]. I hope to show that such an analysis is also applicable to the portrayal of gender relations in *IT.* Certainly, more than any other tragic poet, Euripides is not only particularly concerned with portraying the plight of women[135], he also, almost systematically, deconstructs or problematizes traditional binary oppositions[136].

However, as with many aspects of *IT,* its exploration of gender relations remains largely unmentioned, and is often relegated to line references in the footnotes of works devoted to women and gender in tragedy. Although not as central a theme as 'Greek and barbarian', gender relations play an important part in this drama. Foley acknowledges Cassandra, Theonoe and Iphigenia as a separate class of women, priestesses and

[131]Bibliography on issues of gender in antiquity and in tragedy is vast. I direct the reader to some key works which I have found most useful- on women in classical Greece: Pomeroy (1975), and the iconographical study of Reeder (1995) with essay contributions from various scholars. On women in tragedy: Easterling (1987), Des Bouvrie (1990), Seidensticker (1995), E. Hall (1997), and Foley (2001). On gender in antiquity: McClure (2002) (ed), on gender relations in tragedy: Zeitlin (1996). On women in tragedy as objects of exchange: Rabinowitz (1993), Wohl (1998), Ormand (1999), on women's speech in tragedy: McClure (1999), Lardinois and McClure (2001) (eds), and Mossman (2001).

[132]Zeitlin (1996) 341-74.

[133]Mossman (2001) 383-4, see also McClure (1999), Lardinois and McClure (2001).

[134]Mossman (2001), quoting Greenblatt (1991) 127-8.

[135]See March (1990).

[136]See p. 91 above.

prophetesses, which she 'deliberately excludes from discussion' because this class of women does not fit with her treatment of women as 'virgins, wives, and mothers'[137]. Foley makes the important point that these women 'face choices conditioned not only by human social and ethical standards but by divine and ritual necessities and religious roles'[138]. However, there are two main differences which separate Iphigenia from Cassandra and Theonoe. Iphigenia is Greek, while the other two are technically barbarians, Trojan and Egyptian respectively, and Iphigenia is her play's protagonist[139]. Furthermore, the whole action of the play takes place in front of the temple in which Iphigenia serves. The temple as *skene* reinforces Iphigenia's status as priestess. Because of these features of *IT*, Iphigenia is most readily comparable to Ion in the eponymous play[140], as the servant of a god, and protagonist of the play, which is set in front of Apollo's temple in Delphi. Yet if we compare these two instances, Iphigenia's authority within her play becomes apparent once more. Ion performs the menial duties of a slave. For example, he cleans the sanctuary, while Iphigenia orders the king to purify the sanctuary in *IT*, though there are many attendants at her disposal throughout the play[141]. The fact that the king bows to Iphigenia's command emphasizes both his piety and the authority of her position. He is eager to comply with all the requirements of the bogus purification ceremony, and seeks out his own duty at 1215, where Iphigenia tells him to purify the temple. She has complete religious authority. But Ion's religious position is supplanted by the Pythia, who is Φοίβου προφῆτις, as she introduces herself at *Ion* 1322. The Pythia represents a stronger spiritual link to Apollo than Ion does, although Ion is in fact Apollo's child. Furthermore, Iphigenia is the only religious figure, of those mentioned above, to be called *kledouchos* (131). The fact that Iphigenia holds the keys to the temple invests her with a great degree of authority, and her official status as *kledouchos* is recorded in almost every iconographical depiction of her figure in this play, which depict her with the attribute of a Z-shaped key[142]. Iphigenia's religious authority continues until the end of the play and is reinforced by the revelation that she will continue to be *kledouchos* in the temple of Artemis at Brauron (*IT* 1463).

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[137]Foley (2001) 121.

[138]Foley (2001) 122.

[139]Perhaps the only other priestess cast as a main character by Euripides was Auge in her name-play. Raped by Heracles and having given birth in the temple of Athena, she is a stark contrast indeed to the virgin Iphigenia, though Auge's questioning of divine double-standards echoes Iphigenia's (see ch. 6.3, 144-9).

[140]Hamilton (1985) discusses Ion, Iphigenia in *IT*, Cassandra in *Tro.* and Theonoe in *Hel.* in his treatment of Euripidean priests. However, I cannot agree with his conclusions about Iphigenia, which he bases on a reading at face value of 380ff.; for my understanding of this passage, see ch. 6.3, 144-9.

[141]See ch. 2.2 *passim.*

[142]Cf. *LIMC s.v.* Iphigenia.

Edith Hall points out the general plot-pattern concerning women in Greek tragedy which tends towards portraying 'disruptive women'. Women become disruptive in the absence of their husband or *kyrios*, while only husbandless women 'may behave with decorum'[143]. But Iphigenia does not quite fit into this general truth about women in tragedy. Although husbandless, technically Iphigenia *is* 'disruptive'. She is involved in human sacrifice and then plots an escape through a bogus purification ritual, and an apparently sacrilegious theft. Of course, Iphigenia is unlike most tragic heroines who are disruptive *at home*[144]. She is further removed from most tragic heroines through her priestly office, and her association with Artemis. Iphigenia's priesthood gives her character a great deal of authority in the play. Simultaneously, however, Iphigenia is bound and trapped by her position as priestess, and the barbarity of the cult of human sacrifice complicates the ethical issues which she faces. Iphigenia is also portrayed very strongly in terms of being a daughter, a failed bride, and a sister. The fact that *her father* held the knife which was meant to kill her is mentioned repeatedly[145], as is the lure of marriage to Achilles[146]. Iphigenia's role as a sister is evident from the opening of the play when she laments Orestes, believing he is dead. These female roles, combined with Iphigenia's status as priestess, allow Euripides to construct a different dynamic of gender relations from that which is developed in other plays. Thus, as argued by Easterling, the context of the individual play is extremely important for analysis of the female role[147].

Iphigenia is the lone heroine of *IT*, surrounded by a cast of male actors on stage: Orestes, Pylades, Thoas, and the two messengers. Effectively, Iphigenia lives in a community of men. There is no mention of any Taurian women at any stage of the play. It also seems that only males are offered for sacrifice[148]. But a strong feminine presence throughout the performance is ensured by the female chorus. Though the chorus as a collective character is not fully developed, since being a character in the drama is only one of their choral functions, nevertheless, the mere number of chorus members acts as a visual reinforcement of female dominance in this play[149]. Like the chorus, most of the other

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[143]E. Hall (1997) 106.

[144]As E. Hall (1997) 107 notes, women's disruptiveness 'can be interpreted as a symptom of the Athenian citizen's anxiety about crises which might afflict his household during his absence'.

[145]Cf. 8, 211-3, 360, 366, 784, 853-4, 1083.

[146]She dwells on the ruse of a wedding which lured her to her death and her failed transition to marriage at several points in the play, see ch. 3.1.

[147]Easterling (1987) 16, 26.

[148]And seemingly only Greek males: 39 and 347 mention Greek men specifically, and the only actual victim mentioned is male and can write Greek (585); but note that both Iphigenia and the chorus wish to sacrifice Helen should she happen to land (345-8, 439-46).

[149]On the character of the chorus, see ch. 4.1. The gender of the chorus does not necessarily reflect the

characters remain in various stages of development, with the only characters to be fully fleshed out being Iphigenia and Orestes. This does not mean that the chorus, messengers, Pylades and Thoas do not contribute at all to the portrayal of gender relations in the play. However, their contribution is subsidiary, and the main male-female relationship which is explored in *IT* is that between sister and brother, Iphigenia and Orestes.

The setting of *IT* in the land of the Taurians is not insignificant in terms of gender relations since women are often in control at the edge of the world, in the Black sea area, as are the Amazons in Scythia and Tomyris, queen of the Massagetae[150]. Iphigenia has often been compared to Helen in Euripides' *Helen*, as a Greek woman stranded in a far-flung place. But Iphigenia is more like a conflation of the figures of Helen *and* the Egyptian priestess Theonoe. For like Theonoe in *Helen*, Iphigenia is the one who is really in control for most of the play in *IT*, but in being Greek and wishing to escape, and also contriving a plan, Iphigenia is also like Helen. Consider the following observations. Helen is a suppliant and a married woman being courted for a second marriage, while Iphigenia is virgin priestess much more comparable to Theonoe, the virgin prophetess[151]. Helen can only proceed with her escape plan by winning Theonoe over to her side, but Iphigenia is herself in control of her plan. Even the use of persuasion is treated differently in the two plays. In *Helen*, *both* Menelaus and Helen intercede with Theonoe for her assistance, and *both* of them take part in deceiving Theoclymenus. Thus Helen's control over the situation is much less marked than Iphigenia's in *IT* where she controls the deception of Thoas singlehandedly[152]. In *Helen*, Theonoe has ultimate control because she has divine knowledge. Iphigenia does not have such a gift, but Theonoe has a very small part and a very short time on stage in comparison to Iphigenia, who is her play's protagonist. This makes Iphigenia's authority much more evident to the audience. In *IT*, gender relations develop with the female (Iphigenia) in control for most of the play. *IT* does not have the complete inversion of gender roles found in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, but it does have a subtle conflation of roles which is explored, and seems to find an ultimate redress and

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dominant sex of the play. In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, for example, the male chorus highlight Clytemnestra's dominance through their ineffectuality and lack of insight.

[150]On the Amazons in Scythia, see Hdt. 4. 110-17; on Tomyris, see Hdt. 1.205-14; cf. also the Orphic tablets which show Persephone in control of the Underworld (on which see Graf (1993) 242ff.). This parallel is strengthened by the portrayal of the land of the Taurians as a type of Underworld.

[151]Theonoe tells us she is a virgin at *Hel.* 1008.

[152] Furthermore, Iphigenia's deception is based on the truth of Orestes' matricide with some fictive elaboration, which draws her closer to the barbarians who are honest, though she cannot resist one unnecessary lie (on which see above, 107-8), while Helen and Menelaus' deception is based on the outright and ill-omened lie that Menelaus is dead. Faking one's death can invite bad luck, cf. *Hel.* 1051-2, and S. *El.* 59-60.

balance in the outcome of the play (unlike the roles of Greek and barbarian which are resolved less conclusively). This redress is achieved by a reassertion of traditional roles in the final third of the play.

In tracing this development, we may begin by noticing that there is a predominance of female preoccupations in this play, articulated though the figure of Iphigenia. The prologue reminds us of Iphigenia's failed marriage, that cornerstone of womanhood, which is a prominent and recurring theme throughout the play[153]. This is followed by Iphigenia's amoibaic lament with the chorus over the brother she believes dead, and the importance of the female role in burial and mourning is once again stressed by Orestes, who imagines his sister preparing him for burial, shedding tears, and cutting hair on his tomb (627, 703)[154]. Supplication, cursing and prayer are all further elements which occur in *IT* and are generally associated with women in antiquity[155]. Iphigenia recalls her attempt to beseech her father for her life at 362-3[156]. Later, Iphigenia supplicates the chorus-women to keep silent about the escape plan. Her supplication is encouraged by Orestes who confirms the association between women and supplication when he says at 1054 *ἔχει τοι δύναμιν εἰς οἶκτον γυνή*. The supplication of the chorus is described in some detail. Like the previous supplication, it involves reaching out towards the cheeks and clasping the knees, but also clasping the right hand (1068-70)[157]. Iphigenia appeals to their womanhood and to women's good will towards each other 1061-2 *γυναῖκές ἐσμεν, φιλόφρον ἀλλήλαις γένος,| σῴζειν τε κοινὰ πράγματ' ἀσφαλέσταται*. The idea that women stick together and scheme together, particularly to the disadvantage of men, is recurrent in tragedy[158]. It is revealed by the chorus' fierce loyalty to Iphigenia, which goes beyond keeping silence to trying to dupe the Messenger, and provokes the Messenger's exasperated exclamation at 1298 *ὁρᾶτ' ἄπιστον ὡς γυναικεῖον γένος*. Of course from the male Messenger's point of view, the chorus-women are untrustworthy, but for Iphigenia, the chorus have proved themselves most loyal indeed.

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[153]See ch. 3.1.

[154]One of the most important functions of women in ancient Greece (and indeed in many other cultures, ancient and modern) is to prepare the dead for burial and lament them after death- see Alexiou (1974), Holst-Warhaft (1992), Foley (2001) 19-55.

[155]On women as suppliants, see Foley (2001) 287-8, on prayer and cursing as female activities, see Griffith (2001) 123.

[156]Cropp (2000) deletes 363 who sees it at a 'melodramatic interpolation' and 'awkward', but it is retained by Diggle (1981), Sansone (1981), and Platnauer (1938). Even if 363 is excised, it is still clear that Iphigenia is begging her father for her life.

[157]See also discussion of this scene in ch. 2.2, 25-6.

[158]The phrasing here is reminiscent of *Med.* 407-8; cf. also Medea's words at *Med.* 822-3 as she sends off a female servant to fetch Jason and trusts her not to reveal anything to him by virtue of the fact that she is a woman, and also *Hel.* 329, 830, E. fr. 108.

Interestingly, the final supplication referred to in the play is enacted by the male god Apollo. Admittedly the god is a child, which could be construed as downplaying his masculinity. However, the child Apollo is nevertheless called ἄναξ and the conflict described in this choral ode may well be a reflection of the theme of conflict between old, female chthonic powers and new, young, male Olympian gods, which is so prominent in the *Oresteia*[159]. In any case, the male god's supplication differs from the female supplications described earlier in the play. Apollo does not stretch out his hands to the face of Zeus, nor does he clasp Zeus' knees. Instead, χέρα παιδνὸν ἕλιξεν ἐκ Διὸς θρόνων (1271). This playful and childlike act is bereft of any formal element of supplication. In the disturbing context of the third stasimon, Apollo's male supplication provides a grimly ironic contrast to Iphigenia's female entreaties[160]. True, she is successful in enlisting the help of the chorus women, but the failed supplication of her own father is in stark contrast to Apollo's easy manipulation of *his*. Of course, it also illustrates the difference between the human and the divine. Humans are constrained by the will of the gods, while gods can do as they please. In terms of gender relations, this contrast between male and female supplication places formal supplication firmly in the female sphere. The male god is not restricted by formalities[161]. The fact that the male god defeats the female power in this final stasimon also points towards a resolution of gender relations in which the male dominates the female. The actual outcome of the play does reinforce traditional gender associations, but both male and female have equally important and complementary roles to play.

Iphigenia prays several times during the course of the play and curses her enemies[162]. As the priestess of Artemis, it is not surprising that she prays to her patron for help[163], but this is in contrast to Orestes, who never prays to Apollo in formal terms but rather dismisses his mission to the Tauric chersonese as a trick to lure him to his death (711-15). The difference in attitude of the siblings towards their respective patrons consolidates the idea that the female is closer to the divine in this play- at least, Iphigenia is closer to Artemis than Orestes is to Apollo[164]. This will be further validated by the outcome of the play, which specifies that Iphigenia will receive cult at the shrine of Artemis in Brauron.

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[159]For further discussion, see ch. 7.1, 175-8.

[160]For further discussion of this choral ode, see ch. 4.5.

[161]Divinities are not necessarily exempt from the formalities of ritual supplication, see Gould (1973) 75-76 on Thetis' formal supplication of Zeus in *Iliad* 1.

[162]Notably Odysseus at 535; cf. 354-8 where Iphigenia wishes for Helen and Menelaus to venture her way and thus be killed, and 439-46 where the chorus pray for the same thing.

[163]Iphigenia offers formal prayers to Artemis at 1082-8, 1398-1402, see Cropp (2000) *ad loc* on the formal aspects of these prayers; as a female virgin, it is also appropriate that Iphigenia should pray to Artemis.

[164]On the relationship between Artemis and Iphigenia in *IT*, see ch. 6.1.

After the recognition scene, Orestes recalls how, pursued by the Furies and tainted with matricide, he went to Apollo's temple in Delphi and issued his patron with the following ultimatum: if Apollo didn't help him, he would starve himself to death (970-75). This is a bold and direct threat of pollution against the god's sanctuary[165]. Iphigenia also gives her patron an ultimatum, but we can trace the siblings' gendered responses in their ultimatums. Iphigenia threatens that if Artemis fails to come to their aid, mortals will no longer believe the word of Apollo, who ordered Orestes' mission (1084-5). While Orestes threatens direct action against his patron, Iphigenia's ultimatum is not an attack on Artemis per se, but an appeal to save her divine brother's reputation. This very much reflects the man's traditional urge for direct action, while the persuasive woman achieves her goals by more subtle means[166].

That Iphigenia is skilled at weaving has been made clear through the piece of weaving recalled as a recognition token, and by her own lament that she does not weave (222-24). Weaving was an essential skill for a young woman in ancient Greece. Correlative to a woman's ability to weave, is her potential to persuade, and also to deceive, to weave a web of words, as it were, to deceive men[167]. Iphigenia also proves herself skilled at persuasion and deceit. She manages to elicit information from Orestes even when he is unwilling to answer, and successfully deceives the king in order to save her family. Linked to this woman's skill of weaving, both literal and metaphorical, is Iphigenia's complete control of the stage action and of other characters in the play. Her palpable authority aligns her with tragic women who transgress gender boundaries. Iphigenia's control of the entry into the temple is comparable to, and visually reminiscent of, Clytemnestra's control of the doorway to the palace in *Ag.*, in fact Iphigenia's control is more absolute than Clytemnestra's. In *IT*, no-one enters the temple without Iphigenia's permission and all those commanded to enter do so willingly. In *Ag.*, Clytemnestra fails to coax Cassandra into the house and the latter enters of her own accord. Similarly Medea controls all the other

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[165]See Parker (1983) 33 and n.5.

[166]The Danaids in Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* threaten to take their lives in the sanctuary of Zeus if he does not come to their aid, but they also threaten that he will be blamed (154-175). Thus they seem to use both the male threat of physical action and the female threat of incurring blame. This is in keeping with the characterization of the Danaids who are violently opposed to their marriage and fail to heed paternal advice to be submissive (as noted by Conacher (1996) 86). Their ultimate act of violence, which happens outside the dramatic time of Aeschylus' play, is the murder of their future husbands on the wedding night; the case of the Danaids' attitude to their wedding is anomalous because it is characterized by their hostility to the groom (see Seaford (1987) 107 and *passim*). On gender in A. *Supp.*, see further Zeitlin (1996) 123-71 and (1990).

[167]Xenophon believed that spinning and weaving were the only skills required in a new bride (*Oik.* 7.6); on the associations between women, weaving and deception, see ch. 3.3, 63-5.

characters in her play[168]. Much of Iphigenia's authority derives from her status as a priestess. She is much respected in her position by the local people, as is noted ironically by Thoas just as Iphigenia deceives him. At 1214, he exclaims *ὡς εἰκότως σε πᾶσα θαυμάζει πόλις*. But the cult in which Iphigenia officiates associates her with the masculine weapon of the sword. Iphigenia is priestess in a ruthless cult of human sacrifice, and if, as I believe, lines 40-41 are interpolated[169], we believe for the first 620 lines of the play that she slaughters the victims of Artemis herself, and by implication with a sword, the man's weapon. This suggestion reaches a climax at 621, when Orestes asks *αὐτὴ ξίφει θύουσα θῆλυς ἄρσενας*; But Iphigenia replies that she will not, her function is to dedicate the victim with lustral water. The anomalous notion that female could kill male is firmly overturned[170]. Thus in the build-up to the recognition scene, Iphigenia's association with the male is revealed to be illusory, when we realize that she does not wield the sword that kills the sacrificial victims. This leaves room for Iphigenia to develop as a flawless symbol of femininity, in contrast to Clytemnestra. All Iphigenia's preoccupations (listed above) are firmly entrenched in the female sphere of life.

That the sword is a man's weapon is emphasized in this play, both by multiple references to Agamemnon's slaughter of Iphigenia with a sword[171], and through Orestes' slaughter of the cattle on the Taurian beach. We have seen how Orestes' heroic masculinity is tainted by his madness and wavering at the beginning of the play[172]. But during the long exchange between Orestes and his sister (466-1088), which incorporates the build up to the recognition scene, the recognition itself, and the escape plan, the gender roles move towards a redress of traditional male and female positions. It is noteworthy that Orestes repeatedly addresses Iphigenia as *γύναι* at the beginning of the exchange (483, 496, 498, 542, 546). *γύναι* is a common term of address in tragedy, and is especially appropriate for use by Orestes who is unaware of Iphigenia's identity (emphasized by the first use of the term at 483, quoted below). But these practical considerations do not negate further implications of using this term. Indeed, the most instances of this term in Euripides are found in *Medea* (used 18 times), a play very much concerned with gender relations. In *IT*, the repeated use

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[168]Foley (2001) remarks 329n.23, that 'In contrast to *Medea* or *Agamemnon*, *Helen* and *Iphigenia among the Taurians* in particular tolerate women for their capacity to contrive a way out of difficulties that require strategy rather than physical strength'. This is generally true, but in the case of *IT*, Iphigenia is also associated with inflicting death on male victims, which complicates gender issues in this play.

[169]On which see p. 8n.8.

[170]Iphigenia is not going to repeat her mother's crime; on this line as an intertext with the *Oresteia*, see ch. 7.1, 178.

[171]See n.145 above.

[172]See ch. 3.2.

of the address *γύναι* at this particular juncture in the play highlights the development of gender roles that will occur during this long scene, and foreshadows the ultimate redress of contemporary male and female roles.

The exchange begins with a brash masculine reproach and rejection by Orestes of Iphigenia's (female) expression of sorrow 482-87: *τί ταῦτ' ὀδύρῃ κἀπὶ τοῖς μέλουσι νῷν| κακοῖς σὲ λυπεῖς, ἥτις εἶ ποτ', ὦ γύναι;| οὕτοι νομίζω σοφόν, ὃς ἂν μέλλων κτανεῖν| οἴκτῳ τὸ δεῖμα τοὐλέθρου νικᾶν θέλῃ,| οὐδ' ὅστις Ἅιδην ἐγγὺς ὄντ' οἰκτίζεται| σωτηρίας ἄνελπις·* This is an important passage. Orestes seems to be reasserting his manhood after the Herdsman's report of his hallucinatory fit. He simultaneously rejects feminine lament and endorses male pride in very strong terms. Orestes scornfully interprets Iphigenia's sorrow in terms of her dread before the kill (though he does not yet know that she does not slaughter the victims herself). Orestes does not intend to lament his death, nor beg for his life, as some Homeric characters do on the battle-field. Indeed his attitude of contempt towards Iphigenia's pity reflects his father's contempt of Menelaus' pity for Adrastus at *Iliad* 6. 45ff.. Menelaus is on the point of sparing Adrastus' life when Agamemnon rebukes him for his tender concern towards the Trojans, and proceeds to kill Adrastus himself[173]. Minor characters may beg for their lives, but the truly great Iliadic heroes do not. So by contrast, Hector begs Achilles *not* for his life, but for his body to be returned home (*Iliad* 22.338ff.). So Orestes is once again presented as having a heroic ideology, but his sentiments expressed here treat Iphigenia in heroic terms which are not appropriate to her. Iphigenia is not a warrior, so Orestes' heroic code is once again shown to be inappropriate. We know that Iphigenia's emotions are in conflict. She had admitted her dislike of sacrificial practices, yet explains that she has been hardened by her dream and sorrow at her belief that Orestes is dead (344-50). Orestes is contemptuous of the person who laments his own death since, Orestes argues *μωρίαν τ' ὀφλισκάνει| θνήσκει θ' ὁμοίως·* (488-9). Although Orestes' statements are generalizations made using masculine vocabulary, it is clear that he intends his words to apply also to Iphigenia (484-5 cf. 490). His scorn at the person who laments his own death can thus be read as contrasting with Iphigenia's recollection of her lament at her own sacrifice and her physical supplication of her father (364-71)[174]. Orestes' contempt is consolidated by the

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[173]Other examples from the *Iliad* of rejected supplication to spare a life on the battle-field include Dolon who attempts to supplicate Diomedes before he dies at 10.454ff., the sons of Antimachus who plead with Agamemnon for their lives at 11.130ff., Tros' supplication of Achilles at 20.463ff., Lykaon's plea to Achilles to spare his life at 21.64ff.. For a discussion of the response of the supplicated in Homer see Gould (1973) 78-82 and n.39.

[174]Compare Orestes' resistance to Clytemnestra's supplications for her life at A. *Cho.* (885-929). At 925, she exclaims *ἔοικα θρηνεῖν ζῶσα πρὸς τύμβον μάτην.*

imperative ἡμᾶς δὲ μὴ θρήνει σύ· (491). But Orestes' contempt is misplaced in terms of gender, for it is a woman's role to lament.

Iphigenia ignores his contempt, and steers the conversation in the direction she pleases. In this scene, Iphigenia skilfully elicits information from Orestes even when he seems unwilling to answer. Yet while Iphigenia has the upper hand at extracting information, and controls the conversation throughout the exchange, we are also subtly reminded of traditional gender roles from the outset. So, Iphigenia's first questions about the identity of Orestes and Pylades includes reference to the female role of mother and birth-giver (497 πότερον ἀδελφὼ μητρός ἐστον ἐκ μιᾶς;), and the male role of father as name-giver (499 σοὶ δ' ὄνομα ποῖον ἔθεθ' ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ;)[175]. The female function of birthgiver is noted at several points in this play. Iphigenia recalls her own birth and upbringing in the *parodos*. Of course, at this point, Iphigenia is unaware of the cycle of violence instigated by her death. She sees her mother as her birth-giver, and her father as her death-bringer. Orestes sees matters in a different light. For him, Clytemnestra is the woman who killed his father. Thus when he initially recognizes Iphigenia, he exclaims 800-01 ὦ συγκασιγνήτη τε κἀκ ταὐτοῦ πατρὸς| Ἀγαμέμνονος γεγῶσα. Iphigenia has suffered a terrible injustice at the hands of her father, and so has Orestes at the hands of his mother. Their words in a sense reflect their respective situations. But Orestes' words do not echo the natural order of childbirth set up earlier in the play, rather they recall Apollo's biological argument in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, which stated that the father alone generates, while the mother nurtures. However, the close of the play will see the woman as child-bearer honoured. The final *aition* will prescribe that Iphigenia receive as dedications the clothes of women who die in childbirth.

Iphigenia's female cleverness reveals her as intellectually superior to Orestes during the long exchange which lasts until the escape plan. It is thus poignantly ironic that Iphigenia should say 1005-6 οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ' ἀνὴρ μὲν ἐκ δόμων| θανὼν ποθεινός, τὰ δὲ γυναικὸς ἀσθενῆ, just before she will concoct the masterful plan of escape, with no real help from Orestes, whose suggestions are all rejected[176]. A woman is perhaps physically more feeble than a man, but intellectually, Iphigenia proves herself far more resourceful than Orestes (for all his echoes of an Odyssean character). In this way, traditional binary opposition of male dominance over female frailty is deconstructed. Yet paradoxically, traditional polarities

[175]On the naming of a child as the father's role, and Jocasta's anomalous naming of Antigone in E. *Pho.*, see Mastronarde (1994) *ad Pho.* 57-8.

[176]Compare *IA* 1394 where Iphigenia says that one man living is worth more that a hundred thousand women, but in contrast to *IT*, she subsequently validates the concept of a man's life being worth more than a woman's (Achilles' in this case), by going willingly to her death.

are simultaneously validated. Iphigenia's strength and dominance over Orestes are developed through her female attribute of cleverness in scheming. Orestes maintains his masculine urge for action by suggesting that Thoas should be killed to facilitate escape (1020), but the suggestion of masculine force fails before the more sophisticated and effective womanly scheme[177]. Furthermore, in spite of Iphigenia's words at 1005-6, a woman is not completely without physical use in the *oikos* in the absence of a male. It has been made clear by Orestes earlier in the play, that the line of the Atreid *oikos* can continue through Electra, and the children she bears to Pylades. On the point of death, Orestes argues that Pylades should live, for thus the continuation of the Atreid line is assured (695-8). This reflects contemporary legislation concerning marriage and lineage. In the classical period, a married woman remained very closely tied to her original paternal *oikos* and her male children could be reclaimed as heirs for her paternal house when no male children were produced or survived[178]. In this context, we see Orestes anachronistically validating the potential importance of a woman for the continuation of the *oikos*[179].

During the whole exchange between Iphigenia and Orestes, male dominance over the female is suppressed, and Iphigenia dominates Orestes through her authority and her cleverness. Iphigenia uses only *female* cleverness in speech and *female* persuasion and her *female* position as priestess to exercise her control. In a *tour de force*, Euripides explores how traditional gender roles can be reversed in a sense, yet still stay within their own identifiable boundaries. The female dominates the male through exclusively female attributes. By doing this, Euripides tests the very nature and limits of traditional male-female boundaries, which he has exploited to reveal a paradoxical reversal of the stereotype 'male controls female'[180]. Iphigenia's status as priestess thus facilitates a new kind of exploration of gender roles.

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[177]Compare the preparation of the escape plan in Euripides' *Helen*. There, Helen *anticipates* that Menelaus wants to kill the king. He does not actually suggest it himself (809). This perhaps detracts from his masculinity, as does his appeal to Theonoe which begins with him stating that he will not cry, but subsequently breaking down into womanly tears (947-8, cf. 991-2). Killing Theoclymenus in *Hel.* is not an option because, Helen says (811), it is ἀδύνατ' (another slur on Menelaus' masculinity), and because Theonoe would not allow it (1045-6). In the second instance also, Menelaus is constrained in his wish to kill by the power of a woman. The situation is comparable to *IT*, but note that Orestes is *not* feminized in the way that Menelaus is.

[178]See Foley (2001) 67-70.

[179]This was not the case for marriage in the Homeric epics, which reflect the mythical time-frame of the legends in *IT*. In Homer, as Foley (2001) puts it, 67 'the bride was...the valuable gift in an aristocratic exchange of gifts and services'. In classical times, the wife became became 'the object of an economic contract between two men. The bride was "lent" to her husband for the "plowing of legitimate children"'. Anachronisms in Greek tragedy arise from the exploration of contemporary issues through the medium of recreating the heroic past, see Easterling (1985).

[180]Note again the location at the edge of the world, which is an ideal place for things to be upside-down. In his *Airs, Waters, Places,* Hippocrates suggests a conflation between male and female physique among the

Against this background of emerging gender roles which are at once traditional, but also test the limits of traditional boundaries, it is revealed that Iphigenia and Orestes *need each other*. The female cannot escape her predicament without male assistance (Iphigenia needs a ship and a crew), just as the male cannot escape his without female assistance (Orestes needs a viable escape plan). Orestes seems to rely on Iphigenia completely for the salvation of the *oikos*. At 983-4 he says ἀλλ', ὦ φιληθεῖσ', ὦ κασίγνητον κάρα,| σῶσον πατρῷον οἶκον, ἔκσωσον δ' ἐμέ. But as the escape plan progresses, Iphigenia must also rely on Orestes. Iphigenia's physical frailty is revealed by the Messenger who reports 1380-83 φόβος δ' ἦν <παρθένῳ> τέγξαι πόδα)| λαβὼν Ὀρέστης ὦμον εἰς ἀριστερόν,| βὰς ἐς θάλασσαν κἀπὶ κλίμακος θορών,| ἔθηκ' ἀδελφὴν <τ'> ἐντὸς εὐσέλμου νεώς. Iphigenia thus depends on Orestes' physical strength for her escape, just as he depends on her plan.

The theme is resolved with an important degree of equilibrium[181], and this is combined with the validation of traditional gender roles, which is reflected in the final *aitia*: each sibling will be responsible for founding a new cult. The cult at Halai to be founded by Orestes, will involve a sword (the man's weapon) to be held to a *man's* neck to draw blood (1459-60). The cult to be founded by Iphigenia will receive the πέπλοι (examples of weaving) of women who have died in childbirth. Euripides' *IT* thus suggests that while men and women have very different roles in life, these are equally powerful and necessary roles, and are especially potent when working in harmony for a common goal. Such a suggestion brings to mind Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* 7. 10-43, where Isomachus defines marriage as a shared household and partnership between man and wife, with the wife as queen bee who presides over inner matters of the house, since the tendency to be afraid is not a disadvantage for guarding things, while the husband who is physically more capable, looks after external affairs and works outdoors. Pomeroy states that Xenophon's portrayal of marriage as a partnership was 'radical'[182], but there is an uncanny resemblance to Euripdean presentation of the complementary gender roles of the siblings at the end of *IT*, which predates Xenophon considerably. There Iphigenia is afraid of the sea (the outdoors), but

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Scythians, which are similar, he says, because of their fat and the smoothness of their skin (19.40-43), and explains how Scythian men can become like women (22). Euripides does not suggest such extreme inversions of gender roles in *IT*. He rather explores gender through traditional gender norms, but female control of the male in this part of the world is not unexceptional and the location can be seen as strengthening it; cf. also Herodotus' account of the customs of the Egyptians as inversions of the norm (2. 35-6), and p. 122, above.

[181]As Mossman argues (in an unpublished paper), there is a discernible equality between Orestes and Electra throughout Euripides' *Electra*. The equality between the siblings develops in a different way in *IT*, beginning with Iphigenia obviously in control at the start of the play, and moving towards each sibling depending on the other at the end.

[182]Pomeroy (1994) *ad* 7.11.

guards the statue, and Orestes is physically strong. The polarity between male and female is reinforced through their specific roles, but is simultaneously challenged by the implication that the role of each sex is *equally* valid, and that one sex cannot assume complete dominance over the other. Perhaps Xenophon's suggestions are not as radical as they first appear.

# 6. *Ritual and the Gods*

The gods of Greek tragedy are perplexing. They seem contradictory, arbitrary and often cruel, and their presentation is generally ambiguous and confusing. All these terms can easily be applied to the gods of *IT*[1]. Hence, the gods of tragedy have been seen as removed from those of *polis* religion, and not identifiable with them[2]. However, recent scholarship has questioned this conclusion, and shown that the gods of tragedy are in fact strongly identifiable with gods of contemporary Attic cult and religion, and that their apparent cruelty articulates the dark side of the gods and the mystery of the cosmos which was an accepted part of Greek religion[3]. Euripides' treatment of the gods explores this dark side, especially the tensions between the human world and the divine. His characters question religious beliefs and struggle to understand the morals behind them[4]. Alone among the tragedians, he has been called an 'atheist' or 'impious', in spite of the fact that Aeschylus and Sophocles also frequently portray cruel and vengeful gods who control the fates of mortals[5]. What sets Euripides apart, however, and has given rise to such claims of impiety and atheism, is the incisive nature of the theological issues raised by his characters. Certainly, Euripides has been shown to engage more with philosophical questions in his tragedies than Aeschylus and Sophocles[6], but scholars should now accept that it is simply wrong to judge him impious or an atheist. We cannot equate the opinions of selected characters with Euripides' own views. Furthermore, Lefkowitz has shown in her influential article that those doubts about the gods expressed by Euripidean characters are in fact shown by events in each play to be unjustified[7]. She does not discuss *IT* in her selection of passages, but we will see how the relevant sections also fit into this general pattern by the end of the play.

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[1] Note also that the term *tyche* 'chance' is prominent in *IT*, on which see Cropp (2000) 37-8.

[2] Argued in most detail by Mikalson (1991).

[3] Esp. Parker (1997), who analyzes the relationship between oratory and tragedy in their treatments of the gods, and finds many parallels, but also shows that tragedy as a medium is more free to question the gods and their intentions; see also Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) e.g. 31, though I do not completely agree in the context of *IT* that the resolutions in tragedy 'make sense' of the characters' sufferings, rather I argue that the resolutions in *IT* highlight the failure of the gods to create human happiness in that they ignore human wishes; cf. Sourvinou-Inwood (1997) *passim* and 163-70 against Mikalson (1991).

[4] Cf. Yunis (1988) 76 and 144n.10.

[5] Though the gods appear less frequently as characters in the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles; see Lefkowitz (2003) 102-3.

[6] On Euripidean engagement with philosophy, see Conacher (1998), Allan (2000a), Wright (2002).

[7] Lefkowitz (2003) 102-21; she argues against Yunis' (1988) suggestion of Euripides preaching a 'new creed' to his audience (120).

### 6.1 Human Sacrifice and the Relationship between Artemis and Iphigenia

Inextricable from discussion of the gods is an understanding of the ritual worship that accompanies their cults in Greek religion. Tragedy is saturated with allusions to ritual[8], particularly the tragedy of Euripides, and particularly *IT*[9]. Human sacrifice is without a doubt the most pervasive ritual in this play, though we have also examined the exploitation of the ritual of marriage in ch. 3.1. In the last chapter, we treated, to a certain extent, the issue of responsibility for the cult of human sacrifice. Here we will investigate the theme of human sacrifice further and more specifically in terms of ritual.

Exploration of the concept of human sacrifice can be treated as a particularly Euripidean theme[10]. More than any other poet of classical Athens, his works repeatedly address the issue of human sacrifice. Of the surviving Euripidean plays and fragments, all of the following deal in some way with a ritual human sacrifice (in no particular order): *Erechtheus, Hecuba, Trojan Women, Heraclidae, Phoenissae, Iphigenia at Aulis* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*[11]. In all but one of these tragedies, human sacrifice is undertaken as a voluntary gesture of bravery by the victim. The daughters of Erechtheus sacrifice themselves for the state[12]. Polyxena agrees to die at the tomb of Achilles in *Hec.* (and has already been slaughtered in *Tro.*) so that she will avoid concubinage and slavery. In *Heracl.*, one of the daughters of Herakles goes to her death to secure Athenian victory. Menoeceus dies for Thebes in *Pho.* Iphigenia agrees to be sacrificed for fair winds to Troy, and the

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[8] A point repeatedly made by Sourvinou-Inwood (2003), and see also the overview of Easterling (1988) who stresses 'the likeness between tragedy and ritual' (109). On the Dionysiac elements of tragedy, see Easterling (1997a), though Scullion (2002) argues controversially that tragedy has 'nothing to do with Dionysus'.

[9] Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 306-7 lists the references to ritual in *IT.*

[10] Cf. Hughes (1991) 189 'it was Euripides above all who realized the dramatic possiblities of human sacrifice'.

[11] These are the plays which deal specifically with a ritual human sacrifice as a parallel to the ritual slaughter of an animal in honour of the gods, but many other Euripidean plays deal with human sacrifice in more general terms: Alcestis, in her name-play, sacrifices her life for her husband's, but is ultimately saved from death by Herakles (cf. also Andromeda who is exposed to a monster in her name-play, but is also saved), Pentheus is torn limb from limb in sparagmatic sacrifice in the *Ba.* (compare *Phrixus B* where Phrixus and Helle are attacked by maenads); in a different scenario, Evadne in *Supp.* throws herself on her husband's funeral pyre and kills herself with him out of grief (as does Laodamia on the burning statue of Protesilaus in the play of the same name); in a variation of this self-sacrifice, Andromache is willing to give her life for her son's in the play that bears her name, and by contrast Medea in her name-play sacrifices her two children.

On the exploitation of sacrificial ritual in Euripides, see Foley (1985) who deals mainly with *IA, Pho., Her.,* and *Ba.*; on human sacrifice discussed among other rituals in Euripides' extant plays, see Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 291-458, and 25-38 on *Erechth.* and *IT.*

[12] See Cropp, Collard and Lee (1997) 148-55 and Lycurgus *Against Leocrates* 100-101 with Wilkins (1990) 180.

glory of Greece in *IA*[13]. However, *IT* stands alone among the extant plays in dealing explicitly with *in*voluntary sacrifice.

In cases of voluntary sacrifice, it can be argued that there is some room for approval, that where a human sacrifice is made for the good of the state, and in a time of crisis and war, the person sacrificed should be glorified as a hero and saviour[14]. This is not to say that the tragedies in which this is the case lack pathos in their treatment of human sacrifice or that such sacrifice is joyful in any way. Every instance within its own play is powerfully disturbing in spite of any gloss of heroism. *IT*, on the other hand presents a thoroughly grim picture of human sacrifice, with no hint of glory, as a theme which underlines the whole play[15]. This tragedy, more than any other, explores the barbarity of compulsory human sacrifice. It does so through the medium of a sacrificial victim, Iphigenia, sacrificed by her own father, who now is under compulsion to preside over the sacrificial slaughter of others[16]. She struggles to understand the force behind such practices, just as she simultaneously struggles with her anger at her own sacrifice and her desire for some kind of revenge.

To begin with, Euripides creates his version of the sacrifice at Aulis as a strong parallel to the Aeschylean model[17], in that Iphigenia must be forced to the sacrificial altar[18]. Iphigenia is not gagged in *IT* (as she is in *Agamemnon*), but her sacrifice is performed without her consent, and she pleads with her father as he kills her (*IT* 361-71; cf. *Ag.* 231- Iphigenia's cries to her father are the reason for which she is gagged). The struggle of a

[13]Euripides' use of human sacrifice in his plays is discussed by O'Connor-Visser (1987) *passim*, Wilkins (1990), Hughes (1991) 189-90, Bonnechere (1994) 260-72.

[14]So argues Wilkins (1990) 181 'the sacrifice of a young woman and the sacrifice of a soldier in battle can be seen in a similar, positive, light'; cf. Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 31: both types of death 'are used as moral paradigms for appropriate behavior for all'.

[15]Bonnechere (1994) 261 is clearly not thinking of *IT* when he says 'toutes les victimes euripidiennes vont ainsi au-devant de la mort avec des résolutions nobles, réfléchies, argumentées, qui répondent à l'idéal athénien de la fin du V[e] siècle'.

[16]On compulsion in this play, see ch. 7.1, 182-3.

[17]There are also important contrasts. The relationship between Euripides and Aeschylus is discussed in detail in ch. 7; see pp. 166, 182-3 for the sacrifice at Aulis.

[18]Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 57n.64 believes that in Aeschylus' description of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, 'Brauron...was evoked' and therefore the audience 'would have understood her to have survived', although she acknowledges that the characters in the play believe Iphigenia is dead; cf. Dowden (1989) 17, who believes that substitution always took place in myth. There is solid ground for arguing that the saffron-coloured garment which falls to the ground as Iphigenia is sacrificed in A. *Ag.* recalls the shedding of the *krokotos* at the end of the *arkteia*, marking the point of reintegration into the community for young girls, but I am not entirely convinced that this would provoke the audience into believing that Iphigenia survived. She certainly does not within the time-frame of the play. The evocation of the *arkteia* in A. *Ag.* may be ironic: a symbol normally associated with progression to the transition of puberty is here used to symbolize transition to death, thus adding further pathos to the slaughter. Sourvinou-Inwood argues that the myth of Iphigenia's survival was ubiquitous, but given the variety of different versions of myths which survive (and many which don't), the myth of Iphigenia is perhaps more fluid than Sourvinou-Inwood argues.

sacrificial victim is a bad omen, and Iphigenia's struggle for her life foreshadows the doom which will befall her sacrificer[19]. Nevertheless, she is slaughtered ὥστε μόσχον (359)[20], but an ἔλαφον (28) is substituted in her place by Artemis at the last moment, unbeknownst to the Greeks[21]. The slaughter of a human victim and the last-minute substitution are both features which can be linked to a variety of Greek sources through the ages. There is no conclusive evidence to prove that human sacrifice was ever practised in ancient Greece. Certainly it was not practised in the fifth century BC. There are quite a few scattered references to human sacrifice, both perpetrated and averted, in literary sources from different periods in the history of Greece[22]. One particularly noteworthy example, in that it purports to be historical fact, comes from Plutarch's life of Themistocles. At 13.2-5 he recounts how Themistocles sacrifices three captive young men before the battle of Salamis (480 BC). However, there are serious reasons for doubting the authenticity of Plutarch's story, and the reliability of his source Phainias[23].

Literary evidence must be supported by archaeological evidence if we are to prove conclusively that human sacrifice did really occur, and archaeological evidence seems rather to confirm that there was no practice of human sacrifice in Greece nor in the Tauric chersonese[24]. The single most important piece of archaeological evidence in support of the claim that human sacrifice was practised in Late Bronze Age Greece at least, has always been Pylos tablet Tn 316. This tablet, reported to be hastily written, contains a list of gods and goddesses, along with gold vessels and human beings apparently offered to respective gods and goddesses as an apotropaic measure in the face of impending disaster (it is suggested: hence the haste in which the tablet was written). However, the whole interpretation of the tablet in this light rests on the *conjecture* that some of the words inscribed really mean 'sacrifices' and 'victims'. It is quite possible that the men and women mentioned on the tablet held some official religious position and that they were not sacrificial victims at all[25]. Most modern scholars, though not all, are sceptical about the

[19]The lustral sprinkling of the victim was meant to elicit the sacrifical 'nod' of the victim, symbolic agreement to its own death, see Parker (1996a).

[20]Cf. *IA* 1083, 1113, *Hcl.* 489, *Hec.* 206, 256; and see Mossman (1999) 147-52 on the sacrificial connotations of such animal imagery.

[21]The manuscript ending of *IA* rejected by Diggle (1994) involves the miraculous substitution of a deer in place of Iphigenia. This is most likely an interpolation inspired by the earlier *IT*.

[22]Examples are collected by Hughes (1991) 71-138 and O'Connor-Visser (1987) 216-30.

[23]These are discussed by Hughes (1991) 112-115.

[24]On the absence of evidence for human sacrifice in the Tauric chersonese, see Novichenkova (1996) 202.

[25]This tablet is discussed in more detail by Hughes (1991) 199-202 who concludes that human sacrifice is not in fact the subject of the tablet. Further archaeological evidence is discussed by Hughes at 13-48, none of which is definitively conclusive. O'Connor-Visser (1987) 211-15 also notes the archaeological evidence for human sacrifice in ancient Greece.

existence of actual human sacrifice among the Greeks, even in an early period, and are likely to remain so unless new and irrefutable archaeological material surfaces[26]. I find myself most convinced by Hughes who, while retaining a sceptical attitude as regards actual performance of human sacrifice, admits that 'clearly many of the ancients believed that human sacrifices had been performed on Greek soil in the past, and clearly human sacrifice enjoyed a thriving existence *as an idea* throughout antiquity'[27]. In this analysis, Hughes follows Henrichs, who also sees human sacrifice as a construct of the Greek imagination[28]. This idea which is transmitted through the ages, that in the distant past, the abhorrent act of human sacrifice was performed, can be associated with and seen as an extension of the notion of guilt attached to the act of slaughter. If dread is felt at killing an animal, how much worse the dread must be in killing a human[29]. And as Hughes observes: 'Human sacrifice is potent dramatic material, perhaps far more potent to the fifth-century Athenians than to us, for sacrifice- animal sacrifice- was very much a part of their religious lives'[30]. An Athenian audience will have been very familiar with the sight of the slit throat of a sacrificial animal and the flow of its blood on the altar. Such an image in the mind of a spectator can be exploited by applying familiar sacrificial terminology to an abnormal and repulsive act. Indeed, human sacrifice in tragedy is always described in terms of the ritual slaughter of animals. We noted above how in *IT*, Iphigenia was held aloft like a calf and ultimately a deer was put in her place. In *Agamemnon* Iphigenia is lifted above the sacrificial altar like a χίμαιρα (232) and sacrificed to Artemis. It has recently been argued, that Artemis' demand on Agamemnon in Aeschylus is designed as a test to reveal whether he is primarily a father or a warrior[31]. As we know, he proves himself a warrior. Compare the father's actions in the following myth relating to the cult of Artemis Mounichia. The goddess demanded the

[26]Cf. Henrichs (1981) 232-5 and *passim*, Burkert (1983) 89-90, 114-5, Hughes (1991) 185 and Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 30 'it must be stressed that the Greeks never practiced human sacrifice; the notion that they did is a product of the historicist interpretation of myths'; Bonnechere (1994) 282 (cf. 171) agrees that the evidence is inconclusive, yet seems to believe that human sacrifice did exist in an unidentified Greek past, which we have not yet been able to trace; O'Connor-Visser (1987) 228 concludes more forcefully than Bonnechere, saying 'it is quite obvious that human sacrifices occurred at one time in Greece' though these had 'been replaced by a ritual mimesis..or had died out altogether' by the end of the fifth century'.

[27]Hughes (1991) 185.

[28]Henrichs (1981) 232.

[29]It has been argued that the trappings associated with ritual slaughter of animals, which are then consumed, have the function of freeing the perpetrator of the act from guilt. As Foley (1985) 31 states: 'Men kill to *eat*, and the participants must not experience their act as a crime'; she discusses both structuralist and evolutionist approaches at 30-64.

[30]Hughes (1991) 190.

[31]Marinatos (2000) 108-9; child sacrifice is also a familiar motif from the Old Testament: God tests Abraham's loyalty by asking him to sacrifice his son Isaac, though the slaughter is averted by the intervention of an angel (Genesis 22), but note the fate of Jephthah's virgin daughter who *is* sacrificed by her father to fulfill a vow to God (Judges 11); on biblical child sacrifice see Levenson (1993).

sacrifice of a girl as compensation for the death of a sacred bear. A certain Embaros vowed to sacrifice his daughter to Artemis to rid his city of affliction. He subsequently hid his daughter in the temple and dressed a she-goat in his daughter's clothes. He then sacrificed the she-goat at Artemis' altar. The offering was accepted and the human sacrifice was thus avoided[32].

In *IT*, we are faced with the paradoxical situation that Iphigenia has been sacrificed and is dead as far as the Greek world is aware, and yet she has also simultaneously escaped actual physical death. She remains alive, yet trapped in her office which perpetuates the crime of which she was a victim. In the multitude of recollections of the sacrifice at Aulis, there is no hint of dying for glory, no hint of choice for Iphigenia, and no hint of willingness on her part to die. It is presented from the beginning as a violent slaughter[33], cloaked in deceit[34]. This, in turn is reflected in the present bloodthirstiness of the cult to Artemis[35].

We have seen in ch.3 how Iphigenia wrestles with her duties in Artemis' cult of human sacrifice, while also wishing the same fate to befall Helen and Menelaus as revenge for her own slaughter. Iphigenia's internal struggle thus stems from her position as Artemis' priestess. While she abhors the cultic rites, she simultaneously expresses the wish to exploit her position for revenge. The complexity of Iphigenia's impossible situation is demonstrated in part, I suggest, by the very subtle way in which she is conflated with her patron in this play.

Firstly, we should note, that Iphigenia was commonly and overtly conflated with Artemis in contemporary Attic cult[36]. This is exemplified by the fact that while Euripides' Taurians sacrifice to Artemis, Herodotus' Taurians sacrifice to Iphigenia herself, who is described as a *δαίμονα*[37]. Against this background, the hints at conflation between Iphigenia and her patron in the play described below become all the more readable[38]. The presence of Artemis and Iphigenia in the land of the Taurians, is presented in very similar terms. The divine statue of Artemis is described by Orestes in the prologue as 87-8 *ἄγαλμα θεᾶς ὅ φασιν ἐνθάδε|ἐς τούσδε ναοὺς οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖν ἄπο.* This comes shortly after we have learnt

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[32]This story is recorded by the Attic lexicographer Pausanias (35) and in the Souda *s.v.* *Ἔμβαρος*, see Brelich (1969) 248-9 for further sources; on interpreting this myth, see also Vernant (1991) 215-16 and Burkert (1992) 75.

[33]*σφάζω* and cognates are used of Iphigenia's sacrifice at Aulis at 8, 20, 177, 211, 339, 360, 563, 770; cf. *φόνος* 1418.

[34]*δόλος* and cognates are used at 371, 539, 859; cf. *τέχναι* 24.

[35]*σφάζω* and cognates are used of Artemis' cult at 40, 243, 280, 335, 337, 458, 598, 623, 685, 726, 776, 995, 1459.

[36]Evidence is collected by Lyons (1997) 134-72.

[37]Hdt. 4. 103. 9-10.

[38]See further ch. 4.1.

from Iphigenia that Artemis διὰ δὲ λαμπρὸν αἰθέρα| πέμπασά μ' ἐς τήνδε ὤκισεν Ταύρων χθόνα| .....ναοῖσι δ' ἐν τοῖσδ' (29-34). Both Iphigenia and Artemis have travelled to the land through the sky, and both of them live in the temple (cf. 65-6 where Iphigenia dwells in the temple).

The two figures also seem very similar when one considers predetermined story patterns. Of course, Orestes' real mission, on a human level (though he is unaware of this), is to carry off his sister, and save her from her perilous fate. In divine terms, however, he has been instructed to make off with the statue of the goddess[39]. Sister and statue are both separate and conflated (similarly Iphigenia is both dead and alive)[40]. The physical statue will be established at Halai, but in a final twist at the close of the play, Athena explains to Iphigenia that people will bring dedications as an *agalma* (i.e. delightful offering) for her (1465). Thus Iphigenia, who was the *agalma* dedicated to Artemis at *Ag.* 308 (cf. *IT* 20-1 where Iphigenia is sacrificed because she is deemed the finest thing that the year had borne[41]; cf. (23) τὸ καλλιστεῖον[42]), will now herself receive *agalmata*[43]. She was slaughtered in honour of Artemis, but now by contrast, she will receive the *agalmata* of women who died *natural* deaths and will continue to serve Artemis. The strength of the bond that is suggested between Iphigenia and her patron throughout the drama thus foreshadows the ultimate outcome of the play. Iphigenia will be bound to the deity for the rest of her days.

The *agalma* of Artemis in *IT* is the type of cult statue which is imbued with particular divine presence. The kind of divine image which has a direct divine connection

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[39]Thus salvation of sister and statue both represent section XIX of Propp's (1968) schema for the functions of dramatis personae, i.e. (53) 'the initial misfortune of lack is liquidated'; the case of *IT* may also be read as an assimilation, in Propp's terms (66), a case of double morphological meaning with a single function.

[40]This fact is fruitfully exploited by Goethe. In his version of *IT*, Apollo's oracle is ambiguous as explained at 2113-15. Apollo had ordered Orestes 'Bringst du die Schwester, die auf Tauris' Ufer| Im Heiligtume wider Willen bleibt,| Nach Griechenland: so löset sich der Fluch'. So Orestes, who is unaware of Iphigenia's fate assumes that Apollo means Artemis, and only later understands the true meaning of the god's command, that the sister he should bring back is Iphigenia. For further analysis of Goethe's play, see Appendix.

[41]For Artemis' demands of the first produce of the land, the ἄγαμος στάχυς 'virginal (lit. 'unmarried') grain', which also means young human offspring, see Vernant (1991) 211-2. This is a recurring motif in ancient literature. Compare Jephthah's vow to God to offer Him the *first creature* to comes out of his house on his return if he conquers the Ammonites (Judges 11).

[42]Beauty is a quality appropriate to a sacrificial victim, see Mossman (1999) 159 on Polyxena in *Hec.*

[43]Iphigenia is never actually called an *agalma* in *IT* (though Orestes and Pylades are *agalmata* at 273) but she is nevertheless identifiable as a sacrificial female *agalma*. A sacrifical victim is an *agalma*, cf. *Od.* 8.509 ἄγαλμα θεῶν 'delight of the gods' of a bull adorned for sacrifice. See Mossman (1999) 158-60 on the use of *agalma* to describe Polyxena in *Hec.*; on the use of the statue metaphor in Greek literature, see the examples collected and analysed in Mossman (1991) and now Steiner (2001). On women as *agalmata* see Lyons (1997) 162-8 and Wohl (1998) index *s.v. agalma* and 67-71, 81-2 on Iphigenia as *agalma* in A. *Ag.*; Lyons (1997) comments also on the conflation of Artemis and Iphigenia, 168, saying: 'the goddess and the heroine "reproduce one another" through reciprocal actions of apotheosis and cult-founding. The *eidolon* and the *agalma* are the outward forms of these reciprocal actions' (though note that Iphigenia is not actually an *eidolon* in *IT* unlike Helen in *Hel.*).

(e.g. made by a god or in this case, fallen from the sky) is known as a *xoanon*, and this is how the statue of Artemis is described in the hypothesis to the play. A *xoanon* is a carved wooden figure, small in size, and 'the usual word for statuette'[44]. It is 'a type of archaic idol, made of wood, roughly carved, with legs and arms welded to the body'[45]. This latter description corresponds with pictorial records of Iphigenia holding a statuette of Artemis with arms and legs apparently welded to the body. Burkert explains how 'the images of the gods were caught in a curious dilemma: the ancient, most sacred *xoana* were unprepossessing, while in the case of the glorious works of art the artist's name was known; they were show-pieces, *agalmata*, not revelation'[46]. Though mostly called *agalma* or *bretas* in the play, the statue of Artemis is once more acknowledged as διοπετές at 977, and is called a *xoanon* at a crucial moment in the play, when the barbarian messenger asks Orestes what reason he has to steal the *xoanon* and priestess from the land (1358-69). The single use of the term *xoanon* here highlights the value of the sacred object at the precise moment at which it is being stolen. The *xoanon* is alive in some sense that other statues are not. This is how Iphigenia can claim that, because of Orestes and Pylades' pollution βρέτας τὸ τῆς θεοῦ πάλιν ἕδρας ἀπεστράφη|....αὐτόματον, ὄψιν δ' ὀμμάτων ξυνήρμοσεν (1165-7)[47].

The close of the play sees separation of statue and priestess. The statue of Artemis is to be set up at Halai, while Iphigenia is fated to go to Brauron[48]. The paradox inherent in the closing *aition* regarding Iphigenia, who never completed her transition as a bride, though she longed to marry, can be compared to the concluding *aition* in *Hippolytus*. There, Artemis prescribes from the *mechane* that unmarried virgins will cut their hair in honour of Hippolytus the day before their wedding and girls will sing in his honour (1423-30). While Iphigenia is doomed to a constant reminder of her unfulfilled wish of marriage through her own cult which receives garments of married women who have died, conversely Hippolytus (although he will not be deified) will be honoured through a ritual which celebrates what he wished to avoid at all costs, that is marriage. In neither case can the ritual in question be imagined as bringing joy to its recipient. Indeed, it has been argued

[44]Burkert (1985) 90.

[45]Vernant (1991) 208.

[46]Burkert (1985) 187; compare A. fr. T114 in Radt (1985) τὰ παλαιότατα ἕδη κεραμεᾶ καὶ ξύλινα ὑπάρχοντα μᾶλλον θεῖα νενόμισται διά τε τὴν ὕλην καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν τῆς τέχνης..... ταῦτα γὰρ καίπερ ἀφελῶς πεποιημένα,θεῖα νομίζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ καινὰ περιέργως εἰργασμένα θαυμάζεσθαι μέν, θείου δὲ δόξαν ἧττον ἔχειν; this fragment is discussed by Steiner (2001) 102 and n.95.

[47]Cf. the Trojan horse described as a *xoanon* by the chorus in *Tro.* 525, and *Ion* 1403 where the *xoanon* is mentioned in combination with idea of being deranged by a god; see Vernant (1991) 208-13 on the *xoanon*'s power to cause madness, but note that Orestes has been inflicted with madness *before* being sent on his mission to steal the statue; cf. Hdt. 3.37-8 where Herodotus deems that Cambyses must have been completely out of his mind to mock and assault the holy temples and statues in Egypt.

[48]Though there were strong associations between the two cults, on which see the next section (ch. 6.2).

that the rites prescribed in *Hipp.* are to serve as a warning for others *not* to act as Hippolytus did[49]. Hippolytus makes no mention of the rite after Artemis has prescribed it, while Iphigenia remains ominously silent and absent throughout Athena's predictions. In both instances, the rite prescribed is unsettling. In *Hipp.*, a play riddled with manifestations of abnormal attitudes to sexuality, the rite of marriage described at the close is set into a context of unnatural attitudes to marriage, and thus becomes disturbing[50]. In *IT*, with so much of Iphigenia's characterization caught up in her fictitious marriage and sacrifice, it is similarly ironic that she will be honoured with garments from married women who died while under the protection of Artemis (*Lochia*), but of natural causes.

### 6.2 Halai and Brauron

We should take a few moments here to investigate the cultic reality of the new rites prescribed at the end of the play, and the effect of this for the outcome of the drama. Both these cults to Artemis are attested, though there is little evidence surviving for cultic practices at Halai[51]. But this is the first cult mentioned by Athena, and the place to where Orestes must convey the sacred statue of Artemis. The issue of human sacrifice is then resolved through the rites to be performed at Halai. There, at a festival held every year in honour of Artemis Tauropolos, a sword will be held at a man's neck and blood will be drawn, as a symbolic human sacrifice (1458-61). *IT* is the only evidence we have for the practice of this ritual. The cults at Halai and Brauron may have been closely linked, which could explain Euripides' choice in exploiting these two in particular. However, the evidence is far from conclusive[52]. Unfortunately, there is little information we can glean about Halai which could throw light on Euripides' cult prescription here. We should note, though, that the sacred statue of Artemis Tauropolos (though the etymology in *IT* is complete Euripidean invention[53]) is reported by Pausanias in an alternative version as being located in the cult of Artemis Orthia. Although a late source, this piece of information is noteworthy, since the rites described here bear a strong resemblance to those mentioned at the end of *IT*.

[49]Goff (1990) 114.

[50]Goff (1990) 115.

[51]See excellent summary of evidence by Cropp (2000) 53-55; cf. also Deubner (1966) 208-10, Lloyd-Jones (1983) 96-7, Brulé (1987) 192-3, 310-12.

[52]There is a possibility that Iphigenia was associated with the *adyton* excavated at Halai and with another small building close to the temple, but this is rejected by Hollinshead (1985). Conversely, the image of Artemis Tauropolos is later associated with Brauron by Pausanias 1.33.1.

[53]The cult of Artemis Tauropolos (from her associations with bulls (*tauroi*), not Taurians) was known to be widespread in Asia Minor; see discussion by Graf (1985) 410-17 on the cults of Artemis Tauropolos in Asia Minor and also at Halai.

Young men were reportedly whipped, drawing blood, while they tried to steal cheese from Artemis' altar. The blood-letting in particular provides a strong link between the two [54], but so does theft, as the cult image of Artemis Tauropolos was *stolen*.

About Brauron, we have far more information[55]. The most important festival held at Brauron, as far as we can tell, and particularly relevant in the context of this play, was the *arkteia*, roughly translated as 'the festival of the bears'. This festival, held every four years, required girls between the ages of five and ten to 'become bears' and serve Artemis in her temple for a certain period of time. What it meant to 'become a bear' is not exactly clear, but if we recall the cult legend involving Embaros and his daughter at Artemis' cult in Mounichia (recounted above 136-7), we may be heading in the right direction. We know that the *arkteia* was also practised at Mounichia, though here it was every year, rather than every four[56]. It may be that Artemis' original demand of a girl to be sacrificed in exchange for the bear which was killed became transformed into the tamer demand of girls serving Artemis as recompense for the slaying of the bear. Participating in the *arkteia* was an important rite of passage for a girl[57], marking the beginning of the transition of puberty, i.e. moving from childhood to marriageable age[58].

How might familiarity with this cult affect audience response to Iphigenia's fate at the end of *IT*? Although the *arkteia* is not mentioned in the play, audience awareness of this festival would underline the sense of permanent transition in which Iphigenia will continue to live. The *arkteia* marks the beginning of a transition for young girls, who are then reintroduced into the community to complete this transition through marriage. By associating Iphigenia with Brauron, Euripides reinforces with some potency her continued status in a state of *failed transition* since she will never be reintroduced into the community[59]. One of my main arguments throughout this thesis has been that the outcome of the play, for Iphigenia especially, is far from felicitous. The whole tragedy emphasizes her suffering through failed transitions: her marriage to Achilles (a failed transition to marriage), her actual sacrifice (a failed transition to death), her plight in the land of the Taurians (a

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[54]Indeed this is the argument used by Pausanias (3.16.7-11) to prove that the image there is that of Taurian Artemis; the theft of cheeses is related by Xenophon (*De rep. Lac.* 2.9.1-4). For different versions of the history of the statue of Taurian Artemis, see further Graf (1979).

[55]See, among others, Cropp (2000) 50-53, Sourvinou-Inwood (1988), Kahil (1988), Brulé (1987) 225-59, Kahil (1983), Lloyd-Jones (1983) 91-8, Kahil (1977), Themelis (1971), Deubner (1966) 207-8.

[56]See Sourvinou-Inwood (1988) 67.

[57]In practical terms, it is highly unlikely that all girls participated in the ritual. Those chosen must have represented their peers; see Sourvinou-Inwood (1988) 114-6.

[58]The *arkteia* marked the beginning of the transition which culminated in *menarche*; see Sourvinou-Inwood (1988) 25-26, 29, 67.

[59]Cf. Tzanetou (2000) 202 'Iphigenia ....remains permanently arrested in a liminal phase'.

failed transition back to life)[60], and now her fate to serve forever in Brauron, a place most strongly associated with girls' transitions, but which also represents a failed transition for Iphigenia since she can never leave. The text of *IT* tells that she will even die and be buried at Brauron. Archaeological evidence may support that Iphigenia was worshipped at Brauron[61]. If the audience is aware of this, the impact and poignancy of Athena's words are doubled, for the fate of Iphigenia is shown to be sealed beyond hope of alteration. The association with failed transition through the *arkteia* at Brauron is reinforced by Iphigenia's own cult presence here. We saw in ch. 3.1 (40-42) how the description of the 'meadows' of Brauron where Iphigenia will dwell evokes her failed transition to marriage (as the image of the meadow also does in *Hipp.*). But we should note further that both marriage and failed transition are to be elements in the cult offerings Iphigenia will receive. Clothes of mothers who die in childbirth will be dedicated to her. These women, unlike Iphigenia, have completed the transition to marriage, and to death, and Iphigenia's honours, like her presence in the meadows, will thus serve as a constant reminder of her own failed and fictitious marriage. Yet women who die in childbirth are simultaneously comparable to Iphigenia since they also have failed in their transition to womanhood, which was completed on the birth of the first child[62]. In the context of Brauron and the *arkteia* we may also read an ironic inversion of the shedding of the *krokotos* in the dedications of garments to Iphigenia. Girls who participated in the *arkteia* wore a yellow garment (the *krokotos*) which was shed on completion of the ritual, and the girls then returned to the community. By contrast, Iphigenia receives garments of women who, like herself, will never return to the community. There is no supporting evidence for dedications of garments specifically of

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[60]Compare the figure of Alcestis in her name-play who escapes death through the intervention of Herakles, but is restored to her husband and family.

[61]The excavator of the site, Ioannis Papadimitriou, identified a *heroon* of Iphigenia in Papadimitriou (1955) 119, discussed by Scullion (2000) 229 and n.36, who rejects the idea that there was a *heroon* of Iphigenia large enough to contain dedications of garments. But the association of Iphigenia with Brauron and the fact that garments *were* dedicated there, whether to Artemis or to Iphigenia, are not insignificant factors for audience response, even if technically, the garments were not dedicated to Iphigenia. See also Dowden (1989) 25 and note that the temple of Artemis excavated at the site dates from around 500 BC and would be less than a hundred years old when *IT* was produced, though as Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 57n.67 notes, cult seems to have begun at c. 700 BC, on which see also Themelis (1971). Kahil (1983) examines the relationship between myth and the archaeological and iconographical evidence at Brauron.

[62]See King (2002) 80 who also describes the real ways in which women could become trapped between the categories of *parthenos* and *gyne*; Dowden (1989) 44 notes that 'those who die at childbirth fail to complete the passage and are associated with Iphigenia, symbol of the passage'. I feel more emphasis should be placed on Iphigenia as a symbol of the *failed* passage/ transition; Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 420-1 also remarks on the fact that 'Iphigenia did not make the transition to the state of *gyne*', she sees Iphigenia's association with death in childbirth as 'the result of a drift, attracting the whole category [of all death in childbirth] to Iphigenia'. This may well have been the case in actual cult practice, though we do not know, but in Euripides' play, there is an obvious chain of links which shows Iphigenia in a state of failure to complete transitions, not a general drift.

women who died in childbirth. However, dedications to Artemis of clothes and votive offerings by girls and women were common throughout Greece[63]. Even if such specific dedications were unattested at the time of production of *IT*, it is such a small variation on common practice that the audience are unlikely to have rejected it. A further incisive irony in the resolution of Iphigenia's fate is her new association with death and childbirth, two significant elements in her eariler reproaches to Artemis. At 380-82 Iphigenia finds fault with the goddess who rejects the taint of death and childbirth from her temple can simultaneously rejoice in human sacrifice and deems it impossible[64]. Here, in a very subtle way, there may be a suggestion that Iphigenia is being punished for her previous outburst by her prescribed cult being associated with the very elements Artemis rejects from her own altars[65].

As can be seen through my arguments in this section, I do not consider the cults described at the end of *IT* to be complete Euripidean invention[66]. There is enough evidence to suggest, at least, connections with established cults, and there is a great deal more to be gained in dramatic terms by alluding to elements of recognisably established practice. Of course, there is no doubt that Euripides exploited certain rituals above others, and that he tailored these in accordance with his dramatic purpose. But there is good evidence throughout *IT* that Euripides was generally faithful to cultic realities[67], and my approach has been to accept the cultic prescriptions at the end of the tragedy as, at least to some extent, reflecting and evoking actual contemporary experience or knowledge of such experience.

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[63]Inscriptions preserved from Brauron attest the dedication of clothes among other offerings, see Linders (1972), Kahil (1983) and for dedications to Artemis in general see Cole (1998) 36-42.

[64]For further discussion of this passage, see ch. 6.3 below.

[65]On pollution in childbirth, see Parker (1983) 32-75.

[66]Scullion (2000) argues that cultic *aitia* in Euripides, including those in *IT*, are largely his own invention. He says 229-30 'I am not prepared to conclude that as a matter of sheer coincidence so many anomalous or otherwise unknown cults or *aitia* both really existed and just happened in addition to suit Euripides' thematic needs as well'. Scullion also argues that, 218, 'it is easy for us to forget that no Athenian could have participated in anything like the full complement of distinct rituals for distinct divinities performed in Attica in a given year, or been familiar with all the *aitia* traditionally attached to them'. Scullion's points are not invalid. Of course, the *aitia* in any given play are exploited to suit Euripides' thematic purposes, and it is probably true that not *all* Athenians were aware of *all* cultic practice. There is no doubt that Euripides did some inventing in his *aitia*, as is evident in *IT* from the false etymology ascribed to Artemis Tauropolos (1453-7). Nevertheless, for the *aitia* to be dramatically successful, they *must* reflect *some* degree of cultic reality, since part of the tragic experience is to *identify* with what is happening in the play. And furthermore, there is clear evidence that the *aitia* recounted in *IT were* identifiable as, at the least, variations of established cults and cultic practice. As for audience response to cultic cues, it is always the case in response to performance that not everyone will pick up on every cue. This does not mean that the cues are not there; cf. ch. 7, 159-63 on audience response to cues.

[67]See p. 133, above, and Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 291-458. There may have been a further reference to Brauron in the probable lacuna at 1469, perhaps instructing the chorus-women to go with Iphigenia to Brauron, see Cropp (2000) *ad loc*; however, this is mere conjecture, and would not add much to information of cultic practice. On the probability of a lacuna here, see also Kovacs (2000) 22-3.

### 6.3 Belief in and Characterization of the Gods

We now turn to the best known passage of the *IT* as regards theology. In a climactic moment, Iphigenia expresses her frustrations with the barbaric nature of the demands of Artemis' cult, continuing with a general expression of faith in the good motives of the gods and reference to human sacrifice within her own ancestry: 387-91 *τὰ Ταντάλου θεοῖσιν ἑστιάματα| ἄπιστα κρίνω, παιδὸς ἡσθῆναι βορᾷ,| τοὺς δ' ἐνθάδ', αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἀνθρωποκτόνους,| ἐς τὴν θεὸν τὸ φαῦλον ἀναφέρειν δοκῶ·| οὐδένα γὰρ οἶμαι δαιμόνων εἶναι κακόν*. This passage is significant on a number of different levels. It can easily be used to highlight the barbarous nature of Thoas, and to place the burden of responsibility for the cult firmly on his shoulders[68]. Of course it is easy, at first glance, to blame the evil barbarian, but this is not an easy play, and we are given several indications throughout the tragedy that Artemis is in fact largely responsible for the cult of human sacrifice. We saw in the last chapter how the Greeks' perpetration of human sacrifice within their own ancestry in the past, and Artemis' identity as a Greek goddess, undermine the barbarity of the Taurians, but there are further important markers in the play which guide audience response to see Artemis as ultimately responsible for the bloodthirsty rite. Iphigenia consistently seeks to lay blame with mortals, whether Greek or Taurian, for Artemis' demands of human sacrifice. Her own sacrifice is highlighted as Calchas' interpretation of the demand, and Iphigenia's anger and desire for revenge is directed towards Helen and Menelaus, as the causes of the Trojan war[69]. But there is no doubt that Artemis is behind the request, as is reflected in the present situation of ritual killing. Every version of the myth includes Artemis as the responsible deity. Iphigenia is tied to the goddess -indeed identified strongly with her, as I have argued- and it is not in her interest to blame Artemis, but her frustration with her plight forces her to seek a party to blame, like other Euripidean characters (e.g. Herakles). But Euripides subtly directs attention to Artemis' responsibility by juxtaposing descriptions of the slaughter at Aulis, and present slaughter in Artemis' cult[70]. The first, and therefore most impressive, instance of this comes in the prologue speech. Iphigenia explains that she was sacrificed *Ἀρτέμιδι* (10) and continues to describe the process of events which led to her arrival in the Taurian land. This account is followed directly by specific reference to the *νόμοισιν οἷσιν ἥδεται θεὰ* (35)[71], and

[68]E.g. Cropp (2000) *ad* 380-91 sees 'the 'higher' conception of divinity....[as] validated by the development and outcome of the play'.

[69]Sourvinou-Inwood (2003) 32 also stresses the emphasis on the human agents of the sacrifice.

[70]I discuss the first three examples below (10-39, 214ff., and 337-9), but cf. similar examples at 770-6, 853-72.

[71]Cf. 388, and discussion below on the gods delighting in abhorrent acts.

to "Αρτεμις, ἑορτῆς τοὔνομ' ἧς καλὸν μόνον· (36). The rites for this festival are to sacrifice any Greek man who ventures into the land (38-9)[72]. Similarly at 214ff., Iphigenia laments her ill-fated marriage in Aulis, and this is immediately followed by her present plight 220: ἄγαμος ἄτεκνος ἄπολις ἄφιλος. The fact that she mentions being unmarried first serves to strengthen the contrast between Aulis and her current fate.

Our third example provides the context for Iphigenia's doubts quoted above. This context is important. The Herdsman has finished explaining how he and his fellow herdsmen apprehended the two fugitives, in fact τὰ τῆς θεοῦ θύματ' (329) as he calls them, which again emphasizes Artemis' responsibility. He concludes as follows 334-7: ὁ δ' ἐσιδὼν ὅσον τάχος| ἐς χέρνιβάς τε καὶ σφαγεῖ' ἔπεμπέ σοι.| εὔχου[73] δὲ τοιάδ', ὦ νεᾶνι, σοὶ ξένων| σφάγια παρεῖναι. The repetition of σοι shows how the Herdsman's lines cleverly highlight Iphigenia's role in the cult of human sacrifice. He does not say 'the king sent the strangers to the temple', or even 'to the goddess', but 'to *you*', to Iphigenia. Similarly, Iphigenia is advised to pray for sacrificial victims for *herself*. She subsequently blames the local people for being ἀνθρωποκτόνους (389).

This shows Iphigenia attempting to distance herself from the ritual of which she is an integral part. She cannot openly reproach Artemis who is here characteristically both her saviour and her destroyer. But we have seen how Iphigenia attaches blame for her sacrifice to the Greeks rather than Artemis, who is only called saviour in this play (never destroyer)[74] and is appealed to for salvation[75]. It is worth noting, however, that the first account of the sacrifice at Aulis describes Artemis not as saving Iphigenia, but as *stealing* her (28). Calling the sacrifice a theft contributes to the negative portrayal of Artemis. It is precisely because Iphigenia was stolen away that no one knows she is alive, and she remains trapped in misery. Again in this context, the outcome of the play is grim, as it ultimately condones sacrilegious theft (of Iphigenia and of Artemis in the person of her statue).

Iphigenia's argument at 380-91 seems perfectly logical- how can a goddess who apparently abhors blood and death simultaneously delight in it? It is contradictory, and therefore one of the two options must be false. Iphigenia thus declares that she disbelieves the second option, and the one with which she has been forcibly associated. This is indeed a clever piece of Euripidean rhetoric, but Iphigenia's argument is not in fact as solid as it seems. Firstly, the two kinds of blood and death in question are very different. The kind

[72]On the textual validity of 38-9, see p. 8n.8.

[73]Reading L with Cropp (2000), see Cropp (1997) 27-9, though Most (2000) 352n.15 argues against this reading.

[74]Unlike Apollo who, Orestes suggests, is the reason that he is perishing (711-15).

[75]Cf. 784, 1083-4, 1399.

which the goddess abhors is polluted- the taint of murder, childbirth, or corpse, all long-since regarded as unclean in Greek religion[76]. But the blood of sacrificial victims comes from offerings which have been purified for slaughter and are clean. This very dichotomy will soon be exploited by Iphigenia when she alleges to Thoas that she must purify Orestes and Pylades from the stain of matricide before they can be consecrated. Pollution by touch is also exploited through the report that the statue has been tainted by the hands of the two men and must also be purified. Furthermore, the apparent contradiction in Artemis' practices, objected to by Iphigenia, is in fact very much in keeping with her persona in Greek religion. It is difficult to capture the essence of the goddess Artemis, but much work has been done on examining the fluidity of her attributes and their apparent paradoxes. She is simultaneously protector and destroyer of young creatures[77], patron of the unmarried but also of childbirth[78], and is associated with fertility[79] and liminal landscapes such as mountains and water, both still and running[80]. So we see that contradiction is part of Artemis' religious character. We also note that the Taurian cult is not the only barbaric rite associated with this deity. There are several uncivilized rites ascribed to Artemis' various cults, and stories of violent punishment of any who provoke her anger[81]. In this respect she resembles Dionysus, who is also the only other god to be traditionally accompanied by a band of initiates[82]. It

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[76]See Parker (1983) 32-73 on the pollution of birth and death, and 104-43 on the pollution of murder.

[77]See Lloyd-Jones (1983) 88.

[78]As is attested in *IT*: her servants are virgins, but she is also known as Artemis *Lochia* 'birth-bringer' (1097).

[79]Artemis' association with fertility is reflected in her demand on Agamemnon as retold in this play, cf. n.41, above.

[80]See Burkert (1985) 149-52 and Cole (1998) for a general overview of Artemis' characteristics, Farnell (1896) ii, 427-8 on associations with still and running water, Vernant (1998) 11-30 on otherness and liminality, Marinatos (2000) *passim* on evolution from *potnia theron* and links with the warrior.

[81]Apart from the bloody Taurian cult, worship of Artemis Orthia in Sparta involved flagellation of young male initiates (drawing blood). At the festival of Artemis Laphria, animals were thrown alive on the sacrificial pyre and forced back on if they tried to escape (Paus. 7.18.11-13). Sourvinou-Inwood (1996) 183 calls Artemis a 'death-bringing deity' and Vernant (1998) 109n.5 remarks 'Parce qu'elle frappe brusquement, sans qu'on s'y attende, et qu'elle tue d'un coup, le trait qu'ajuste Artémis est une "douce flèche", la mort qu'elle envoie "une tendre mort".' Vernant refers us to *Od.* 5.123, 11.172-3, 18.202, 20.60, 80.

Myths recounting the violent wrath of Artemis when slighted include the story of Actaeon who is torn limb from limb by his own hounds after offending Artemis because, according to E. *Ba.* 339-40, he boasted that he was a better huntsman (other versions of his offence are found in Stesich. fr. 236, where he was Zeus' rival with Semele, or in Diod. Sic. 4.81.4 where he wished to marry Artemis, or in Ovid *Met.* 3.138ff. where he surprised Artemis bathing). Another prominent myth illustrating the goddess' violent anger is that of Callisto, one of Artemis' nymphs, whom she turned into a bear (Hes. fr. 163) after Callisto lost her virginity, having been ravished by Zeus; on Artemis and her associations with bears and the ritual of the *arkteia* at Brauron, see ch. 6.2 above. Together with Apollo, Artemis kills the children of Niobe after the latter had boasted about the great number of her children (*Il.* 24.604ff.). Having been assaulted by the hunter Orion, she slays him (*Od.* 5.121-4; cf. 11.572-5). According to Pindar *Pyth.* 4.90, Tityos was killed by Artemis for manhandling her mother Leto. See also Cole (1998) 30-32 on the anger of Artemis.

[82]On the relationship between Artemis and Dionysus, see Brulé (1987) 287-335, esp. 314-5.

seems that we must conclude that Iphigenia is deceived in her statement. Artemis *does*, in fact, delight in the *nomoi* (35) of human sacrifice. This is confirmed in the *exodos* of the tragedy. Athena gives Orestes orders to establish a new cult to Artemis at Halai, and says 1458-61 *νόμον τε θὲς τόνδ'· ὅταν ἑορτάζῃ λεώς,...ἐπισχέτω ξίφος| δέρῃ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς αἷμά τ' ἐξανιέτω| ὁσίας ἕκατι θεά θ' ὅπως τιμὰς ἔχῃ*. The fact that the shedding of blood in Greece is described as a *nomos* associates this ritual most strongly with its more barbaric counterpart which was previously called a *nomos* in the Taurian community. Furthermore, the use of the terms *δέρη* and *ξίφος* reminds us of Iphigenia whose father put his sword (*φάσγανον*) to *her δέρα* (854). Like the term *nomos* and its previous use, *δέρη* also reminds us of a context of extreme violence, and the parallel is intensified here by the fact that the words for 'sword' and 'throat' hold exactly the same line position in each case. Athena's prescription reveals that the shedding of blood is a necessary and pious element in the cult of Artemis, and that the goddess will not be satisfied by mortal worship unless blood-letting is part of the ritual in her honour. Although death will be averted in the new cult, Euripides is careful to show that the barbaric element of the cult does not (perhaps cannot) disappear altogether[83]. When Athena explains to Orestes that this should be established 'as a penalty for your slaughter', it implies that Artemis *did* in fact demand the sacrifice of Orestes in her Taurian cult, but is willing to accept this less barbaric substitute as compensation for his escape from sacrificial death.

Within the immediate context of Iphigenia's statement at 381-90, the story of Tantalus also consolidates this conclusion. After Iphigenia has proclaimed her trust in specific gods- Artemis and her parents Zeus and Leto, she simultaneously broadens and personalizes the spectrum of her proclamation. She doesn't believe that the 'gods' (in general) *delighted in* her forefather Tantalus' feast, that is the human flesh of his own son, slaughtered by his own hands. And furthermore, she doesn't believe that any deity is bad. But the echo back to her original description in the prologue speech of Artemis *delighting in* the cult of human sacrifice (35) is unmistakable. And the story of Tantalus, though not irrelevant, comes as a sharp break from the thread of the argument: how can Artemis be responsible for human sacrifice?- I don't believe the gods delighted in the feast prepared by Tantalus- the Taurians must be responsible for the cult since deities cannot be bad. In contrast to her blaming the Taurians for Artemis' barbarous cult, Iphigenia offers no

[83]Goff (1999) 122 and Wolff (1992) 329 and n.60 have noted the continuance of violence and bloodshed involved in the drawing of blood prescribed for Halai. However, they are in the minority, with most scholars interpreting the new cult as 'superior [and] civilized' (Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 231). It cannot be denied that the cult at Halai will be *less* barbaric, but it will still retain a strong association with human sacrifice and will continue to shed human blood, if only symbolically.

explanation for the story of Tantalus. The verbal echo of *delighting in* thus serves to remind the audience that Iphigenia had previously ascribed the cult unequivocally to the goddess[84]. This undermines the confidence of Iphigenia's statement and highlights her confusion. I believe, with Sansone, that the version of the myth which Iphigenia has in mind, when she speaks of the feast prepared by Tantalus, is that in which the gods realised that the meal was miasmic, and only Demeter, who was stricken with extreme grief over the loss of her daughter Kore, was so distracted that she ate a piece of flesh. The gods are collectively horrified by this crime. Pelops is brought back to life and given an ivory shoulder to replace the mouthful eaten by Demeter[85], and Tantalus himself is punished with eternal torment[86]. Human sacrifice is a very real issue in this play, and there is no reason to infer from the text that Iphigenia does not believe that Pelops was killed by his father, just as she was by hers. Iphigenia says that she does not believe the gods delighted in the meal of human flesh. The turn of phrase used by Iphigenia suggests that she does not doubt the human crime, rather she cannot believe in divine error. This seems to be confirmed in the next two lines when she blames the local human bloodthirstiness for the murderous cult of Artemis. Furthermore, the matter-of-fact acceptance of family crimes by the siblings can be observed

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[84]The story of Tantalus also stresses the contrast between divine time and human time. Divine time is endless in contrast to the ephemeral nature of human existence. Here the gods are presented as having failed to learn through time. Compare Aeschylus in whom time *ekdidaskei* (and see De Romilly (1968) 60ff.), in contrast to time as presented in Euripides which is linked to the versatility of time, not the justice that time produces (see De Romilly (1968) 116). Iphigenia does not believe that they 'delighted in' the miasmic meal, yet Artemis is presented by Iphigenia as 'delighting in' the rite of human sacrifice. This is the crux of Iphigenia's dilemma in rationalizing the actions of the gods.

[85]Note the influence of this myth on the cult of Pelops at Olympia, where a larger-than-life shoulder blade was on display (Paus. 5.13.4-6 and see Burkert (1983) 99n.30 for other sources); for a discussion of this in the context of aetiology, see Nagy's excellent analysis (1994) 126ff.

[86]Our sources for this version of the myth are mostly late, apart from Bacchyl. fr. 42. Others include schol. on Pin. *Ol.* 1.40; Apollod. *Epit.* 2.3; Hyginus *Fab.* 83, but note with Slater (1989) 497, that 'Pindar knows of a myth in which Pelops is chopped limb from limb into the boiling water of a cauldron; he knows of a myth whereby Pelops is taken from a cauldron with an ivory shoulder'.

In the first Olympian Ode, Pindar refuses to believe that Tantalus served up Pelops's flesh to the gods, and says that he cannot call any of the blessed gods a γαστρίμαργον (*Ol.*1.52-3). He retells the myth saying that Pelops was abducted by Poseidon and taken to Olympus (on Pindar's version of the myth, see Nagy (1994) 116-135); however, Sansone (1975) 288-90 argues convincingly against reading *IT* 380-91as corroborating Pindar's version, since there is an important parallel between Pelops and Iphigenia, who are both slaughtered at the hands of their father and saved from death by the gods, and this is too strong to ignore. O'Brien (1988) 105 n.19 rejects Sansone's analysis and reads 386-8 'as saying, with Pindar, that there was no cannibal feast from which Pelops was rescued. The relevant part of his legend is the marriage contest'. I agree with O'Brien that marriage is thematically important in the play, but 386-8 is Tantalus' legend as it is presented rather than Pelops'. The story is about Tantalus' relationship with the gods, and only by implication about Pelops, who is not actually named here. Cropp (2000) *ad loc* understands that the feast occurred, but that Tantalus did not serve Pelops' flesh. But it seems to me, that it is incredibly difficult to separate one from the other. A further suggestive piece of text for the rejection of Pindar's version is *IT* 1415 where the Messenger reports that σεμνὸς Ποσειδῶν, Πελοπίδαις ἐναντίος, for in Pindar, Pelops is a favourite of Poseidon (note that here (1414) as in the prologue to *Tro.* Poseidon is on the side of the Trojans rather than that of the Greeks as in the *Iliad*).

throughout the play[87]. The myth of Tantalus serves in this instance to consolidate the implication that while Iphigenia claims not to believe ill of the gods, divine arbitrariness and fallibility are in fact very real. This is an important message in the play as a whole, and part of what makes it serious and disturbing. Although the protagonists escape physical death through divine intervention at the end of the tragedy, their whole lives are shown to be spent as puppets acting only when and how the whims of anthropomorphic gods allow them. Iphigenia's life was taken for Artemis and she has spent and will spend the rest of her days in Artemis' service. Orestes has been driven to matricide by Apollo, and subsequently hounded by the Furies around the world (though tried and acquitted by Athena on the Areopagus), until he establishes a cult to Artemis at Halai. Both siblings are oppressed by the force of Poseidon when they are trying to escape in their ship, and their future can only be resolved by Athena, a deity much less connected to the protagonists than their respective patrons Artemis and Apollo. Iphigenia has good reason to question the motives of the gods, but the grim reality of this play shows that it is ultimately futile. The answer to Iphigenia's basic question 'how can the gods really take part in abhorrent rituals?' is that they just do, and the theological message of the play implies that our lives are beyond our control.

Like Iphigenia, Orestes also expresses doubts about his patron. But while Iphigenia seeks to understand and rationalize the rituals in honour of Artemis, Orestes simply believes that Apollo has lied and lured him to his death. From the very outset, there is a tension in the conversations between Orestes and Pylades, with Orestes having lost his faith in Apollo, and Pylades defending the god (103-5)[88]. At one point, Orestes claims that Apollo has sent him on this mission *αἰδοῖ τῶν πάρος μαντευμάτων* (713)[89]. Orestes' lack of faith in his patron contributes to the negative characterization of Apollo, which never really disappears, since he fails to manifest himself in any way during the play[90]. Both siblings express doubts pertaining to their patrons, and both also speculate as to the motives of the gods in general[91]. The context for Iphigenia's speculation is human sacrifice, that of Orestes is

[87]See also ch. 3.3, 63-7 for discussion of the recognition scene which uses tokens exclusively connected to family crimes.

[88]See ch. 7.1, 181-2.

[89]The god Apollo is ashamed in human terms at the suffering he has caused Orestes; cf. *Ion* 367 where Creusa tells Ion that Apollo *αἰσχύνεται* 'is ashamed' at what he has done, and see Cairns (1993) 302 and n.135. Gods in tragedy, like humans are concerned about disapproval; cf. *Ion* 1557-8, where Athena tells us that Apollo does not want to incur blame, and *Hel.* 884-6 where Aphrodite does not want men to disapprove of her. These passages are also adduced by Cairns (1993) 302n.135.

[90]On the possibility that Apollo is the "voice" which booms out from within the ship at the moment of escape, see below, 150-2.

[91]This is not uncommon among Euripidean characters. The gods are unwise or unjust at *Andr.*1164-5, *El.* 971-2, 1245-6, *Her.*347, *Ion* 441-3, 1313, *Or.*417 (cf. *Hipp.* 120, *Pho.* 86). Mortals do not believe the stories told about the gods at *Her.*1340-6 (doesn't believe the gods have affairs), *Tro.*971-82 (Hecuba doesn't

dreams. He tells Iphigenia at 571-2 *οὐδ' οἱ σοφοί γε δαίμονες κεκλημένοι| πτηνῶν ὀνείρων εἰσὶν ἀψευδέστεροι.* The notion of gods as deceptive will then be consolidated by Orestes when he proclaims that Apollo himself has deceived him (711). Of course, the outcome of the play shows that neither dreams nor gods are in fact intrinsically deceptive, but humans do fail to understand them. Though both siblings express doubts as regards divine will, their doubts are very different. Orestes' general doubt of the gods reflects his complete lack of faith in the god Apollo, while Iphigenia is still very much a respectful servant of Artemis. Just as Iphigenia prays to the goddess for help on more than one occasion[92], we notice that Orestes has no inclination to appeal to Apollo.

The uncertainties about the gods, specifically Artemis and Apollo, which have been cultivated through the play, are confirmed by the figure of Athena as *dea ex machina*. Athena is not completely unconnected to the plot, and there are logical dramatic reasons for her appearance at the end of the play. As early as line 90, Orestes had explained that his mission was to bring the statue of Artemis 'to the land of the Athenians', and he also relates his experiences there (939-78). Thus it makes sense that the patron goddess of Athens should prescribe the cults to be established in Attica. Nevertheless, the absence of Artemis and Apollo is most apparent. It is never made clear whether or not they had a hand in helping their respective protegés at any point in the course of the drama.

There is, however, one final supernatural manifestation that we should discuss, which may perhaps imply the presence of Apollo. This occurs once more in the Messenger's speech. He describes how Orestes lifts his sister and the statue safely onto the ship, and then at 1385 *ναὸς δ'ἐκ μέσης ἐφθέγξατο| βοή τις*, which spurred the Greeks on. It seems from other parallels in tragedy, that this "voice" which speaks is not human. Certainly, it is strange that the Messenger, who has had no difficulty in identifying Iphigenia or Orestes as speakers up to this point in his narrative, should suddenly describe Orestes (who would be the most likely candidate for this utterance) as 'some voice'. There are three parallels for such a divine voice speaking out to the characters: *Andr.* 1147, *Ba.* 1078-9, and S. *OC* 1623-4[93]. In all these cases, the divine voice precipitates death for a protagonist. In *Andr.* the voice rouses the Delphians to kill Neoptolemus, in *Ba.* the voice instructs the maenads to punish Pentheus, in *OC* the voice leads Oedipus to his death. This is an important

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believe the goddesses took part in a beauty contest); see Lefkowitz (2003), Cropp (2000) *ad* 380-91, Yunis (1988) 144n.10, Mastronarde (1986).

[92]Iphigenia prays to Artemis at 1082-88, 1230-33, 1398-1402.

[93]These examples are noted by both Cropp (2000) *ad IT* 1386, and Sansone (2000) 170n.46. There is an especially strong correlation between *Ba.* 1078-90 and *OC* 1621-9 discussed by Dodds (1960) *ad loc.* He sees *OC* as having inspired Euripides but does not take into account previous Euripidean examples.

contrast to *IT* in which the voice seems to encourage salvation, but since both *Ba.* and *OC* were produced after *IT*, it is impossible to argue that the benevolence of the voice in *IT* would have been thought unusual[94].

In the first two parallels, the 'voice' is easily identifiable, while Sophocles is vague in referring only to a 'god'[95]. In *Andromache*, the voice comes from the shrine of Apollo and is assumed to be his own[96]. In the *Bacchae,* the voice must belong to Dionysus, and the Messenger himself acknowledges this (1079). In *IT*, however, it is much more difficult to identify the source of the voice[97]. The most obvious candidate is Apollo. The voice says ἔχομεν γὰρ ὥνπερ οὕνεκ' ἄξενον πόρον| Συμπληγάδων ἔσωθεν εἰσεπλεύσαμεν (1389-90) which implies involvement in the mission. But identification of the voice as Apollo's is far from certain, and such identification is undermined by Apollo's complete lack of overt involvement at any point in the play[98]. But whose voice could this be otherwise?

Sansone suggests an ingenious alternative[99]. We noted in ch. 3.2 (47) that Euripides may have been inspired by features of the Argonautic saga in his depiction of Orestes' katabatic-type voyage to the land of the Taurians. Sansone also sees connections between the two, in this instance through the actual ship used for the voyage. He reminds us that the Argo had a plank of Dodonian oak built into its hull which had the miraculous power of speech, and further notes that this was known to the tragedians[100]. Could it be that the miraculous voice which cries out from the centre of the ship is in fact part of the ship itself? This would certainly work in harmony with the voice's actual utterance, for the ship has indeed 'sailed through the Symplegades...'. There is nothing in the text that could confirm or deny the possible connection. But what is most important, is that Euripides has created a

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[94]Cropp (2000) *ad loc.* adduces Hdt. 8.37-9 which also involves an encouraging cry (from a temple) in a moment of crisis.

[95]We note also the contrast between the death in *OC,* which releases Oedipus from his sufferings, and the violent malevolent deaths of Pentheus and Neoptolemus in the other two plays; for an undefined divine force in Sophocles compare also the *OT*, where Oedipus is guided by *Tyche* (at e.g. *OT* 1080).

[96]Cf. *Andr.* 1161-5 and Stevens (1971) *ad loc.*.

[97]L punctuates 1384-5 in such a way as to make Artemis the divine figure behind the voice: 'and the sky-fallen statue of the daughter of Zeus spoke out from the middle of the ship'. But, as Cropp (2000) *ad loc* points out, this leaves βοή τις with no construction, and is thus clearly a mistake. Like the mistaken attribution by L of 1487-9 to Apollo, this highlights audience expectation of intervention by at least one of the sibling gods, and simultaneously emphasizes Euripides' refraining from introducing them.

[98]At 1128-31, the chorus sing that Phoebus will lead the fugitives safely to Athens. This could be used to argue that the voice is indeed Apollo's, but the chorus have also just said at 1126-7 that Pan will urge the oarsmen on, in which case Pan is more likely to be behind the voice. It seems to me, at least, that the choral optimism here regarding Apollo's guidance, serves to further undermine the god and highlight his complete lack of intervention.

[99]Sansone (2000) 170. His suggestion arises through his examination of plot motifs from *IT* which inspired Apollonius' *Argonautica*.

[100]Sansone (2000) 170n.47 quoting A. fr. 20 (Radt) ποῦ δ' ἐστὶν Ἀργοῦς ἱερὸν αὐδᾶεν ξύλον;

film of confusion through which we cannot grasp the real identity of the divine voice. It is certainly not Artemis, since the lines would make no sense if spoken by her, and we can never be sure whether or not the voice was Apollo's. Matters are left simply too vague. In this way Euripides continues to suggest that Apollo does not come to his protegé's aid. And there is a further point which may be adduced to suggest that the voice is not Apollo's. Immediately after the voice urges the sailors to row hard, the Messenger reports that they were pushed back by the waves and the winds at the mouth of the harbour (1391-5). We then learn that Poseidon was behind this attack (1415). The gods in tragedy can seek revenge on each other, but they do not collide with one another in the way that Apollo and Poseidon would here, if we interpret the voice as Apollo's[101].

Neither Apollo nor Artemis appears at the end of *IT*. Artemis' silence as regards Iphigenia can be contrasted with her appearance in *Hipp.* and her concern for Hippolytus, also her faithful servant, but by choice (in fact, the choice which leads to his death). Apollo's silence is also conspicuous in contrast to his appearance in *Orestes* and even his personal involvement in sending Athena at the end of *Ion*. It is Athena who resolves *IT* also, and as she states in the *exodos* (1469-70), this is the *second* time she has saved Orestes. Apollo fails Orestes at his trial in Athens, and both Apollo and Artemis fail the siblings at the end of *IT*. Athena's appearance in *IT* recalls the end of *Ion,* which takes place at the temple of Apollo, and her arrival in *Ion* (as in *IT*) is not inappropriate since she prescribes a future in Attica for the protagonists, but it is noteworthy that in *Ion* she *explains Apollo's absence* and states that she has been sent by him (*Ion* 1556-1559): δρόμῳ σπεύσασ' Ἀπόλλωνος πάρα,| ὃς ἐς μὲν ὄψιν σφῷν μολεῖν οὐκ ἠξίου,| μὴ τῶν πάροιθε μέμψις ἐς μέσον μόλῃ,| ἡμᾶς δὲ πέμπει τοὺς λόγους ὑμῖν φράσαι. In *IT*, however, there is no such explanation for the absence of the protagonists' divine patrons. This helps to consolidate the play's dark message concerning the gods, which suggests that they will continue to be unpredictable and often unfair. When Athena concludes her speech, neither Orestes nor Iphigenia respond. They cannot, since they are offstage, trying to escape. They only hear Athena's voice (1447). At the same time, however, their silence confirms human subordination to the gods and the compulsion to bow to fate. Simultaneously, by ruling out any response by Iphigenia and Orestes, Euripides leaves their reaction up to our imaginations, which have been conditioned by his characterizations in the play. As I have suggested throughout this thesis,

[101]For example, Artemis could not stop Aphrodite taking vengeance on Hippolytus in *Hipp.* because gods don't interfere with each other. She vows to get revenge on Aphrodite at the end of *Hipp.*, but even then, the revenge must be indirect. Artemis will kill the mortal most dear to Aphrodite (1420-22). Compare Gaia in *IT*, who gets revenge on Apollo for ousting her daughter from Delphi by sending humans prophetic dreams to override the Delphic oracle (1259-69). She does not attack Apollo himself directly.

we can only imagine the siblings' (particularly Iphigenia's) frustration at the newly prescribed fate.

### 6. 4 The Choes

Apart from the two aetiologies revealed in the *exodus*, there is a third *aition* related by Orestes immediately after the recognition scene. Having rejected the resolution of the *Eumenides*, Euripides introduces his own aetiological connection between Orestes and Athens, that of the *Choes* 'Pitcher' festival, celebrated on the second day of the *Anthesteria*. This was the most important day in the three day festival, which involved the consumption of the new year's wine, and it was preceded by the *Pithoigia* 'Opening of the wine casks', and followed by the days of the *Chytroi* 'Pots'. Having surveyed the evidence for this festival gathered by Burkert, Hamilton and Robertson, it strikes me that Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, produced in 425 BC, is our only source for the celebration of the *Choes* which predates Euripides' *IT*[102]. But the picture presented by Aristophanes is in a comic context and unsurprisingly very different and much more sympotic[103]. It involves a drinking competition and a major feast with garlands, prostitutes and dancing (*Ach.* 1000-1232; esp. 1085ff.). Therefore, how much of Orestes' description of practice during the *Choes* is Euripidean invention is very difficult to gauge[104]. However, one important feature of both accounts is the fact that all participants seem to have a vessel each from which they drink[105]. Also, the strong correlation between Orestes' account and later sources suggests that Euripides was drawing on some elements at least of established practice in his aetiology, for it would be strange indeed for later tradition to be based solely on a few lines from Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*[106]. Furthermore, the aetiology would lose its appeal were the

[102]Burkert (1983) 213-43, Hamilton (1992) *passim*, Robertson (1993) *passim*.

[103]Cf. *Ach.* 1142 *συμποτικὰ τὰ πράγματα* which Sommerstein (1980) aptly translates as 'it's party time'.

[104]Hamilton (1992) 24 berates Euripides saying that '[his] version fits poorly with the canonical version of Orestes' arrival in Athens given in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*' and thus tries to bolster his argument that Aristophanes' version of the *Choes* is more reliable than Euripides', saying that *IT* 947-960, 'obviously the key passage for interpreting the tone of the festival [is] quite at odds with Aristophanes' *Acharnians*'. But there is no reason why Euripides' version of events is required to tally with the earlier Aeschylean play. In fact, one of the challenges of composing tragedies was being able to exploit a stock set of myths in different ways. It is simply unacceptable to judge Aeschylus' version 'canonical' and Euripides' 'poor' because it introduces a different *aition*. Furthermore, it must be no surprise that the tone in *IT* is 'at odds with' *Acharnians*. One is a tragedy, and one is a comedy, and this difference in genre (which explains the difference in tone) remains unaddressed in Hamilton's discussion. Even in his attempt to dismiss Euripides' version of the *Choes*, he is forced to admit, 50, that 'the somberness of mood accords well with other sources'.

[105]Perhaps another feature common to both comic and tragic accounts is the notion that this drinking festival was open to everyone: women and children (A. *Ach.*1003), but also slaves, and in *IT* this is extended to the unclean.

[106]Cf. Nagy (1979) 279n.2 who offers the following insightful analysis of an *aition* 'in the sense of "a myth that *traditionally* motivates an institution such as ritual". [He stresses] "*traditionally*" because the myth may

audience not able to identify with the practices described. It is more probable that Euripides was drawing on alternative mythical tradition rather than entirely inventing the scenario[107].

Orestes describes what happened on his arrival in Athens (949-960) *οἳ δ' ἔσχον αἰδῶ, ξένια μονοτράπεζά μοι| παρέσχον*[108]*...σιγῇ δ' ἐτεκτήναντ' ἀπρόσφθεγκτόν μ', ὅπως| δαιτός τ' ὀναίμην πώματός τ' αὐτῶν δίχα,| ἐς δ' ἄγγος ἴσον ἅπασι Βακχίου| μέτρημα πληρώσαντες εἶχον ἡδονήν...ἤλγουν δὲ σιγῇ κἀδόκουν οὐκ εἰδέναι,| μέγα στενάζων οὕνεκ' ἦ μητρὸς φονεύς*[109]*.| κλύω δ' Ἀθηναίοισι τἀμὰ δυστυχῆ| τελετὴν γενέσθαι, κἄτι τὸν νόμον μένειν,| χοῆρες ἄγγος Παλλάδος τιμᾶν λεών*[110]. The fact that each person has an equal measure of wine in a vessel implies an individual *chous* which seems to derive, in this and later accounts, from the fear of pollution which is associated with this festival[111]. On this day, participants are extremely aware of pollution and avoid it at all costs. Later sources tell us that all temples were roped off on this day, with only the temple of Dionysus of the Marshes left open (indeed, this was the only day of the year on which it was open). It was also a day associated with ghosts and the belief that they roamed free during this day[112]. Associating Orestes with the *Choes* is appropriate on two important levels. Firstly, he is an easy symbol of horrific pollution, and

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be a tradition *parallel to* the ritual not *derivative from* it. Unless we have evidence otherwise, we cannot assume in any particular instance that an aetiological myth was an *untraditional* fabrication intended simply to explain a given ritual. The factor of *motivating* -as distinct from *explaining*- is itself a traditional function in religion, parallel to the traditional function of ritual. It is only when traditions of religion become obsolete that rituals may become so obscure as to invite explanations of a purely literary nature'; against this view, see Scullion (2000) who argues that Euripidean aetiology is largely invention, discussed n.66, above.

[107]It is impossible to say with any certainty whether or not Orestes' association with the *Choes* festival is Euripidean invention, but note the reference to Orestes at A. *Ach.*1167 in the contest of the wine festival. The chorus curse Antimachus wishing that (1165-8) *ἱππασίας βαδίζων,| εἶτα πατάξειέ τις αὐτοῦ μεθύων| τῆς κεφαλῆς Ὀρέστης| μαινόμενος*. Sommerstein (1980) *ad loc.*, using the evidence of the scholia, explains that Orestes is 'a man who waylays people at night and steals their clothes'. But surely the reference to Orestes *μαινόμενος* must also recall Agamemnon's son as well as a more recent bandit. Olsen (2002) *ad loc.* does note the connection to Orestes as 'the archetypal madman'.

[108]The sense of *aidos* 'shame' for the providing of hospitality here, in spite of Orestes' polluted state, is noteworthy. Cairns (1993) 290 remarks on this passage that the *aidos* of those who offer Orestes hospitality 'must spring from their own ideas of what is right and from their sympathy for the unfortunate'. The sympathy of the Athenians for Orestes thus guides the audience to sympathize with him also.

[109]In addition to the parallels drawn between Orestes and Odysseus in ch. 3.2, we note that here again, Orestes resembles Odysseus, this time in Phaiacia. At *Od.* 8. 83-95, Odysseus, welcomed by the Phaiacians but saddened by the tales sung by the royal bard sheds tears and covers his head in shame with a purple cloth. Whenever he stopped crying, he would take up a double-handled goblet and pour a libation. Only Alcinous notices that he is *βαρὺ δὲ στενάχοντος* (95).

[110]Although the festival is in honour of Dionysus, as signalled by *Βακχίου* (953), the mention of 'Pallas' is worth noting as one further point which ties Athena into the play.

[111]There is no mention of pollution in the *Acharnians*; the individual pitchers there seem to facilitate the drinking competition.

[112]Orestes is still pursued by the Erinyes in Athens. In this context it is interesting to note the concept of the Furies as souls of the dead, which in Greek thought presents a moral development from their primary chthonian nature; see Rohde (1966) 178-9. The *Kares* (Furies) are mentioned in various sources and have been commonly identified with souls or ghosts (see e.g. Bremmer (1983) 113-20; Robertson (1993) 203-5 dismisses this association, but see Burkert (1983) 226-30).

secondly he is pursued by his mother's Furies, which evokes the idea of the unrestful spirits of the dead being present in the world of the living on this day[113]. The *aition* is particularly appropriate to the context of the play, since it deals with the possiblilities of accepting pollution and barbarity and incorporating it into ritual. Exactly this procedure will be reflected in the final *aition* of the cult of Artemis Tauropolos for which Orestes himself is to be the founder. In this case also, the barbaric demands of Artemis are accepted and incorporated into ritual. The demand for blood will be fulfilled by a drop of blood shed as a symbol for a whole life.

### 6. 5 Sacrilegious Crime

The establishment of the cult at Halai necessarily involves the crime of *asebeia* (also *hierosylia*)[114], because the statue of Artemis must be stolen from the Tauric temple and brought to Greece. The majority of sources agree that this crime was punishable by death[115], yet *IT* presents it as the will of the gods. We learn at the end of the play that it is condoned by Athena, but up to this point, it is only Apollo who is mentioned as approving of, indeed prescribing, this deed. He is also the same god who prescribed the matricide, and to a large degree he is responsible for the sufferings of Orestes. The act of theft committed by the siblings and commanded by Apollo is intended to evoke fear, just as Iphigenia fears Artemis when she considers the theft (995-8; cf.1012-14).

When placed into its contemporary historical context, it seems that the perpetration of *asebeia* as an integral part of the plot was no arbitrary choice of crime on Euripides' part. Produced in 414[116], this play comes in the aftermath of the mutilation of the Hermae in

[113]A further aspect which suggests itself in connection with Orestes receiving hospitality in Athens is the dilemma of many contemporary leaders concerning the institution of *xenia*. As has been shown by Herman (1987) 1-9, the post-archaic age experiences many difficulties in distingushing between *xenia* and betrayal of the state (e.g. Pericles in 431 BC who converted his estates into public property to avoid the dilemma of fulfilling ties of *xenia* to his *xenos* who was king of Sparta; recounted in Thuc. 2.13). Here in *IT*, we have perhaps an analogous situation in that Orestes must be shunned as polluted, but simultaneously must be helped as a *xenos*; cf. Theseus' help to Heracles at the end of E. *Her.*

[114]Earliest Attic usage of this term is found in Aristophanes (*Wasps* 945 (produced 422 BC) and *Wealth* 30 (produced 388)) and Antiphon *On the Murder of Herodes* 10.3. The complexities of what the Greeks understood by the term *hierosylia* are discussed by Cohen (1983) 91-115 who concludes that it is impossible to distinguish between it and *asebeia*. Here I will use the term *asebeia* to describe a sacrilegious crime. There is never any doubt among the sources that theft of a sacred object from a temple counts as a serious sacrilegious crime, incurring a serious punishment; cf. Cohen (1991) 203-17.

[115]Xenophon *Mem.* 1.2.62, *Apol.* 25, Lycurgus *Against Leocrates* 65, Isocrates *Against Lochites* (20) 6, Demosthenes *Against Androtion* (22) 69; alternative punishments are found in Xenophon *Hell.* (1.7.22) which describes the penalty for *hierosylia* as being refused burial in Attica and having one's property confiscated, and Plato (*Rep.* 344b) says that such a person should be fined.

[116]The play was most likely produced in 414 or 413, either of which would work well with the impieties of 415; see Platnauer (1938) xiv-xv and Cropp (2000) 60-62.

Athens on the eve of the Sicilian expedition, which caused great public outcry and fuelled allegations against Alcibiades and his profanation of the sacred Eleusinian mysteries[117]. A certain Andocides (in his speech *On the Mysteries*) confessed to being part of the group which mutilated the Hermae. He gave the names of his associates, but insisted that he himself had not taken part in the mutilation. His associates were condemned to death, while he was pardoned and went into voluntary exile soon afterwards. Public agitation was appeased, but for Thucydides at least, it was never known for certain who the perpetrators were[118]. The public further pursued Alcibiades, one of the accused, who was also condemned to death, along with some of his family members, and had his property confiscated by the state. He managed to flee, however, and escaped death. Thucydides 6.53 explains how the Athenians took bad advice and ended up imprisoning good men in the frenzy to get to the bottom of the matter. Against this background of current contemporary awareness of impiety, it is striking that Euripides should show Apollo commanding such *asebeia*. Killing his mother as Apollo had ordered led to Orestes' misery and madness, and Euripides gives us no reason, at any point before the very end of the play, to suppose that this act will not merely lead to yet more wretchedness for the mortals.

Iphigenia turns the theft into a mock ritual, the alleged washing of the cult statue to cleanse it from pollution. This would probably have recalled the *Plynteria* for a contemporary audience, which was the annual washing of the cult statue of Athena Polias[119], and this in turn would have lessened the association of impiety with the abduction of the statue. So Iphigenia, the mortal, tries to alleviate the burden of crime through ritual. By contrast, the third stasimon gives us a picture of ruthless divinity willing to perpetrate terrible crimes, shameless by human standards, to secure a desired seat.

Such is the message we receive about the gods in *IT*. We are shown repeatedly in this play that the morals of humans do not apply to the gods. Artemis can demand bloody rites, Apollo can prescribe matricide and then leave his protegé to seemingly endless suffering, to the point that Orestes threatens suicide and loses faith in Apollo altogether. The siblings receive no divine aid while carrying out their escape until the last moment, in fact they are victimized by Poseidon. When the humans are finally saved from death, the overriding message of the third stasimon is confirmed. The gods do not really care for

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[117]The story is recounted in Thuc. 6.27ff.

[118]Thuc. 6.53.6-15, who clearly sees the aversion of panic as the main concern of the Athenians; on the question of Andocides' guilt, see Edwards (1995) 17-26, and in more detail, MacDowell (1962) 167-85.

[119]On the *Plynteria* see Parker (1983) 26-7 and Steiner (2001) 109-11.

humans. They are more concerned about receiving offerings and worship. By the end of the play, three new cults have been founded, an unprecedented number in any tragedy. Iphigenia had expressed her wish in her message to Orestes, to be brought back to Argos *πρὶν θανεῖν* (774). But the closing *aition* reveals that she will never go back to Argos but rather stay in Brauron, *where she will be buried when she dies* (1464). Thus we see how Iphigenia's wish is completely denied. As for Orestes, his greatest desire is to be purified from matricide and be rid of the Furies. But this is never explicitly addressed. Scholars have seen the mock purification as the final stage in Orestes' purification[120], but this is hardly divinely sanctioned. If anything, the mock purification is precisely that: *mock*, and there is no indication that an *actual* purificatory ritual takes place[121]. We noted above that the ritual set up in honour of Artemis 'in recompense for [Orestes'] slaughter' (1459) has a double implication (escape from slaughter to Artemis, or slaughter of Clytemnestra), but the immediate implication has to be 'escape from slaughter to Artemis' since the cult will be in her honour. Orestes is told to go to Halai, and Athena tells him *ἐνταῦθα τεύξας ναὸν ἱδρυσαι βρέτας,| ἐπώνυμον γῆς Ταυρικῆς πόνων τε σῶν,| οὓς ἐξεμόχθεις περιπολῶν καθ' Ἑλλάδα| οἴστροις Ἐρινύων* (1453-6). It is implied that this is the end of Orestes' suffering (Apollo said that his trials would be over if he stole the statue, 92), but it is never overtly expressed. Athena's words do not confirm that he will no longer be pursued by the Furies, nor that he has now been purified. We assume that his suffering is over, but the lack of any divine confirmation of this again suggests that the ending of this play is not unambiguously happy for Orestes[122].

'In Euripides the universe and man's soul are portrayed as fragmented and unstable, but one of the most characteristic achievements of Euripidean man is his power of analysis and his will to construct an order for himself, to impose intelligibility and often morality on the world he experiences. But this is also Euripidean man's most tragic achievement: we, the audience, should not be misled by a character's analytic skill, optimism, and general high-mindedness into accepting that the construct offered is adequate and that the faith professed is anything but futile, if in fact the drama as a whole points to inadequacy and futility'[123].

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[120]E.g. Burnett (1971) 63, Hartigan (1991) 89, Wolff (1992) 317 and following him Goff (1999) 113.

[121]When Burnett (1971) 63 asserts that 'Iphigenia has given the cult image and the two erstwhile victims a lustral Black Sea bath', she bases her statement on pure speculation. No doubt, Iphigenia is *pretending* to do conduct a purificatory ceremony for the benefit of the barbarians who are within earshot. But surely, the three Greeks are trying to get on board their ship at this time, not *actually* fulfilling purificatory rites.

[122]Tzanetou (2000), who analyses the *IT* in terms of ritual also notes 201, that 'Orestes' and Iphigenia's ....return and new identity are not commensurate with complete reintegration in the community'.

[123]Mastronarde (1986) 204.

This statement applies well to the portrayal of tensions between gods and mortals in *IT*. Iphigenia and Orestes rationalize and seek to explain the commands of the gods and their subsequent fates, but this ultimately fails because the gods are shown to live by their own standards, which are incompatible with human ideology. The human mistake is to judge the gods in human moralistic terms since they do not share such moral values. This is articulated by the divine prescriptions of sacrilegious crimes which win out over piety[124], and is emphasized by the fact that neither of the sibling patrons comes to the aid of their protegés. Athena alone comes to their assistance, but she is concerned with establishing cults in Attica, which will be under her jurisdiction, and shows no real awareness of or concern for the human cares of the siblings.

[124]Compare also how *Greek* impiety wins out over barbarian piety in *IT*, on which see 5.1 *passim*, esp. 107-9.

# 7. *Intertextuality*

The study of intertextuality in classical Greek tragedy has attracted comparatively little scholarly attention[1]. One reason must be the fact that, because all Greek tragedy draws on a stock of legendary myths[2], many of which are related in various forms in the Homeric epics, 'it follows', to quote Burian, 'that tragedy [i.e. the tragic plot] is not casually or occasionally intertextual, but always and inherently so'[3]. However, I would like to offer a refinement of this analysis by suggesting that a basic tragic myth can be seen as an 'architext', to use Genette's term[4], that is, the generic story-line, which does not in itself suggest conscious intertextual allusion on the part of the playwright. For example, the *Electra* plays of each of the three great tragedians are not intertextually linked simply because they deal with the same myth. The literary intertextuality must be apparent on a specific level, as is the case, for example in Euripides' Electra's parody of the Aeschylean recognition tokens. This means that, when looking for intertextual allusions, we must separate the basic plot from the literary references. Furthermore, because tragedy is a performance, we have the added dimension of visual intertextuality to which an audience can respond[5]. But to what degree did a classical audience respond to intertexts with previous plays? As Mossman notes 'The state of the audience's knowledge is as much at issue as the state of the author's in the criticism of drama; and of course it is even harder to recover because an audience is made up of individuals'[6]. The answer to the question of audience response to allusion must be, as Mossman argues, that some members picked up more intertexts than others, and hopefully most registered some, while the visual power of previous performances on the minds of the audience members cannot be underestimated[7].

In a sense, investigating the intertextual relationship between Euripides and Aeschylus is an obvious exercise. It is generally acknowledged that Euripides repeatedly

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[1] But see Garner (1990) *passim*, and Zeitlin (2003); cf. Easterling (1997a) 29 'It would certainly be wrong to imagine the plays functioning in a vacuum, sealed off from political and artistic interaction with other works'.

[2] With the exception of rare examples of historical tragedies, e.g. Aeschylus' *Persians* and Phrynichus' *Sack of Miletus*.

[3] Burian (1997) 179.

[4] Genette (1982) 7.

[5] The Roman literary tradition, by contrast to the Greek, has been much analyzed in terms of intertextuality. This may be because Latin literature is seen as more text-conscious than Greek. On the relationship between the Greek and Latin epics, see Nelis (2001). On intertextuality in Latin literature, see e.g. Edmunds (2001), Hinds (1998), Wills (1996), Conte (1986), Thomas (1986) and (1982), Morgan (1977), West and Woodman (1979); for further bibliography, see Rabau (2003) and Hinds (1998).

[6] Mossman (1999) 8.

[7] Mossman (1999) 9-10, quoting Taplin (1978) 162 on the impact of visual effects.

alludes to Aeschylean plays in his own works. Euripides was keenly interested in reading[8], and it is clear that he read Aeschylus meticulously, though certainly not exclusively[9]. However, the way in which Euripides uses Aeschylean material is quite specific: he consistently picks out what could be seen as logistical problems in Aeschylus' plays, and then offers a 'better' solution in his own[10]. Euripides is, in effect, producing a metatext, or commentary on particular Aeschylean passages. These 'better' solutions are not without irony, though. The best known example is the recognition scene in Euripides' *Electra,* which rationalizes the naive recognition tokens of Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*, and supplants them with the proof of a scar. Electra's rationalism, which caused her to mock the Aeschylean tokens, fails her, as the stranger *is* after all Orestes, and the tokens *do* indicate his presence[11]. There are more examples. From what we know of the lost *Philoctetes* plays[12], Euripides seems to challenge Aeschylus' version in which Odysseus (Philoctetes' enemy) comes to Lemnos unrecognized but undisguised. Euripides' version has Athena disguise Odysseus, which in itself is very Homeric, but also implies that Aeschylus' plot is not quite credible[13]. Euripides' *Hik.* 846-56, where it is stated that no one has the opportunity to observe details in battle, has generally been seen as a reaction to Aeschylus' *Seven* or *Eleusinians*[14]. Similarly in *Pho.*, Eteocles refuses to waste time by listing his

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[8]E. *Erechth.* fr. 369.6 has a chorus singing of the delights of reading in old age. Sommerstein (1996) *ad Frogs* 943, where Euripides is portrayed as bookish, comments on the aforementioned fragment explaining that 'Euripides' devotion to literary culture was so extreme (for his time)', that he could introduce such novel detail. Euripides' character at Ar. *Frogs* 943 explains that one of his sources for writing tragedies is books: see Dover (1993) 34-5.

[9]Aélion (1983) *passim* finds correspondences between Euripides and Aeschylus on the level of plot (see esp. vol. i, 145ff. for discussion of Orestes' fate after the matricide), but I can not agree with some of her conclusions concerning *IT* (see nn.81 and 121, below). However, Aeschylus is by no means the *only* poet alluded to in Euripides. He clearly uses much Homeric material, see Goldhill (1986) 161-7 (on Euripides' use of Homer in *IT* which contains katabatic echoes and draws on Odysseus' character in the portrayal of Orestes, see ch. 3.2, on the parallel between Achilles and Thoas, see ch. 5.1, 102-5). Euripidean plays also contain many references to other poets and indeed to philosophers; for poets see Garner (1990) 64-78, 90-7, 100-176; for philosophers see Goldhill (1986) 222-243, Conacher (1998), Allan (2000a) and Wright (2002) 159-226. Euripides' plays can be self-referential, with allusions to his own previously produced plays. This is particularly evident in the case of *Orestes*, discussed in this light by Zeitlin (2003). Furthermore, Euripides is not the only poet to read the work of his predecessors and contemporaries. Scodel (1999) 167-84 captures this idea well in her discussion of the tragedians as 'scrupulous readers'.

[10]Cf. Cropp (2000) 36 on *IT*: 'In extending and combining the myths of Iphigenia and Orestes, Euripides was building especially on Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, and improving on it'.

[11]Many scholars have wanted to delete this scene, but most modern scholars agree that it should be retained: see Bond (1974) *contra* Fraenkel (1950) App. D, and Goldhill (1986) 247ff., who explains that the 'interrelations between Euripides and Aeschylus' *Oresteia* are...extremely important to an understanding of *Electra*'. I am grateful to Judith Mossman for letting me read an unpublished paper on the *Electra* plays. She discusses the failure of Electra's rationalism in E. *El.* and further analyzes this as underlining divisions within the family.

[12]Our knowledge mostly rests on Dio of Prusa's *Oration* 52.

[13]Cf. E. *Phil.* fr. 790 (Nauck) which seems to be a direct response to A. *Phil.* fr. 249, commented upon by Aristotle at *Poetics* 1458b23.

[14]See Collard (1975) *ad loc*, though as he argues, it is not necessarily a 'disingenuous sneer' at Aeschylus.

champions in a moment of crisis, which is an obvious contrast to Aeschylus' Eteocles in *Seven*[15]. Scodel discusses these examples[16], and concludes that 'Euripides directs polemic against Aeschylus, while replacing Aeschylean material with openly Homeric local motivations.....Euripides defends Homer even as he criticizes Aeschylus'[17]. However, one need not see Euripides' deviance from Aeschylus while alluding to him as criticism. His attention to the details of Aeschylus' tragedies implies a large degree of respect for the works[18]. Indeed Euripides himself is not completely free from inconsistencies in plot, and he must also contend with the artificialities of the genre[19]. Similarly, Euripides does not always replace Aeschylean material with Homeric. In *IT*, sections which directly challenge Aeschylus' version cannot necessarily be traced back to a Homeric model. There is nonetheless a unique relationship and tension between the plays of the two tragedians, and it is no accident that Aeschylus and Euripides are the two poets who duel with words in Aristophanes' *Frogs*[20].

We have seen in ch.3.2 how Euripides draws on elements from Homer for his characterization of Orestes in particular[21]. This chapter will address the intertextuality between Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* and Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. I will show how Euripides exploits and reworks Aeschylus' trilogy in a way which cannot be ignored, and promotes his own version of events. The relationship between *IT* and the *Oresteia* is ideal for an investigation of intertextuality because there is no imitation of plot. That is, there is no real

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[15]Mastronarde (1994) *ad Pho.* 751-2 acknowledges the textual allusion and discusses scholarly opinion on its significance.

[16]But compare also E. fr. 506 from one of his *Melanippe* plays: 'Do you believe that wrongdoings leap up to the gods on wings, and then someone writes them down on the folds of Zeus' tablet, and that Zeus oversees it and dispenses justice for mortals? Not even the entire sky would suffice if Zeus were writing down the sins of men, nor would he be enough to examine them and send a punishment to each man. The fact is that Justice is somewhere here close by, if you want to see her'. This seems to be a direct response to A. fr. 281a. It is in quite a poor condition, but the general gist of the text is that Justice rewards the just and the unjust according to their deeds, writing the transgressions of the unjust on the tablet of Zeus and opening the record on the due day. Eur. fr. 506 may also be read in the context of *Eum.* where a divine figure similarly records the misdeeds of men 273-5 'For great Hades is the judge of mortals beneath the ground, and he sees all with his tablet-writing mind'; cf. Cropp et al. (1997) *ad* fr. 506.2.

[17]Scodel (1999) 175.

[18]Wolff (1992) 329 calls Euripidean references 'a passing tribute'. I certainly agree that they are a 'tribute', but the references are serious and not merely fleeting acknowledgement.

[19]Cf. Mastronarde (1994) *ad Pho.* 751-2 who compares *Medea, IT* and *Ion* where messenger-speeches are heard though the moment is pressing; Scodel (1999) 76 notes that 'Euripides as his career progresses seems less meticulous in motivating his introductory prologues, as if both he and his audience have with time grown accustomed to this convention'.

[20]The awkwardness of the passages mentioning Sophocles are discussed by Dover (1993) 7-9. It is suspected that he died while Aristophanes' play was far advanced. This may have caused Aristophanes some problems, but it is clear that a battle between Aeschylus and Euripides contains many more possibilities for comedy than any other combination.

[21]Cf. n.9 above.

correspondence on the level of plot[22], because *IT* is not a reworking of an established plot, in the way in which we could identify the Electra plays or the lost Philoctetes plays. The *IT* is clearly what Genette terms a 'hypertext', in the category of a 'proleptic continuation'[23], involving 'intramodal transformations'[24]. That is, it tells what happened after the *Oresteia*, but introduces its variations through the same dramatic mode. It may also be seen as a 'refutation' through which the 'hypotext' is declared untrue, and the hypertext presents itself as re-establishing the 'true story'[25], though the fluidity of myth in the dramatic mode means that such refutation is not necessarily a criticism. Here the 'hypotext' is the *Oresteia*, but the refutation is more specifically applicable to the outcome of the *Eumenides*, since the premise of *IT* rests on a rejection of the resolution of the *Oresteia*, with Orestes still being pursued by the Furies, in spite of his acquittal by Athena. I am by no means suggesting that the *Oresteia* is the only text which the *IT* alludes to, nor that *IT* is the only play to make significant use of the *Oresteia*[26]. However, the *Oresteia* is by far most prominently and consistently evoked in *IT*, and provides the strongest basis for examining a whole pattern of intertexts rather than isolated allusions. Such passing references will be noted briefly, but the main purpose of this section will be to focus on the wealth of intertexts between Euripides' *IT* and Aeschylus' *Oresteia*.

A moment should be spared here to define what I understand by intertextuality. There has been some debate among scholars as to the formal conventions of intertexts. What constitutes a definite and intentional reference to a previous work? How can we decide whether a common idiom is a specific allusion to another text, or simply an expression used with no extraneous intention? Although his book discusses Latin poetry, I have found Stephen Hinds' approach in *Allusion and Intertext* most useful. He argues against what he calls 'philological fundamentalism'[27] which seeks rigorous classifications such as Richard Thomas' distinction between 'reference' (he deems the term allusion 'too frivolous'[28]), and the 'accidental confluence' of language. Hinds characterizes such attitudes thus: 'As *palam* is to *clam*, so 'reference' is to 'allusion'[29], i.e. the 'philological

[22]The plots are only similar in so far as all fairy tales can be seen as one with regard to their structure, cf. p. 165.

[23]Genette (1982) 197-8.

[24]Genette (1982) 323.

[25]Genette (1982) 415.

[26]As well as the recognition scene of the *Electra* noted above, Euripides' *Orestes*, for example, also contains many allusions to the *Oresteia*. Coupled with references to Euripides' own tragedies, Zeitlin (2003) 314 describes this play as a '*palimpsestic* text'; cf. Genette (1982).

[27]Hinds (1998) 17-51.

[28]Thomas (1986) 172n.8.

[29]Hinds (1998) 22.

fundamentalist' will only acknowledge openly obvious references, mostly with the 'ideal of lexicographical certainty'[30] so as to be sure that the author intended such reference[31]. But as Hinds applies pressure to these principles by use of examples, he shows that 'not only does readerly control become increasingly problematic, but that basic presumption of authorial control becomes problematic too'[32]. As far as 'accidental confluences' are concerned, Hinds argues that 'the fact that language renders us always already acculturated guarantees that there is no such thing as a wholly non-negotiable confluence, no such thing as zero-interpretability'[33], and further argues for non-inert readings of 'topoi'[34]. Even in repetition, Hinds argues, there is '*always*...some alteration'[35]. Just as 'philological fundamentalism' is concerned with authorial intention, so what Hinds terms 'intertextualist fundamentalism' privileges the reader's or audience's reception too single-mindedly[36]. Thus Hinds blurs 'hard methodological edges'[37], since we can never actually *know* the author's real intention, and individual readers/ audience members will not necessarily pick up on the same cues.

I acknowledge Hinds' influence for my interpretations of allusions and intertexts while writing this chapter. I have not limited myself to the lexicographical ideal, but am perhaps philologically safe in doing so, since, as I am only dealing with two specific texts (the *Oresteia* and *IT*), the indirect allusions can be reinforced and supported by the direct verbal references. This approach is further encouraged by the 'classic' status of the *Oresteia* even in antiquity[38], which made it an easily identifiable hypotext for a contemporary audience. There is no doubt in my mind that Euripides *did* intend that the audience should recall the *Oresteia* during the performance of his *IT*, and I hope that, if nothing else, the amount of material discussed in this chapter will convince the present reader also. The cues which I have responded to are, of course, the ones which have presented themselves to me, and while I have tried to be openly sensitive to cues, I am sure that there are some I have missed. These must be left for the perceptions of another reader.

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[30]Hinds (1998) 28.

[31]So also Stinton (1990) 454 on Greek poetry 'my contention is that in so far as an allusion was dramatically important the poet made it readily understandable, obscure or oblique allusions being correspondingly of little or no importance for the understanding of the play as a play'.

[32]Hinds (1998) 25.

[33]Hinds (1998) 34.

[34]Hinds (1998) 41ff.

[35]Hinds (1998) 121.

[36]Hinds (1998) 48.

[37]Hinds (1998) 50.

[38]Cf. Goldhill (1992) 93, 96.

## 7. 1 The *Oresteia* and *IT*[39]

I am not the first to notice the strong connection between Aeschylus' *Oresteia* and Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*. However, no one has yet analyzed the significant intertexts between the plays in any systematic way. Caldwell sees *IT* as a tripartite structure corresponding to the three plays of the *Oresteia*. Although I certainly agree with him that there are significant correspondences and parallels between *IT* and the *Oresteia*, I am not at all convinced by Caldwell's overall argument. He gives a schematic representation of character correspondences between the *Oresteia* and *IT* as follows: first third of *IT*: Orestes = Agamemnon (*Ag.*), Iphigenia/ Artemis = Clytemnestra (*Ag.*). Second third of *IT*: Orestes = Orestes (*Cho.*), Iphigenia/Artemis (before recognition) = Clytemnestra (*Cho.*), Iphigenia/ Artemis (after recognition) = Electra, Thoas = Aegisthus (*Cho.*), then in the final part Caldwell sees the Aeschylean Erinyes corresponding to Iphigenia/ Artemis as females who wanted to kill, but have now become harmless[40].

This analysis is too rigid. An obvious problem is the identification of the Erinyes with Iphigenia/ Artemis. This transpires in Caldwell's explanation of a transformation (29) 'from females actively seeking to kill Orestes into benevolent partisans of his escape'. It is certainly true of the Aeschylean Erinyes, but Iphigenia does not 'actively seek' *Orestes*' death. In fact, as soon as she learns Orestes' identity, she wants to help him in spite of his matricide. Again, Thoas fails in his 'role' as Aegisthus, for although Orestes suggests killing Thoas, Iphigenia firmly opposes it. And since Thoas, who appears only in the final third of the play (a fact which Caldwell fails to mention), is meant to recall the Aegisthus of the *Cho.*, Caldwell's tripartite analysis of *IT* as *Ag.-Cho.-Eum.* is not as smooth as he would have us believe. Indeed, his article is peppered with misleading statements which force his desired structure on the reader[41].

In spite of these shortcomings, Caldwell has addressed an important issue. It seems to me, that his analysis ultimately fails, because he tries to explain plot structure in terms of intertextuality (though he does not use this term). He acknowledges that he 'look[s] for

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[39]Wherever I refer to 'Aeschylus' in this section, I refer to the relevant section(s) of his *Oresteia*, unless otherwise qualified.

[40]Caldwell (1974-5) 26-29.

[41]One example on p. 24 re *Cho.* 'a brother and sister engage in an involved recognition scene, they plan together to defeat their enemies, and they carry this plan to successful completion. The action of the middle section of the *IT* is precisely identical'. This is a gross generalization- in *Cho.* Orestes and Electra plan and perpetrate *the death of their mother* and her lover, who is also their kin. In *IT* Orestes and Iphigenia use deception to escape from a barbarian land to return home. This is hardly the same thing, but Caldwell glosses over the issue by speaking of 'enemies'. Caldwell's unfounded statements about the genre of this play are discussed in ch.1.

correspondences at the level of plot, theme, and character, rather than individual words and phrases' (24). However, the important work of Propp has shown that 'all fairy tales are of one type in regard to their structure'[42]. As I hope to show, the strong connection between the plays depends more on real textual allusions coupled with the way events are presented, than on mere generalities of plot structure. Furthermore, the allusions cannot be made to fit a strict pattern of chronology (e.g. that references to *Ag.* come only in the first part of *IT*).

Caldwell is not the only scholar to comment on Euripides' use of the *Oresteia* in *IT*[43]. Sansone argues most convincingly, in my view, that *IT* is a rejection of the theology of the *Oresteia*, particularly in relation to the Furies[44], and I will build on this conclusion in my discussion of the Furies. Garner comes the closest to investigating the real intertextuality between the plays. In the three pages of his book which deal with *IT*'s relationship to the *Oresteia*, he notes some tantalizing allusions, but the scope of his work does not allow him to examine this instance of intertextuality in much detail[45]. Furthermore, he is wrong to claim that 'as the threat of a grotesque variation of a family bloodbath disappears, the allusions to the *Oresteia* do as well'[46]. The allusions continue throughout the play, and in actual fact, Athena's closing speech makes *specific* reference to the outcome of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (1469-72). A further flaw in Garner's approach is that he does not attempt to explain in any satisfactory way, *why* Euripides (and indeed other poets) consciously alluded to their predecessors. He concludes pessimistically that 'the allusions do not suggest added levels of significance; if anything, they question the possibility of meaning'[47]. But surely, 'questioning the possibility of meaning' should not be so easily dismissed. This section will show how Euripides systematically creates meaning where Aeschylus could be seen as lacking it.

In spite of his short-sightedness, Garner is right to emphasize the opening of the play as rich in allusions to Aeschylus, though he notes only a few[48]. Euripides signals to us from the very beginning of *IT* that he is consciously engaging with Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. The question of Iphigenia's sacrifice is immediately addressed in her prologue speech. In

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[42] Propp (1968) 23.

[43] E.g. Verrall (1913) 188 on *IT*: '[Aeschylus'] grand remedy of seeking divine justice at Athens....*had failed*' (Verrall's italics). He notes some further general points of correlation 187ff. Burnett (1971) 71-2 sees *IT* as a satyric-type sequel to the *Eumenides*, but Sansone (1975) 292 is quite right to argue that 'the relationship....is a good deal more serious and significant than Burnett will allow'; he also questions Burnett's classification of the tragedy as virtually a satyr play, cf. Sansone (1978) and ch. 1, 4-5.

[44] Sansone (1975) 292.

[45] Garner (1990) esp. 170-2.

[46] Garner (1990) 171.

[47] Garner (1990) 176.

[48] These will be acknowledged individually when discussed.

*Agamemnon*, the reasons behind Iphigenia's slaughter are left extremely hazy. Why does Artemis demand the sacrifice? This is a question which still perplexes scholars today[49]. The opening of *IT* gives us a *specific reason* for Iphigenia's sacrifice (16-24): Agamemnon had promised to sacrifice to Artemis the finest thing that the year would bear, but neglects to, which causes her anger. Calchas then interprets that Iphigenia is the finest thing borne, and that she must be sacrificed to appease Artemis. Calchas is also the figure responsible for suggesting Iphigenia's sacrifice in *Agamemnon.* Euripides thus links the two accounts through Calchas' involvement but provides a much clearer explanation for the demand[50]. This is the first of several instances where Euripides addresses a 'problem' from the *Oresteia* and presents a clear 'solution'. He has also created a contrast between the two accounts through description of the winds. In *Ag.*, winds blow but they are contrary and stormy (191-204)[51]. In *IT*, the situation is explained as δεινῇ δ' ἀπλοίᾳ πνευμάτων τ' οὐ τυγχάνων (15), strongly suggesting a *lack* of winds rather than adverse wind[52]. By creating both a contrast and a parallel between the two accounts, Euripides sets up his version of events as both engaging with, yet also deviating from, the Aeschylean version. This deviation is presently confirmed. The prologue speech reveals that Iphigenia did not, in fact, die, contrary to events reported in *Agamemnon*, though in each account, she is lifted high above the sacrificial altar, a pathetic element which once more links the two stories (*Ag.* 231ff. cf. *IT* 26-7)[53]. Within this comparison, however, we have yet another deviation which is developed later in *IT*. Though in each case, the sacrificial victim resists, in *Ag.* Iphigenia is gagged, and compared to a goat, while Euripides' Iphigenia will explain how she pleaded for her life and as she was sacrificed like a calf (359ff.). Iphigenia's death in *Ag.* is presented as one of Clytemnestra's motives for murdering her husband. Although all mythical characters believe Iphigenia to have died, if she did not really die, Euripides makes Iphigenia's death redundant as a motive for the Aeschylean Clytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon. Iphigenia's escape is Euripides' first *rejection* of mythic events as developed in Aeschylus[54].

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[49]See esp. Lloyd-Jones (1983).

[50]Compare also Calchas' responsibility in *IA*, and again the lack of a specific divine reason for Iphigenia's sacrifice (89-93). In *IA*, Calchas and Odysseus are presented as the evil schemers behind the demand.

[51]Fraenkel (1950) translates 'gales' and 'sore storm'.

[52]Cf. also *IT* 7-8 which states that Aulis is *usually* breezy, but, it is implied, not now; in *IA* the troops are also delayed at Aulis by ἀπλοίᾳ (88).

[53]Note the possible parallel between the image of the *agalma* of Artemis, conflated with Iphigenia, and Iphigenia as the *agalma* of the house in *Agamemnon* (208); see ch. 6.1, 138.

[54]Cf. Zeitlin (2003) 312 on *El.* and *IT* '[Euripides] assumes the stance of a fascinated antagonist/ rival to Aeschylean solutions which he rejects, modifies, or alters'. On Sourvinou-Inwood's suggestion that Iphigenia escapes death in Aeschylus, see p. 134n.18.

At line 37 of the prologue speech, Iphigenia cuts short her account of the barbaric customs of the cult she serves by saying *τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ·*. This is a direct verbal echo of line 36 of the Watchman's prologue speech at the opening of *Agamemnon*[55]. If there was any doubt as to Euripides' engagement with Aeschylus, it must now disappear. Here we have an important marker, a direct reference to Aeschylus, just one line after its position in *Agamemnon*. The line position itself is suggestive. Euripides may be indicating 'I am writing a sequel to the *Oresteia*' by placing his line directly after the original position[56]. The well-known line is followed in *Ag.* by the famous metaphor of having an ox on the tongue, preventing divulgence of further information. In *IT,* it is followed by an expression of fear of the goddess Artemis, but then immediately Iphigenia continues to reveal the actualities of the cult, the very information about which she claimed she would be silent. This has led several scholars to excise some of these lines, and to move 37 to a different position[57]. However, there are two important reasons for retaining the passage as it stands[58]. The first, of primary relevance here, is the specific indication that *IT* has an integral relationship with the *Oresteia*. If the primary function of *τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ·* is to make the audience aware of this relationship from the outset, the fact that Iphigenia then disregards her statement of silence becomes secondary. But it also signals that Euripides is being *different.* Furthermore, it becomes a pattern in this play that characters say they will keep silent about something and subsequently reveal precisely what they claimed they would not[59]. Line 37 is thus deeply significant. Having presented an alternative to the myth known from Aeschylus, Euripides then confirms both his direct evocation of the *Oresteia*, and also his intention to produce something radically different, on both a mythological and intellectual level[60].

After revealing her office of slaughtering Greeks, Iphigenia then launches into a report of the dream she had that night. Like Clytemnestra in the *Choephoroi*, Iphigenia dreams of Orestes and terror in the house at Argos[61]. The two dreams are quite different,

[55]This allusion is noted by Garner (1990) 170. He comments 'Will Artemis...require her servant to kill her brother Orestes? The daughter would indeed be like the mother.' However, there are more significant implications in this intertext. It serves primarily to indicate the conscious reference to Aeschylus. Certainly, we fear for Orestes' death, but the effect of *τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ·* from the Watchman is very different from its utterance by Iphigenia. The Watchman hints at Clytemnestra's evil intentions, while Iphigenia laments her position.

[56]Many editors delete *Ag.* 7 (see Fraenkel (1950) *ad loc*). This would make line 36 of the play originally line 35. Whatever the status of line 7, however, *IT τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ·* (37) is still positioned just after the corresponding line in *Ag.*

[57]See Cropp (2000) *ad loc*- few editors actually delete 37 itself.

[58]Here I do not include 40-41, which I believe should be deleted as an explanatory interpolation; see p. 8n.8.

[59]This is apparent in the recognition sequence, cf. ch. 3.2, 58-9.

[60]On Euripides' intellectualism in this play, see Wright (2002) 159-226.

[61]Garner (1990) 171 comments that 'the circumstance and her response both seem contrived with special reference to Clytemnestra's dream and reaction at the opening of the *Choephoroi*', but offers no further

both in content and the way in which they are reported. However, they still deserve to be compared, particularly after clear reference to the *Oresteia*. Indeed, when examined, we find noteworthy points of correspondence. Iphigenia dreams that she is in the παρθενῶσι (45) in Argos and that χθονὸς δὲ νῶτα σεισθῆναι (46), and that the house falls as a result (48 πίτνοντα). Clytemnestra *is* γυναικείοισιν ἐν δώμασιν (*Cho.* 36-7) at Argos when she has her dream and is *herself* shaking on waking up (524 πεπαλμένη; cf. 535 ἐπτοημένη). Euripides thus reuses elements from Clytemnestra's dream in *Cho.* in an emblematic way. Iphigenia dreams that she is where Clytemnestra *actually* was when she dreamt[62], and while Clytemnestra *actually* shakes on waking from her dream, Iphigenia dreams that the same house, in which Clytemnestra was, is shaking. These elements of Iphigenia's dream reflect the reality of the situation surrounding Clytemnestra's dream. A further point of correspondence is that both women arrange for funerary libations as a result of their respective dreams. Iphigenia will pour libations for Orestes, whom she believes is dead, while Clytemnestra sends libations to Agamemnon's grave.

The actual language used to describe Iphigenia's dream in fact more strongly recalls Clytemnestra's speech to her returning husband in *Ag.* than the language used in *Cho.* Compare the following quotations. Clytemnestra addresses Agamemnon as follows (*Ag.* 898-9) ὑψηλῆς στέγης| στῦλον ποδήρη, μονογενὲς τέκνον πατρί. Iphigenia explains her dream *IT* 50-51 μόνος δ' ἐλείφθη στῦλος, ὡς ἔδοξέ μοι,| δόμων πατρῴων. She then interprets the pillar as Orestes 57 στῦλοι γὰρ οἴκων παῖδές εἰσιν ἄρσενες[63]. Aeschylus' use of this image is not completely appropriate, since Agamemnon is *not* the only child born to his father, nor yet the only son[64]. Euripides seems to address this by using such an uncommon metaphor to represent Orestes, and further explaining its validity in this context, in that the pillar of the house is the male child, and Orestes is indeed the *only* male child. Both passages also mention *stathmoi*, though not in exactly the same context. At *Ag.* 896 Agamemnon is

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analysis. Walde (2001) 170 sees Iphigenia's dream 'als Antwort auf und Fortsetzung der Träume ihrer Mutter Klytaimnestra'. I am not sure that one can analyze the dream in such specific terms. I certainly believe that there are strong correspondences between the two dreams. It is true that Iphigenia's dream reflects the fate of the house after her mother's dream in *Cho.* has been fulfilled, but that is because it reflects a different period of time. There is no interaction between the dreams with regard to their *content*, so we cannot understand Iphigenia's dream as being 'an answer to and continuation of' her mother's dream in a different play. Walde also compares the dream in *IT* to that in S. *El.* as a 'metacommentary' on events in the Atreid house (172-3). On the dream as a motif in *IT*, see also ch. 4.5, 87-9.

[62]There is a technical difference between the maidens' quarters and the women's quarters, but the correspondence is nonetheless striking.

[63]Garner (1990) 170 also notes that the word στῦλος connects the two passages. He makes the point that *IT* 50-7 is the 'only other occurrence of στῦλος in this metaphor in classical Greek'; cf. *Cho.* 505-7 where it is claimed that children are the fame that preserves a man once he is dead. Cf. also Devereux (1976) 283 who notes that 'the representation of a human being by a mere object (in dream) occurs only in *IT*'.

[64]Cf. Hdt. 5.48 where the term ἄπαις is used to mean 'without a son', Powell (1977) *s.v.* ἄπαις.

addressed as τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα. At *IT* 47-9, Iphigenia explains how the house fell down ἐξ ἄκρων σταθμῶν. This further serves to reinforce the intertext between the two passages.

Of course, Euripides creates one particularly important difference between the two dreams. Clytemnestra's is fulfilled as interpreted: Orestes becomes the snake which causes her harm. On the other hand Iphigenia's interpretation of her dream, which seems at first glance logical and correct, is immediately proven wrong to the audience by the appearance of Orestes whom Iphigenia now believes is dead[65]. The reason for Iphigenia's false interpretation of her dream is explained in the third stasimon[66]. Zeus ὑπὸ δ' ἀλαθοσύναν νυκτωπὸν ἐξείλεν βροτῶν (1279). The implication in the context of the play is that the dreams are not necessarily untrue, but mortals are unable to discern their truth. The contrast in success of dream interpretation between Aeschylus and Euripides is based on a further Euripidean deviation from his Aeschylean model, that is the way in which Apollo came into possession of the Delphic oracle. In *IT*, he does so by violence and unfair tactics, in contrast to the account which opens *Eum.*, according to which the seat was given to him. This reinforces the notion of conflict among the gods in *IT*, but it further portrays Apollo in a negative light[67]. It is effectively because of Apollo that Iphigenia misinterprets her dream and almost consecrates her brother, Orestes, to slaughter. The Orestes who appears to us in *IT* is still hounded by the Furies, but the prologue does not make any direct reference to his trial at Athens or to the role of Athena. For the moment, it seems that Euripides is presenting a completely alternative scenario for Orestes' purification. Only later, after the recognition scene, does it emerge that Orestes' fate is a direct epilogue to his trial at Athens, judged by Athena, where a faction of the Furies refused to accept the verdict and continue to hound him- which means, in effect, that Aeschylus' version has failed[68].

The recognition scene is perhaps the most important point of intertextuality between the plays. Euripides is well-known for his parodic rationalization of the recognition tokens

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[65]Walde (2001) 157 is right to take issue with scholars who find Iphigenia's dream 'false' rather than her interpretation.

[66]Of course, from a dramatic point of view, the tragic dream serves to create suspense, and those who receive dreams in tragedy are invariably unsuccessful in whatever way they choose to take apotropaic action, cf. Carey (1997) 73.

[67]See ch. 4.5 for further discussion of the third stasimon.

[68]Following the prologue, the *parodos* contains two points of allusion to the *parodos* of *Ag.*, also noted by Garner (1990) 171. The choral address to Iphigenia at *IT* 137 ἔμολον· τί νέον; τίνα φροντίδ' ἔχεις; recalls that of the chorus at *Ag.* 85 to Clytemnestra τί χρέος; τί νέον; τί δ' ἐπαισθομένη. Similarly, the description of the fleet sent to Troy as χιλιοναύτα at *IT* 141 must be an allusion to the same description at *Ag.* 45 (χιλιοναύταν). It is important that these are the only two examples of this adjective used in any surviving plays or fragments from both tragedians. The two textual allusions in the *parodos* of *IT* serve to reinforce the early message that Euripides is consciously referring to the *Oresteia*.

in *Choephoroi* which he develops in his earlier *Electra*[69]. Electra ridicules the idea that she and her brother would have identical hair and footprints (524ff), and crushes the notion that she could have woven him anything since she was so young when he left[70]. These exact three tokens were how brother and sister recognized each other in Aeschylus' version. In *IT*, the recognition is effected, not by physical tokens, but by reference to such tokens and by evidence of knowledge that they exist. No tokens appear on stage, nor is any physical attribute evoked (like Orestes' scar in E. *El.*; cf. also Agamemnon's ring as the proof in S. *El.*). The recognition proofs in *IT* are a piece of weaving (like Aeschylus), knowledge of an offering of lustral water sent by Clytemnestra (also a feature in Aeschylus), the cutting of a lock of hair (like Aeschylus), along with an ancestral spear (not in Aeschylus). However, Euripides uses the proofs in a strikingly different way.

The recognition proofs in *IT* are much more loaded and complicated than those presented in *Cho.* At every turn in this play, Euripides draws attention to the complexity of his version of the myth in contrast to Aeschylus'. The first proof offered in *IT* is the piece of weaving, the last token in Aeschylus. It both recalls and supplants its counterpart in the *Oresteia*. The woven cloth itself is a strong reminder of *Cho.*, but Euripides consolidates this connection by having Orestes explain that he knows of the cloth (811) *ἀκοῇ... Ἠλέκτρας*. This makes logical sense in that Orestes was a baby when Iphigenia left Argos, but mention of Electra here is also important for establishing the interplay with Aeschylus. In *Cho.*, Orestes produces a cloth woven by his sister Electra, saying 231-2 *ἰδοῦ δ' ὕφασμα τοῦτο, σῆς ἔργον χερός,| σπάθης τε πληγάς, ἠδὲ θήρειον γραφήν*. The woven cloth recalled in *IT* is also the work of the sister's hand and depicts at least one beast- the golden lamb. As we noted in ch. 3.3, this embroidered cloth is much more sinister than the one used in Aeschylus and its significance is more complicated. It is not just a question of a pretty pattern here, but a pictorial record of the family's sordid crimes. The depictions on Iphigenia's tapestry are descibed in significantly more detail than the general 'design of beasts' of Electra's in *Cho.* The exchange between Iphigenia and Orestes unfolds as follows (812-7): Ορ. *Ἀτρέως Θυέστου τ' οἶσθα γενομένην ἔριν;* Ιφ. *ἤκουσα· χρυσῆς ἀρνὸς ἣν νείκη πέρι.* Ορ. *ταῦτ' οὖν ὑφήνασ' οἶσθ' ἐν εὐπήνοις ὑφαῖς*[71]*;* Ιφ. *ὦ φίλτατ', ἐγγὺς τῶν ἐμῶν χρίμπτῃ φρενῶν.*

[69]The date of *Electra* is debated but Burkert (1990) makes a good case for production in 420.

[70]Mossman comments on the lack of weaving in E. *El.* in an unpublished paper. It results in the fact that 'there is no symbol of the brother/sister relationship because there has been no relationship, and Electra has had no opportunity to signal her feminine subordination to Orestes in this way'. Euripides overcomes the logistics of age difference in *IT* by having the piece of weaving recounted to Orestes by hearsay from Electra rather than it being actually woven for him.

[71]Caldwell (1975) 39-40 notes that *ὑφή* '(woven) cloth' is a rare word, occuring only once in Aeschylus, at *Ag.* 949, in the ominous context of Agamemnon's entrapment in walking on the draperies, and four times in Euripides, three of which are in *IT* (312, 814, 1465). The intertext is surely signifcant, but I cannot agree

Ορ. εἰκώ τ' ἐν ἱστοῖς ἡλίου μετάστασιν; Ιφ. ὕφηνα καὶ τόδ' εἶδος εὐμίτοις πλοκαῖς. We have discussed the implications of these revelations within the context of the play[72], but how do they affect the relationship with Aeschylus? By adding this extra dimension to the recognition proof, Euripides complicates the original and much more straightforward Aeschylean motif. At the same time, however, he engages directly with an important Aeschylean theme: ancestral crimes and the polluted house.

In the *Oresteia* the quarrel between Atreus and Thyestes is presented as the root of the family curse and the cycle of kindred killings, with Thyestes cursing the seed of Pleisthenes[73]. Pelops and Tantalus are only ever mentioned as forefathers, with no reference to any wrongdoings[74]. In *IT*, the quarrel over the golden lamb *seems* to be the root of family evils, as expressed in the *parodos* at 187-201. However, Euripides does remind us of family crimes right back to Tantalus and Pelops. Although Pelops is never explicitly condemned and Tantalus' crime is discounted as a fabrication by Iphigenia, the figures of Pelops and Tantalus are nevertheless a much stronger force than in the Aeschylean version. The opening lines continue to remind us of Pelops' marriage to Hippodameia (1-2) : ...ἐς Πῖσαν μολὼν| θοαῖσιν ἵπποις Οἰνομάου γαμεῖ κόρην. The mention of swift horses and marriage to Hippodameia cannot fail to recall Pelops' treacherous victory in the race to win his bride[75]. Similarly, the story that Tantalus served his son up as a meal for the gods, which is developed at 386ff., is described within a framework which suggests its authenticity[76]. It is thus implied, though not explicitly stated that the root of family crimes goes back further than Atreus and Thyestes. In the recognition scene, Euripides consolidates this implication. By altering the position of the Aeschylean token of weaving from being the final proof to being the first proof, Euripides implies that there is more to come. He delays with the second proof, which deals with Agamemnon's crime, but reveals with the third token that

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with Caldwell's analysis of this verbal echo as a positive image in *IT*, which he also uses to support his argument for a tripartite structure of *IT* reflecting the structure of the *Oresteia* (on the problems of this analysis, see p. 164, above). Rather, the image is ambivalent. The first instance of the term in *IT*, where Pylades uses his garments to shield Orestes, also suggests an image of death (see ch. 3.2, 54-5), and the ancestral crimes woven into the cloth described in the recognition scene are surely disturbing in spite of the fact that they help achieve recognition (see ch. 3.3, 63-5). The final reference to the woven garments of dead women which will be dedicated to Iphigenia is again much more disturbing and ironic than the positive 'final reward' which Caldwell suggests (see ch. 3.1, 40-3). Rather, while the intertext serves to emphasize the shift away from intra-familial entrapment, it simultaneously highlights Iphigenia's continued entrapment in the service of Artemis at the end of the play.

[72] See ch. 3.3, 63-7.

[73] This quarrel and the subsequent horrors are described in detail at *Ag.* 1217-22, and see esp. 1583-1602 for curse.

[74] Cf. *Ag.* 1469, 1600, *Cho.* 503, *Eum.* 703.

[75] Most versions of the story include dishonesty and deception on Pelops' part, see O'Brien (1988) 103.

[76] See discussion of this passage in ch. 6.3, 144-9.

family crimes can indeed be traced back before Atreus and Thyestes[77]. The final proof revolves around the ancestral spear which Pelops used to win Hippodameia. Thus, in this complex and suggestive way, Euripides uses the recognition scene to trace family crimes further into the past than Aeschylus had done, and to reinforce their inescapability.

The lustral water and the lock of hair, as the second set of recognition proofs in *IT*, are part of the evidence of Orestes being familiar with Iphigenia's abortive marriage. At *IT* 818, Orestes asks *καὶ λούτρ' ἐς Αὐλιν μητρὸς ἀδέξω πάρα;* In Aeschylus, the offering that Clytemnestra sends to Agamemnon's tomb, which precipitates the recognition scene, is also lustral water (*Cho.* 129 *...χέρνιβας*). *Loutra* and *chernibes* are not exactly the same. Both are used for purification, but *loutra* are used mostly of bathing, and *chernibes* of purification before sacrifice[78]. We should note, however, that in *IT*, the lustral waters used at Aulis are elsewhere always called *chernibes*, as are the lustral waters of consecration to slaughter in the Taurian land[79]. This is the only example of *loutra* used in *IT*, which emphasizes the contrast between the water of condemnation to sacrifice and the well-intentioned lustral waters sent by Clytemnestra for her daughter's marriage[80]. It seems ironic that Clytemnestra is the one who sends the benevolent *loutra*. In mythological time though, she was still a good mother and faithful wife, and Agamemnon is the villain at Aulis[81]. This is strongly emphasized in *IT* by the reference to *chernibes*, associated with slaughter, used in Iphigenia's sacrifice by her father Agamemnon at Aulis, just 43 lines (861) after the *loutra* associated with Clytemnestra, her mother. It is also noteworthy that in *Cho.*, Clytemnestra should send lustral water rather than wine or milk or some other offering to the dead[82]. By having the recollection of Clytemnestra sending *loutra* in his

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[77]The tokens are presented achronologically to frame the central evocation of Iphigenia's fictitious marriage with falsely heroic deeds of ancestors, and thus to reinforce the horror of the lure of marriage, see ch. 3.3, 66-7.

[78]In the *Oresteia*, *loutra* and cognates are used exclusively of Agamemnon's fateful bath: *Ag.* 1109 (with Fraenkel *ad loc* 'Clytemnestra herself attends her husband in the bath'), *Cho.* 491, 670, 1071, *Eum.* 461, 633. *Chernibes* is used ironically at *Ag.* 1037 before a human sacrifice (Agamemnon's murder) and always used of human sacrifice in *IT*- see n.79, below.

[79]*Chernibes* are used of the sacrifice at Aulis 861; for victims sacrificed in the Taurian land, cf. 58, 244, 335, 622, 643, 1190.

[80]*Loutra* can also be used of libations to the dead (cf. S. *El.* 84, 434, E. *Pho.* 1667). This helps to create the conflation of marriage and death in Iphigenia's fate at Aulis; on *loutra* as part of the *proteleia* for Iphigenia's marriage in *IA*, see Foley (1985) 72.

[81]I cannot agree with Aélion (1983) vol. ii, 337 who argues for a positive picture of Agamemnon in *IT*, claiming that he loves his daughter and that this love 'seems less selfish and less possessive than Clytemnestra's'. This statement is highly speculative and unsupported by the text. In support of her argument, Aélion uses the only line from *IT* where Iphigenia renounces anger at her father (565). But this represents Iphigenia's change of focus from past suffering to present concerns of re-establishing the house at Argos. It does not negate the detailed descriptions of Agamemnon's role in Iphigenia's sacrifice (esp. 359-71, 853-64) and certainly says nothing about Agamemnon's "love" for his daughter.

[82]The use of *chernibes* as a libation to the dead is highly unusual (cf. LSJ *s.v.* *χέρνιψ*). Compare Iphigenia,

recognition scene, Euripides creates a direct and important contrast to the *chernibes* of the Aeschylean recognition scene. Simultaneously, he also reminds us of the *loutra* used by Clytemnestra in the bath in which she killed her husband, which are mentioned frequently throughout the *Oresteia*[83].

The lock of hair, which is coupled with the lustral water in *IT* to form the proof of knowledge of events at Aulis, is again more complicated than its Aeschylean counterpart. In Aeschylus, the lock of hair is a simple symbol of mourning, appropriately placed on a father's grave. For Iphigenia, the lock of hair shed inappropriately *becomes* a symbol of mourning, where it should have been a symbol of marriage. She herself articulates this sentiment, *IT* 821 μνημεῖά γ' ἀντὶ σώματος τοὐμοῦ τάφῳ. Iphigenia sends her hair back to her mother (cf. 820 Ορ. τί γάρ; κόμας σὰς μητρὶ δοῦσα σῇ φέρειν;). The lock of hair is sent home to the mother, an ironic parallel to Orestes in *Cho.* who comes home and leaves a lock of hair for his father[84].

When the recognition is complete, Iphigenia and her brother exchange information about their respective lives. The final revelation in this exchange is Orestes' speech which chronicles his pursuit by the Furies after the matricide. It is here that Euripides reveals the full extent of his conscious response to Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. In this speech, Orestes divulges information which bases the whole premise of his role in *IT* as a direct consequence of the failure of the conclusion of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. Orestes explains 941-944 μεταδρομαῖς Ἐρινύων| ἠλαυνόμεσθα φυγάδες, †ἔνθεν μοι πόδα| ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας δή γ'†[85] ἔπεμψε Λοξίας,| δίκην παρασχεῖν ταῖς ἀνωνύμοις θεαῖς.- so far, the Aeschylean and Euripidean accounts tally completely. But in the very next line Euripides reveals that the court at Athens was established for Ares by Zeus. This disregards the Aeschylean aetiology of *Eumenides* (483-4) in which the Areopagus is created by Athena specifically to try Orestes' case of matricide, and established for all time to come. In *IT*, Orestes refers to the ὁσία ψῆφος in Athens ἣν Ἄρει ποτὲ| Ζεὺς εἵσατ' ἔκ του δὴ χερῶν μιάσματος (945-6). This

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who pours libations of milk, wine and honey (*IT* 159-66); cf. Helen who sends offerings of milk, wine and honey to Clytemnestra's grave in *Orestes*.

[83] See n.78, above.

[84] I cannot agree with Walde (2001) 171, who analyzes the hair which grows from the pillar in Iphigenia's dream as a recognition token comparable to the lock of hair in *Cho.* for the *lector litteratus*. The concept of *lector litteratus* is certainly fitting in terms of the intertextuality that I am arguing for, but Walde ignores the recollection of a lock of hair used *in the recognition scene* in *IT* which is a much stronger parallel for the token of the Aeschylean recognition scene. Furthermore, it is my view that the hair which grows from the pillar, and is anointed for slaughter in Iphigenia's dream, is a reflection of the scalps of victims which probably decorated the altar, which was part of the *skene*, as evidence of the gruesome practice of human sacrifice; see my argument in ch. 2.1, 12-13.

[85] See Cropp (2000) *ad* 942 on textual uncertainty.

effectively means that a homicide court was already long-established there when he comes to seek acquittal[86], and Euripides' *aition* also involves the gods in blood-guilt[87].

Where Euripides promotes an alternative version of the founding of the Areopagus, he then immediately introduces his own, more complicated aetiology involving Orestes. In *IT* Orestes is presented as being the reason for the foundation of the *Choes* (the second and most important day of the *Anthesteria* festival at Athens) in its contemporary form[88]. His pollution is said to have precipitated the custom of each person drinking from an individual *chous* (947-60)[89]. Euripides has thus added an extra episode to Orestes' search for purification from that found in Aeschylus. Furthermore, Euripides aligns his Orestes with the Aeschylean Furies, through having him shunned by society. Orestes explains how he was refused hospitality in Athens (*IT* 948) ὡς θεοῖς στυγούμενον. But, he says, some ξένια μονοτράπεζά μοι| παρέσχον...σιγῇ δ' ἐτεκτήναντ' ἀπρόσφθεγκτόν μ', ὅπως| δαιτός τ' ὀναίμην πώματός τ' αὐτῶν δίχα (949-52). This recalls the description of the Furies in *Eum.* who are rejected by the other gods (cf. 69-70, 185, 195, 365-7), and who explain 350-1 οὐδέ τις ἐστὶ| συνδαίτωρ μετάκοινος, and at 386, they are θεῶν διχοστατοῦντ'. In this way, Euripides adds an extra dimension to Orestes' suffering. He endures on a mortal level what the Furies have endured on a divine level in Aeschylus.

Orestes then reverts to Aeschylus' version by acknowledging the verdict of acquittal from the trial at Athens, and Athena's responsibility for it. At 965-7, Orestes explains how ἴσας δὲ μοι| ψήφους διηρίθμησε Παλλὰς ὠλένῃ| νικῶν δ'ἀπῆρα φόνια πειρατήρια. Later at 1469-72, the goddess Athena validates this statement herself, recalling ἐξέσωσα δὲ| καὶ πρίν

[86]Cf. *Or.* 494-503 which also implies that a homicide court is already in place.

[87]Cf. also E. *El.* 1258-63, where Castor explains that the Areopagus was set up to try Ares after he had killed Halirrhothius.

[88]This festival, its description in *IT* and the question of Euripidean innovation are discussed in ch. 6.4.

[89]I do believe that Euripides is very consciously alluding to the *Oresteia* throughout *IT*, and it may not be too far-fetched to read a deliberate play on words between the χοῆρες ἄγγος *choeres angos* ('vessel of the *chous*') which is honoured at this festival in Athens and the Χοηφοροι *Choephoroi* ('bearers of the *chous*'), the title of the second play in the Aeschylean trilogy, and the one with which the recognition scene in *IT* demands most comparison. It is true that we know little about how ancient plays received their titles, and whether or not these titles were important (it seems that they were not, at least not in the way in which titles of modern dramas can be important). Most plays seem to have titles either of a main character, or the identity of the chorus. In the case of *Choephoroi*, the title clearly refers to the chorus and their first scene of bringing offerings (poured from the *chous*) to Agamemnon's grave. Whatever the (un)importance of titles, the plays *did* have titles, if only as a way of distinguishing them, and this kind of pun would have been most appealing to Euripides, who very much revels in word-play (cf. the false etymology of Artemis Tauropolos at *IT* 1454-5, and the play on Thoas' name 32-3, and see Platnauer (1938) *ad loc* for more examples).

A further point to note is the fact that the *chous* of the Athenian festival and that of Aeschylus' play are different in function. The *chous* of the festival is used as a drinking vessel while that of the *Choephoroi* is used as a pouring vessel. However, it has recently been argued, by Wright (2002) 206-11, that one of Euripides' preoccupations in *IT* (and the other escape tragedies *Helen* and *Andromeda*) is with the philosophical question of the relationship between objects and their names. Wright shows that, in the escape tragedies, Euripides consistently exploits potential double meanings of words. This may also be applicable to a play on the double meaning of *chous*.

σ' 'Αρείοις ἐν πάγοις ψήφους ἴσας| κρίνασ', 'Ορέστα· καὶ νόμισμ' ἔσται τόδε,| νικᾶν ἰσήρεις ὅστις ἂν ψήφους λάβῃ[90]. Here we have another example of a real 'problem' in the *Oresteia* which is 'solved' by Euripides. Did the vote of Athena equalize the votes in favour of Orestes or give him a majority? It is possible that the stagecraft in the *Oresteia* made it clear exactly what Athena's vote symbolized. She will either have dropped a voting-pebble into an urn, or simply have proclaimed her "vote" metaphorically, indicating the establishment of this new system of justice, whereby a man who is awarded equal votes is acquitted. Seaford believes the latter[91]. However, the text of the *Oresteia* remains ambiguous, and continues to divide scholars[92]. By contrast, the *IT* provides a conclusive answer, validated first by Orestes, and then by Athena: Orestes was acquitted on the Areopagus *by equal votes*.

References to the Areopagus trial of Orestes also appeal to any reservations we may have had at the end of *Eumenides* as to how it is possible for a matricide to be acquitted. Euripides' response is most convincing, for he implements his rejection of the verdict through the Furies, the very entities who represent rejection of acquittal throughout the *Oresteia* until the very final section of *Eumenides*. Euripides even accepts that *part* of the Furies are won over by Athena and settle in Athens, but he leaves a contingent of malevolent ones, as Orestes explains (968-971) ὅσαι μὲν οὖν ἔζοντο πεισθεῖσαι δίκῃ| ψῆφον παρ' αὐτήν ἱερὸν ὡρίσαντ' ἔχειν· ὅσαι δ' 'Ερινύων οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν νόμῳ| δρόμοις ἀνιδρύτοισιν ἠλάστρουν μ' ἀεί [93]. The dissonance amongst the gods, which is such a dominant theme in the *Oresteia*, is thus perpetuated in *IT*, as a faction of the Furies continue to remain in conflict with the Olympians. This theme is reinforced in the third stasimon through the struggle over the Delphic seat between the chthonian powers of Earth and the serpent guardian, and the Olympian powers of Zeus and Apollo. In this way, Euripides challenges the resolution of divine conflict at the end of the *Oresteia* by implying that dissonance between chthonic and Olympian powers is more deeply rooted that Aeschylus' version will allow. Furthermore, Apollo's power as presented in this ode, both physically over the female chthonian deities and the snake, and mentally over Zeus, implies that, unlike his counterpart in Aeschylus, who must defer to Athena to solve the crisis which his command

[90]Euripides also refers to this establishment of equal votes resulting in acquittal in his *Electra*, 1265-69.

[91]Seaford (1995) argues, 210, that 'Athena votes not as a juror but as a deity and was no doubt imagined to ground with her vote the practice of equal votes..., as in Euripides' (here referring to *IT* and *El.*), *contra* Gagarin (1975) 123 and Sommerstein (1989) *ad Eum.* 711-53; cf. Boegehold (1989) on *IT* 965-6 who uses vase paintings to argue that Athena motions victory with an outstretched hand, but on the difficulty of using vases as evidence for performance, see Goldhill (1997) 337.

[92]Cf. also Winnington-Ingram (1983) 73-100.

[93]Note οὐκ ἐπείσθησαν νόμῳ could be interpreted either as 'those unpersuaded by the law' or as 'those who disobeyed the law'. The latter would imply a greater degree of hostility between the chthonic Furies and the laws set down by the Olympian gods, and refreshing a theme of importance in the *Oresteia*, suggesting that it did not really achieve resolution.

has produced, the Apollo of *IT* could well be able to release Orestes from the clutches of the Furies by some other means[94]. Through this interaction with Aeschylus, Euripides portrays Apollo as a cruel god, selfishly able to achieve his own ends, but ultimately unwilling to come to his protegé's aid.

Orestes continues to be plagued by the Furies in the land of the Taurians, and the report of his hallucinatory fit as described in the Messenger speech (281-319) reveals several significant points. Like the end of the *Cho.*, the Furies are visible only to Orestes at this moment in his pursuit. This is evident from *IT* 291-2 *...παρῆν δ' ὁρᾶνl οὐ ταῦτα μορφῆς σχήματ'* (cf. *Cho.* 1061). Yet, through his fit of madness, Orestes describes the Furies in terms remarkably reminiscent of their appearance in the *Oresteia*. Compare the following examples:

*IT* 285-7 (Orestes to Pylades re the Furies) *...τήνδε δ' οὐχ ὁρᾶις| Ἅιδου δράκαιναν ὥς με βούλεται κτανεῖν| δειναῖς ἐχίδναις εἰς ἔμ' ἐστομωμένη;*

*Eum.* 127-8 (Clytemnestra re the Furies) *ὕπνος πόνος τε κύριοι συνωμόταιl δεινῆς δρακαίνης ἐξεκήραναν μένος.*

*Cho.* 248-9 (Orestes re Clytemnestra, personified as a vengeful fury) *θανόντος ἐν πλεκταῖσι καὶ σπειράμασινl δεινῆς ἐχίδνης.*

*IT* 288 (Orestes to Pylades re Furies) *†ἥδ' ἐκ χιτώνων*[95]*† δὲ πῦρ πνέουσα καὶ φόνον*

*Eum.* 137-8 (Clytemnestra to the Furies) *σὺ δ' αἱματηρὸν πνεῦμ' ἐπουρίσασα τῷ,l ἀτμῷ κατισχναίνουσα, νηδύος πυρί* [96]

The Furies are generally depicted as serpents or serpent-like creatures in art, but the similarities in the descriptions of breathing fire and gore are nonetheless impressive[97]. We have been told that these are the same Furies who attended the trial at Athens, and it makes sense that they should be similar in appearance to Aeschylus' Furies. Yet, here again, Euripides adds a contradiction to the Aeschylean version: the Furies have wings (*IT* 289 *πτεροῖς*), a common feature in representations, but the Aeschylean Furies who hunt and

[94]In A. *Eum.* Apollo can only temporarily put the Furies to sleep, he cannot stop them from hounding Orestes, see Sommerstein (1989) *ad* 64-93. Yet in *IT* his power is such that he can singlehandedly slaughter a divine serpent-guardian as an infant and persuade Zeus to make Gaia's dreams redundant.

[95]Here I follow the manuscript reading with Cropp (2000), Sansone (1981), Platnauer (1938). Kovacs (1999) and Diggle (1981) follow Jackson reading *ἡ 'κ γειτόνων*; see Cropp (2000) *ad loc.*

[96]Cf. *Ag.* 1309 *φόνον δόμοι πνέουσιν αἱματοσταγῆ*; Garner (1990) 171 also notes the parallels between *IT* 287 and *Cho.* 249, *IT* 288 and *Eum.* 137-8.

[97]The snake is an important image throughout the *Oresteia* which symolizes the wrathful avenger. In *Ag.* Clytemnestra is called *ἀμφίσβαιναν* (1233). In *Cho.* she dreams that she gives birth to a snake (527 *τεκεῖν δράκοντ'...*) and Orestes affirms that he becomes this snake (549 *ἐκδρακοντωθεὶς δ' ἐγὼ*). When Clytemnestra and Aegisthus have been killed, they are called *δυοῖν δρακόντοιν* (1047), and in the final stage of the *Cho.*, the serpent image comes to represent the Furies who have snakes for hair (1049-50 *...πεπλεκτανημέναιl πυκνοῖς δράκουσιν·*). The Furies are then visible to all in *Eumenides* and are appeased, while Athena, the conciliator, wears her aegis, traditionally fringed with snakes (*Eum.* 404). The snake is thus one of a series of images which move from metaphorical expression in the first two plays to physical embodiment in the final tragedy, reinforcing positive resolution.

chase like bloodhounds, are distinctly called ἄπτεροί (*Eum.* 51, cf. 250 ἀπτέροις). Furthermore, rather than being a phantom which coaxes the Furies, Clytemnestra in *IT* is a πέτρινον ἄχθος which the Furies hold in their arms as if to hurl at Orestes (289-90 ...μητέρ' ἀγκάλαις ἐμὴν| ἔχουσα...ὡς ἐπεμβάλῃ). So while referring to Aeschylus with important intertexts, Euripides introduces variations to signal his innovation.

It is Athena who explains how Orestes may finally earn respite from his pursuit by the Furies, through the institution of the ritual of Artemis Tauropolos. Once again we have a parallel with Aeschylus- Athena, who has been so far unconnected with the plot, resolves the situation at the end of the play, and establishes a new cult[98]. It is striking in Euripides that neither Apollo nor Artemis appear *ex machina*, though they have been most concerned with the lives of the siblings[99]. Unlike the Aeschylean Apollo, Apollo in *IT* remains completely silent, in spite of Pylades' trust in him[100]. That the blood-letting prescribed by Athena in the *exodos* should appease the Furies, and earn Orestes' final escape from persecution, is not surprising. They demand blood for blood, and although the symbolic drops of blood to be drawn every year are not specifically in their honour, there is surely an association here between the bloody demands of Taurian Artemis and the bloodthirstiness of the Furies. Orestes is told to establish the new cult τῆς σῆς σφαγῆς ἄποιν' (1459). This phrase has a double implication. It could mean 'as a recompense to the goddess Artemis for your escape from slaughter'. Or, taking the text more literally, it means 'as atonement for your slaughter', i.e. 'your slaughter of your mother'. In this way both the conditions of Artemis and those of purification from murder, that is the cleansing of blood with blood (an important motif in both *IT* and the *Oresteia*)[101] are satisfied. Once again, Euripides resolves a concern we may have at the end of the *Oresteia*. If the Furies will only be appeased by blood, how can they be persuaded out of this by Athena? We accept that they must be persuaded for the sake of ending the cycle of violence, and we accept Athena's divine powers of persuasion. But here Euripides makes a different suggestion: the Furies can be

[98]It is true that there are many examples of *exodoi* in which a deity seemingly unconnected to proceedings appears and resolves the action, particularly in Euripides. However, in light of numerous allusions to Aeschylus in *IT,* this parallel is important both for reinforcing intertextuality, and for highlighting the difference in resolution.

[99]On the dvine failure of the sibling gods to appear, see ch. 6.3, 150-2.

[100]See 181-2 below, on Pylades. It is worth noting that the only net imagery in *IT* (so prominently associated with avengers trapping their victims in Aeschylus) is associated with Apollo at *IT* 77-8. Here, Orestes in despair asks Apollo what net he has now led him into after so many previous trials. This contributes to the negative portrayal of the god- cf. ch. 4.5. Apollo's guilt is strongly developed in the later *Orestes*: cf. *Or.* 27-9, 162-5, 285, 394, 416-7, 596. In that play, however, Apollo *does* appear *ex machina* to resolve the action.

[101]Compare *Cho.* 312-3 ἀντὶ δὲ πληγῆς φονίας φονίαν| πληγὴν τινέτω (cf. *Cho.* 66-7, 400-2, and *Ag.* 1430, *Cho.* 309f.), and *IT* 1223-4 φόνῳ φόνον| μυσαρὸν ἐκνίψω; cf. 197 †φόνος ἐπὶ φόνῳ†); Burkert (1992) 186 n.8 notes that φόνῳ φόνον is a formula used also in S. *OT* 100, E. *Her.* 40, *Or.* 570, 816.

appeased by a symbolic blood-letting, a drop of blood rather than the blood of a whole body. Blood is therefore still cleansed with blood as required by the Furies, but the cycle of vengeance also ends. We have a further rejection of Aeschylus, this time of his theology, and the idea that the Furies can change and be appeased with anything but blood.

Note also how Euripides develops gender issues, which are so pervasive in the *Oresteia*. He strongly defines the different cults of male and female in his resolution. Blood is to be drawn at every festival in Halai *πρὸς ἀνδρὸς*, and with a man's weapon- the sword (*ξίφος*). By contrast, the cult in which Iphigenia will serve is firmly set in the female sphere, involving dedications of women who die in childbirth. We saw in ch. 5.2 how Euripides is able to explore gender relations in a new way in *IT*, through Iphigenia's position of authority as priestess, but the polarity between male and female is ultimately reinforced through traditional gender roles, as in Aeschylus. This is foreshadowed in the realm of the gods by the triumph of Apollo over Gaia and Themis in the third stasimon. Unlike Aeschylus, however, the polarity in Euripides is simultaneously challenged by the implication that the role of each sex is equally valid, and male cannot assume dominance over female. The turning point in the re-affirmation of traditional gender roles is a direct allusion to the *Oresteia*. Orestes asks Iphigenia at 621 *αὐτὴ ξίφει θύουσα θῆλυς ἄρσενας;* Iphigenia's response is firm: *οὔκ*. The anomaly of female killing male is remarked upon by the chorus at *Ag.* 1231, where they describe Clytemnestra in horror as *θῆλυς ἄρσενος φονεύς·* (cf. *ξίφει Ag.* 1351 and 1529[102]). This is now overturned in *IT* as it is made clear that Iphigenia does not physically kill the sacrificial victim.

Coupled with specific allusions to Aeschylean plot in *IT*, there are important echoes of central images and themes from the *Oresteia*. At *IT* 680 Pylades protests that he should not go free back to Argos as the people will believe that he killed Orestes *ἐπὶ νοσοῦσι δώμασιν*. Orestes replies using this very argument, that Pylades *should* escape because 693-4 *...οὐ νοσοῦντ', ἔχεις|μέλαθρ'*. This reflects the image of *νόσος* in the *Oresteia*, which is incurred through crime and associated with the Furies[103]. The exchange between Orestes and Pylades in *IT* is especially significant in the light of *Ag.* 832-7. Here Agamemnon explains to his wife *παύροις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστι συγγενὲς τόδε,| φίλον τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ' ἄνευ φθόνων σέβειν.| δύσφρων γὰρ ἰὸς καρδίαν προσήμενος| ἄχθος διπλοίζει τῷ πεπαμένῳ νόσον·| τοῖς τ' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ πήμασιν βαρύνεται| καὶ τὸν θυραῖον ὄλβον εἰσορῶν στένει*. What we see in *IT* is

[102]On the potential ambiguity of the murder weapon in *Ag.*, see Fraenkel (1950) *ad* 1529 and Appendix B, and Sommerstein (1989a).

[103]Incurred through crime: cf. *Cho.* 69, 279-282; associated with the Furies: cf. *Eum.* 479 (and then 942). The image of disease in the *Oresteia* is developed in conjunction with metaphors of healing, health and cure.

exactly the opposite. Orestes does not begrudge Pylades his freedom from disease. The bond of friendship that exists between the two is too strong to allow this[104]. Envy is not Orestes' disease. His disease is his matricide, his madness[105], his house and the crimes of his ancestors. This reflects *Cho.* 69, where the guilty person is said to be subjected to παναρκέτας νόσου. Later at *Cho.* 279-82 Orestes reveals that, according to Apollo, he will be infected with horrific νόσους (279) if he does not avenge his father. This emphasizes Orestes' dilemma- he will be subjected to disease whether or not he kills his mother- but also highlights Orestes' personal affliction with disease. In *IT*, Euripides only mentions disease in connection with the house. By so doing, he focuses attention more on the crimes of the whole Tantalid progeny, rather than just on Orestes' matricide. This shift in emphasis is also evident in subsequent references to disease. At 930, after the recognition scene, Iphigenia asks about Menelaus' rule: οὔ που νοσοῦντας θεῖος ὕβρισεν δόμους;. A little later, at 992, she declares her wish to raise up again the νοσοῦντά τ' οἶκον. We can see that every mention of disease in the context of the Atreid family is made with specific reference to the *house*. Again, Euripides takes an Aeschylean image and alters it subtly to create his own meaning. He emphasizes the polluted state of the *house* and the necessity for its restoration (cf. *IT* 993 ὀρθῶσαι), but there is no corresponding metaphor of healing, as in Aeschylus, which finally gains supremacy in the conclusion of the *Eumenides*[106]. Although the cycle of violence is ended at the close of *IT*, and Orestes is released from his sufferings, no provision is made for the prosperity of the house, nor for the return of the siblings to Argos (unlike the Aeschylean Orestes who declares νῦν ἄπειμι πρὸς δόμους at *Eum.* 764). This fact plays an important part in the impact of the tragedy.

We touched briefly on blood and vengeance above, but there is more to be said. The setting of *IT* at the Taurian temple with the altar streaked with blood creates a powerful visual effect[107]. This echoes the *Oresteia*'s use of blood imagery and the colour red, though in a different way. In the *Oresteia*, the avengers are splattered with the blood of their victims, in *IT* it is the altar which is smeared with the blood of victims. This is important for deflecting responsibility from Iphigenia in her role as officiating priestess[108]. There is nonetheless a strong connection here because the altar is the place (72) Ἕλλην οὗ

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[104]On the bond of *philia* between Orestes and Pylades, later immortalized as a sacred friendship discussed in Lucian's *Toxaris*, see ch. 3.3, 61-2.

[105]On Orestes' madness, see ch. 3.2, 49-55.

[106]The Furies agree not to plague Athens with disease at *Eum.* 942; for development of this theme throughout the trilogy, see Sommerstein (1989) *ad Eum.* 503-7.

[107]See ch. 2 *passim* for an analysis of the *skene* and props.

[108]On Artemis being portrayed as responsible for the cult of human sacrifice, see ch. 5.1, 109-16.

καταστάζει φόνος. The image of dripping blood is found in several places in the *Oresteia*, both associated with the house and its curse, and with the Erinyes and their pursuit of Orestes[109]. By using this Oresteian image to describe the altar at which Orestes may be sacrificed, Euripides once again heightens the tension surrounding the possibility of the continuing cycle of kindred killings.

*IT* and the *Oresteia* abound with terms for blood and murder, but *IT* contains several allusions which, like the image of the dripping blood, recall specific images from the *Oresteia*. At *IT* 300, the Messenger describes how Orestes attacks the cattle ὥσθ' αἱματηρὸν πέλαγος ἐξανθεῖν ἁλός. It has been noted that this strongly recalls *Ag.* 659 where the Herald remembers ὁρῶμεν ἀνθοῦν πέλαγος Αἰγαῖον νεκροῖς[110]. In *IT* however, the pathos is not quite the same. Orestes is the object of pity as he unwittingly slaughters the cattle in an attempt to free himself from the onslaught of the Furies. But he is a single object of pity as the slaughterer, as opposed to the slaughtered army of corpses which provoke our pity in *Agamemnon*.

The chorus' words regarding the human sacrifice at *IT* 443 δρόσον αἱματηρὰν, serve as a reminder of *Ag.* 1390, where Clytemnestra gleefully describes how Agamemnon died: βάλλει μ' ἐρεμνῇ ψακάδι φοινίας δρόσου. In the build up to the recognition scene, the allusion to Aeschylus intensifies audience fear for the fates of Orestes and Pylades. We fear lest the cycle of kindred bloodshed should continue, albeit unwittingly. Compare also the chorus' words as they contemplate the fate of Orestes, which consolidates the image of the shower of blood: 644-5 κατολοφύρομαι σὲ τὸν χερνίβων| ῥανίσι μελόμενον αἱμακταῖς. This fear is to be quashed at 621, once more with the direct allusion to Aeschylus noted above. Iphigenia will refuse to become the female who will kill the male.

Euripides also exploits the concepts of justice developed in the *Oresteia*, the vengeful *dike* of blood spilled being atoned for by the spilling of more blood. In *IT*, ποινή, τίνω with its cognates and δίκη are used both of Iphigenia's wishes that the Greeks should pay for her slaughter at Aulis, and of Orestes paying the penalty for his crime. Again, some of these references are directly reminiscent of the *Oresteia*. At *IT* 338-9, the Herdsman says to Iphigenia κἂν ἀναλίσκῃς ξένους| τοιούσδε, τὸν σὸν Ἑλλὰς ἀποτείσει φόνον| δίκας τίνουσα τῆς ἐν Αὐλίδι σφαγῆς. Iphigenia is thus presented with terms which recall Clytemnestra at *Ag.* 1263, where Cassandra says that she will ἀντιτείσεσθαι φόνον[111]. Similarly, Agamemnon

[109]On the cursed house, cf. esp. *Ag.* 1309, 1428, *Cho.* 840; on the Furies and their pursuit of Orestes cf. esp. *Cho.* 400-2, *Eum.* 41-2, 247, 253, 365. Other images of flowing and pouring in the *Oresteia* consolidate the motif of dripping blood: see Lebeck (1971) 80-91.

[110]Noted by Cropp (2000) *ad IT* 300, Garner (1990) 171.

[111]See Fraenkel (1950) *ad loc.* on the ambiguities of this line.

is described by the chorus as *αἷμ' ἀποτείσει* of those previously killed (*Ag.* 1338), and then later by Clytemnestra as *θανάτῳ τείσας ἅπερ ἔρξεν* (*Ag.* 1529). This last instance ironically refers to Iphigenia, who in *IT* herself prays for a slaughter to atone for hers. She does not wish it on her father, but rather on Helen and Menelaus, as she hopes they might venture her way, explaining (357) *ἵν' αὐτοὺς ἀντετιμωρησάμην*. This is reinforced by the chorus' repetition of the wish that Helen would (446) *ποινὰς δοῦσ' ἀντιπάλους*.

Orestes in both the *IT* and the *Oresteia* has killed his mother to avenge his father, and is known as *μητρὸς φονεύς*[112]. He is subsequently pursued by the Furies until he pays the penalty (1459-60). So, the broad generalities are the same, but there are details which consolidate further allusions to the *Oresteia*. One feature which the Orestes of *IT* has in common with his Aeschylean counterpart is that he is called '*a light for the house*': *IT* 848-9 *δόμοις| ...φάος* (cf. 187 *ἔρρει φῶς* after Iphigenia dreams that Orestes is dead), just as the Aeschylean Orestes is at *Cho.* 131[113]. Electra prays 130-1 *Ἐποίκτιρόν τ' ἐμέ,| φίλον τ' Ὀρέστην φῶς ἄναψον ἐν δόμοις*[114]. By using this image of Orestes from *Cho.*, Euripides once more raises audience expectations and hope for the restoration of the house at the close of the play. The house, however, remains unmentioned.

Orestes' friend in his troubles, Pylades, also recalls the Aeschylean Pylades. In *Cho.*, Pylades' single utterance (900-2) is of great importance, since he urges Orestes on to kill his mother at the crucial moment, by reminding him of Apollo's oracle. Pylades advises Orestes as follows: *ποῦ δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν Λοξίου μαντεύματα| τὰ πυθόχρηστα, πιστά τ' εὐορκώματα;| ἅπαντας ἐχθροὺς τῶν θεῶν ἡγοῦ πλέον*. This convinces Orestes to go through with the matricide and we never hear from Pylades again. Although Pylades has quite an important role in *IT* and a significant number of lines, he nevertheless retains the function of Apollo's mouthpiece which is bestowed upon him by Aeschylus. Compare Pylades' lines in the following instances where he responds to Orestes' despair[115]. At 104-5, when Orestes has suggested fleeing the land on seeing how difficult it will be to get into the temple, Pylades replies: *φεύγειν μὲν οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν οὐδ' εἰώθαμεν,| τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ χρησμὸν οὐκ ἀτιστέον*[116]. In each case, we see an emphasis placed on the importance of Apollo's oracle, and Orestes is convinced by Pylades' words. Euripides then changes tack mid-way through the play, using the same function of Pylades defending Apollo. At 719-20, Pylades once again reminds a

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[112]Cf. *IT* 957, 1007, *Ag.* 1646, *Eum.* 122, 425; cf. also *Or.* 74, 392.

[113]Also noted by Cropp (2000) *ad IT* 187.

[114]Not all editors read *φῶς ἄναψον*, but see Garvie (1986) *ad loc.* with strong arguments for this reading.

[115]In *Or.*, Orestes also turns to Pylades for advice (e.g. 778, 1105ff.). But although Pylades has a significant role, this play focuses on blaming Apollo (see n.100, above), and Pylades has no advice of trust in the god.

[116]Cropp (2000) also notes *ad IT* 104-5 that it recalls *Cho.* 900-2.

pessimistic Orestes: *ἀτὰρ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σ' οὐ διέφθορέν γέ πωl μάντευμα· καίτοι κἀγγὺς ἕστηκας φόνου*. This time, Orestes is resolutely unconvinced, which is extremely ironic, since the recognition scene is about to unfold, and he will indeed shortly escape his death. The fact that Pylades is proved right in spite of Orestes rejecting his words is important. It prepares us for Pylades' final piece of advice, just after the recognition scene. He addresses Orestes and Iphigenia at 904-6 *λήξαντα δ' οἴκτων κἀπ' ἐκεῖν' ἐλθεῖν χρεών,l ὅπως τὸ κλεινὸν ὄνομα*[117] *τῆς σωτηρίαςl λαβόντες ἐκ γῆς βησόμεσθα βαρβάρου*. Orestes is completely convinced, but Iphigenia refuses to comply and demands to be satisfied in her questioning first. This delay in planning the escape, coupled with Pylades' reliability, makes us fear for the safety of the trio[118]. Here is a further example of how Euripides has taken a feature of the *Oresteia* for his *IT* and used it to evoke Aeschylus while simultaneously remodelling it into something new.

One final point of significance in the *Oresteia* is alluded to in *IT* and worth mentioning: the theme of compulsion[119]. We have seen how Iphigenia in *IT* and Agamemnon in *Ag.* mirror each other to some degree. They are both described as slaughtered or murdered, and while Iphigenia seeks atonement for her slaughter in *IT*, Agamemnon in *Ag.* is presented as paying the price for her slaughter with his own death. A third point of correspondence can be adduced. Both are portrayed as being under compulsion to commit the crimes in which they are involved. The most striking example of this is *IT* 620[120] where Iphigenia states, concerning the practice of human sacrifice *ἀλλ' εἰς ἀνάγκην κείμεθ', ἣν φυλακτέον*. Cropp *ad loc* notes, 'the language seems to evoke her own sacrifice, when Agamemnon 'went under the yoke of compulsion' (A. *Ag.* 218)'. *IT* 620 must certainly evoke *Ag.* 218, but the question of Agamemnon's responsibility is much more clouded than that of Iphigenia's[121]. The next section of this passage from *Ag.* also creates a parallel for Orestes. Iphigenia in the *Agamemnon* is described at 235-8 as *στόματός τε καλλιπρῴρουl φυλακᾷ κατασχεῖνl φθόγγον ἀραῖον οἴκοις.l βίᾳ χαλινῶν δ', ἀναύδῳ μένει*. Orestes uses a similar image to describe how the Furies pursue him (*IT* 935) *ὥσθ' αἱματηρὰ στόμι'*

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[117]I read here with Cropp (2000), Sansone (1981), Platnauer (1938). Kovacs (1999) and Diggle (1981) read *ὄμμα* for *ὄνομα*.

[118]These passages are also discussed in the context of Pylades' character, ch. 3.3, 60-3.

[119]This theme is also developed in *Orestes* (cf. 488, 1330, 1665), a play which draws on elements from many previous works including the *Oresteia* and *IT*, as we have noted at various points during this chapter.

[120]But cf. also *IT* 595, 1189.

[121]I cannot agree with Aélion (1983) vol. ii, 337 when she says that 'l'Agamemnon d'Euripide n'a pas choisi: la décision lui a été imposée par les autres- ou par les circonstances'. It is *clearly* indicated in the prologue of *IT* that Agamemnon will not launch his ships *until* he sacrifices his daughter (17-20). There is no hint of the overwhelming mob pressure of *IA*. The *IT* sets out a clear choice for Agamemnon, and he does not hesitate.

On the issue of Agamemnon's responsibility in the *Oresteia*, see Lloyd-Jones (1962) and Hammond (1965).

ἐπεμβαλεῖν ἐμοί[122]. This image of being bridled is linked to the theme of compulsion in both cases, and serves to emphasize the suffering of each victim. Iphigenia is innocent, but Orestes is bridled with bloody bits signifying his matricide and the attack of the Furies.

ΕΥ. Ἔχει δ' ἕκαστον εἰκοσίν γ' ἁμαρτίας.

This line is spoken by Euripides' character in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (1131) and pertains to the first three lines of Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*. It is clearly a gross comical exaggeration to suggest that Euripides could find twenty mistakes in each of the three opening lines of Aeschylus' play. However, I hope it has become clear in this chapter that perhaps the most important feature of Euripidean allusions to the *Oresteia* in *IT* is the way they address 'problematic' issues from Aeschylus and present alternative 'solutions'. For example, the *reason* for Artemis' demand of Iphigenia's sacrifice is made clear, as is the fact that Orestes was awarded *equal* votes by Athena, and his final purification through a *blood-letting* ritual is prescribed and will appease the Furies. This ties in with the premise on which the play is based, that Aeschylus' version of events has in fact failed. On a more subtle level, we have multiple parallels and contrasts in terms of imagery (blood, disease), theme (paying the penalty, compulsion, gender relations), events (dream, recognition scene), and also many many linguistic markers which say 'this is an echo of the *Oresteia*'.

What does this mean? Here I quote Zeitlin's definition of 'the *palimpsestic* text' of *Orestes*: 'one layer can be deciphered under another; each one makes its own contribution, but the total effect is one of bewildering and cumulative complexity that establishes a series of new if often contradictory relations between the primary level of the text and the oscillating substratum that shifts beneath it'[123]. The case of *Orestes*, which contains a multiplicity of allusions to many different plays, is not the same as the subject of this chapter, where I have focused on the overwhelming intertexts between *IT* and one specific trilogy, the *Oresteia*. Nevertheless, the allusions are often complex in the way that Zeitlin describes, and Euripides is certainly a complex playwright. Through engagement with Aeschylean themes, images, events and language, Euripides highlights the originality of his 'hypertext' when he uses these to different ends than his predecessor. The fact that part of Euripides' *IT* is a 'refutation' of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* does not necessarily imply criticism by contradiction, particularly since the medium of myth, through which tragedy is expressed, is itself so multifarious. Euripides is also recognizing the literary wealth left behind by

[122]Cf. the image of the maddened Orestes bucking the bridle at *Or.* 46.

[123]Zeitlin (2003) 314.

Aeschylus, and acknowledging its importance by exploiting this wealth. The whole effect of Euripides' serious engagement with Aeschylus contributes to the overall seriousness of his *IT* as a tragedy.

Taken individually, many of the allusions discussed in this chapter may seem no more than typical tragic convention. However, I hope that the quantity of material adduced has convinced the reader of the real conscious intertextual relationship between Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* and Aeschylus' *Oresteia*.

## *Conclusion*

*Iphigenia in Tauris* was meticulously constructed by Euripides as a serious tragedy, addressing serious issues, within the original scope of this type of drama. The fate of the main character Iphigenia reinforces the dark message at the end of the play. Even in the modern sense of the term 'tragedy', the outcome of the play for Iphigenia is not 'untragic' or 'happy'. Yes, she will receive cult until she dies, and after her death. But Hippolytus will also receive cult at the end of Euripides' *Hippolytus*. It has never been suggested that this makes Hippolytus' fate any less 'tragic', again in the modern sense of the term. We may also compare the fate of the title character in Euripides' *Phaethon*, who is compared to Hippolytus. His sisters, in mourning for his fate, turned into trees which cry amber droplets (see E. *Hipp.* 735-41 and W. Barrett (1964) *ad loc*). Some may object to these parallels on the grounds that both Hippolytus and Phaethon die during the course of their respective plays, while Iphigenia does not. But Iphigenia's fate is arguably *more* disturbing when analyzed in terms of failed transitions. Having failed to complete her transition as a bride, she then fails to complete the transition to death at Aulis, and at the end of *IT*, she is fated to remain in a state of liminality and failed transition. It is true that Iphigenia can be seen as the figure of failed transitions *par excellence*, but the outcome of *IT* is not predetermined. We know that the ending of Euripides' *IA*, in which Iphigenia escapes death, is spurious, and it seems that in Euripides' version of that play Iphigenia *does* complete the transition to death. Furthermore, in one mythic variant, Iphigenia *does* marry Achilles, and completes the transition to womanhood by bearing him a son[1].

Iphigenia had described herself in her lament at 220 as ἄγαμος ἄτεκνος ἄπολις ἄφιλος, but her situation has not really changed at the end of the play. She will continue to be unmarried, childless, and apart from her city and loved ones. In this she is comparable to many other tragic characters, whose fate is never questioned as 'untragic'. Hecuba is *apolis* (*Hec.* 669, 811 *Tro.* 1186) and *ateknos* (*Hec.* 514, cf. 669, *Tro.* 1186), though admittedly she is childless in a different way, having lost all her children rather than never having any in the first place. But Electra is *ateknos* like Iphigenia, *aphilos*, and also unwedded (S. *El.* 164, 819, E. *Or.* 206, 310). Antigone is *agamos* and *aphilos* (*Ant.* 867, 876), Medea faces a crisis of being *apolis*[2], and Philoctetes is *apolis* and *aphilos* (*Phil.* 228, 1018). The state of being without city or friends, and for a woman, without marriage and children, is clearly a recurring motif in Greek tragedies which emphasizes the wretched plight of individuals

[1] Nikander ap. Anton. Lib. 27, noted by Seaford (1987) 108 and n.30 with further references.

[2] On which see Friedrich (1993).

concerned. There is no reason why Iphigenia's fate should not be seen as conforming to the tragic mould in this context.

As regards Iphigenia's character in *IT*, she is often compared to Helen in the eponymous play, and indeed the two plays are often discussed as a pair. But Iphigenia is a much more imposing figure than Helen, and is more obviously an authoritative female character. She is in control of *all* the stage action, which is emphasized through careful stagecraft[3], while Helen is a suppliant in Egypt and can only proceed in her escape plan with the help of Theonoe. Furthermore, there is a more or less equal division between Helen and Menelaus both in their supplication of Theonoe and in their deceiving of Theoclymenus, in contrast to Iphigenia in *IT* who orchestrates the deception plan single-handedly. The barbarian kings in the two plays are also very different. Thoas, who is often compared to Theoclymenus is, in fact, more like Theonoe in that he is characterized by his piety, though he does not have divine knowledge. Furthermore, the barbarians in *IT* seem to have appropriated *Greek* customs. They practise human sacrifice in honour of the Greek goddess who demands it, and they are pious in terms of Greek religion. They live in a *polis*, and their landscape reflects Greece as it is presented in the play. On the other hand, the Greeks in the play appropriate barbarian language, and a great contrast is drawn between barbarian piety and Greek impiety within their own religious system.

The characterization of Orestes as a polluted epic hero on a katabatic-type mission stresses his suffering as being comparable to that of Odysseus on his *nostos* or that of the maddened Ajax in *Sophocles*' play of the same name. We are thus invited to sympathize with his plight, which is presented as having been orchestrated by the gods. The divinely ordained conclusion to *IT* demonstrates divine indifference to human wishes and sufferings. Iphigenia is denied a return to Argos, and will never marry. We understand that this is a 'tragic' fate for Iphigenia, again in the modern sense of the term, since her desires for marriage and returning home have been relentlessly emphasized throughout the play. In particular Iphigenia's interaction with the chorus in the *parodos*, which stresses her grief at her fictitious marriage and at being away from home, is developed by the chorus through their own laments at being in a barbarian land, and their desires for escape. The fate of Orestes is ultimately left unclear. He is to found a new cult at Halai, and although we may assume that this completes his process of purification, and that he then returns home, there is no final expression of his release from blood pollution, nor is there any reference to his return to Argos. Even Pylades and his marriage to Electra remain unmentioned by Athena at

[3] The only moment at which Orestes takes control is when he lifts Iphigenia into the ship, and that takes place off-stage at the very end of the play (1380-83).

the end of the play, in contrast to Euripides' *Electra* and *Orestes* where the marriage is divinely ordained in the respective *exodoi*. The divine silence concerning the marriage of Pylades and Electra at the end of *IT* is particularly noteworthy, since it has been previously mentioned by Orestes as the salvation of the *oikos*. Electra is envisaged as bearing children who will continue the Atreid line (695-8). Unlike the close of *Orestes*, there is no provision made either for a marriage for Orestes. Divine silence thus underlines the complete lack of divine concern for the Atreid *oikos* and emphasizes the selfish nature of the gods. Athena, the only deity to help the siblings seems concerned only in as much as the new cults will be established under her jurisdiction, in Attica.

Human attempts at piety in this play are shown to be futile, since the gods themselves are impious. Apollo prescribes matricide and sacrilegious theft. In the third stasimon, we are told how he took possession of the Delphic oracle by slaughter because he lusted after offerings of gold, which ties in with the negative connotations of Greek lust for gold (in contrast to the barbarians), as developed by the chorus. Zeus is amused, and for this trivial reason he helps his son confirm his control of the oracle by invalidating the prophetic dreams sent to mortals by Gaia. Artemis demands human sacrifice and will continue to demand a human blood-letting ritual at the end of the play. And neither of sibling gods, who are conspicuously silent throughout the play, come to the aid of their respective protegés as the tragedy concludes.

By way of conclusion to my study of *IT*, I have analyzed its relationship to Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. Responses to the Aeschylean trilogy, and specific intertexts with the Aeschylean plays, are found time and again throughout *IT*, and solutions are offered for issues which remain unclear at the end of the *Oresteia*. By doing this, Euripides demands comparison to Aeschylus as a playwright, and his play demands comparison to the Oresteian tragedies (whose genre no one has ever questioned, although the outcome of the *Eumenides* is not 'tragic' in modern terms). Euripides' engagement with the *Oresteia* in *IT* confirms that this play is a serious tragedy. As such, this thesis offers a new reading of a neglected, and often misunderstood, play. Far from being the 'tragicomedy' or 'melodrama' which it has often been termed, *IT* is a disturbing tragedy with a serious message concerning the arbitrariness of fate and divine will.

# Appendix

## Gender in Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris*

We saw in ch. 7 how Euripides' *IT* is a 'hypertext' in relation to the *Oresteia*. With Goethe's version, the *IT* becomes the 'hypotext' with Goethe's *Iphigenie* as the 'hypertext'. However, unlike *IT* which is a 'transformation' of the *Oresteia*, Goethe's play represents the second fundamental type of hypertextual derivation. It is an 'imitation' of Euripides' original[1], but also involves 'transvalorisation', that is, a substitution of values which reflect contemporary society[2]. In terms of genre, Goethe's play is not a tragedy in the modern sense, but it does contain the death-averted scenario of the original, which Aristotle so admired[3]. This is most evident in terms of the position of women in society, which is influenced by Christian moral values in Goethe. This appendix will investigate the dynamic of this substitution of values as a reception study of the original play.

During the Renaissance and Enlightenment periods in Europe, the production of plays with classical themes was extremely popular. Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* received quite some attention, certainly, and surprisingly, more than the subsequent lack of literary interest in this play, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, would suggest. Versions were produced as dramas by J. de la Grange Chancel (1697), J. E. Schlegel (1737), C. F. von Derschau (1747), C. Guimond de la Touche (1757), and Racine had drawn up a plan for the first act of a version of *Iphigenia in Tauris* which he never completed (this was first published by his son Louis Racine in 1747[4]). Operas were produced in French by H. Desmarets and A. Campra (1704) and most famously by C. W. Gluck (1779). Italian operatic versions included D. Scarlatti (1713), G. M. Jomelli (1719), L. Vinci (1725), T. Traetta (1758), N. Jomelli (1771) and N. V. Puccini (1781)[5]. Goethe's dramatic interpretation of Euripides' *IT* was completed in its final verse form in 1787[6].

Of all the dramatic versions, Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris* stands apart from rest. In particular, his characterization of Thoas as a noble man marks a departure from previous

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[1] These two fundamental types of hypertextuality are discussed by Genette (1982) 447. On the *IT*'s relationship to the *Oresteia* with regard to Genette's terminology, see ch. 7, 159-62.

[2] On this, see Genette (1982) 393-404.

[3] Goethe termed his play a 'Schauspiel', i.e. a drama or more specifically, a spectacle. But cf. Steiner (1961) 170 'No one who has seen [Goethe's] *Iphigenie* acted will forget how much anguish is gathered before the final twist of grace'. This corresponds well to Aristotelian requirements of pity and fear.

[4] See Forestier (1999) 164-7.

[5] This information is conveniently collected by Matthiessen (2000) 364 n.3, but see also Gliksohn (1985) *passim*.

[6] Prudhoe (1966) xvi.

treatments of the theme, in which Thoas was invariably portrayed as a bloodthirsty barbarian, which facilitated a violent end to the drama in most modern versions[7]. But this and other apparent innovations by Goethe[8] are in fact firmly grounded in the Euripidean original. Contrary to what most scholars believe, I argued in ch. 5.1 that Euripides has characterized Thoas as a decent and pious individual, when in fact he could have emphasized his barbarity had he so chosen. I simply cannot agree that Goethe's noble Thoas represents a complete departure from the original[9]. Rather, it seems to me that Goethe is perceptively building on the original characterization of Thoas in a very obvious way. Goethe's *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (henceforth *Iphigenie*), has been called his 'most successful theatre work'[10]. The success of Goethe's *Iphigenie* rests in his ability to reflect the issues of his own age, while simultaneously emphasizing themes which are based in the original Euripidean tragedy. One theme in particular stands out from the rest, that is gender, and this will be the main focus for our discussion. The theme is integral to both plays, but markedly influenced by contemporary discourse in each case.

It is clear from the opening scene of Goethe's play that gender relations and their ideal are an issue with which the drama will be concerned[11]. In this, Goethe is more forthcoming than Euripides, who develops gender relations more deeply in the final third of his play[12]. In her prologue speech, Goethe's Iphigenie laments her present fate in Tauris[13], and reveals how deeply she misses home. She explains in some detail the sorrows of womanhood 23-34 'allein/ Der Frauen Zustand ist beklagen wert./ Zu Haus und in dem Kreig herrscht der Mann,/ Und in der Fremde weiß er sich zu helfen./ Ihn freuet der Besitz; ihn krönt der Sieg!/ Ein ehrenvoller Tod ist ihm bereit./ Wie eng-gebunden ist des Weibes Glück!/ Schon einem rauhen Gattern zu gehorchen/ Ist Pflicht und Trost; wie elend, wenn

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[7] Matthiessen (2000) 370. This marks an interesting departure from contemptuous views of the Orient apparent in earlier German literature, see Colvin (1999).

[8] E.g. it is simply wrong to say with Stahl (1961) 21 that 'the whole theme of man's relation to the gods...is not a real issue in Euripides'. Nor can I agree with Reed (1986) 60 who comments as follows: 'Iphigenie...risks death for herself...rather than commit such an action which would make her impure...There are no such scruples in the Greek original'. But there *are* such scruples in the original, where Iphigenia similarly risks her life while refusing to break the law of *xenia* by killing the king who is her *xenos*.

[9] Cf. Matthiessen (2000) 370 on Thoas as an evil character in the original.

[10] Nicoll (1949) 417.

[11] Please note: the characters who appear in Goethe's drama will be called by their German equivalents, where different from anglicised versions (Iphigenie for Iphigenia, and Orest for Orestes). Artemis will also be called by her Roman equivalent Diana. All other figures, will be called by their anglicised names.

[12] See ch. 5.2.

[13] Goethe seems to treat Tauris as an island. This is indicated by the use of the preposition 'auf' in the title *Iphigenie auf Tauris*, which is used in German to denote position 'on' an island; cf. 1520-22 where Iphigenie compares Tauris to a deserted island. On the misuse of the word Tauris to indicate a place rather than a people, see *Introduction*, vii.

sie gar/ Ein feindlich Schicksal in die Ferne treibt!/ So hält mich Thoas hier, ein edler Mann,/ In ernsten, heil'gen Sklavenbanden fest'.

This opening passage reveals several key points for the theme of gender relations in *Iphigenie*. The first concept which is sure to strike a modern audience most sharply, is the fact adduced that even obeying a harsh husband is consolation for a woman, much more so than being driven to a distant land. Such a conception of a woman's role in society is firmly in keeping with Goethe's own apparent views on the position of women, and those of the educated German elite of the eighteenth century. Goethe remained convinced of women's status as subordinate to men. Women should be gentle and loving consorts for their husbands, should care for their children and uphold moral standards in the family home. Women who stepped out of this private sphere were doomed to destroy both themselves and those around them, as happens to the character Adelheid in Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen*[14]. This conception of the female role reflects the contemporary economic situation of the late eighteenth century in which women had moved 'increasingly to the fringes of economic and political activity', and were 'defined primarily as ...wife and mother, whose work within the family would make possible, and safeguard, her husband's success outside the home'[15]. This gave way to a new kind of femininity, where the ideal woman was responsible for the private sphere of human values, as opposed to the previously idealized 'Hausmutter' who laboured incessantly on the farm[16].

In spite of giving Iphigenie lines which consolidate male domination over women, by the end of the play, Goethe's Iphigenie is revealed as the most powerful character. In fact, Goethe reverses the exploration of gender found in Euripides' *IT*, where Iphigenia is first of all presented as the powerful character, and then re-defined in terms of her status as a woman in relation to Orestes as a man. In Goethe, Iphigenie seems helpless, but is shown to have a certain divine power which is revealed as the play progresses. Furthermore, man helping himself by the sword, as Goethe's Iphigenie describes it, will ultimately be revealed as the wrong course of action. In the final act, Orest and Thoas are prepared to fight to the death to resolve the issue of departure from Tauris, but Iphigenie forbids them and shows them the better way of entreaty and mercy. So Iphigenie's divine, but also female, morals are validated while the masculine way of brute force is questioned. Thus, in an ironic way, Goethe glorifies womanhood, albeit in an idealized form[17]. Finally, we note that from the

[14]Noted by Becker-Cantarino (2002) 184. This is similar to the general motif of Greek tragedy which tends to explore the fate of the *oikos* in the absence of the male, cf. Hall (1997) 106.

[15]Frevert (1988) 19.

[16]Frevert (1988) 19.

[17]On Goethe's Iphigenie as an ideal of womanhood, see Preußer (2002) 26-30.

early stage of the prologue speech, Thoas is described as 'a noble man'. This is a contrast indeed to Euripides' prologue in which he is described as a 'barbarian among barbarians'. However, as we noted above, Goethe's description of Thoas is not such a great leap from the original as one might first imagine. Euripides' Thoas is pious in contrast to the Greeks who are impious[18].

The characterization of Goethe's Iphigenie as the late eighteenth century ideal of 'woman' (as prescribed by men), is executed in part by continuous reference to her purity and holiness. She is addressed by the king's servant Arkas as 'O heil'ge Jungfrau' (65) which sets her apart from more ordinary women of society, and suggests an affinity with the Virgin Mary. This is reinforced by numerous instances of Iphigenie being called 'heil'ge' as the drama unfolds[19]. Goethe may have been partly inspired by the virgin prophetess Theonoe in *Helen* for his characterization of Iphigenie. Theonoe has divine knowledge, as implied by her name, and acts against her brother's wishes for what she knows to be the greater good[20]. Similarly, Goethe's Iphigenie is divinely inspired, and acts against Pylades' advice for what she believes to be divine will and the greater good[21].

As in its Greek original, and indeed in ancient Greek literature in general, Goethe presents his female character, Iphigenie, using words as a weapon. So when she discusses rejecting Thoas' offer of marriage with Arkas, the latter advises her (163-8) 'Der Skythe setzt ins Reden keinen Vorzug,/ Am wenigsten der König. Er, der nur/ Gewohnt ist zu befehlen und zu tun,/ Kennt nicht die Kunst, von weitem ein Gespräch/ Nach seiner Absicht langsam fehl zu lenken'. This description highlights the inherent differences between male and female speech, in terms of their respective positions. It is a man who expresses this distinction, but Iphigenie will prove him right in act one, scene three, when she tries to reject Thoas's proposal of marriage by indirect means and at some length (i.e. she reveals her ancestry in the hopes that he will be appalled and retract his offer). The man is in command, his wishes are executed, but the woman is subordinate and must argue slowly and gently to achieve her ends. Iphigenie is subordinate to Thoas, but she is ultimately able

[18]See ch. 5.1, 106-9.

[19]Note that this terminology also contributes to Iphigenia's portrayal as a healing force: 'heilig' ('holy') and 'heilen' ('to heal') are cognates in German.

[20]For Theonoe's name, see *Hel.* 13-14; Theonoe goes against her brother's wishes at *Hel.* 998-1029.

[21]Pylades is depicted as a deceptive, Odyssean-type character; cf. Orest who makes fun of Pylades and his plans by saying 762 'Ich hör Ulyssen reden'. It is noteworthy that Goethe spent some time 'under the influence of Ulysses's personality', as Stanford (1963) 190 puts it. Goethe planned to write a play on the relationship between Odysseus and Nausicaa, but this was ultimately abandoned. He 'admired Ulysses's freedom of action, his fixity of purpose, his iron endurance, his all-pervading alertness and intelligence' (Stanford (1963) 190). It was planned that this play would reveal the 'inhumane...power of attraction in Ulysses' character' (Stanford (1963) 191). This concept ties in well with the idea of the 'humane' Iphigenie winning out over the Odyssean Pylades in Goethe's *Iphigenie* (cf. n.29, below).

to resist his proposition of marriage through her status as priestess. Like Euripides, Goethe has exploited Iphigenie's position to explore gender relations in a way which is different from his other plays. Iphigenie has a divine purpose which enables her to resist Thoas without losing moral ground through any audience perception of an intolerable act of rebellion on her part. Goethe further justifies Iphigenie's rejection of Thoas by developing their relationship in terms of father-daughter, which strongly suggests that Thoas' proposal is highly inappropriate[22].

In her confrontation with Thoas regarding the proposal of marriage, Iphigenie explains her desire to return home rather than marry Thoas. Thoas flies into a rage and rants insultingly about womankind 463-74 'So kehr zurück! Tu, was dein Herz dich heißt,/ Und höre nicht die Stimme guten Rats/ Und der Vernunft. Sei ganz ein Weib und gib/ Dich hin dem Triebe, der dich zügellos/ Ergreift und dahin oder dorthin reißt./ Wenn ihnen eine Lust im Busen brennt,/ Hält vom Verräter sie kein heilig Band,/ Der sie dem Vater oder dem Gemahl/ Aus lang bewährten, treuen Armen lockt;/ Und schweigt in ihrer Brust die rasche Glut,/ So dringt auf sie vergebens treu und mächtig/ Der Überredung goldne Zunge los'. Ironically, these platitudes about women which Thoas blurts out are all proven to be mistaken in the case of Iphigenie. Indeed, all the male characters are shown to be mistaken in one way or another. Pylades is mistaken in his theology, as is Arkas who has a similar theological standpoint[23], and Orest, in his madness, mistakenly believes Iphigenie to be unchaste. Iphigenie is pure in her desire and will not be enticed away through deceit. She does, however, possess the art of persuasion. But again, this is not an underhand means of achieving a treacherous end, as Thoas here implies. Rather she will ultimately persuade through love and kindness and with honesty.

Interestingly, there is no other female figure to act as an evil counterpart to Iphigenie[24]. Thus Goethe's play decisively glorifies woman, and the positive qualities of women, although some of its characters lament the age-old trademarks of the female sex, as they see them. There is no reason to see Goethe as any kind of feminist. As in Euripides, it is Iphigenie's position as priestess which allows Goethe to explore the virtues of woman.

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[22]Stahl (1961) 20 calls Thoas' love for Iphigenie 'a romantic episode inconceivable in the Greek play', but it is clearly inspired by *Helen* in which the Egyptian king Theoclymenus pesters Helen to become his wife; cf. Matthiessen (2000) 369, who acknowledges the motif from Helen, but also explains that it had become popular in Goethe's time to insert a romantic element into classical dramas. For the father-daughter relationship between Iphigenie and Thoas, cf. e.g. 510-14, 2154-7.

[23]Like Pylades, Arkas believes in the need for human action rather than faith in the gods alone. He presses Iphigenie to accept the king's proposal of marriage in act four, scene two. She says (1462) 'Ich hab es in der Götter Hand gelegt'. To this Arkas responds (1463) 'Sie pflegen Menschen menschlich zu erretten'.

[24]Even Clytemnestra's curse on Orestes is described (1164) as 'Mutterblutes Stimme' and Clytemnestra is not directly demonized.

Her position gives her authority to reject Thoas' proposal on grounds of chastity, which plays into the Christian undercurrent of the play. Iphigenie is a Virgin-Mary-figure, a human being, but the best of human beings, who achieves this persona by her adherence to an ascetic and Christian way of life. Iphigenie is thus removed from 'real' women, and develops more as an 'ideal'. This is also aided by the medium of ancient myth, which propels Iphigenie's character into an identifiably alien time-frame and situation, for a contemporary audience, in spite of the clear contemporary preoccupations.

After Thoas' outburst, Iphigenie attempts to calm his rage, saying 475-7 'Gedenk, o König, deines edeln Wortes!/ Willst du mein Zutraun so erwidern? Du/ Schienst vorbereitet, alles zu vernehmen'. To this Thoas replies, still furious 478-80 'Aufs Ungehoffe war ich nicht bereitet;/ Doch sollt' ich's auch erwarten: wußt' ich nicht,/ Daß ich mit einem Weibe handeln ging?'. His rage thus drives him to further gendered insults, which again are unfairly aimed at Iphigenie. We later find out that Thoas had promised to let Iphigenie go free if ever an opportunity presented itself for going back to Greece (1970-78). Yet when such an opportunity arises, he is quick to forget his promise. It seems that Thoas is rather the one whose bargains can't be trusted.

In any case, Iphigenie defends womankind in her response to Thoas this time, but simultaneously acknowledges woman's subordination to man 481-85 'Schilt nicht, o König, unser arm Geschlecht./ Nicht herrlich wie die euern, aber nicht/ Unedel sind die Waffen eines Weibes./ Glaub es, darin bin ich dir vorzuziehn,/ Daß ich dein Glück mehr als du selber kenne'. Prudhoe translates these last two lines as follows 'Believe my intuition which can foresee/ Your future with an eye more clear than yours'[25]. This translation is high in poetic merit, and while it is not a very literal rendering of the German, it conveys the concept of 'a woman's intuition' in no uncertain terms, a concept which the German hints at but does not state so explicitly[26]. Of course Iphigenie is doubly intuitive in this play, not only because she is a woman, but also because of her special relationship with the gods, which gives her divine insight.

Thoas, however, remains unconvinced by Iphigenie's predictions for his future and continues in the same vein as before. He now laments the fact that he has long withheld sacrifices from the goddess Artemis and blames Iphigenie 511-6 'du hast mich.....wie mit Zauberbanden/ Gefesselt, daß ich meiner Pflicht vergaß./ Du hattest mir die Sinnen eingewiegt'. Here we see a further development of the image of 'woman' as projected onto

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[25]Prudhoe (1966) 17.

[26]Cf. the role of women in Goethe's works to 'intuitively sense oncoming disaster', noted by Becker-Cantarino (2002) 184.

Iphigenie by Thoas. He has called her deceptive, and persuasive. Now he attributes to her the powers of a *femme fatale*, akin to the Sirens in the *Odyssey*, whose music has the power to charm men and make them witless. Such power is, of course, associated with the characteristics of persuasion and deception, but also contains an erotic element[27]. Thoas' loneliness, and desire for a son to replace the one he has lost, have confused him into thinking of Iphigenie in erotic terms, which are entirely inappropriate to their father-daughter relationship.

Having had Thoas define Iphigenie through all the evil qualities of women, we are then shown the attitudes of Orest and Pylades to the fact that Iphigenie is a woman. Orest sees it as their doom because he states 784-5 'Der wilde Sinn des Königs tötet uns;/ Ein Weib wird uns nicht retten, wenn er zürnt'. Here, Orest interprets the man as more powerful than the woman through physical force. Thus the woman is weaker than the man. But his words simultaneously demonstrate that Thoas' accusation that Iphigenie has lulled his senses to sleep is fallacious. Using the same image of the senses (Sinne 516, cf. Sinn 784), Orest emphasizes that Thoas' senses are 'crazed'. But Orest's argument concerning the misfortune of Iphigenie being a woman is contradicted at some length by Pylades. He argues as follows 786-93 'Wohl uns, daß es ein Weib ist! denn ein Mann,/ Der beste selbst, gewöhnet seinen Geist/ An Grausamkeit und macht sich auch zuletzt/ Aus dem, was er verabscheut, ein Gesetz,/ Wird aus Gewohnheit hart und fast unkenntlich./ Allein ein Weib bleibt stet auf *einem* Sinn,/ Den sie gefaßt./ Du rechnest sicherer/ Auf sie im Guten wie im Bösen'. Pylades' speech ends the scene, so his version of womanhood is shown to hold sway. Furthermore, he will be proved right about a woman's virtue in the case of Iphigenie, which is ironic in the light of his own character's inclination towards deception[28]. But what does his analysis contribute to the development of gender relations? It certainly presents an ideal of womanhood, and accurately reflects Iphigenie's constant faith in the benevolence of divine power. Like Orest's analysis, it also holds the man as more physically powerful and involved in cruelty than woman, but it suggests that the woman's positive disposition will go against the man's, in order to help the victims, Orest and Pylades. Furthermore, it suggests that, contrary to the well-used phrase, it is *not* a woman's privilege, or even custom, to change her mind. Although Pylades' analysis seems confident and true to the characters of the drama, as with his theological reasoning, it will be shown to be mistaken to

[27]Cf. Buxton (1982) 51 'No story illustrates the power of erotic *peitho*, and its opposition to *bia*, better than the encounter between Odysseus and the Sirens in the *Odyssey*....no human decision to resist can stand up to the Sirens' seductiveness'.

[28]Notably, he conceals his and Orest's identity from Iphigenie and invents a bogus intrafamilial killing, and then urges Iphigenie to deceive Thoas, once her identity has been discovered.

a certain degree. Iphigenie *will* remain resolute in her belief, but will be ultimately unwilling to go against the king, and will undergo a significant crisis of conscience, during which she changes her mind several times[29]. In fact, during this very crisis, Pylades tries to persuade Iphigenie to perpetrate the plan of deception, but Iphigenie contradicts Pylades' analysis of gender when she says 1677-9 'O trüg' ich doch ein männlich Herz in mir!/ Das, wenn es einen kühnen Vorsatz hegt,/ Vor jeder andern Stimme sich verschließt'. Iphigenie's statement thus suggests that a man is more likely to hold the same disposition and be deaf to reason, once he has made his decision. But the two statements are perhaps less contradictory than they first appear. Iphigenie's analysis of 'man' is that he will not be moved once he has decided upon an act of *boldness*. This factor confirms Pylades' statement that a man becomes accustomed to cruelty (and boldness). Thus, the woman's disposition which does not change is clearly meant to be a benevolent disposition. But to whom should Iphigenie be benevolent? For Pylades, it is quite clear that Iphigenie should be on his side, but the issue is more complicated for Iphigenie who does not want to offend the king, but also wishes to help Orest and Pylades escape and return to Greece herself. In the end, Iphigenie manages to remain benevolent to both parties, and *does* emerge as retaining the same disposition throughout, and is thus portrayed in the light of an 'ideal' woman.

What Iphigenie's statement concerning the solidity of man's resolve omits, is the fact that a man is also subject to the power of a woman through her use of persuasion. This she refers to in no uncertain terms in her exchange with Thoas in act five, scene three. Thoas attempts to make Iphigenie agree to the sacrifice of the strangers by virtue of the fact that it is their 'law' and her 'sacred duty'. Iphigenie responds 1856-64 'Laß ab! Beschönige nicht die Gewalt,/ Die sich der Schwachheit eines Weibes freut./ Ich bin so frei geboren als ein Mann./ Stünd' Agamemnons Sohn gegenüber/ Und du verlangtest, was sich nicht gebührt:/ So hat auch *er* ein Schwert und einen Arm,/ Die Rechte seines Busens zu verteid'gen./ Ich habe nichts als Worte, und es ziemt/ Dem edeln Mann, der Frauen Wort zu achten'. This is a densely-packed expression of woman's position in society, which touches on many different aspects of a woman's role and nature, in comparison to a man's. Iphigenie claims she was born 'as free as a man', a statement which perhaps echoes Christian freedom of choice rather than any real equivalent between the social freedom of a man and a woman. As far as we can trace Goethe's own views on freedom, Boyle notes

[29]During her crisis of conscience, Iphigenie makes a small number of misleading statements to both Arkas and Thoas before coming clean and revealing the truth. Some scholars have seen her purity as tainted because of this, but she is what Goethe termed 'verteufelt human' for all her Christian morals. On Iphigenie's conflict, see Stahl (1961) 39-52, on Iphigenie as 'verteufelt human', see Becker-Cantarino (2002) 185 and n.5.

that he seems indebted to Spinoza's belief that 'human freedom was an 'emendation of the intellect' by which, as mere finite modes of divinity, we lost interest in our finite selves and concentrated instead on what was truly divine about us'[30]. Certainly, Iphigenie seems to be in touch with her own divinity, while being a moral agent, a function often borne by women in ancient Greek tragedy[31].

The contrast between a man and a woman as drawn by Iphigenie is a contrast well-grounded in Greek tragedy. The man's weapon is the sword, while the woman's only recourse is through words. Some tragic females prove that they can wield both kinds of power (e.g. Clytemnestra, and Medea). It is suggested in *IT* that Iphigenia can, but later revealed that she does not[32]. Similarly, in Goethe's version, Orest in his fit of madness, assumes that Iphigenie will kill him with a sword on arrival in Tauris, but he is mistaken. The image is particularly violent and disturbing 1248-54 'Die liebevolle Schwester wird zur Tat/ Gezwungen. Weine nicht! Du hast nicht Schuld.....Ja, schwinge deinen Stahl, verschone nicht,/ Zerreiße diesen Busen und eröffne/ Den Strömen, die hier sieden, einen Weg!'. Clearly, Orest's delusions are what cause him to imagine his own vicious slaughter at the hands of his sister, and the severity of his suffering is emphasized by the fact that he sees such a slaughter as a release from what 'seethes' inside him. But Iphigenie has nothing to do with swords, and whatever powers or influence she has remain firmly within the woman's realm.

That Iphigenie threatens Thoas, in effect, with Orest and his sword is noteworthy given the way in which the events of the play unfold. Precisely at the moment when Orest and Thoas are going to battle it out to the death with their swords[33], Iphigenie intervenes and persuades them with words to cease from physical conflict. Ultimately, the woman's weapon is more powerful than the man's, and more beneficial. The triumph of Iphigenie's words is foreshadowed at a number of points during act five, scene three. After Iphigenie advises Thoas that the noble man should heed a woman's word (1856-64, quoted above), Thoas responds 1865 'Ich acht es mehr als eines Bruders Schwert'. Several lines later, Iphigenie once more puts a woman's plea above the power of the sword. She asks Thoas 1880-2 'Die schöne Bitte, den anmut'gen Zweig,/ In einer Frauen Hand gewaltiger/ Als Schwert und Waffe, stößest du zurück...?'. Thoas still refuses to be persuaded into letting

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[30]Boyle (1992) 385.

[31]On women as moral agents in Greek tragedy, see Foley (2001) 107-299.

[32]Cf. ch. 7.1, 178.

[33]This episode also reflects *Helen* 978-9 in which Menelaus threatens to fight Theoclymenus to death with his sword if Theonoe does not agree to let him escape with Helen.

the Greeks go free. He can only be persuaded once Iphigenie is completely truthful. Because, at this point, Iphigenie is being economical with the truth, her words fail[34].

The revelation of this truth comes at the end of a monologue, during which Iphigenie once again addresses the inequalities between men and women. She asks what defines a great deed, whether it can only be accomplished through violence and deceit, and whether it is only a man who can accomplish such deeds. The speech begins '*nach einigem Stillschweigen*', 1892-3: 'Hat denn zur unerhörten Tat der Mann/ Allein das Recht?'. She continues at 1908-12: 'Muß ein zartes Weib/ Sich ihres angebornen Rechts entäußern,/ Wild gegen Wilde sein, wie Amazonen/ Das Recht des Schwerts euch rauben und mit Blute/ Die Unterdrückigung rächen?'. Iphigenie's speech, and the outcome of the play, imply that a woman *can* accomplish a tremendous deed, and can do so through a woman's medium of words. Her great deed in Christian terms is her decision to be truthful and to trust in divine power, and this deed achieves its resolution through her female power of persuasion. She persuades the men of the play to renounce violence in favour of conciliation. The comparison to Amazons as unfeminine women is ironic in that Iphigenie had been originally thought to be an Amazon by Orest and Pylades before she revealed her identity as Greek (777). Indeed, it is an ingenious innovation on Goethe's part, apt in terms of both geography and history, to introduce the suggestion that Iphigenie might be an Amazon. Herodotus 4.110-117 records how the Scythians set up camp and attempted to seduce some Amazons who had ventured into their land. They succeed in the seduction, but the Amazons refuse to go back to the Scythian's homeland. They settle elsewhere in Scythia with their Scythian husbands, although Herodotus notes that no Amazon woman can marry until she has killed a male enemy. In this context, we see how Iphigenie is the antithesis of an Amazon, both in being unable to kill a man, and in resisting the seduction of a Scythian. Yet at the same time, it is clear how Orest and Pylades might assume that Iphigenie is an Amazon, given the location and the previously practised slaughter of men, although once more, they are mistaken.

The notion of a man's heroic deeds is further developed by Iphigenie in the final scene of the play, 2069-75: 'Der rasche Kampf verewigt einen Mann:/ Er falle gleich, so preiset ihn das Lied./ Allein die Tränen, die unendlichen/ Der überbliebnen, der verlaßnen Frau,/ Zählt keine Nachwelt, und der Dichter schweigt/ Von tausend durchgeweinten Tag- und Nächten,/ Wo eine stille Seele den verlornen,/ Rasch adgeschiednen Freund vergebens

[34]Liewerscheidt (1997) 226 believes that this detracts from Iphigenie's position of morality, but the dramatization of her decision, and the conflict she goes through, emphasize the difficulty of her situation, and heighten the impact and the sense of great moral virtue of the final outcome in which she is completely truthful.

sich/ Zurückzurufen bangt und sich verzehrt'. Again, this highlights the different functions of men and women, and also the grief that is caused by the male arena of physical battle. The passage as a whole recalls Homer, with the immortalization of battle in the *Iliad*, but also the grief which it causes, a motif which is also prominent in the *Odyssey*. Interestingly, in Homeric terms, Iphigenie is wrong to say that the poet does not record the grief of those who suffer as a result of battle. But of course, in Homer, weeping is not restricted to women. Odysseus famously weeps in his distress at the songs of Demodocus in Book 8. 521-534, where the scene is described as follows[35]:

'So the famous singer sang his tale, but Odysseus melted, and from under his eyes the tears ran down, drenching his cheeks. As a woman weeps, lying over the body of her dear husband, who fell fighting for her city and people as he tried to beat off the pitiless day from city and children; she sees him dying and gasping for breath, and winding her body about him she cries high and shrill, while the men behind her, hitting her with their spear butts on the back and shoulders, force her up and lead her away into slavery, to have hard work and sorrow, and her cheeks are wracked with pitiful weeping. Such were the pitiful tears Odysseus shed from under his brows, but they went unnoticed by all others, but Alkinoös alone understood what he did and noticed, since he was sitting next to him and heard him groaning heavily'[36].

By recalling Homer but simultaneously creating a contrast, Goethe's Iphigenie seems to be making a statement about the contemporary gender functions. In eighteenth century Germany, women do not have the very public function of lament that they had in antiquity. Women have become more introverted. Their focus is the family and the home, and public displays of distress are not acceptable. This is reflected in the image used by Iphigenie of a 'silent soul....full of grief'.

The development of gender relations in Goethe's *Iphigenie*, which reinforces traditional gender roles, although it reflects contemporary ideals, is nonetheless very similar indeed to exploration of gender in the Euripidean original. In Euripides, Iphigenia is thought up to a certain point to sacrifice using the sword, but is ultimately revealed as a powerful persuader, and her femininity is firmly re-established at the end of *IT*. Similarly, Orestes in *IT* goes through a phase where he seems weak and ineffectual, but ultimately shows himself to be brave and physically strong, thus further reinforcing traditional gender roles. Both dramatists also exploit Iphigenie's position as priestess as a means through which to express her authority as a woman[37]. There are some important differences, however. In Goethe's

[35]Cf. *Odyssey* 8. 83-103 where Odysseus also weeps.

[36]Translation by R. Lattimore.

[37]I cannot agree with Boyle (1992) 465 that Goethe's Iphigenie represents 'the powerless' who 'continue to seek only an interior victory'. Iphigenie is without a doubt the most powerful character in Goethe's drama, and the victory she achieves affects all the characters involved, not just her 'interior' self. The irony is that she is powerful *in spite of* her subordinate status as a woman, which was also an integral feature of the Euripidean original.

version, it is clear from the outset that Iphigenie has never sacrificed anyone, and Orest's vision of Iphigenie actually killing him is part of his delusion. It is also paramount that Goethe's Iphigenie does not deceive Thoas, this is not part of her power of persuasion, unlike the Euripidean Iphigenia. Furthermore, while Goethe delineates clear gender roles, he suggests that the female way, which is also the Christian way, of peace and good will is superior and more effective than the man's weapon of force. Thus, gender and religion are inextricably intertwined. This is very different from the outcome of *IT*, where gender roles are validated in equal measures. Nevertheless, contemporary gender prescriptions facilitate Goethe's portrait of an Iphigenie who acts in a morally upright way with regard to the private sphere of the household. This reflects a society in which the man was expected to carry the burden of political action and as such, the ideal of truth is perhaps more suitably expressed through a female figure[38]. It remains true, however, that Goethe's positive characterization of Iphigenie does not reflect any contemporary notion that a woman could be superior to a man. She is an idealized and deified version of the positive power that can be exerted on man.

Goethe's play is so successful because he understood the heart of the Euripidean original, and develops certain aspects already present in the *IT* bringing them into a new and contemporary context. We know that Goethe could read Greek, and it is clear that Goethe was familiar with a wide range of Greek tragedies, and other ancient literary genres[39], which inform his own version of mythological events and can be found beneath the surface at different points in his play. He skilfully blends the ancient with the modern, particularly through his injection of Christian moral values, a system of values which allows Goethe's drama a genuinely positive outcome in contrast to the darker resolution of Euripides' *IT*. Goethe develops gender relations by reaffirming traditional functions of male and female, yet simultaneously highlights female strengths rather than male dominance over the female. In this he very much reflects Euripides, but gender is connected to and dependent on religious morals in Goethe's play, and his Iphigenie's strength lies in her New Testament beliefs.

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[38]Cf. Preußer (2002) 28.

[39]On Goethe reading Greek, see Trevelyan (1981) 24, on his use of different tragic myths and *sententiae*, see Trevelyan (1981) 96-103, and Boyd (1942) 9-14.

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