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van Uum, P.T.

Publication date
2013
Document Version
Final published version

Citation for published version (APA):
van Uum, P. T. (2013). *Tragic Troy and Athens: heroic space in Attic drama*.

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Paul van Uum

Tragic Troy and Athens
Heroic Space in Attic Drama

Acknowledgements

This book could not have been written without the help of several people, to whom I wish to express my sincere gratitude:

My supervisor Irene de Jong, who selected me as her PhD student, supervised my project, and proved not only to be a meticulous reader, but also a constant source of support and encouragement;

Baukje van den Berg, Jan Paul Crielaard, Jo Heirman, Jan Willem van Henten, Niels Koopman, Maarten Prot, and John Tholen, who read various chapters of this book and thoroughly commented on them;

The members of the *Amsterdamse Hellenistenclub*, who read my chapter on the acropolis and provided insightful suggestions for improvement;

Christopher Pelling, Ineke Sluiter, and Rosalind Thomas, whose responses to my conference papers helped me improve my argument;

The staff of the Department of Classics, Radboud University Nijmegen, in particular André Lardinois, who increased my interest in Greek poetry and helped me obtain the PhD-position in Amsterdam;

Elizabeth Upper, who accurately corrected my English;

The board and members of OIKOS (the National Research School in Classical Studies in the Netherlands), who contributed not only to my academic education, but also to my pleasure in academic life;

Several other institutes that provided the financial means for me to conduct this project, particularly the NWO (Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research), ICG (Institute of Culture and History, University of Amsterdam), and *Philologische Studiefonds*;

My parents Theo and José, whose unremitting confidence and support have carried me through. With gratitude I dedicate this book to them.

Contents

Editions

* The list only includes texts of which passages are quoted in full.

Aeschylus	Page D.L. 1972, *Aeschyli septem quae supersunt tragoedias*. Oxford.
- fragments	Radt S. 1985, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta. Volume 3*. Göttingen.
- scholia	Smith O.L. 1976-82, *Scholia Graeca in Aeschylum quae exstant omnia*. Leipzig.
	Herington C.J. 1972, *The Older Scholia on the Prometheus Bound*. Leiden.
Epic Cycle	West M.L. 2003, *Greek Epic Fragments. From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*. Cambridge/London.
Euripides	Diggle J. 1984, *Euripidis Fabulae*. Oxford.
- fragments	Nauck A. [1889] 1964, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Leipzig.
	Austin C. 1968, *Nova fragmenta Euripidea in papyris reperta*. Berlin.
	Page D.L. [1941] 1970, *Select Papyri. Volume 3*. London.
- scholia	Schwartz E. [1887-91] 1966, *Scholia in Euripidem*. Berlin.
Homer	Allen T.W. 1931, *Homeri Ilias*. Oxford.
	Mühll von der P. 1962, *Homeri Odyssea*. Basel.
Sophocles	Lloyd-Jones H., Wilson N.G. 1990, *Sophoclis Fabulae*. Oxford.
- fragments	Radt S. 1977, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta. Volume 4*. Göttingen.
- scholia	Papageorgius P.N. 1888, *Scholia in Sophoclis tragoedias vetera*. Leipzig.

Abbreviations

*Abbreviations of ancient texts and authors are according to LSJ.

AG	Beckby H. 1965, *Anthologia Graeca*. Munich.
CID	Rougemont G. *et alii* 1977-2013, *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*. Athens.
DELG	Chantraine P. *et alii* 1968-80, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. Paris.
DK	Diels H., Kranz W. 1951-2, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. Zürich (sixth edition).
DNP	Cancik H., Schneider H., Landfester M., *Der Neue Pauly*. Brill Online.
EDG	Beekes G.R. 2010, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*. Leiden.
FGrH	Jacoby F. 1923-58, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin/Leiden.
HE	Finkelberg M. 2010, *The Homer Encyclopedia*. Malden.
IG	Kirchhoff A. *et alii* 1860- , *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin.
LfgrE	Snell B., Mette H.J. 1955-2010, *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*. Göttingen.
LIMC	Ackermann H.C. 1981-99, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zürich.
LSJ	Liddell H.G., Scott R., Stuart Jones H., McKenzie R. 1996, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford (ninth edition).
PMG	Page D.L. 1962, *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford.
SEG	Hondius J.J.E. *et alii* 1923- , *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden.
SG	Page D.L. 1974, *Supplementum lyricis Graecis*. Oxford.
TrGF	Snell B., Kannicht R., Radt S.L. 1971-2004, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*. Göttingen.

Introduction

In 1997, Walt Disney released the movie *Hercules*, which brought the world of the Greek heroes to the big screen. This movie won many prizes, but none for historical accuracy – and probably, rightly so. Although it contains a number of elements from ancient Greece, such as temples and papyrus rolls, it largely resembles the late twentieth century. One only has to look at the city of Thebes, where Hercules lives. It has, for instance, a Walk of Fame, containing the footprints of Hercules and his winged horse Pegasus, as well as a 'Hercules Store', where citizens buy animation puppets and pay with credit cards called 'Grecian Express'. People drink energy drinks called 'Herculade' and walk on 'Herc Air' sandals, for which big billboards hang in the city. The omnipresence of modern elements primarily aims at making the ancient Greek world understandable for little children, the target audience of the movie, although it may also have a comic side effect, particularly for adults.

The ancient Greeks themselves also brought the heroic world to life, for example in literature, painting, and sculpture. This book deals with the 'tragic world', the heroic world presented in Attic tragedy of the fifth century BC.[1] Whereas previous studies have primarily focussed on the social and political aspects of this world, such as its relation to contemporary civic ideology,[2] this book treats the largely neglected aspect of space, namely the physical features of the tragic world: the landscape, buildings, and objects. It analyses what the heroic world in tragedy 'looks like'; in other words, what physical elements 'build up' the heroic world.

It is striking that the topic of heroic space has received so little attention in studies of tragedy, while in Homeric scholarship it has been a subject of discussion for more than a century. A vexed question in this field is the historicity of the Homeric world, the relation between the represented world and the 'real' world. Scholars disagree whether the Homeric world is a real, historical world – either the Greek Bronze Age (1600-1200), the Dark Age (1200-750), or the Early Archaic Age (750-650) – or whether it has never existed as such. They try to date the Homeric world by identifying historical equivalents for buildings and objects de-

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[1] I shorten the phrase 'heroic world in tragedy' to 'tragic world' and 'heroic world in Homer' to 'Homeric world'.

[2] E.g. Easterling 1997, 21-37. According to Goldhill (1987), Meier (1988) and Carter (2007), the heroic world in tragedy is used to question contemporary civic ideology.

scribed by Homer.[3] Although this debate is far from settled, I have chosen to focus on the historicity of the tragic world, since this topic has been largely neglected.

Chapter 1 will demonstrate that scholars conflate the heroic world in tragedy with that in Homer to such an extent that the former is often called a 'Homeric world'. Although this may at first seem a reasonable view, it is not based on thorough research, but on the notion of Homer's dominant position in classical Greek society. This book will evaluate the supposed 'Homeric character' of the tragic world by making a more refined analysis of its historicity and by comparing tragedy to Homer. The analysis will be based on the theoretical model of Memory Studies, which will be set out in chapter 2. Chapters 3 and 4 will be devoted to the application of the model to the heroic world.

Since it would be a far too extensive task to analyse the whole of the heroic world in all tragedies, the analysis will be restricted to the presentation of the cities of Troy and Athens. These cities are useful case studies, since they appear in many tragedies and, more importantly, they are each other's opposites in Homeric epic: Troy is of paramount importance as the setting of the Trojan War, while Athens plays a marginal role and is only mentioned in passing. Thus, an analysis of these cities in tragedy will make clear how the tragedians present a 'Homeric' city on the one hand and a 'non-Homeric' city on the other. A comparison between Troy and Athens will be made in the conclusion (chapter 5).

This book aims to provide a clearer understanding of how the classical Greeks presented their 'distant past', the so-called epoch to which the heroic world belongs (see 1.1). The focus on the presentation of two cities in many tragedies rather than on the complete heroic world of a single tragedy makes it possible to discern general tendencies in the tragic genre as a whole.

The Greeks texts are mentioned in the list of editions. All translations are my own, but they are based on existing translations, such as those of the *Loeb Classical Library*. All dates are before Christ, unless stated otherwise.

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[3] Bronze Age: Nilsson 1933; Lorimer 1950. Dark Ages: Finley 1954. Early Archaic Age: Van Wees 1992; Crielaard 1995, 201-88; Raaflaub 1997, 75-97. Not historical (mixture of periods): Snodgrass 1974, 114-125; Finkelberg 2005.

1. Heroic space in tragedy: the state of the art

> '... the whole question of anachronism in tragedy is a highly debated and still unsettled subject.' (Stieber 2011, 91)

This chapter provides a survey of ancient and modern views on the physical presentation of the heroic world in tragedy. At times, the survey will also treat opinions on its social and political aspects, for comparison.

1.1 Ancient views

Ancient authors have already commented on the presentation of the heroic world in tragedy. For the investigation of this book the observations of Aristotle and the scholiasts are relevant. Their statements particularly relate to instances where they consider that the tragedians did not offer a 'correct' representation of the heroic world. The analysis of these remarks will be based on the question of the *date* of the heroic world. This section therefore begins with some remarks on this issue.

The distant past
The archaic and classical Greeks regarded the heroic age – that is, the time when the heroes inhabited the world – as a period in the past. This becomes clear, for example, from the *Works and Days* of Hesiod. When he lists the different races of men, he presents the race of heroes, the 'fourth' race, as preceding that of the humans of his own age, the 'fifth' race (157, 174). Thucydides, likewise, presents in his so-called *Archaeology* the events of the heroic age as prehistory for the contemporary events of the Peloponnesian War, which forms the subject of his historiographical work (1.1-21).

Some Greeks, historians and genealogists in particular, attempted to date the heroic age – or specific events from this age – but their results varied. The Trojan War, for example, was assigned to 1334 (Duris), 'around 1250' (Herodotus), 1184 (Apollodorus), and 1082 (Dicaearchus).[1] Burkert has shown that these dates are mere speculation, based mostly on Greek and near-Eastern king-lists. These

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[1] Duris (*FGrH* 76F41): 1000 years before Alexander's expedition to Asia (i.e. 334); Herodotus (2.145): about 800 years before his own time (i.e. around 450); Apollodorus (*FGrH* 244F61): 408 years before the first Olympiad (i.e. 776); Dicaearchus (fr. 58 Wehrli): 306 years before the first Olympiad.

lists are not a uniform, consistent body of genealogies, but a muddle of separate lineages containing a high degree of invention. According to Burkert, 'serious' genealogies led back to the tenth century, whereas the earlier period was mainly a blank, whose chronologies and genealogies could be easily manipulated.[2]

There were also Greek authors who left the date of the heroic age indefinite. However, all of them regarded it as a period in the *distant* past. This becomes clear from several examples:

(1) In the *Iliad*, Homer separates the time of the heroes from that of his audience when he claims that the heroes are more powerful than mortals 'as they are now' – that is, in the present of the audience (5.304 οἷοι νῦν βροτοί). He also indicates the heroic age with the phrase 'that *remote* day' (2.482 ἤματι κείνῳ).[3]

(2) In his victory odes, Pindar often introduces stories about the heroic age with the indefinite temporal adverb 'once' (*I.* 1.13 ποτέ) or adjectives with a similar temporal meaning, such as 'ancient' (*N.* 1.34 ἀρχαῖον, *N.* 3.32 παλαιαῖσι).

(3) Although Herodotus gives a specific date for the Trojan War, he generally refers to the heroic age with indefinite temporal markers, such as τὸ παλαῖον. For example, the fifth-century Athenians in his narrative claim that they protected the children of Heracles 'long ago' (9.27 παλαιά).

(4) In the heroic age presented in tragedy, heroes refer to the time of the audience as the *future*. For example, in Euripides' *Trojan Women*, Hecuba states that her misery will inspire poets 'of later generations' (1245 ὑστέρων βροτῶν). These poets live in the time of the audience, and have not yet been born in the age of the Trojan queen.[4]

For the purposes of their poems and treatises, these authors did not need to date the heroic age. It was sufficient to state that a particular event had taken place in the time of heroes, not in that of ordinary humans. Pindar, for example, praises athletes who were victorious in the Panhellenic games in his odes. One of his laudatory devices is to compare their victories with deeds of heroes from the past. These heroes were admired by the Greeks because they were supposed to be able to perform greater deeds than humans (e.g. *Il.* 5.304). By placing the athletes

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[2] Burkert 1995, 139-48. Parker (1987, 189-90) states that Attic genealogists from the fifth century, such as Pherecydes and Hellanicus, introduced new kings to the Attic king list to make the heroic chronology of Attica fit that of Greece as a whole.

[3] Lysias, in his *Funeral Oration*, uses a similar phrase (2.13 ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ).

[4] For the heroic age as distant past in general, see: Finley 1975, 14-6; Neumann 1995, 9-10. See further: De Jong 1987a, 44-5; 235-6 (for Homer); Nünlist 2007, 233-4 (for Pindar); Baragwanath and De Bakker 2012, 19 (for Herodotus). Pindar sometimes uses *pote* to indicate the *recent* past in which his addressee has gained an athletic victory (e.g. *P.* 3.74). As Young has demonstrated (1983, 31-48), this *pote* relates to reperformances of the Pindaric ode in the future – that is, after the death of the athlete – which keep his memory alive. On the moment of the reperformance, the victory has taken place in the 'distant' past.

on a par with the heroes, Pindar increases the praiseworthiness of their victories. For these comparisons, he did not need to give a precise date of the heroic deeds, but only state that they had taken place in the admirable heroic past.

Since heroic events were regarded as having occurred in the distant past, poets, such as the tragedians, had to *recreate* this past when composing stories about the heroes. Already in antiquity, there were authors who commented on this process of recreating the past. Their comments primarily relate to instances where they consider that the tragedians did not succeed in giving a 'correct' presentation of the distant past. The remaining part of this section presents an overview of ancient opinions on this subject.

Aristotle

In the *Poetics*, a normative treatise on the principles of poetry, Aristotle gives a list of examples of improbability (ἄλογον) that should be avoided in a dramatic play. Among these he mentions 'the messengers of the Pythian Games in the *Electra*' (1460a31-2 ἐν Ἠλέκτρᾳ οἱ τὰ Πύθια ἀπαγγέλλοντες). Aristotle here probably refers to the *Electra* of Sophocles, in which Orestes' pedagogue arrives at Mycenae to announce the prince's death in the chariot race of the Pythian Games (680-763).[5]

Aristotle does not specify the exact improbability (ἄλογον) concerning the account of the messenger. Modern scholars, for their part, have identified the *alogon* in two ways. According to Vahlen, the improbability lies in the fact that the inhabitants of Mycenae have to wait for the arrival of the pedagogue to receive the message of Orestes' death. In his view, it would have been more likely if the rumour of it had already been spread to Mycenae.[6] I do not see why this would need to be the case. The pedagogue is presented as having come to Mycenae *quickly* after Orestes' death. Therefore, he could very likely have been the first to convey the message. He says that Orestes was cremated 'immediately' after the fatal accident (757 εὐθύς), and that he has run ahead of the men who are bringing Orestes' ashes to Mycenae (757-60, 1114).

Gudeman and Easterling identify the improbability of the passage in a more plausible way. They regard as the *alogon* the fact that the Pythian Games do not fit the *time* of the heroic world. Since the athletic contests were introduced in Delphi only in 586 – and the chariot race in 582 – Aristotle may have considered them as too recent to be presented as probable elements in the distant past.[7]

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[5] Although Aristotle uses the plural form οἱ ἀπαγγέλλοντες, it is only one character in the play – that is, the pedagogue – who conveys the message. On this incongruity see: Gudeman 1934, 416.

[6] Vahlen [1914] 1965, 176-7. '... die Kunde davon [i.e. Orestes' death] [müβte] sich schon früher ... nach Mykenä verbreitet haben ...'

[7] Gudeman 1934, 415; Easterling 1985, 7-8. The scholia on the *Electra* also note the temporal incongruity of the Pythian Games: τοῖς χρόνοις ἀνῆκται· νεώτερος γὰρ Ὀρέστου ἐστὶν ὁ Πυθικὸς ἀγών (ad 49). 'He [Sophocles] has ascended in time, for the Pythian Games are younger than

Easterling corroborates her view by mentioning that Aristotle has published a list of victors in the Pythian Games, which he had based on written records in the archives of Delphi.[8] Presumably, these records did not go further back than the sixth century, when the athletic contests were organised for the first time. If so, Aristotle may have realised (after studying the records) that the Games were of a relatively recent origin and did therefore not belong to the heroic age.

Scholia

Scholia are annotations of scholars written in the margin or between the lines of manuscripts of classical texts. Some scholia deal with the presentation of the heroic world in tragedy. These generally focus on the presence of elements that are temporally 'inconsistent' in the heroic world. Such elements are said to derive from the time of the poet himself:

(1) Eteocles promises the gods to erect trophies in their honour.
παρατηρητέον ὅτι οὐδέπω ἦν ἡ τῶν τροπαίων ὀνομασία κατὰ τὸν Ἐτεοκλέα, ὥστε ἀνεβίβασε τὰ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ὁ Αἰσχύλος (scholion ad A. *Th.* 277a (Smith)).
One must note that the expression 'trophies' did not yet exist in the time of Eteocles, so that Aeschylus has caused the things of the period to go up.

(2) Hecuba calls Odysseus a demagogue, for he has manipulated the mob with rhetorical tricks. Demagogues were regarded as a negative by-product of fifth-century Athenian democracy.
ταῦτα εἰς τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν πολιτείαν λέγει. καί ἐστι τοιοῦτος ὁ Εὐριπίδης, περιάπτων τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἥρωσι καὶ τοὺς χρόνους συγχέων (scholion ad E. *Hec.* 254).
He [Euripides] says these things according to the habits of his own age. Such is Euripides, combining his own time with that of the heroes and mixing up the ages.

The scholiasts use the word 'anachronism' (ἀναχρονισμός) for elements that do not belong to the heroic age. Sometimes, scholiasts only write the word 'anachronism' in the margin (e.g. scholion ad A. *PV* 846b (Herington)); at other times, they also add a short explanation:

(3) The Oceanids, listing the regions on earth where people lament Prometheus' fate, mention the continent of Asia.
ἀναχρονισμός· οὔπω γὰρ ἦν ἐποικισθεῖσα ἡ Ἀσία τοῖς Ἕλλησιν (scholion ad A. *PV* 411 (Herington)).

Orestes.' οὔπω ἦν ἐπὶ Ὀρέστου ὁ Πυθικὸς ἀγών (ad 682). 'The Pythian Games did not yet exist in Orestes' time.'

[8] D.L. 5.26.22-3, Plu. *Sol.* 11 (testimonia). *CID* 4:10 is an honorary inscription set up in Delphi for Aristotle's compilation of the list.

Anachronism. Asia was not yet settled by the Greeks.

Scholiasts seem to identify anachronisms by comparing the heroic world in trage-
dy to that in Homer. Anachronisms, then, are elements that are present in trage-
dy, but absent in Homer. Some scholiasts explicitly state that the Homeric world
is the 'model' heroic world that the tragedians had to follow:

(4) Medea lists the practice of providing dowry among the disadvantages of being
woman.
(a) ἀναχρονισμός· οἱ γὰρ ἥρωες τὸ ἐναντίον παρεῖχον (scholion ad E. *Med.* 233).
Anachronism. For the heroes gave the opposite.
(b) τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἀπὸ τῆς καθ' αὐτὸν συνηθείας λέγει. οἱ δὲ ἥρωες οὐχ οὕτως ἐποίουν
τοὺς γάμους, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτοὶ ἐδίδοσαν, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἄλλοις παρίστησι.
καὶ Ὅμηρος· 'πρῶθ' ἑκατὸν βοῦς δῶκεν, ἔπειτα δὲ χίλι' ὑπέστη' (scholion ad E. *Med.* 232).
Euripides says this on the basis of his own experience. The heroes did not make mar-
riages in this manner, but they gave [gifts] in the opposite way, as he himself shows in
other instances. Homer says: 'First he [Iphidamas] gave a hundred cattle, and thereaf-
ter he promised a thousand.'

Both scholiasts say that the giving of dowry does not fit the heroic world, since the
heroes gave gifts 'in the opposite direction'. The scholiasts mean the custom of
'bride price', in which male suitors try to win the hand of a woman by giving pre-
cious gifts to her father. The second scholiast, moreover, cites a verse from the
Iliad (11.244) as 'evidence' for the correct practice, indicating that he considers the
heroic world in Homer to be the model for tragedy. He adds that Euripides pre-
sented this custom correctly in other instances in his tragedies (e.g. *Hipp.* 269).
    Scholiasts, however, do not always identify tragic deviations from the Ho-
meric world as anachronisms:

(5) Ajax says that he wants to be buried with his armour after his death – except for
his shield, which he gives to his son Eurysaces.
τὸ μὲν σάκος διὰ τὸ ἐξαίρετον τῷ παιδὶ φυλάσσειν κελεύει, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τεύχη συνθάψαι
φησίν. ἐπίσταται γὰρ καὶ αὐτὰ περιμάχητα ἐσόμενα. οἶδεν Ὅμηρος ὅπλα συγκαιόμενα· 'ἀλλ'
ἄρα μιν κατέκηε σὺν ἔντεσι δαιδαλέοισιν' (scholion ad S. *Ai.* 574).
He instructs his child to keep the shield as a special honour, but says that his other
armour will be buried with him. For he understands that these will be fought for.
Homer is acquainted with weapons that are burnt [together with the heroes]: 'but he
burnt him with his ornate armour'.

The scholiast compares Ajax' burial with arms to Homer's practice of a warrior's
cremation with armour. The scholiast cites a verse from the *Iliad* (6.418) about the
cremation of Andromache's father Eetion by Achilles. The scholiast does not pre-

sent Sophocles' deviation from Homer as an anachronism, unlike the scholiast who commented on the presence of dowry in the *Medea*. A possible reason for this might be that Sophocles has also in a sense *followed* the Homeric model. Although he has his hero buried instead of cremated, Sophocles follows the Homeric practice of paying the hero the last honours *together with his armour.*

1.2 Modern views

My survey of opinions on the presentation of the tragic world starts for modern times in 1880, the year of Stricker's book *De tragicorum anachronismis.* Stricker's views set the tone for the majority of scholars in the twentieth century.

A Homeric world
In line with the ancient scholiasts, Stricker regards the heroic world in tragedy as a 'Homeric world'. In his view, the tragedians modelled the heroic world in their plays after that presented in the epics of Homer:

Unde vero illius aetatis imaginem sibi informare poterant tragici? Ex Homero sine dubio, cuius carmina etiam posteriorum fabularum nucleus fuerint (1880, 1).
From what source could the tragedians form an image of that [heroic] age? From Homer, without doubt, since his songs were also the kernel of later stories.

Most twentieth-century scholars hold a similar view. Bain, for example, states:

The tragedians were for the most part attempting imaginative recreations of the Homeric world (1977, 209).

Similarly, Easterling wrote:

... the world created by the epic poets exercised a powerful hold on the imagination [of the tragedians] ... (1985, 10).

Although Easterling speaks of 'epic' poets – that is, Homer as well as the cyclic poets – she primarily compares the heroic world in tragedy with that of Homer. Elsewhere, she says that the tragedians made use of 'broadly *Homeric* settings' in their plays.[9]

The identification of the tragic and Homeric world probably developed from the observation that the epics of Homer were of paramount influence on classical

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[9] Easterling 1989, 9 [my emphasis].

Greek society, literature included.[10] The poems of Homer have been called 'the Bible of the Greeks' and Homer the 'educator of the Greeks'.[11] On account of this dominant position, scholars may have assumed that Homer was also the main source for the image of the heroic world in tragedy.

The notion of the tragic world as a Homeric world has prompted scholars to trace specific elements in the heroic world of tragedy back to that of Homer. For example, Fränkel associates the silver bath-tub of Agamemnon in Aeschylus with the silver baths of Menelaus in the *Odyssey* (*Ag.* 1539-40 ἀργυροτοίχου δροίτας, *Od.* 4.128 ἀργυρέας ἀσαμίνθους). Kamerbeek links the braziers in the Greek army camp at Troy in Sophocles' *Ajax* with those in Odysseus' palace in Homer (*Ai.* 286 λαμπτῆρες, *Od.* 18.307). He even identifies a pear tree in the grove of Colonus, mentioned by Sophocles, as inspired by a pear tree on Ithaca in the *Odyssey* (*OC* 1596 ἀχέρδου, *Od.* 14.10).[12]

A Bronze Age world
The view of the tragic world as Homeric world has entailed the notion that the tragic world is a representation of the Greek Bronze Age. Presumably, this view has developed from the scholarly opinion that the heroic world in Homer is a representation of the Bronze Age:[13] scholars may have transferred this view to the heroic world in tragedy. Barlow, for example, states that Euripides presents 'Mycenaean times' in his tragedies. Stieber, for her part, remarks on the presence of 'Cyclopean walls' in Euripides' heroic world (e.g. *Tr.* 1087-8 τείχη ... Κυκλώπι[α]) and claims that they are one of Euripides' archaeologically 'most correct' images: 'Cyclopean' is the designation of the distinctive masonry style of the Bronze Age. What is more, she calls the house of Heracles in Euripides a 'Bronze Age house' (*HF* 922-1015) but regards it as archaeologically *less* correct, since it contains many fifth-century elements.[14]

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[10] For the influence of Homer on Greek society see: Verdenius 1970. For Homer's influence on Greek literature see: Clarke 1981; Graziosi and Haubold 2005. For an overview of intertextuality between Homer and tragedy see: Garner 1990.

[11] 'Bible of the Greeks' (Bibel der Griechen): Bernard 2001, 98-102; 'educator of the Greeks': Verdenius 1970.

[12] A. *Ag.* 1539-40: Fränkel 1950, 731. S. *Ai.* 286: Kamerbeek 1963, 74. S. *OC* 1596: Kamerbeek 1984, 217.

[13] For the Homeric world as representation of the Bronze Age see e.g.: Lorimer 1950; Bennet 1997; Latacz 2001. As I noted in my introduction, the Bronze Age is only one of the possible sources of Homer's heroic world.

[14] Barlow 1986, 168; Stieber 2011, 30; 91. For the Cyclopes as builders of the walls of Bronze Age cities see: B. 11.76-7, Hellanic. *FGrH* 4F88.

Anachronism

This brings us to the question of anachronism. Not only ancient, but also modern scholars have detected non-Homeric (or post-Bronze Age) elements in tragedy and called these elements 'anachronisms'. Stricker presents an extensive overview of anachronisms in tragedy – particularly in the sphere of architecture, sculpture, painting and geography.

Modern scholars generally *criticise* the use of modern elements by the tragedians. Stricker, for example, states that the tragedians should have cared more for a 'correct' presentation of the heroic world. They possessed, after all, the epics of Homer, in which the heroic world was presented in the 'right' way:

Saepius ... antiquitatis studio parum dediti tragici inscii et imprudentes se anachronismo obstringunt. Homeri carminibus poetae et philosophi magnopere quidem delectabantur, sed ut ex iis antiquitatis doctrinam haurirent tragicis eorumque aequalibus ne in mentem quidem veniebat (Stricker 1880, 3).

All too often the tragedians dedicated themselves too little to the study of antiquity, and ignorantly and imprudently became guilty of anachronism. The poets and philosophers were indeed greatly delighted by the songs of Homer, but the tragedians and their equals did not even think of drawing from these songs lessons in antiquity.

After Stricker – that is, in the twentieth century – scholars have continued to disapprove of anachronism. For example, Pearson (1917) says that Sophocles is 'guilty' of an anachronism when he makes the heroes rub themselves with oil before exercise (fr. 494 ξηραλοιφῶν). Stevens (1971) considers the meeting of women in a palace in Euripides' *Andromache* (930) 'incongruous' and 'improbable', as – in his view – this belongs more to the contemporary life of Athens than to the heroic world. Lee (1976) describes the presence of 'modern' places like Sicily and Thurii on the geographical map of Euripides' *Trojan Women* (220-9) as 'dramatically inappropriate', since it involves a 'glaring anachronism'.[15]

Stricker states that some anachronisms present the 'voice of the poet'. This means that the personal preferences of the poet ring through in these elements. However, when the tragedian follows Homer, he stays in the background and presents the heroic world 'correctly'. For example, Euripides' tragedies contain many anachronisms in the sphere of architecture and painting (e.g. *Ion* 184-218, *Hipp.* 127). According to Stricker, these anachronisms have arisen from Euripides' admiration of Greek art and from his activities as a painter. According to his ancient biography, he was a painter before becoming a playwright.[16] Stricker states that

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[15] Pearson 1917, 102; Stevens 1971, 203; Lee 1976, 102.

[16] *TrGF* 5TA 1A, 14: φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ζωγράφον γενέσθαι καὶ δείκνυσθαι αὐτοῦ πινάκια ἐν Μεγάροις. 'They say that he [Euripides] became a painter and showed his paintings in Megara.' Lefkowitz

Euripides, by not suppressing his admiration for the contemporary visual arts, has violated the atmosphere of the heroic age.[17]

To compare, scholars also connect *political* anachronisms – that is, utterances of characters relating to contemporary politics – to the voice of the poet. For example, some scholars regard the praise of Athens and disapproval of Sparta, uttered by the chorus in Euripides' *Trojan Women* (207-13), as reflecting the preferences of *Euripides*.[18] Their reasoning is that since Athens and Sparta were at war in the fifth century (not in the heroic age), the words of the chorus are anachronistic and have to be ascribed to the poet.

There are also scholars who have adopted a less negative stance towards anachronism. Grube (1941) has argued for a division between 'good' and 'bad' anachronisms. Good anachronisms (1) contribute to the plot and are consistent with other elements in the drama; bad anachronisms (2) are 'irrelevant' and are in disharmony with other elements of the play. He gives examples of both kinds:

(1) In Euripides' *Heracles*, Megara says that she will seek brides for her sons in Athens, so that Thebes will be linked to this city by their marriages (478). Megara presumably chooses Athens because of its *importance* in Greece. Yet, Athens had no important role in Greece in the heroic world of Homer. Megara's plan of constructing links between Thebes and Athens only makes sense if Athens' *contemporary* status rings through. It was in the fifth century that Athens had a dominant position in Greece. The anachronism, in this case, contributes to the logic of Megara's statement and is therefore of the 'good' kind.

(2) In Euripides' *Suppliants*, Athens is ruled by a king, Theseus. Yet, in the debate with the Theban herald, Theseus praises the merits of Athenian *democracy*, such as equality of speech and freedom for all (426-62). Democracy is an anachronism: it is absent in the heroic world of Homer since it was only established (in Athens) at the end of the sixth century. According to Grube, the democratic constitution of Athens is incompatible with the presence of the king: a city cannot be democratic and have a king at the same time. This contradiction violates the consistency of the drama. The anachronism, as a consequence, is of the 'bad' kind.

Grube admits that the boundaries between the categories are not clear-cut, and that it is largely a matter of taste whether a particular anachronism is placed in the first or second category.[19]

(1981, 91) has shown, however, that most details in Euripides' biography are based on his own poetry.

[17] Stricker 1880, 4; 28; 31.

[18] E.g. Lee 1976, 102.

[19] Grube [1941] 1973, 29-36.

Sourvinou-Inwood explains the presence of contemporary elements on the basis of the social function of tragedy – the exploration of contemporary dilemmas. She argues that the tragedians use contemporary elements as 'zooming devices' that bring the heroic world 'nearer' to that of the audience. When the heroic world resembles that of the present, the audience are invited to connect the moral and social dilemmas presented in the play to their own world.[20]

For example, in Sophocles' *Antigone*, Creon is a στρατηγός who has issued a decree (8 κήρυγμα) that forbids the burial of the traitor Polynices. The office of στρατηγός and the issuing of κηρύγματα belonged to the democratic *polis* of Athens. The use of these fifth-century concepts functions as a zooming device: they make the audience perceive Creon's authority in terms of Athenian institutions and *polis* authority. As a result, the problem of whether or not to bury Polynices, and by consequence the larger question of the authority of the *polis* over the *oikos*, becomes relevant to the audience. The spectators are invited to reflect on this issue and relate it to the situation in their own world.[21]

Although Sourvinou-Inwood's view may be right – contemporary elements may serve the social function of tragedy – it does not explain their function in the plot. It is this function to which the analysis in this book is dedicated.

The language of anachronism

Easterling has drawn attention to another aspect of anachronism – the language used. She claims that although the tragedians use contemporary elements in their plays, they try to accommodate them to the 'atmosphere' of the heroic world. In other words, the tragedians attempt to make anachronisms less conspicuous in order to prevent any 'jarring incongruity' between the Homeric and contemporary elements. To do so, Easterling claims, the tragedians use vague, poetic words (instead of explicit, prosaic language), which integrate the anachronisms into the Homeric world. As Easterling puts it:

... [W]e should be thinking of an artistic challenge to the dramatist to find language that will fitly accommodate things undreamed of in the world of epic heroes (1985, 3).[22]

For this process of toning down the conspicuousness of anachronism Easterling introduces the concept of *heroic vagueness*. She gives several examples of it:

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[20] Sourvinou-Inwood 2003, 23.
[21] Sourvinou-Inwood 1989, 136-8.
[22] Elsewhere, Easterling speaks of tragedy's 'well-known concern to keep out overt anachronism' (1997, 23).

(1) In Euripides' *Electra*, Orestes asks the farmer why he is scrutinising him so closely, 'as if he is looking at the stamp on silver' (558-9 ὥσπερ ἀργύρου σκοπῶν ... χαρακτῆρα). This comparison relates to the phenomenon of counterfeiting. Coinage is an anachronism, since it is not a feature of the Homeric world. Yet, this anachronistic element is not conspicuous among the other elements of the heroic world: Euripides uses the vague term 'silver' (ἄργυρος), which lessens its conspicuousness. He deliberately suppresses modern words like δραχμή, ὄβολος and στατήρ, which would have disrupted the heroic atmosphere. 'If [coinage] is an anachronistic import into the heroic world, [Euripides'] use of language makes it seem comfortably at home.'[23]

(2) In the parodos of Euripides' *Trojan Women*, the captive women of Troy speculate on places in Greece where they will end up as slaves. One of the places they mention is Thurii, a colony in Italy founded under leadership of the Athenians in 444/3. Although Thurii is an anachronism on the heroic map, Easterling argues that the reference to it remains 'vague'. Euripides does not use the 'overt' place-name Θούριοι but an allusive periphrasis: 'the land bordering on the Ionian sea, watered by the lovely river Crathis' (224-8).[24]

By using heroic vagueness, Easterling claims, tragedians can include modern concepts in their plays and at the same time preserve the 'integrity' of the heroic world.

Croally has countered Easterling's view. He states that the convention that Easterling describes is often contradicted by the evidence from the plays, and that anachronism can be very overt and explicit. As example he mentions the practice of democracy, which in his view is always devoid of vagueness. Croally states: '... [T]he word "democracy" could not be used *without* referring to the contemporary era; there was no possibility of it being easily adaptable to the heroic setting.'[25] For example, in the debate between Theseus and the Theban herald in Euripides' *Suppliants*, the Athenian king speaks of written laws as well as of the system of annual magistracies. These are not referred to in vague language but in very explicit terms: γεγραμμένων ... τῶν νόμων (433), 'the writing down of laws' and διαδοχαῖσιν ἐν μέρει ἐνιαυσίαισιν (406-7), 'yearly successions by turns'.

A contemporary world

Some scholars state that it is the *contemporary* elements, not the Homeric elements, that dominate the heroic world of tragedy. Knox, for example, claims that

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[23] Easterling 1985, 3; 6-7.
[24] Easterling 1994, 74 n6. E. *Tr.* 224-8: τάν τ' ἀγχιστεύουσαν γᾶν †Ἰονίῳ ναύτᾳ πόντῳ†, ἂν ὑγραίνει καλλιστεύων ... Κρᾶθις.
[25] Croally 1994, 209.

there are so many contemporary elements in tragedy that he totally abandons the idea of a Homeric world:

The contemporary reference in all Attic tragedy is so obvious and insistent that the term 'anachronism', often applied to details of the tragic presentation of the mythical material, is completely misleading; in Attic tragedy of the fifth century anachronism is not the exception but the rule (1957, 61).

According to Knox, tragedy is totally conceived 'in terms of contemporary situations and attitudes'. Modern elements, which others regard as deviation from the Homeric model, are considered by Knox to be part of a *deliberate* contemporary presentation of heroic stories. In his view, the tragedians make the heroic world resemble the contemporary world so that they can reflect on issues of current interest.[26] This stands in contrast with the theory of Easterling, who argues that the tragedians, although using anachronisms to reflect on contemporary matters, present them in 'heroic vagueness' to adapt them to the Homeric atmosphere of the play.

Knox even goes so far as to say that 'the Athenian tragedians wrote not historical, but contemporary drama'.[27] In other words, the stories dramatised in tragedy were not conceived of as past, but as present, according to Knox. This seems to be a step too far. I have already demonstrated that heroic events, such as those in tragedy, were at least *imagined* to have occurred in the distant past (**1.1**).[28]

Grethlein has a more sophisticated view than Knox. He *combines* the notion of a distant past with the supposed 'omnipresence' of contemporary elements. He states that the Greeks presented past and present in the same register – in other words, that they modelled the past after the present. In his view, the Greeks only saw *quantitative*, not *qualitative*, differences between past and present. This means that the heroic world was sometimes presented as larger than life – heroes,

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[26] Knox deduces from Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* contemporary elements such as the payment of tribute (36 δασμόν) and the presence of *metoikoi* in Thebes (452). In his view, this play reflects on the position of Athens in the Greek world. In the fifth century, Athens had set up the Delian League, a maritime alliance with other cities in Greece, but appropriated the status of leader (*tyrannos*) over the other allies. Knox claims that Athens' status of *tyrannos* finds its parallel in the leadership (*tyrannis*) of Oedipus over Thebes (1957, 64-6).

[27] Knox 1957, 62.

[28] Homeric scholarship witnesses a similar debate. Van Wees (1992, 6-7; 1999, 2) argues that although Homer models the heroic world after the present, he identifies it as part of the distant past. Crielaard (2002, 239-95), by contrast, states that Homer portrays the heroic world as parallel to the contemporary world of his audience.

for example, could be portrayed as much stronger than humans in the present (e.g. *Il.* 5.304) – but in essence resembled that of the present.[29]

Visual arts

For comparison, I briefly turn to the field of archaeology. The theory that the heroic world resembles the contemporary world is also current here. Archaeologists state that the visual arts, such as vase painting and sculpture, portray heroic events in a contemporary mould: heroes are presented as wearing clothes and bearing weapons from the time of the painter or sculptor.[30] Fifth-century vases, for example, show Amazons in hoplite armour and Trojans in Persian dress.[31] Similarly, architecture depicted on vases resembles that of the time of the painter. For instance, a fifth-century vase presenting a scene from the life of Bellerophon portrays the hero standing near a temple that is classical in design: it has a colonnade, a pediment, and acroteria on its roof.[32]

Since heroic events are portrayed in a contemporary mould, it is often difficult to determine whether a given representation is heroic or contemporary. For example, archaeologists do not agree whether the friezes of the Athena Nike temple in Athens – containing battle scenes with armed men and horses – represent the Trojan or Persian War.[33] According to Guiliani, a given representation can only be plausibly identified as heroic if the event represented does not belong to the everyday experience of the audience but is a *unique* element of a heroic story. For example, a warrior who is presented as wounded by an arrow in his heel might plausibly be identified as Achilles, since he was the only one who died in this way. 'Ordinary' soldiers from the time of the audience would presumably die from wounds to their head or chest.[34]

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[29] Grethlein 2010, 283-7. Grethlein has not specifically analysed the heroic world in tragedy, but he claims that all Greek representations of the past (tragedy included) show the same tendency of qualitative equality with the present. Grethlein has elsewhere demonstrated the qualitative equality of the heroic world in the *Iliad* and the early archaic age – the time when the poem was probably composed (2006, 163-79).

[30] E.g. Boardman 2002, 157-82.

[31] Amazons in hoplite armour: *LIMC* I.1 592; I.2 450 (no. 83). Trojans in Persian dress: *LIMC* I.1 499; I.2 378 (no. 12).

[32] *LIMC* VII.1 525; VII.2 414 (no. 3)

[33] For the former view see e.g. Knell 1990, 148. For the latter view see e.g. Hölscher 1973, 91-8. I have adopted this example from Grethlein 2010, 285.

[34] Giuliani 2003, 281-6.

1.3 Conclusion

The survey presented in this chapter has shown that the question of the heroic world in tragedy is far from a settled subject. The following tendencies can be discerned in my overview of ancient and modern opinions:

(1) The majority of scholars regard the heroic world in tragedy as a 'Homeric world', which means that it resembles the heroic world presented in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Some scholars (Barlow, Stieber) equate the tragic world with the Bronze Age. This opinion has probably developed from the first view, because the Homeric world has been considered a Bronze Age world, too. A minority of scholars (Knox, Grethlein) take a different view and regard the tragic world as by and large a reflection of the present.

(2) Scholars who favour the 'Homeric' and 'Bronze Age' theory also detect elements that differ from these worlds. They ascribe these elements to the present of the poet and call them 'anachronisms'. These elements are usually criticised by them (e.g. Stricker), although Grube has also made a first step in determining their function in the plot.

(3) The language of anachronisms has been qualified as both overt and glaring (Croally), and vague and inconspicuous (Easterling). The latter qualifications are related to the concept of heroic vagueness, which means that contemporary elements are 'accommodated' to the atmosphere of the Homeric world.

The disagreement between scholars is largely due to a limited scope of their research. They have not made in-depth comparisons between the tragic world and the world with which they have equated it. Those who favour the 'Homeric' theory simply assume the equality of these worlds, based on the observation that the epics had paramount influence on Greek literature. Adherents of the 'Bronze Age' theory have basically transferred a theory from the field of Homeric scholarship to that of tragedy. And those who support the 'contemporary' theory simply give priority to fifth-century elements, the presence of which nobody denies. Moreover, due to lack of analytical tools, the discussion of the function of 'anachronism' has largely been unproductive. Scholars have not determined the role of contemporary elements in the plot but merely considered them an artistic failure.

This book aims to throw new light on these questions. The heroic world will not be discussed in its entirety – physical, social and political – but the analysis will be restricted to the first element. It will analyse the *form* and *function* of the elements that build up the tragic world. The next chapter lays the theoretical foundation for this investigation. The analysis of the form of the tragic world makes use of memory theory (2.1); the study of the function of the tragic elements starts from literary theory on space (2.2).

2. Remembering heroic space: a framework of analysis

2.1 Remembering the past

Memory Studies comprises a broad field of theories and approaches and draws on many disciplines, such as sociology, psychology and cultural history. The study of memory has experienced a real boom from the 1980s onwards, although its origin goes back to the 1920s, to the observations of the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. This section begins with an introduction to the basic principles of Memory Studies, after which they are applied to the presentation of the heroic world in tragedy.

Collective memory
Memory Studies focuses on the way in which individuals and societies remember their past. Here, 'memory' does not refer to an impersonal, abstract past, which is usually studied by historians and archaeologists, but to the way in which individuals and societies deal with and give *meaning* to their past. Memory Studies, then, examines the remembered past in relation to the remembering subject(s). Since only individuals are mentally capable of remembering, the concept of memory in collective contexts refers to the *construction* of a shared past. The term 'memory' is used nevertheless, since individual and collective memories have many points in common.[1]

This last observation was made by the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, the 'founding father' of Memory Studies. In his book *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925) he showed that the memory of individuals is influenced by socio-cultural contexts.[2] The context, which can range from conversations to books and places, *triggers* as well as *shapes* memories. Halbwachs demonstrated that an individual only remembers what is relevant in a given context and that memories are modified according to the present circumstances. A clear description of this process is given by Welzer:

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[1] Erll 2008, 5; Frijhoff 2011, 7-11; De Haan 2012, 100.
[2] The society in which an individual lives, provides conventions and definitions for the giving of meaning to present and past. As Welzer (2008, 287) puts it: 'Cultural frameworks have an effect … in the individual consciousness as a structuring matrix for the processing of information.' Bourke (1999), for example, has shown that autobiographies, letters and diaries of soldiers – that is, media for the communication of the individual, recent past – are influenced by literary and filmic models on war.

... it is often the case that it is more the emotional dimension, the atmospheric tinge of a report that is passed on and determines the image and interpretation of the past, while the contents themselves – the circumstances of the situation, the causes, the sequences of events, etc. – can be freely altered, in a way which makes the most sense for listeners and those who retell the story (2008, 295).

Halbwachs demonstrated that socio-cultural contexts also influence the construction of a *shared* past. The same processes – the selecting of relevant parts of the past and their modification according to present needs – are applicable to communities. Halbwachs was the first to undertake research on the memories of societies and he coined for these the term 'collective memory' (*mémoire collective*).[3]

An important function of collective memory is to constitute and preserve a group. Shared memories of the past connect individuals to each other. An individual who becomes acquainted with the memory of a group can be subsumed into that group. This process is called *socialisation*. Conversely, individuals who are not acquainted with the collective memory of a group are excluded from that group. Collective memory, moreover, constructs identity. The members of a community obtain a collective, shared identity by remembering the characteristics of the group members in the past and by relating them to the present, for example by putting themselves in a continuous tradition with their predecessors.[4] The sixteenth-century inhabitants of the Netherlands, for example, created collective identity by emphasising their shared descent from the tribe of the Batavians (although many of them had no real, historical connection to that bloodline). The Dutch remembered the Batavians as a vigorous and independent people who had bravely offered resistance to the Roman conquerors. They emphasised that these virtues lived on in them and that their 'ancestors' had to be imitated in the contemporary battle against the Spaniards.[5]

Memories of the past have to be repeatedly revitalised in a community in order to exert their binding function. In other words, a shared past can only constitute a group if the individual members are repeatedly reminded of it. Memories, therefore, have to be continually *communicated* in a group to gain coherence.[6] On the basis of its mode of communication, collective memory can be divided in two forms, (1) communicative memory and (2) cultural memory:

(1) Memory of the past is, on the one hand, revitalised in private contexts by individual group members – that is, via everyday communication and interaction. (Grand)parents, for example, tell their (grand)children about the past of a community.

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[3] For a summary of Halbwachs' theories see: Marcel and Mucchielli 2008, 141-9.
[4] Gehrke 2010, 15-7.
[5] Frijhoff 2011, 24-5.
[6] Erll 2008, 5-6.

(2) On the other hand, every community has so-called 'specialists' whose memory of the past is considered *authoritative*. The memories of these specialists are communicated to the community by songs and performances at public festivals, at which the whole (or a large part) of the community is present. In ancient Egypt it was the priests who belonged to this category; in archaic and classical Greece it was the poets.[7]

Greek tragedy

In fifth-century Athens, tragedy played a paramount role in the construction of collective memory. Tragic plays were performed during the City Dionysia, a yearly festival of Dionysus in spring. During this festival, the tragedians communicated their memory of the past to the Athenian community in the theatre.[8] The tragedians can thus be regarded as 'specialists' in collective memory. The question that is relevant here is how the memory of the tragedians came about – in other words, what factors influenced their construction of the past. Three aspects play a part in this process: tradition, innovation, and *lieux de mémoire*.

Tradition

Specialists in general do not have absolute freedom in their construction of the past, but instead have to take the already existing collective memory into account. Earlier specialists have already communicated their memories of the past to the society and have thus contributed to the formation of collective memory. New specialists have to conform their constructions to those of their predecessors. The sum of these earlier constructions is called the *tradition*.

Specialists, however, need not follow the tradition in all respects. In other words, new constructions need not be simple *copies* of earlier ones. Nevertheless, every tradition has certain elements – that is, events and people – that cannot be omitted in a new construction. These elements are called the *canon* of the past.[9] Canonical elements lend *authority* to a new construction. If a new construction

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[7] J. Assmann [2000] 2006, 1-29; 2008, 109-18. Assmann also makes a distinction in the temporal dimension of the two forms of collective memory. According to him, communicative memories always relate to events from the *recent* past – that is, events of which (some) eyewitnesses are still alive. Only after the disappearance of all eyewitnesses (that is, after eighty years at the most), the memory of these events is communicated by specialists at public festivals. Sluiter and Visser (2004, 239-48) have shown that this distinction is too rigid. The memory of the recent past can also be communicated by specialists. An example of this is the Athenian memory of the battle of Salamis in 480. This event was brought onstage by Aeschylus in his *Persians* already in 472. Many spectators of this tragedy would also have been eyewitness of the battle.
[8] For a description of this festival see e.g. Pickard-Cambridge [1953] 1988, 57-125.
[9] A. Assmann 2008, 97-107. Aristotle remarks in his *Poetics* that the tragedians vary the details of heroic stories, but also stick to a certain 'traditional' core (1451b11-26).

does not contain canonical elements from the tradition, it cannot become part of collective memory; in that case, the construction would differ too much from what the community holds true about the past. As Foxhall and Luraghi put it:

... [T]he existence of frameworks of 'fixed points' in the past serve as a foundation of belief in the truth of the past for most societies. ... [S]uch waypoints serve both to anchor and to validate narratives of the past. ... [L]ater works become contingent upon earlier templates, and in the classical tradition permanence attaches itself to well-established pasts which come to hold authority (2010, 9-10).

Canons of memories play an important role within communities:
(1) Canons offer communities a 'usable' past. The storage capacity of individual and collective memory is limited in extent. Individuals as well as communities cannot remember the *whole* of their past, since in that case their memory would be overloaded. Canons permit a group to remember only a *select* amount of persons and events, which are most important for the constitution of collective identity.
(2) Canons contribute to the *diachronic* preservation of a group. Canonical memories remain part of the tradition for several generations. If every generation constructed its own past, independently of previous ones, a community would dissolve after the disappearance of a generation. To preserve a community for more generations, a new generation has to remember the same past as the previous one. By remembering the same past, the identity of a community is passed down to the next generation.[10]
An example of a canonical Dutch memory is the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648). The memory of this war has been of paramount importance for Dutch group identity for many generations.[11]

The tragedians, too, had to include canonical events and persons from the tradition in their constructions of the past. An example of a canonical event is the Trojan War, including, for instance, the Judgement of Paris and the murder of

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[10] Marcel and Mucchielli 2008, 147-8. In addition to canonical memories, which are important for the survival of a group, communities also have memories that are not repeatedly communicated. These memories are called the *archive* of a community. Memories of the archive do not meet the standards of the canon, but are nevertheless deemed important enough not to let them disappear into total oblivion. In ancient Greece, for example, there were aristocratic families who tried to preserve the memory of their clan by committing their achievements to writing and store the texts in temples (Thomas 1992, 141-4). Archival memories do not belong to the active collective memory of a community, but to the domain of study of historians. It is possible, however, that historians bring archival memories back into collective memory by striving for their adoption in the canon (A. Assmann 2008, 97-107).
[11] Frijhoff 2011, 16.

Priam, as well as the heroic deeds of the early Athenian kings, such as Theseus and Erechtheus.

In addition to the inclusion of canonical events and persons, the tragedians also had to include canonical *spaces* in their construction of the past. To lend their constructions authority, the image of the heroic world had to conform to the traditional image of this world. It is an aim of this book to determine what spaces are adopted from the tradition and why.

In chapter **1**, it was stated that many scholars regard Homer as the main source for the image of the heroic world in tragedy. However, the tradition on which the tragedians were dependent, had not been created only by Homer, but also by other specialists, such as the lyric poets and those of the Epic Cycle. In addition, visual artists, such as vase painters and sculptors, had contributed to the tradition about the heroic past. This study aims to investigate in detail to what extent the heroic world in tragedy is influenced by Homer and to what extent by other specialists. This book will address that question by making specific comparisons between the Homeric and tragic world on the one hand, and by taking account of the wider tradition on which the tragedians were dependent on the other.

Innovation

Tradition contains both canonical elements that remain stable for several generations and elements that can *change*. Memories of the past must remain meaningful for the community in changing social and cultural situations. Memories can only exert their binding function and construct identity if they relate to contemporary beliefs, needs and values of a community. Specialists, therefore, do not preserve traditions unchanged, but instead subject them to constant revision. As early as the 1920s, Halbwachs demonstrated that memory, both individual and collective, is *dynamic*. Individuals as well as communities only remember what is relevant in the *present context*. Regarding collective memory, Marcel and Mucchielli state:

... [A]s members change, die or disappear, as ... the concerns of the time replace past concerns, the collective memory is continually reinterpreted to fit those new conditions. It adjusts the image of old facts to the beliefs and spiritual needs of the moment (2008, 148).

Changes in the tradition roughly take place in two ways:
(1) Memories that are no longer in accordance with the present conditions can be omitted in a new construction. This process is called *forgetting*. Forgetting has an intentional and an unintentional variant. Intentional forgetting refers to the conscious destroying or suppressing of memories, such as censorship. This process,

which is also called *damnatio memoriae*, is usually initialised by political leaders. Unintentional forgetting refers to the unconscious disappearance of memories. Memories that do not support contemporary needs anymore can fall into oblivion, as they have lost their relevance for the group.[12]

(2) *New* memories can be constructed that support the needs of the community in the present. These new constructions of the past are a reflection of the contemporary circumstances. This process is called *projection*. Like forgetting, projection has an intentional and an unintentional variant. The intentional variant refers to the conscious modelling of the past on the basis of the present needs of the community. The non-intentional variant refers to the unconscious equation of past and present: specialists may model the past after the present without being conscious of the historical differences.[13]

It is often difficult to determine whether the processes of forgetting and projection have taken place intentionally or unintentionally. Specialists may in some cases have *intentionally* changed the past (be it under the command of rulers) to support contemporary needs. When the newly constructed past is repeatedly communicated to the community, the collective memory will change as new memories replace old memories. The group members, for their part, may be unaware of this process.

It is not always the case that the tradition is adjusted to the contemporary situation. Traditional elements are sometimes preserved in a new construction of the past, without corresponding any longer to the present circumstances. These elements are called *archaisations*. Archaisations *preserve* the past and emphasise the difference between past and present. They are regarded as typical or 'genuine' elements of the past, in contrast to the present.

An example of the processes of forgetting, projection, and archaisation is the fifth-century Athenian memory of the heroic king Theseus.[14] The memory of Theseus belonged to a long tradition. He was a canonical figure in the Greek past and was part of Athenian collective memory for many generations. The tradition *before* the fifth century (on which classical constructions were dependent) considered Theseus' character contradictory. On the one hand, he was presented as a civilising hero who freed Greece from monsters, such as Centaurs and the Minotaur (e.g. *Il.* 1.262-70);[15] on the other hand, he was an abductor of women and a breaker of boundaries. One of the women he abducted was Helen from Sparta. As a result of this abduction, he endangered the whole of the Athenian community: Helen's brothers, the Dioscuri, lay siege to the city in order to save her (e.g. Alcm.

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[12] A. Assmann 2008, 98.

[13] Foxhall and Luraghi 2010, 9-14; Gehrke 2010, 15-34.

[14] I have adopted this example from: Graf 1993, 136-41; Mills 1997, 2-18.

[15] Cf. *LIMC* VI.1 575-6; VI.2 316-20 (no. 6-29).

fr. 21). Theseus, moreover, supported his friend Pirithous in his hubristic attempt to abduct Persephone, Queen of the Underworld, which was frustrated by Hades, who locked them up in the Underworld as punishment (e.g. Hes. fr. 280).

Around 500, the Athenian memory of Theseus changes. In this period, Theseus is appropriated as representative and national hero of the Athenians and he becomes a model citizen in whom all classical Athenians can recognise themselves. He is therefore invested with the collective values of the contemporary Athenian community.

Theseus' civilising role from the tradition continued to correspond to the situation in the fifth century and is therefore *preserved* in classical constructions. The classical Athenians regarded themselves as civilisers, too: their battle against the Persians, whom they regarded as a tyrannical and hubristic nation, was a proof of this. Theseus' civilising nature was, for example, presented on the metopes of the Athenian treasury in Delphi, where he had defeated monsters and bandits (cf. B. 18.19-30).[16]

What is more, the negative aspects of Theseus' character are *suppressed* in classical Athenian constructions. For example, the abduction of Helen, which caused the Dioscuri's attack on Athens, became omitted from the narrative. Tragedy and the monumental arts are, for instance, reticent about this episode. It did not correspond to the contemporary Athenian ideal of placing collective concerns above private interests. The absence of this episode in specialists' constructions may have caused its complete disappearance from collective memory. In other words, due to its suppression by specialists, the community may have *forgotten* this episode.[17]

In classical constructions, Theseus is also invested with *new* features. He is presented, for instance, as an ambassador of Athenian democracy. In the fifth century, democracy played an important part in the collective identity of the Athenians. It is therefore reflected in the construction of the past. Theseus, for example, does not govern the city alone, but together with the community, which is a hallmark of democracy. Moreover, he is credited with the foundation of the council (βουλή) and the prytany (πρυτανεία), which were democratic institutions in the fifth century (Th. 2.15). The presence of these customs and institutions in the past must be considered *projections* of the contemporary situation.

Although Theseus shares his power with the people, he is also presented as a king in classical constructions. Theseus' royal status was a canonical element in

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[16] Von den Hoff 2010, 161-88. Cf. *LIMC* VII.1 928; VII.2 633-4 (no. 54).

[17] The abduction of Persephone is not suppressed but modified. In Critias' tragedy *Pirithous* (*TrGF* 1 43), for example, the blame of the attempt is wholly put on Pirithous, whereas Theseus is exonerated. Moreover, although Hades only locks up Pirithous, Theseus stays with his friend out of loyalty until Heracles frees them both. Privileging friendship and loyalty over private interests corresponds to the contemporary values of the Athenians (cf. Mills 1997, 257-62).

the tradition and was therefore preserved. Kings, however, were not included in the democratic constitution of fifth-century Athens. Theseus' status as king must therefore be considered an *archaisation*. The Athenians may have regarded kings as 'typical' characters of the distant past, in contrast to the present.

The processes of forgetting, projection, and archaisation play a part not only in the memory of persons and events, but also in the memory of *space*. In new constructions, traditional space can be forgotten or preserved. If traditional spaces no longer correspond to the contemporary world, they must be considered archaisations. Contemporary space, moreover, can be projected in the past.

An example of a *spatial* archaisation is the presence of the city of Phthia in classical memories of the heroic past. This city had been destroyed for centuries, but it was preserved in some classical constructions as the residence of Achilles (e.g. E. *IA* 103). In the fifth century, the city of Pharsalus claimed to be founded on the remains of the city of Phthia. Some classical constructions account for this contemporary state of affairs, presenting the city of Pharsalus as the residence of Achilles and his family (e.g. E. *Andr.* 16-23). The presence of Pharsalus in these constructions can thus be considered a projection from the contemporary world.

This book aims to determine to what extent the processes of forgetting, projection and archaisation play a role in the construction of the physical heroic world in tragedy.

Anachronism

In chapter 1 it was stated that ancient and modern scholars generally call contemporary elements in tragedy 'anachronisms'. In my opinion, this concept should not be used of the Greek heroic world. The concept of anachronism presupposes a *fixed* (static) world, to which 'inaccurate' elements of later times are added. The example of Theseus has shown, however, that the Greek heroic world is *dynamic* and subject to constant revision: changing contemporary situations influence memories of the heroic past. Therefore, when the past contains elements from the present, I use the term 'projection'. This concept takes account of the dynamic character of the heroic world and has a less negative connotation than the term 'anachronism'.

Bronze Age

As was stated in chapter 1.2, some modern scholars hold the opinion that the tragedians have modelled the heroic world after the Bronze Age. However, when one takes into account the theory described in this chapter, this suggestion becomes highly unlikely. The archaic and classical Greeks, in all probability, had no coherent and clear view of the Bronze Age:

(1) They did not possess documents from the Bronze Age, in which the memory of this age was preserved. The alphabet they used was only adopted in the eighth

century. Their ancestors from the Bronze Age, on the contrary, had used Linear B, a syllabic script for administrative purposes. There is no evidence that the archaic and classical Greeks were able to read this script.

(2) The memory of the Bronze Age that was handed down in oral performances had probably largely changed by the time it reached the archaic period.[18] From the end of the Bronze Age onwards, Greek society witnessed many changes. After the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces, the Greeks first lived in small tribes (in the so-called 'Dark Ages'), after which in the eighth century *poleis* and interstate (panhellenic) connections arose. These changes in the social context would also have changed the memories of the past.[19]

The Bronze Age, however, may not have been completely forgotten in the archaic and classical period. The Greek landscape contained many physical traces of this age, which most likely influenced the memory of the past. This brings us to the last group of factors that play a role in the construction of the heroic world: *lieux de mémoire*.

Lieux de mémoire

Memories are often connected to space. Events from the past leave physical traces in the landscape. Places, monuments, and ruins therefore evoke memories of the past. For example, the battlefield at Gettysburg in Pennsylvania may remind the passer-by of the turning point in the American Civil War in 1863, when the northern 'United States' gained a decisive victory on the southern 'Confederate States'. Similarly, the bullet holes in the wall of the nunnery of St Agatha in Delft are still silent witnesses of the murder of Willem van Oranje in 1584.

Places that evoke memories of the past, are called *lieux de mémoire*. This term was coined by the French historian Nora, who led a project on the constitution and identity of the French nation in the 1980s and 1990s. In his view, the process of globalisation and the increasing influence of the European Union weakened the French identity and the collective memories that constituted the nation. To preserve these, Nora made a catalogue of 'places' that had played an important part in the national past of France, such as Verdun, Versailles, and the Bourbon palace. This catalogue was called *Les Lieux de Mémoire* (1984-92). Nora, however, uses the term *lieu* not literally, but metaphorically. He includes not only physical

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[18] E.g. Raaflaub (1997, 85-9) has attempted to reconstruct the way in which collective memories of the Bronze Age changed in these centuries.

[19] The reasons given here are also used by those Homerists who hold the opinion that the heroic world in Homeric epic resembles the early archaic age, that is, the time when the texts became largely fixed. See introduction note 3.

'places' of memory, but also symbols and persons that are important for French identity, such as the French flag and Jeanne d'Arc.[20]

In the first decade of the 21st century, similar research projects were started in other countries, which in their turn resulted in catalogues of symbols, people, and places that are constitutive of national identity. In Germany, for example, the historians François and Schulze have led a project about *Deutsche Erinnerungsorte* (2001-9); under the supervision of the historian Wesseling, the Netherlands now has its own series of *Plaatsen van Herinnering* (2005-7). The Dutch catalogue uses the term *lieu de mémoire* in a literal sense and only includes *physical* places of memory. This seems to serve a certain touristic interest. Readers can visit the places of the catalogue and can 'come in contact' with the past on the spot.[21] In this book I, too, restrict the term *lieu de mémoire* to physical places.

Like modern nations, the ancient Greeks had their own *lieux de mémoire*. The majority of Greek heroic stories takes place in Greece and the Mediterranean. The Greeks thus supposed that the heroes, whom they considered their ancestors, had lived in the same area. Consequently, they associated elements in their landscape, such as rocks and caves, with the heroic past. It was above all *conspicuous* elements, which demanded explanation, that were connected to the time of heroes.[22]

On the one hand, Greeks related physical elements to *existing* traditions, for instance as 'proof' or illustration of a story. For example, Theophrastus (*HP* 4.13.2) and Strabo (13.1.35) identify the oak tree in the Trojan plain that is repeatedly mentioned in the *Iliad* (e.g. 9.354). On the other hand, elements of the landscape can also inspire *new* memories. Pausanias, for example, describes the origin of little holes in leaves of a myrtle tree in Troezen. The inhabitants of this city supposed that the leaves had been pierced by Phaedra with a hair-pin when she grieved at Hippolytus' rejection of her love (1.22.2). In all probability, a biological explanation, such as ravaging by aphids, would have been more correct. It is usu-

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[20] Nora (1993, 3-10) claims that the concept of *lieu de mémoire* can only be connected to France, because its past differs from that of other European countries: the French past has witnessed clean breaks and traumatic experiences, whereas the past of other countries, such as that of England, is characterised by tradition, continuity, and gradualness. In Nora's view, a past such as that of France is necessary for the construction of *lieux de mémoire*: places and symbols are in general reminiscent of watershed events. However, research projects in other countries have demonstrated that this statement is incorrect. Every community constructs its own 'landscape' of memory, which consists of places and symbols.

[21] Cf. Nauta 2007, 258-62.

[22] The observations and examples in this section are largely adopted from Boardman 2002, 79-126. For *lieux de mémoire* in ancient Greece see further e.g. Jung 2006; Hölkeskamp and Stein-Hölkeskamp 2010.

ally difficult, or even impossible, to determine whether a place has inspired a story or the other way around.[23]

The connecting of places to the past by the ancient Greeks usually lacked a historical basis. Archaeologists have demonstrated that the Greeks identified many places incorrectly. Pausanias, for example, labels a pyramid-like structure near Hellenicum, a place near Argos, as a common grave for fallen warriors in a battle between the heroic kings Proetus and Acrisius (2.25.7). Archaeologists, however, have shown that this structure was in fact a guardhouse from the fourth century. The meaning ascribed to a structure or natural element by the ancient Greeks is largely determined by its location in the landscape. Elements on sacred ground, for example, are generally invested with a religious connotation.[24]

Since elements of the landscape can evoke all sorts of memories, sometimes various, even mutually contradictory, stories are told about a particular place.[25] The Athenians, for example, knew different versions of the institution of the court on the Areopagus hill (e.g. A. *Eum.* 482-4, E. *IT* 945-6).[26] According to Van Sas, such a place consequently becomes a *noeud de mémoire*, a 'node' of conflicting memories that has to be unravelled. In his view, one has to determine the 'cor-

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[23] The connecting of the physical landscape to the past played an important role in colonisation processes. Unknown areas that were colonised could inspire new memories or be related to existing traditions. Colonists often presented heroes as inhabitants or visitors of the area in the distant past. It was particularly wandering heroes, such as Heracles and the Argonauts, who were fit candidates for these roles. For example, the fertile region of Benghazi was presented as the place of the garden of the Hesperides, where Heracles had once stolen the golden apples (A.R. 4.1396, D.S. 4.26.2). By inventing a relationship with the past, the Greeks could justify the colonisation of the area: they could claim to have the right to colonise the region, since their ancestors had been there before. Moreover, they could connect the new area to the fatherland and preserve cohesion with their compatriots (by using traditional heroes from the mainland as a link between them). For prototypical themes and patterns in colonisation-stories see: Dougherty 1993, 3-82.

[24] Winter 2008, 68. Heroic *lieux de mémoire* were often used as 'background' during a ritual. When members of a community were present at a ritual, the meaning of a *lieu* could be revitalised in collective memory (Alcock 2002, 28). For example, the procession during the Great Panathenaea, the festival celebrating the benevolence of Athena, led to the Athenian acropolis, where stood the olive tree that the goddess herself had once planted, according to the tradition.

[25] It is also possible that one and the same story is connected to *different* landmarks. For example, according to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, Leto bore her son under a palm tree on the island of Delos (115-8). However, according to a local tradition in Asia Minor, this event took place at an olive tree in Ortygia, a place near Ephesus (Str. 597). By presenting Ortygia as the birthplace of Apollo, the local inhabitants could contest the existing tradition and raise the status of their city. In a similar vein, there were several tombs in Greece that were purported to be that of Agamemnon. Pausanias, for example, says that both the inhabitants of Mycenae and those of Amyclae claimed to possess the tomb of the general (3.16.7, 3.19.6).

[26] See further **4.2.**

rect', historical version of a *lieu de mémoire* and reject the other versions as 'unhistorical'.[27] Since (in case of the Greeks) the connection of physical elements with the past usually had no historical basis, it is better to regard the past as 'many-voiced' and not to dismiss any of the versions. In my opinion, it is important to determine the *functions* of the different versions. These can be deduced from the socio-cultural context: the memories with which a place is 'invested' are modified according to the changing needs of the community.[28]

The Greeks connected not only natural places (such as caves and rocks), but also objects, to the distant past. On the one hand, Greeks collected 'real' objects from the distant past, such as grave gifts from the Bronze Age, and preserved them by storing them in sanctuaries. On the other hand, they also associated more 'modern' objects – that is, archaic and classical objects – with the time of heroes (*projection*). For example, the Athena temple in Lindos contained a golden *omphalos phiale*, a votive offering supposedly given by Telephus, the heroic king of Mysia (*IG* XII, 1 Lindos II 2, 48). This specific type of *phiale*, however, was only produced in Greece from the archaic period onwards. The Greeks, then, supposed that the heroes had used the same objects as they themselves did.[29]

According to Boardman, the archaic and classical Greeks rarely attempted to recreate objects from the distant past. Although such objects were diligently collected and stored, they were rarely *copied*.[30] Before the Hellenistic Age, moreover, the Greeks were not acquainted with the concept of *restoration*. When an old building was damaged, it was repaired with modern, contemporary building pieces.[31] For example, the Hera temple in Olympia, which was built around 600, contained wooden columns in its original form. These columns were gradually replaced by stone columns at different times. This is the reason why the columns and capitals that have been found by archaeologists differ from each other.[32]

It seems likely that *lieux de mémoire*, which were omnipresent in the Greek landscape, influenced the construction of the past by the tragedians. This book examines how this has happened and aims to determine which *lieux* the tragedi-

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[27] Van Sas 1995, 10.

[28] Alcock 2002, 28-32. *Lieux de mémoire* can eventually fall into oblivion. This can happen unintentionally, for example, when the community dissolves and the need to remember the past disappears, or intentionally, when groups try to destroy traces of the past (*damnatio memoriae*). In Greece, for example, the rise of Christianity caused the forgetting of many classical *lieux de mémoire*. For the process of forgetting *lieux de mémoire* see: Winter 2008, 72.

[29] What is more, Greek sanctuaries contained objects made from perishable materials. The temple of Apollo in Sicyon, for example, allegedly possessed Penelope's wooden loom and Marsyas' reed flute (Ampel. 8.5). It is of course unlikely that these objects were ancient and had stayed intact from a distant past.

[30] Boardman 2002, 45; 91.

[31] Grethlein 2010, 286.

[32] Coldstream 1985, 73.

ans have incorporated in the heroic world, and why. Moreover, it analyses whether the tragedians adopted only existing traditions about *lieux de mémoire*, or also connected *new* memories to these places themselves. Lastly, the book examines whether or not the tragedians connected stories to elements of the landscape that were *unspecified* before or, in other words, whether they themselves have made indefinite, physical places in the landscape *lieux de mémoire* for particular stories.[33]

Final remarks

This section has demonstrated that memories of the past are influenced by tradition and innovation and can be connected to the actual, physical landscape in the form of *lieux de mémoire*. It has also shown that both the concept of anachronism and the identification of the heroic world with the Bronze Age are problematic. These approaches will therefore not be further pursued in this book.

In chapter 1 it was stated that many scholars criticise the presence of contemporary elements in the heroic world, in particular spatial elements. In their view, these elements violate the image of the heroic world. This section, however, has demonstrated that the presence of contemporary elements relates to the dynamic character of the heroic world. Contemporary elements can enter a construction of the past, since memory changes in accordance with the situation in the present.

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[33] Tragedy often presents aetiologies about *lieux de mémoire*. Aetiologies describe the origin of a place or structure in the heroic past. They connect the heroic past to the present of the audience, in which the *lieu* still exists. For general discussions on aetiology see e.g.: Graf [1987] 1996, 110-7; Mastronarde 2010, 158. In tragedy, aetiologies are often spoken by characters that have knowledge of the future. This character can be a god (e.g. E. *IT* 1446-72) or a human who has received an oracle (E. *Hec.* 1265-73). It is also possible that an aetiology is presented as a promise. For example, in Euripides' *Heracles*, Theseus ensures his friend that the Athenians will honour him with a temple in the future (1330-1). Aetiologies are often marked by phrases like 'henceforth' (E. *HF* 1330 τὸ λοιπόν) and 'forever' (A. *PV* 732 εἰσαεί). What is more, according to Dunn (1996, 56-7) and Scullion (1999-2000, 217-33), tragic aetiologies sometimes refer to buildings and objects that do *not* exist in the world of the audience. They call these *fictive aetiologies*. They state that in these cases, the buildings and objects only have a thematic function in the plot. Seaford (2009, 221-34) and Mastronarde (2010, 183 n59), on the contrary, claim that aetiologies *always* refer to existing structures. In their view, the relation between past and present would be undermined, if the structures mentioned in the aetiologies were absent in the contemporary world. For example, in Euripides' *Suppliants*, Athena instructs Theseus to engrave a peace treaty on a bronze tripod and erect this object in Delphi (1191-1204). According to Seaford, this tripod has really existed; according to Scullion, it has not. Both of these views, however, are based on speculation. Grethlein (2003, 120), for his part, states that it is *impossible* to determine whether the tripod has really existed, since we have no further evidence about it. This seems to me to be the best course.

Scholars not only criticise the *presence* of contemporary elements, but also show little understanding of their function. It is an aim of this book to analyse whether contemporary spatial elements are really 'dramatically inappropriate', as scholars have claimed, or whether they have a function in the plot. The last section of this chapter provides the analytical tools for determining the function of space in literature.

2.2 Literary functions of space

For many centuries, the concept of time has dominated literary theories. The opinion of Lessing (1766) that literature is temporal art, and that visual art is spatial art, set the tone for many critics until the twentieth century.[34] In the 1930s, however, Bakhtin paved the way for the study of space in literature by developing his concept of the *chronotope*. Bakhtin argued that time and space are intrinsically connected – in literature as well as in empirical reality – and must therefore be studied together.[35] Since then, space has become a popular research topic among literary critics. One of the (numerous) current approaches to space concerns its *functions* in the plot of a literary work. This section gives an overview of these functions.[36]

Background
A first function of space is the creation of *background* for a story – in other words, to set up a world in which the events can take place. The heroic world created in Greek tragedy is physically presented in the Greek theatre, which can be divided in three parts:[37]
(1) The *orchestra* of the theatre, also called the *scenic space*, represents the setting of the play – the place where the actual events take place. The setting can be, for example, the Greek army camp at Troy (E. *Tr.*) or the island of Lemnos in the Aegean (S. *Ph.*). The scene building, which demarcates the *orchestra*, usually represents a specific heroic space, such as the barrack of Agamemnon (E. *Tr.*) or the cave of Philoctetes (S. *Ph.*). The setting can remain constant during a play, or it

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[34] In his *Laocoon*, Lessing compares the narrative of Laocoon's death in Vergil's *Aeneid* with the 'Laocoon group', the statue of Athanodorus and Polydorus. According to Lessing, literature presents progressive actions, of which the various parts are presented *after* each other (*nacheinander*), which results in a sequence of time. Visual representations, Lessing claims, show static actions, of which the various parts are presented *next to* each other (*nebeneinander*) in space.

[35] Bakhtin [1938] 1981, 84-258.

[36] The functions of space in this section are adopted from De Jong 2012, 13-7. For an overview of other approaches to space see e.g.: Buchholz and Jahn [2005] 2008, 553-4.

[37] Cf. Rehm 2002, 20-2.

can change. In Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, for example, the setting changes from the sanctuary of Apollo in Delphi to that of Athena in Athens (235).

(2) The *interior* of the scene building is called the *extrascenic space*. Characters can enter this building, but what happens inside remains hidden from view of the audience. However, parts of the interior are sometimes shown by the *ekkyklema*, a wheeled platform that rolls through the doors of the scene building into the *orchestra*. For example, in Euripides' *Heracles*, the Theban hero is shown on this platform, sitting dispiritedly against a column of his palace, after having killed his children inside.

(3) The other parts of the heroic world, which do not belong to the scenic or extrascenic space, are called the *distanced space*. This part of the heroic world is not physically represented in the theatre but evoked by the words of the characters. Euripides' *Ion*, for example, takes place in Delphi, but the characters frequently refer to events that have happened in the distanced space of Athens. Characters have access to the distanced space via the *eisodoi*, the ways leading to and from the *orchestra*.

In addition to the creation of background for the events, space can also be connected to specific elements of the plot, such as themes or motifs, and add special connotations to these.

Thematic function

Space that supports, reflects or sustains a *theme* of the plot has a thematic function. An example of this function can be found in the *parodos* of Euripides' *Ion*, which gives a description of the sculptures of the temple of Apollo in Delphi. These sculptures portray the battle of the Olympian gods against the earth-born Giants (218 Γᾶς τέκνων) who attempted to overthrow their power and order. Athena, for example, is presented as chasing the Giant Enceladus, and Zeus is depicted as hurling his thunderbolt at his opponent Mimas (206-15).

These sculptures have a *thematic* function in the play, since they relate to one of its central themes: the taming of violent, chthonian forces by Olympian gods. The Olympian Apollo tames the violent actions of Ion and Creusa in the play, who are 'chthonian' characters like the Giants, because they belong to the earth-born royal family of Athens. Apollo, who has brought Ion as an infant to Delphi, wants to restore his status as legitimate heir of the Athenian throne. He therefore plans to reunite him with his mother Creusa, who wrongly believes that her son has died (64-75). Although mother and son meet in Delphi, Apollo's plan almost fails, since they do not recognise each other. Creusa thinks that Ion is bent on capturing the Athenian throne – to which in her view he has no right – and therefore attempts to kill him. When Ion discovers her attempt, he plans to kill Creusa in return. Apollo nonetheless tames their violent actions, like the Olympians on the sculptures, and saves both of them from death: first he reveals Creusa's

intentions to Ion (1196-1200) and then sends the Pythia from his temple, who reveals to them their true relationship (1347-9).[38]

Symbolic function
Space has a symbolic function when it is semantically charged with certain cultural or ideological ideas. An example of space that often has a symbolic function is the sea. The archaic and classical Greeks associated the sea with threat and danger. The sea was a place where many fatal accidents occurred, particularly as the result of shipwreck, and where dangerous creatures were supposed to live. Overseas trade was interrupted during winter, when the Greeks considered the sea too turbulent for sailing (Hes. *Op*. 618-30).

This cultural stance towards the sea is reflected in literature. Poets often use the sea as a *symbol of danger*. For example, in Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*, the maidens of the chorus compare their city with a ship on sea when they are under attack from the Argive army:

κακῶν δ᾽ ὥσπερ θάλασσα κῦμ᾽ ἄγει,	It is as if the sea brings waves of evil.
τὸ μὲν πίτνον, ἄλλο δ᾽ ἀείρει	As one subsides, the sea raises another
τρίχαλον, ὃ καὶ περὶ πρύμ-	of triple force, that crashes around
ναν πόλεως καχλάζει.	the stern of the city.
(A. *Th*. 758-61)	

The pounding of the waves against the ship symbolises the danger of the war for the city: as the sea endangers the ship, the war threatens the city. In this passage, the sea is not a real constituent of the heroic world (it does not lie outside the walls of Thebes) but a product of the *imagination* of the maidens. The comparison of a city in trouble with a ship on sea is a standard literary motif that was frequently used in Greek literature. It is known as the 'ship of state' motif.[39]

Characterising function
Space has a characterising function when it relates to the traits, disposition or behaviour of a character. For example, in his name play, Hippolytus gathers a garland for Artemis from an 'undefiled meadow' (73-4 ἀκηράτου λειμῶνος).[40] This meadow is watered by the goddess Reverence and is only accessible for those who are 'virtuous by nature' (78-81).

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[38] Mastronarde 1975, 163-76; Zacharia 2003, 19-20. The Pythia reveals their relationship by bringing onstage the basket in which Creusa had exposed Ion after birth.

[39] For a discussion of the use of the sea in tragic poetry see: Wright 2005, 205-7. For its use in lyric see: Heirman 2012, 146-72.

[40] The term ἀκήρατος is often associated with chastity (E. *Tr*. 675, *Or*. 575).

The features of the meadow relate to the *character* of Hippolytus, who embodies the qualities needed for entering the meadow. He is a chaste young man who rejects all kinds of sexual desire, and a devout worshipper of Artemis, the traditional goddess of virginity (14-6). Hippolytus' chastity plays an important role in the play: it arouses the wrath of Aphrodite, the goddess of sexuality, who causes his eventual downfall (9-56).

Psychologising function
Space has a psychologising function when it relates to the feelings or emotions of a character. Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* provides an example of this function. In this play, Prometheus is punished for his disobedience to Zeus and his theft of the divine fire. Zeus orders Hermes to chain the Titan to a rock in Scythia, which is an uninhabited region lying at the margins of the earth (1-2). When Prometheus is exposed to the elements of nature, Zeus rouses a devastating storm. The Titan wails:

… χθὼν σεσάλευται,	The Earth is shaking,
βρυχία δ' ἠχὼ παραμυκᾶται	and from the deep the sound of thunder
βροντῆς, ἕλικες δ' ἐκλάμπουσι	echoes. Fiery twists of lightning
στεροπῆς ζάπυροι, στρόμβοι δὲ κόνιν	shine forth, and whirlwinds turn
εἱλίσσουσι, σκιρτᾷ δ' ἀνέμων	the dust around. Blasts of all the winds
πνεύματα πάντων εἰς ἄλληλα	are leaping at each other,
στάσιν ἀντίπνουν ἀποδεικνύμενα,	showing an opposite strife.
ξυντετάρακται δ' αἰθὴρ πόντῳ.	The air is confounded with the sea.
(A. *PV* 1081-8)	

The elements of nature have a psychologising function, as they arouse a sense of fear in Prometheus (1090 φόβον) and add to his despair (1091-3).

A special form of the psychologising function is the *pathetic fallacy*.[41] This concept refers to the attribution of human feelings and emotions to space. Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* presents an example of this phenomenon. After the death of Eteocles and Polynices, the Theban maidens are stricken by grief and sing a lament (822-956). The maidens are not only in distress themselves, but they also present the physical structures of the city as grieving:

διήκει δὲ καὶ πόλιν στόνος·	Grieving spreads through the city:
στένουσι πύργοι, στένει	the walls lament, and the soil
πέδον φίλανδρον.	that loves these men laments.
(A. *Th.* 900-2)	

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[41] For an elaborate analysis of this concept see: Jenkyns 1998.

The feelings of the environment *reflect* those of the maidens. This intensifies the atmosphere of grief that the maidens create.

It is not always easy to determine one specific function of space in a certain context: it is possible that several functions are at play at the same time. For example, a spatial element can have *symbolic* connotations, which in their turn may support a *theme* of the plot. Such an element, then, has both a symbolic as well as a thematic function. What is more, the functions given here are only meant as an instrument to *facilitate* the literary interpretation of space. They are not a straightjacket into which every spatial element has to be forced.

Preview
The remaining chapters will be devoted to a detailed analysis of the physical heroic world in tragedy. Since it would be a too extensive task to analyse the whole of the heroic world in all tragedies, the study will be restricted to the presentation of the cities of Troy (chapter 3) and Athens (chapter 4). The chapters will analyse the layout of these cities and determine to what extent they contain traditional or contemporary spaces. Moreover, comparisons between Homer and tragedy will be made to evaluate the supposed Homeric character of the tragic world. Each paragraph will begin with a short description of the relevant space in Homer, to which the space in tragedy will be compared. The cities of Troy and Athens are useful case studies, since they are each other's opposites. An analysis of Troy and Athens will make clear how the tragedians presented a 'Homeric' city on the one hand and a 'non-Homeric' city on the other.[42]

The chapters will also analyse the literary function of the various spaces: it will be determined whether contemporary spatial elements have to be regarded as 'dramatically inappropriate', as scholars have claimed, or whether they have a function in the plot.

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[42] See also: introduction.

3. Troy

3.1 The city

This chapter analyses the physical aspects of the presentation of Troy in tragedy. It examines what scholars have understood as the Homeric character of the tragic world by comparing the layout of tragic Troy to that of Homeric Troy. Each paragraph is devoted to a specific kind of space, such as temples or houses, and begins with a description of the relevant space in Homer, to which that in tragedy is then compared. Similarities and differences between tragic and Homeric Troy are evaluated on the basis of the framework set out in the previous chapter.

3.1.1 Wall

Homer
The wall around Troy defends the city against hostile attacks and is therefore integral to its welfare. The safety that the wall provides is explicitly noted by the Trojan hero Polydamas, who states that 'the wall will *guard* the city' if the Trojan warriors withdraw from the battlefield to Troy (18.274-6 ἄστυ δὲ πύργοι ... εἰρύσσονται). Its importance for the welfare of the city is suggested by the proximity of all scenes concerning the safety of Troy to the wall.[1] Examples of such scenes are the meeting of Hector and Andromache (6.392-502) and the dialogue between Hector, Priam and Hecuba just before Hector's battle with Achilles (22.37-130).

The wall is a massive structure. This is indicated by its ability to accommodate a great multitude of Trojans who watch the battle in the plain (e.g. 3.141-55).[2] Its magnitude is also suggested by a series of epithets. Troy is presented as 'well-walled', 'well-towered', and 'high-gated' (1.129 εὐτείχεον, 7.71 εὔπυργον, 16.698 ὑψίπυλον), the city wall as 'well-built' and 'high' (16.700 ἐυδμήτου, 16.702 ὑψήλοιο). These epithets particularly appear in speeches of Greek warriors. This shows that they regard Troy as an almost insurmountable and impregnable object.[3] In spite

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[1] Scully 1990, 42-3.
[2] Van Wees 1992, 28.
[3] Scully 1990, 76-8. For an analysis of the epithets used of Troy see e.g.: Bowra 1960, 16-23. De Jong (2009, 281-2) suggests that the presentation of Troy as an insurmountable object implicitly flatters the Greek audience of the *Iliad*. They know that their forebears have captured this 'impregnable' city in the end and can therefore be proud of them. The epithets of Troy and the wall are also used by the narrator in the second half of the *Iliad*, almost always in combination with the future fall of the city (e.g. 16.698) (Scully 1990, 78). This increases the *pathos* surrounding the capture of Troy and reminds the narratees that it is a *magnificent* city that will be captured.

of its massive structure, Homer does not specify the *materials* of which the wall is made.[4] He might have envisioned it as consisting of stone, wood and/or mud-brick, if he lived around 700. These materials had been used in city walls for centuries by then.[5]

The wall is provided with bastions, from which missiles can be hurled at enemies (22.195-6), and is surmounted by battlements, along which a passage is made (22.3). It is filled with gates that give access from the city to the plain (2.809). Two are mentioned by name: the Scaean Gate and Dardanian Gate. The former stands in front of the city and opens out onto the battlefield (6.392-3); the latter away from the battlefield, at the back of the city.[6]

I now turn to tragedy. To query the 'Homeric character' of the tragic world, I compare the presentation of the Trojan wall in tragedy to that in the *Iliad*.

A stone wall

In Euripides' *Trojan Women* (5) and *Iphigenia in Aulis* (774) the wall of Troy is presented as consisting of stone (λαίνους πύργους). This detail cannot have been adopted from Homer, since he does not specify the materials of the wall.

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[4] Scholars have nevertheless attempted to identify the materials of the Trojan wall.

(1) Albracht ([1886] 2005, 121) suggests that it is made of mud-brick, since most walls in the 'time of the poet' were made of this material. The 'time of the poet' may be the late eighth or early seventh century, although Albracht does not state this explicitly.

(2) Rougier-Blanc (2009, 481-2) states that the wall has a foundation of stone and wood and a superstructure of wood. She bases this construction on that of the wall around the Greek camp (12.28-9). In her view, the wall of the Greek camp is representative of that around Troy, since the camp *resembles a city*. It contains, for example, an agora, roads and altars (e.g. 1.54, 11.617). These are 'urban' elements that are also found in Troy (cf. Morrison 1994, 209-27). However, Rougier-Blanc overlooks the fact that the camp and city are not equal in *all* respects. Whereas the wall of the Greeks is quickly built and improvised, that of the Trojans has a *divine* origin.

(3) Trachsel (2007, 44; 51) contends that the Trojan wall is built of stone. She supposes that it is more solid than the Greek wall, since it is built by the gods (instead of humans) (7.452-3, 21.446-9). Moreover, the fact that the Greeks supplement their wall by a ditch (whereas the Trojans do not) suggests that the Greek wall is weaker than the Trojan wall. Trachsel's reasoning is that since the Greek wall is built of wood, the Trojan wall must be built of stone.

[5] Bronze Age citadels were usually fortified by walls of stone, such as limestone or ashlar (Mycenae, Milete) (*DNP* s.v. masonry). Cities in the Early Iron Age were made of (a combination of) stone, wood or mud-brick. E.g. stone: Zagora; mud-brick: Salamis (Cyprus); wood: Halieis (probably) (Frederiksen 2011, 54-5; 100; 184).

[6] This follows from the scene in which Hector is pursued by Achilles and tries to flee to the Dardanian Gate (*Il.* 22.194). The Scaean Gate cannot be opened to admit the Trojan hero, since the battlefield is filled with Greek warriors who would then be able to enter the city. It is thus likely that Hector seeks the defence of a gate that is out of sight of the Greek soldiers (Mannsperger 1993, 194; *LfgrE* s.v. πύλαι). *Contra* Kirk ([1985] 1990, 282-3), who suggests that the Dardanian and Scaean Gate are identical and are only used as metrical variants by the poet.

According to Biehl, Euripides models the stone wall of Troy after those of his own time. In other words, Biehl regards the wall as a *contemporary* element in the construction of the past.[7] In my view, this need not be the case. Cities had been fortified by stone walls for centuries in Euripides' time. For example, the Bronze Age citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns were fortified by walls of limestone, constructed in the so-called Cyclopean masonry style, in the thirteenth century. Stone walls were also built after the Bronze Age, that is, in the Early Iron Age and the Archaic-Classical Age.[8] Examples of such walls are those of Zagora on Andros (after 850, made of schist and marble) and Phocaea in Ionia (ca. 600-550, tufa).[9] Thus, since stone walls had been built for centuries in Euripides' time, their presence in the heroic world cannot be considered a specific contemporary element. They should rather be regarded as belonging to a long-established tradition.

The historical city of Troy (Troia VI) was fortified with stone walls at the end of the Bronze Age.[10] Hertel suggests that the Greeks of the classical period were acquainted with this wall because its remains were still visible at that time.[11] This is made clear by the fifth-century geographer Hellanicus, who explicitly refers to this wall in his *Troica* (λάϊνον τεῖχος *FGrH* 4F26).[12] He connects it to the heroic past by stating that it was this wall that had been built by Poseidon and Apollo during their service of Laomedon (e.g. *Il.* 21.446-9). Thus, the remains of the Bronze Age wall were a *lieu de mémoire* for the classical Greeks, a physical landmark that was connected to a specific heroic event.

Does Euripides refer to this specific wall when he presents tragic Troy as having a 'stone wall'? This might be possible. Nonetheless, as I have shown above,

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[7] Biehl 1989, 101.

[8] For the sub-Mycenaean period (eleventh century) no fortifications are attested. In other words, there is a gap in the archaeological record of this period. The end of the Bronze Age witnessed the destruction of several Mycenaean citadels, probably as a consequence of enemy invasion (although this is debated). It is possible that new communities, which came after the Mycenaeans, inhabited the Bronze Age citadels again and re-used their fortifications. It is also possible that these communities founded their own settlements. If so, the lack of attested fortifications may suggest that these villages were not fortified. It is also possible that archaeologists have not yet found the fortifications of this period (Frederiksen 2011, 102-4).

[9] Frederiksen 2011, 93; 182; 199. It must be noted, however, that walls wholly made of stone became rare after the Bronze Age. Most city walls were made of mud-brick on a stone *foundation*, such as, for instance, those of Salamis on Cyprus (eighth century) and Eleusis (late sixth century) (Frederiksen 2011, 55; 136; 184).

[10] Klinkott and Becks 2001, 408-9.

[11] Hertel 2003, 228 n68.

[12] ... τεῖχος λάϊνον ἐν τῷ Ἰλίῳ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ τῶν κολωνῶν ... ὅτι νῦν Πέργαμος καλεῖται. 'The stone wall in Troy on the highest of hills, which is now called Pergamus.' If this wall was already visible in the early archaic period, Homer may have been acquainted with it too. For the relation between Homeric Troy and the visible ruins of Bronze Age Troy around 700 see: e.g. Luce 1998; Korfmann 2002.

not only Troia VI, but also other Greek cities were fortified by a stone wall. In other words, stone walls were a *generic* feature of a Greek city. Thus, it is also possible that Euripides presents Troy as a 'common' Greek city, without modelling it after the remains of Troia VI.

The wall as symbol

Like Homer, the tragedians associate the wall with the welfare of Troy. They use it as a symbol for the state of the city. The period in which Troy flourishes is indicated by the *integrity* of the wall; the period after the capture by its *destruction*.

Two examples illustrate this. In the *Hecuba*, Polydorus refers to former times of fortune in which the walls of Troy still 'stood firm' (17 πύργοι ... ἄθραυστοι). The integrity of the wall is here a *metonym* for the welfare of the city. By contrast, when the chorus in this play relate the capture of Troy, they point at the *destruction* of the ramparts. They state that the capture has 'shorn' the city of its walls (910-1 ἀπὸ δὲ στεφάναν κέκαρσαι πύργων). This is an instance of *personification* of space. It is based on the ritual of mourning in which men and women cut their hair as a token of grief (cf. S. *El.* 52; E. *Tr.* 1173-5). The walls of Troy here represent the hair of the person in mourning.[13]

In the *Iliad*, the wall is presented as an insurmountable structure. This image is particularly created by a series of epithets. One of these is adopted by Euripides in his *Andromache*. The chorus, who lament the fall of Troy, invoke the gods Poseidon and Apollo and ask why they have abandoned the 'well-walled hill' of Troy (1009 εὐτειχῆ πάγον), which they themselves had laid out (1009-18, cf. *Il.* 21.446-9). The epithet εὐτειχής here resembles εὐτείχεος in Homer. Euripides, however, puts the epithet in an *ironic* light. Although the city had been 'well-walled' by the gods, it has *not* turned out to be insurmountable (as the epithet suggested in Homer). The epithet suggests in this context that it does not matter how strongly a city is fortified: if the gods give up their support, the city will fall.[14]

This theme returns in the *Trojan Women*. As in the *Andromache*, it is emphasised that the fate of a city lies in the hands of the gods, not in the strength of its ramparts. Hecuba, for example, laments that the gods make cities prosper or fall at will:

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[13] David 2009, 265.

[14] The role of the gods in the capture of a city is a theme that regularly appears in tragedy. For example, in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, the herald says that the Argive king has uprooted the land of Troy by the pick *of Zeus* (526 Διὸς μακέλλῃ). This implies that Agamemnon had divine support in sacking the city. Similarly, in the *Seven against Thebes*, Eteocles prays to the gods 'that guard the city' (69 πολισσοῦχοι θεοί) not to pull up Thebes by its roots (71-2 πρυμνόθεν ... ἐκθαμνίσητε), when the Argive army arrives. Cf. David 2009, 274.

ὁρῶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὡς τὰ μὲν πυργοῦσ' ἄνω	I see the work of the gods – how they
τὸ μηδὲν ὄντα, τὰ δὲ δοκοῦντ' ἀπώλεσαν.	build high what is nothing and how they
(E. *Tr.* 612-3)	destroy what seems powerful.

The word πυργοῦσ', which stands in contrast with ἀπώλεσαν, is used as a metaphor in this passage. This metaphor specifically evokes the walls of Troy, as the Greek word for wall (πύργος) is built on the same root. Hecuba may thus imply that it is the gods who have taken down the ramparts of the city.[15] This corresponds to the prologue where Poseidon states that the destruction of Troy was brought about by the 'designs of Athena' (10 μηχαναῖσι Παλλάδος). The notion that the fate of a city lies in the hands of the gods suggests that humans vainly put their trust in the ramparts. These can be taken down if the gods' favour of a city ends (cf. 858-9).

Thus, it appears in tragedy that the Trojan wall is *not* an insurmountable structure, as was suggested by the epithets in the *Iliad*. To sustain this notion, Euripides presents the wall differently from Homer. In the *Andromache* he places the epithet εὐτειχής in an ironic light; in the *Trojan Women* he does not present the epithets at all.

Gates

The gates of the wall feature in Euripides' *Orestes*. They are mentioned by the Phrygian slave, who informs the chorus about the attack of Pylades in the palace of Argos. He compares Pylades to Hector and Ajax:

ἔναντα δ' ἦλθεν Πυλάδης ἀλίαστος	Against me came Pylades undaunted
οἷος οἷος Ἕκτωρ ὁ Φρύγιος ἢ τρικόρυθος	like Phrygian Hector or triple-plumed
Αἴας, ὅν εἶδον εἶδον	Ajax, whom I saw
ἐν πύλαισι Πριάμισιν.	at Priam's gates.
(E. *Or.* 1478-81)	

Why are the gates mentioned in this passage? According to Willink, they make clear that the Phrygian saw Ajax during his duel with Hector (presented in *Iliad* 7). Willink states that this battle took place 'near the gates of Troy'.[16] However, Homer does not locate the duel at the gates, but in the plain (7.66 ἐν πεδίῳ). Moreover, he presents the Trojans as bringing Hector 'to the city' after the battle (310 προτὶ ἄστυ), which suggests that the duel takes place far from the gates. West suggests that the reference to the gates indicates that the Phrygian saw Ajax during the battle for Achilles' corpse.[17] This battle, in which Ajax had a prominent

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[15] David 2009, 267.
[16] Willink 1986, 325.
[17] West 1987, 282.

role, took place at the Scaean Gates (*Il.* 22.359-60, cf. Apollod. *Epit.* 5.3a). Although West may be right, I would not leave it at this. The gates are also presented for a dramatic reason. They have a characterising function because they add to the Phrygian's characterisation as a cowardly and frightened figure. His statement that he saw Ajax fighting at the gates implies that he stayed in the city and did not leave the protection of the ramparts. He might have witnessed Ajax from the top of the wall, for instance. This behaviour corresponds to the Phrygian's character throughout the play, which reflects Eastern stereotypes such as cowardice (1375-9, 1498-9) and effeminacy (1112).[18]

The gates of Troy also play a role in the *Trojan Women*. In the first stasimon, the chorus describe how the Greeks leave the Wooden Horse at the gates of Troy (521 ἐν πύλαις) and how the Trojans then drag it to the temple of Athena (531-41). The gates reappear in the third stasimon, which describes the fall of Troy. The chorus illustrate how children are crying at the gates (1089 ἐν πύλαις), where they are separated from their mothers. The misery of the children is *caused* by the admission of the Horse into the city, so the second episode is a consequence of the first. The connection between these episodes is highlighted by their corresponding location.[19] Moreover, both scenes are accompanied by a sound effect, which emphasises their relation all the more. The Horse is presented as 'roaring into heaven' (519-520 οὐράνια βρέμοντα) and the children as 'crying in tears' (1090 δάκρυσι ... βοᾷ βοᾷ).

At this point I would like to refine an aspect of Hedreen's consideration of space in vase paintings. He suggests that visual artists establish narrative connections between paintings (on different vases) by using the same elements of setting.[20] A similar setting can for example indicate that one episode is a consequence of another.[21] Hedreen claims that it is only visual artists – not poets – who use space to link episodes to each other. However, the gate-scenes in the *Trojan Women* demonstrate that literary artists employ this device, too.

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[18] Mattison 2009, 132; 136.

[19] Biehl 1989, 227.

[20] Hedreen 2001, 116-9. By way of example Hedreen refers to two vase paintings, one in which Ajax and Achilles play a board game (*LIMC* I.1 97; I.2 97 (no.397)) and one in which Ajax and Odysseus await the outcome of the voting on the granting of Achilles' arms (*LIMC* I.1 327; I.2 244 (no.86)). What connects these episodes is that Ajax loses in both scenes. (The fact that Ajax calls 'three' and Achilles 'four' during the game implies that Ajax loses). According to Hedreen, the link between these episodes is made clear by a table that appears in both scenes, first as a game table and then as a voting table.

[21] 'Visual artists had fewer means than an oral or literary storyteller for suggesting that one event occurred as a consequence of another. It appears that one of the devices employed by artists to suggest such narrative interconnections was setting ...'. Unfortunately, Hedreen gives no example of vase paintings that have such a cause-and-effect relation.

To round off this section, I want to note that the Scaean and Dardanian Gate are not mentioned in tragedy. This suggests that the tragedians do not imitate the Trojan wall in the *Iliad*, but instead envisage a *generic* city wall with nameless gates.

Conclusion

Do the tragedians model the Trojan wall after Homer? In my view, this is not likely. The wall in tragedy differs from the *Iliad* in several respects. I have shown that the Homeric epithets as well as the names of the gates are not adopted. The only exception is the epithet εὐτειχής, which appears in Euripides' *Andromache* and which is nonetheless given un-Homeric connotations in accordance with the needs of the tragic plot. The association of the city wall with the welfare of Troy appears in the *Iliad* as well as in tragedy. Nevertheless, the tragedians need not have adopted this association from Homer, since *all* city walls are integral to the welfare of a town. This association belongs, in other words, to the *generic* character of a city wall.

3.1.2 Temples

Homer

Homeric epic contains two types of sanctuary, the *temenos*, an open air precinct, which is usually provided with an altar (*Il.* 8.48), and the *naos*, the temple building. The Homeric *naos* contains the following features:[22]

(1) stone threshold (*Il.* 9.404). This implies a stone foundation.[23]

(2) thatched roof. This follows from a prayer of Chryses, who reminds Apollo that he has repeatedly 'roofed' his temple (*Il.* 1.39 εἰ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα).[24] According to Goossens and Markwald, εἰ ποτέ implies multiple renovations of the same roof. The only roofs that had to be repeatedly renovated were those made of thatch.[25]

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[22] For Homeric temples in general see e.g.: *LfgrE* s.v. νηός; *HE* s.v. temples; Townsend Vermeule 1974, 105-12.

[23] According to Latacz (2000, 42), λάινος οὐδός suggests that epic temples are completely made of stone. This seems unlikely, since the first stone temples date from the sixth century. At that time, the Homeric epics were presumably largely fixed.

[24] According to Latacz (2000, 42), *naos* refers here to a temple *domain* which is temporarily roofed for rituals and festivals. He claims that no temple of Apollo is present in Chryse, since the restitution of Chryseis to her father takes place at an altar (1.440 βωμόν). However, the mention of an altar does not exclude the presence of a temple (cf. Crielaard 1995, 253).

[25] *LfgrE* s.v. ἐρέφω (Goossens); s.v. νηός (Markwald). Thatched roofs were also used in other contexts. For instance, the roof of Achilles' barrack in the Greek camp is made of thatch (*Il.* 24.450-1).

(3) hearth and pit inside (?). The Trojan women say that they will sacrifice twelve year-old heifers to Athena ἐνὶ νηῷ (*Il.* 6.308). It is possible that they imagine the sacrifice as taking place *within* the temple building, which would imply the presence of a hearth and pit inside. It is also possible that the word *naos* refers to the temple *domain* and that the sacrifice is supposed to take place at the altar in front of the building.

(4) two rooms. The Homeric temple contains an *adyton* (*Il.* 5.448), which implies the presence of a front hall. Votives can be hung on the temple walls (*Il.* 7.83). Van Wees states: 'The fact that [Homeric] temples may store a great wealth of dedications suggests that they are substantial buildings.'[26]

(5) door (*Il.* 6.298). The temple door can be opened by a key, which is kept by the priest (*Il.* 6.98).

The temples in Homer resemble those of the eighth and early seventh century that had a stone foundation, mud-brick walls, and a thatched roof. They could also contain a hearth and pit for sacrifices.[27] Homer presents a limited number of temples in his epics. The city of Troy contains only two: one of Athena (*Il.* 6.88) and one of Apollo (7.83).[28] The focal point of religious activities in Homer is the *altar* (e.g. *Il.* 8.48). The relative rarity of temples (in contrast to altars) corresponds to the situation in the eighth and early seventh century, when many sanctuaries did not yet contain a temple building.[29]

To evaluate what has taken to be the 'Homeric character' of the tragic world, this section analyses which temples are present in tragic Troy and what they look like.

Temple of Zeus

In the third stasimon of Euripides' *Trojan Women*, the chorus lament the fall of Troy and state that Zeus has 'betrayed' his temple in the city (1062 προύδωκας). The Trojan women blame the god for not supporting them although they had always piously discharged their religious duties. The temple of Zeus is absent in Homeric Troy. What is the reason, then, for its presence in the *Trojan Women*?

The temple has a thematic function in the play. *Trojan Women* shows that humans can lose their faith in traditional, religious notions due to war. Before the fall of Troy the Trojans supposed that prayers and sacrifices would propitiate the gods and bring about their favour. This was a traditional religious notion in archaic and classical Greece. The capture of Troy, by contrast, makes clear that the gods

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[26] Van Wees 1992, 29.
[27] E.g. Crielaard 1995, 249-55; Emerson 2007, 9.
[28] Other temples in epic are the Apollo temple in Chryse (*Il.* 1.39), the Apollo temple in Delphi (9.404-5), the Athena temple in Athens (2.549), and the Poseidon temple in Scheria (*Od.* 6.266) (*HE* s.v. temples).
[29] *HE* s.v. temples; Townsend Vermeule 1974, 106; Crielaard 1995, 249.

do not always answer human prayers and sacrifices. For example, after the execution of Astyanax, Hecuba realises that she has sacrificed 'in vain' (1242 μάτην ἐβουθυτοῦμεν). Similarly, when Troy is burnt to ashes, the queen understands that the gods did not listen to her prayers in the past (1281 οὐκ ἤκουσαν ἀνακαλούμενοι). The traditional, religious notion of reciprocity between gods and humans is thus questioned in the play.[30] The presence of Zeus' temple in Troy adds to this theme. Although the Trojans devoted a temple to the god (and were thus very devout), Zeus did not support them in return. By consequence, the chorus say that Zeus has 'betrayed' the temple where he was worshipped.

Temple of Artemis
In the first stasimon of the *Trojan Women*, the chorus describe the events during the capture of Troy. They state that when the Greeks burst into the city, they themselves were dancing around the temple of Artemis:

ἐγὼ δὲ τὰν ὀρεστέραν	At that time I was celebrating
τότ' ἀμφὶ μέλαθρα παρθένον	with song and dance the daughter
Διὸς κόραν ἐμελπόμαν	of Zeus, the virgin of the mountains,
χοροῖσι.	around her house.
(E. *Tr.* 551-5)	

The chorus' account of the fall of Troy contains traditional elements, such as the dragging of the Wooden Horse (515-41) and the 'liberation' festivities during the night (542-50). Their account also contains some new elements resulting from the female perspective of the play; the voices of women prevail because the Trojan men have been killed by the Greeks. A typically female aspect of the ode is the focus on the individual households of the Trojans: the chorus describe how frightened children clung to their mothers' skirts (557-9) and how Trojan husbands were beheaded in their beds (563-7). Women typically care for the welfare of the *oikos*, whereas men are concerned about public issues of the *polis* (e.g. *Il.* 6.407-32, 441-6) (cf. **3.1.5**).[31]

The presence of the temple of Artemis also results from the female perspective of the play. Artemis is a pre-eminently female goddess: she is the patron of wild nature and virginity and her retinue is completely made up by women (e.g. *Od.* 6.105; *h.Ven.* 16-20). Wild nature and virginity were related in Greek thought, since both virgins and wild animals had to be brought under the yoke.[32] Thus, the

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[30] For an analysis of the questioning of traditional religious notions in this play see: Croally 1994, 71-85.
[31] Lebeau 2009, 251-3; Mattison 2009, 42.
[32] Skafte Jensen 2009, 55. Burkert (1977, 235) draws attention to the 'double nature' of Artemis. On the one hand she is the goddess of virginity, on the other she is overloaded with eroticism.

chorus not only present the *events* from a female perspective, but also evoke an exclusively female *space*: the temple of a paramount female goddess. The presence of the Artemis temple in Troy can thus be considered gender-defined.[33]

Temple of Athena

In the same stasimon the Trojans dedicate the Wooden Horse, which the Greeks have left at the gates of Troy, to Athena. The Trojans drag the Horse through the city and bring it to her *stone* temple on the citadel (539-40 ἕδρανα λάινα δάπεδά τε). The dedication of the Wooden Horse to Athena was a canonical episode in the tradition of the fall of Troy (e.g. *Iliupersis*, cf. Procl. *Chr.* 244).[34] Euripides adopts not only the event (the dedication) from the tradition but also its location (the temple of Athena), which were intrinsically connected.[35]

Although the presence of the temple of Athena in Troy follows from the tradition, its stone construction seems rather 'modern'. It differs from the 'typical' Homeric temple, whose only stone element is its threshold. The first monumental temples in stone appeared in Greece in the early sixth century. The temple of Artemis at Cercyra on Corfu (600-580) was probably the first whose columns, superstructure and walls were all erected in stone. Until the end of the seventh century, the walls of a temple were regularly built of mud-brick and its superstructure and columns of wood (see above).[36] The temple of Athena in the *Trojan Women* does

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The latter aspect appears from the fact that women of her retinue repeatedly suffer rape. For example, Polymele, a virgin from Artemis' retinue, is raped by Hermes and gives birth to Eudorus (*Il.* 16.180).

[33] Lebeau 2009, 252.

[34] The episode of the Trojans dragging the Wooden Horse was presumably presented in the *Little Iliad* too. Although Proclus' summary of this epic ends with the Trojans making a breach in the wall after the Greeks have departed to Tenedus, it is clear from surviving fragments (fr. 29-30) that the story continued with the fall of Troy. According to Burgess (2001, 21; 28-30), the episode of Troy's capture was removed from the *Little Iliad* by Hellenistic scholars who wanted to produce a continuous narrative of the Trojan War by combining and editing the epics now known as the Epic Cycle. Since the fall of Troy was also narrated by the *Iliupersis*, they removed the similar passage from the *Little Iliad*.

[35] In the *Odyssey*, however, the Horse is placed on the agora of the Trojans (8.503 ἐνὶ Τρώων ἀγορῇ). Homer does not state that the Horse is dedicated to Athena, although the goddess helped the Greeks with building it.

[36] Coldstream 1985, 73. The Greeks of the classical period and later were probably not acquainted with these archaic temples. When Pindar (fr. 52i Maehler) and Pausanias (10.5.9-13) describe the history of the temple of Apollo in Delphi, they do not mention such a temple. According to Pausanias, the first temple of Apollo was made of laurel branches and the second of feathers and bee wax. These temples are unhistorical: laurel and bee wax are *symbols* of Apollo. The laurel was the sacred tree of the god and his priestesses were regularly called 'Bees' (Pi. *P.* 4.60-1). The third temple, which both authors mention, was made of bronze. This temple may have been motivated by real Greek temples that were covered with bronze plates, such as the temple

not resemble this type of temple but rather the monumental kind that appeared from the sixth century.

The modern construction of the temple of Athena can be compared to that of other temples in tragedy:

(1) The pediments of Apollo's temple in Delphi in Euripides' *Ion* have sculptures (188-9), which portray Olympians as defeating Giants and Heracles as conquering the Hydra (amongst others).[37] Sculptural filling in temple pediments appeared in the sixth century, first in the temple of Artemis at Cercyra: both sides of the temple portrayed the Gorgon Medusa flanked by panthers and her two children Chrysaor and Pegasus.[38]

(2) The temple of Artemis in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* is a *peripteros* temple (405-6 περικίονας ναούς), which contains triglyphs (113 τριγλύφων) and a gold-decked frieze (128-9 χρυσήρεις θρίγκους). Peripteral temples appeared in Greece in the eighth and seventh century but were rather exceptional in this period. They became the norm, however, in the sixth century (cf. **4.1.2**).[39] Triglyphs started to appear in the third quarter of the seventh century, first in the temple of Apollo in Thermon (Aetolia).[40] The description of the frieze of Artemis' temple as 'gold-

of Athena Chalcioecus in Sparta. However, no trace of such a temple has been found in Delphi. Both authors mention a stone temple as the final temple in the row, which corresponds to the situation in Delphi in their own time.

[37] It is debated whether the temple of Apollo resembles the actual temple in classical Delphi or has a common, 'generic' design. For an overview of this discussion see e.g.: Loraux [1984] 1993, 196 n52.

[38] Coldstream 1985, 73.

[39] Barletta 2001, 32-9. According to Barletta, the only eighth-century peripteral temple is the Artemisium in Ephese and the only seventh-century peripteral temples are the Heraeum in Argos and the temple of Artemis in Ano Mazaraki. Barletta gives a list of eighth- and seventh-century temples that were formerly believed to contain a surrounding colonnade but have been proven to lack it (such as the eighth-century Heraeum on Samos).

[40] Coldstream 1985, 73. The presence of triglyphs suggests that the temple in E. *IT* is a Doric temple (Kyriakou 2006, 37). Such temples were common in archaic and classical Greece. According to Wright (2005, 185-200), the presentation of the Taurian temple as a typically Greek (instead of Taurian) building is part of Euripides' strategy to endow the land and people of Tauris with Greek characteristics. He claims that the Taurians are not presented as barbarians and that their environment is not 'barbarian' either. In Wright's opinion, it is the Greek woman Iphigenia who is barbarised; she sacrifices shipwrecked Greeks to Artemis, which is a typically barbarian custom. Wright concludes from this that Euripides questions the conventional polarity between Greeks and barbarians because barbarians are presented as Greeks and Greeks as barbarians. I agree with Hall (1989, 112), however, who contends that the ethnic polarity is maintained in the play and that it is the Taurians who are presented as barbarians. King Thoas, for example, wants to throw the fleeing Greeks (Iphigenia, Orestes, and Pylades) from a cliff or impale them, which is a distinctively barbarian habit. Wright's suggestion that Iphigenia is presented as a barbarian woman does not hold: Iphigenia explicitly says that it is the laws of the *Taurians* that force her to sacrifice the Greeks (35). In my opinion, the presentation of the Tau-

decked' suggests that it has sculptural decoration: it was, after all, sculptural relief that could be decorated with gold. Gilding of temple sculptures first occurred in the fifth century, for instance in the Athenian Parthenon frieze.[41]

This list suggests that the temples in tragedy resemble those of the classical period. Some elements that Euripides mentions were already two centuries old in his time (such as the triglyphs), but others were more recent. It is in particular the gold-decked frieze (a *fifth*-century element) that suggests that Euripides envisages the temples of the heroic past as those of his own time.

It is generally believed that the citadel of Troia VIII – the archaic and classical city of Troy – contained an Athena temple. This assumption is based on Herodotus' account of Xerxes' expedition to Greece, in which the king is said to have sacrificed a 'thousand cattle' to Athena of Ilium (7.43). Nonetheless, no temple is mentioned in this passage and no trace of an Athena temple has been discovered by archaeologists.[42] Supposing however that there was a temple of Athena in Troia VIII, can it be argued that Euripides refers to this *specific* temple in the *Trojan Women*? Probably not. There were other buildings in Troia VIII, such as a temple of Cybele (or another Anatolian fertility goddess) and two walled precincts where lions were kept.[43] None of these structures is mentioned in tragedy. Therefore, it seems unlikely as well that Euripides incorporates the Athena temple of Troia VIII in his evocation of the heroic past. The presence of the temple in the play rather follows from the tradition (the story of the Wooden Horse) and its construction (stone structure) is that of a *generic*, contemporary temple.

Euripides may have chosen not to incorporate buildings of Troia VIII in the heroic world in order to archaise tragic Troy. Presumably, he regarded these buildings as unfit for the heroic (i.e. distant) past, because they were too suggestive of the present world. Conversely, he fills tragic Troy with heroic buildings that are not present in archaic-classical Troy, but that nevertheless have a *generic* contemporary design.

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rian temple as a Greek building need not indicate a questioning of ethnic polarities. All temples in tragedy (whether Greek, Trojan, or Taurian) have the design of a 'generic' Greek temple. This is thus a general tendency in tragedy. A reason why Euripides models Taurian buildings after Greek equivalents, may be that he did not have a clear image of Taurian architecture. Hall (1989, 110-2) claims that Euripides used Herodotus' description of Tauris (4.99; 103) for his presentation of the land, but no features of Taurian buildings are mentioned in his account.

[41] Palagia 2006, 261. In the temple of Aphaea at Aegina (500-480) the weapons of the warriors in the pediments were gilded (Brinkmann 2006, 42).

[42] Rose 2001, 180-1.

[43] *HE* s.v. Troy; Rose 2001, 180-1.

Temple of Apollo

In Euripides' *Alexandros*, Cassandra is said to come from the *adyton* of the temple of Apollo (fr. 9a Page).[44] Homeric Troy also contains a temple of this god. Does the *Alexandros* passage suggest, then, that Euripides imitates the layout of Homeric Troy? In my view, this is not likely. Euripides evokes the temple of Apollo to give physical expression to Cassandra's status as priestess of the god. The temple thus has a characterising function. Cassandra's role as priestess of Apollo may be an *innovation* of Euripides. It is nonetheless based on the tradition in which Cassandra already has a connection with Apollo. Euripides' predecessors, for example, speak of her mantic qualities, which are related to Apollo as the god of prophecy.[45] The first explicit reference to Cassandra's role as seer may be Pindar's *Pythian* 11, where she is called 'prophetic maiden' (33 μάντιν ... κόραν). Aeschylus is the first who explicitly presents Cassandra's mantic qualities as a gift of Apollo (*Ag.* 1264-76). Cassandra's priesthood of Apollo in the *Alexandros* had not been previously attested, but is nonetheless linked to these precedents.

Due to the fragmentary status of the play, it is difficult to determine the dramatic function of Cassandra's priesthood in the *Alexandros*. The motif nevertheless returns in the *Trojan Women*, which belongs to the same trilogy. Hecuba says that Cassandra has to cast off the 'holy wreaths' (257-8), which are the tokens of her priesthood. Since Troy has fallen, Cassandra is no longer able to perform her religious duties. This contributes to the theme of the breakdown of religion as a result of war. The play repeatedly shows that when a city is captured, rituals can no longer be performed (cf. **3.1.3**, **3.2.1**).

A city filled with temples

The above analysis has demonstrated that tragic Troy is filled with temples. It contains sanctuaries of Zeus, Artemis, Athena and Apollo. Other cities in tragedy, such as Thebes, are full of temples, too. For example, in Sophocles' *Antigone*, the chorus propose to visit '*all* the temples of the gods' after the war has ended (152-3 θεῶν ... ναούς ... πάντας). Similarly, in *Oedipus the King* Iocaste goes to 'temples of the gods' to bring garlands (912 ναούς ... δαιμόνων), while the Theban people are sitting before the 'shrines of Pallas' (20-1 Παλλάδος ... ναοῖς). Chapter **4** will describe the many temples that are present in the city and countryside of Athens.

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[44] It must be stated that parts of this passage are restored. Two readings have been proposed. I prefer the reading of Webster (1967, 167) to that of Page. Webster reads: καὶ μὴν δέ]δορκα παῖδα Κ[ασσάνδραν σέθεν | μολοῦσα]ν ἀδύτων ὧ[δε Φοιβείων ἄπο. Page reads the second line as follows: ἤκουσα]ν ἀδύτων ὧ[δε Φοιβείων πάρος. This reading implies that the action of the *Alexandros* takes place before the temple of Apollo. Nevertheless, Webster (1967, 167) has demonstrated that the setting of the play is the palace in Troy.

[45] It is debated when Cassandra is first presented as a seer. For an analysis of the possible presence of Cassandra's mantic qualities in Homer and the Epic Cycle see: Mazzoldi 2001, 115-20.

The temple is thus a prototypical feature of the tragic city. This is in contrast with Homeric epic, in which the number of temples is limited and the *altar* is the focal point of cult activities. This corresponds to the early archaic period, in which many sanctuaries did not yet contain a temple building (see above). That *tragic* Troy (like other cities in tragedy) is filled with temples accords with the situation in the late archaic and classical period, in which temples had become a common feature of the Greek city.

Conclusion

The only temples in tragic Troy that are also present in Homeric Troy are those of Athena and Apollo. Nevertheless, the presence of these temples does not imply imitation of the Homeric world: the temple of Athena is motivated by a non-Homeric story (the dedication of the Wooden Horse),[46] and that of Apollo is connected to Cassandra's status as priestess of the god. The imitation of Homer becomes even more unlikely if one notices that tragic Troy contains temples which are *not* present in the Homeric city (Zeus and Artemis temple). Moreover, the construction of the temples in tragic Troy is not Homeric, but contemporary.

3.1.3 Altars

Homer

Although the altar is the focal point of religious activities in epic, Homer is relatively reticent about its shape and appearance. He calls it 'very beautiful' (*Il.* 8.238 περικαλλής), 'well-built' (*Il.* 1.448 ἐΰδμητος) and 'solidly-made' (*Od.* 22.379 τετυγμένος) but does not specify its material or components.[47] If he lived around 700, his model may have been the ash altar or the stone altar. The ash altar appeared in the early eighth century, when religion became a public affair and was no longer restricted to a privileged group of noblemen. This kind of altar can be seen as the open-air equivalent of the *hearth* in the nobleman's house. Ash altars consisted of heaped up debris of successive sacrifices, such as ash and broken remains of votive offerings. Since they could acquire considerable proportions, stone enclosures and foundations were sometimes added to contain the ash. Built altars consisting of a stone foundation and a stone or mud-brick superstructure appeared in the second half of the eighth century, but nevertheless remained uncommon until the second half of the seventh century.[48]

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[46] Cf. note 34 and 35.

[47] *LfgrE* s.v. βωμός; Townsend Vermeule 1974, 105. In Homer, βωμός can also indicate a raised platform. For example, in *Iliad* 8, it is used of the stand of Zeus' chariot (441), and in *Odyssey* 7, it refers to the bases of Alcinous' golden *kouroi*-statues (100).

[48] Rupp 1983, 101-7; Höcker 2004, 5-6. Altars are only erected for ouranic deities, since sacrifices to these gods have to be led up to the sky. Chthonic divinities, on the contrary, receive libations

Homer locates altars near temples (*Il.* 1.440, 1.39), on sacred *temenoi* (open air sanctuaries) (*Il.* 8.48) and on profane ground, such as the agora of the Greek camp or the courtyard of Odysseus' house (*Il.* 11.808, *Od.* 22.334-5). Homer presents a limited number of altars in Troy: he mentions the presence of altars only dedicated to Zeus (4.48-9).[49]

This section will determine whether the altars in tragic Troy are adopted from Homer by analysing what they look like and to which deities they are dedicated.

Altar of Zeus Herkeios
In the prologue of Euripides' *Trojan Women*, Poseidon tells about the sacrileges of the Greeks during the capture of Troy. He states that Neoptolemus has murdered Priam at the altar of Zeus Herkeios (Zeus of the Courtyard):

... πρὸς δὲ κρηπίδων βάθροις	On the steps of the pedestal
πέπτωκε Πρίαμος Ζηνὸς ἑρκείου θανών.	of Zeus Herkeios Priam lies fallen.
(E. *Tr.* 16-7)	

Murder at the altar entails an affront to the god. Although Priam enjoys the protection of Zeus (by taking refuge at his altar), Neoptolemus kills the king without mercy. The murder of Priam was a canonical episode in the tradition of the fall of Troy. The location of the murder nevertheless varied in the tradition. The story was not only set at the courtyard altar (e.g. *Iliupersis*, cf. Procl. *Chr.* 257-8),[50] but also at the gates of the palace:
(1) In *Iliad* 22, Priam envisages the fall of Troy, when he stands on the Trojan wall and incites Hector to withdraw from battle with Achilles. Priam attempts to arouse Hector's compassion by predicting what will happen if he dies in battle. Priam says that he himself will be murdered at the gates (66 πρώτῃσι θύρῃσι; 71 ἐν

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through trenches. These are dug into the ground so that liquids can seep down (*Od.* 10.517 βόθρον).

[49] In addition to these altars Homer mentions an altar of Apollo in Chryse (*Il.* 1.440), of the 'gods' in Aulis (2.305), Zeus on the Ida (8.48), the river-god Spercheus in Phthia (23.148), the 'gods' in Mycenae (*Od.* 3.243), Poseidon on Scheria (13.187), and the nymphs on Ithaca (17.210-1). Cf. Crielaard 1995, 249.

[50] Cf. *LIMC* VII.1 516-7, VII.2 405-6 (no. 87-97). In Pindar's *Paean* 6 the murder of Priam is also located at the altar of Zeus Herkeios (fr. 52f.114 Maehler). Pindar states that Neoptolemus arouses the anger of *Apollo* by the murder. Due to the structure of the ode, it is this god (and not Zeus) who becomes angry. Apollo's anger at Neoptolemus is used to mirror the god's anger at Neoptolemus' father Achilles, which was recounted earlier in the ode (78-91). Apollo swears that Neoptolemus will not return to his homeland Phthia anymore (115-7). This comes true when Neoptolemus arrives in Delphi, where he is killed by the god's attendants (117-20). Cf. Rutherford 2001, 312-5.

προθύροισι) and that his corpse will be devoured by dogs. Anderson claims that the poet of the *Iliad* was acquainted with the version of the murder at the altar but suppressed it because it did not correspond to the character of his story.[51] The *Iliad*, after all, is in general averse to sacrilegious acts. The gates of the palace are substituted for the altar to remove the sacrilege. Anderson also suggests that the poet has chosen the gates as location of the murder so that Priam's position mirrors that of Hector, who finds himself at the Scaean Gates. As the son has taken position near the gates of the city, the father imagines himself to be murdered at another set of gates, those of the palace.[52]

(2) In the *Little Iliad*, Neoptolemus drags Priam away from the altar, where the king has taken refuge, and kills him at the gates (fr. 25 West). This story removes the sacrilege as well. Anderson states that by mentioning both the altar and the gates, the poet combines the traditions presented in the *Iliad* and the *Iliupersis*.[53]

In the *Trojan Women* Euripides adopts the tradition of the murder at the altar. Since Priam is not dragged away to the gates, the sacrilege is shown in full force. This corresponds to the needs of the plot. Euripides puts the Greeks in a bad light in the play: they have caused a massacre in Troy and committed many sacrileges. Other examples of sacrileges are the desecration of Athena's statue by the lesser Ajax and the murders of the Trojans in the temples of the city (cf. **3.1.2, 3.1.4**).[54]

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[51] Although Homer does not locate the murder at the altar in the courtyard, he nevertheless seems to account for the *presence* of the altar there. When Priam goes to Achilles to ransom Hector's body, he prays to Zeus and pours libations in the 'middle of the courtyard' (24.306 μέσῳ ἔρκει). This act seems to imply the presence of the altar of Zeus Herkeios (Mannsperger 2001, 82). Hertel (2003, 154), who suggests that Homer has based the lay-out of heroic Troy on the physical remains of eighth-century Ilion, thinks that the poet has seen an altar of Zeus among the ruins and used it in his construction of Troy.

[52] Anderson 1997, 34-8.

[53] Anderson 1997, 29; 38. According to Anderson, the version of the *Iliupersis* is the oldest. This story was subsequently modified by the poet of the *Iliad*, who transferred the murder to the gates. The *Little Iliad* presents the youngest version, which is a combination of both traditions.

[54] It is debated whether the massacre and sacrileges of the Greeks in *Trojan Women* (which was staged in March 415) refer to a specific contemporary affair. Several views on this matter exist:

(1) According to Luschnig (1971, 8-12), among others, the deeds of the Greeks resemble those of the Athenians on the island of Melos in the winter of 416/5. The Athenians captured the island, killed the male population, and enslaved the women and children because the Milesians had not taken sides with them in the Peloponnesian War. Luschnig states that the criticism of the gods on the Greeks in the prologue represents Euripides' condemnation of the Athenian behaviour on Melos.

(2) Van Erp Taalman Kip (1987, 414-9) rejects this view. She suggests that the time span between the capture of Melos and the staging of the play was too short for Euripides to compose the play and to train a chorus and actors. In her view, Euripides had already finished the drama *before* the capture of Melos.

Although the *presence* of the courtyard altar in the palace follows from the tradition, its *construction* seems rather 'modern'.[55] It has a pedestal (κρηπίς) and steps (βάθρα).[56] Altars with a stepped pedestal appeared in the sixth century, when altars in general became more ornate. Altars with steps represent a developed stage of the built stone altar, which did not appear with any frequency before the second half of the seventh century (see above).[57] The stepped altar of Zeus can be compared with the stone temple of Athena in the first stasimon of *Trojan Women*. The presence of the temple is likewise motivated by the tradition (story of the Wooden Horse), although its construction is relatively 'modern' (3.1.2).

Other altars in tragedy seem to have a modern construction as well. For example, the altar of Apollo in Euripides' *Ion* contains carved ornaments on its sides (1403 ξόανα). Ornaments belong to the 'ornate' altar that appeared in the sixth century. The altar in the *Ion* is used as a stage prop: it is physically presented on stage. That it is a modern altar supports Boardman's view that the Greeks rarely attempted to recreate objects from the distant past (2.1).

Agyieus altar
In Sophocles' *Laocoon*, which is preserved only in fragments, the city of Troy contains an altar of Apollo Agyieus (fr. 370.1 ἀγυιεὺς βωμός). This altar is absent in Homer. The *agyieus* was an aniconic pillar with a pointed top that stood on a base. It is unclear whether the base of the pillar functioned as altar or whether a separate altar coexisted with the pillar.[58] The *agyieus* was thought to have talismanic powers: it was placed at the entrance of houses to keep evil out. The cult of Apollo

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(3) Kuch (1998, 147-53) suggests that *Trojan Women* condemns all excessive behaviour in the Peloponnesian War that occurred before the capture of Melos. Greece witnessed a rise of massacres and sacrileges during the Peloponnesian War, committed by Athenians as well as Spartans.

(4) Roisman (1997, 38-47) suggests that *Trojan Women* condemns only the capture of Plataea by the Spartans in 427. The fate of Troy (in the play) and that of Plataea (in the Peloponnesian War) correspond, since both cities were completely annihilated after the capture. Other cities that were captured during the Peloponnesian War were colonised by the victors.

[55] The altar of Zeus Herkeios was a characteristic element of archaic and classical Greek houses (Burkert 1977, 384; Hoepfner 1999, 272). When in Athens the citizenship of applicants for the function of *archon* was checked, the authorities inquired about the location of their household altar to Zeus Herkeios or Apollo Patroos (Arist. *Ath.* 55.2-3). The location of these altars indicated the *oikos* to which the applicant belonged. A public altar of Zeus Herkeios existed in Athens in the Pandrosium, a quadrilateral courtyard adjacent to the Erechtheum. Zeus was worshipped there in his guise of protector of the temple (Deacy 2007, 227).

[56] For an elaborate analysis of the terms κρηπίς and βάθρα see: Stieber 2011, 24-7.

[57] Rupp 1983, 101-7; Höcker 2004, 5-6.

[58] For the former view see: Fehrentz 1993, 133. For the latter view see: Mastronarde 1994, 328.

Agyieus was introduced in Attica in the fifth century (although it had existed earlier on the Peloponnese).[59] Thus, the *agyieus* altar in the *Laocoon* can be added to the list of 'modern' altars presented above. It is particularly the fifth-century character of this altar that suggests that the tragedians envisaged the altars of the heroic past as those of their own age.

Altars of Poseidon

In Euripides' *Trojan Women*, the city of Troy contains altars dedicated to Poseidon. In the prologue of the play, the sea god says that he is leaving his altars (25 βωμούς ... ἐμούς) because the city has been sacked. These altars are absent in Homeric Troy. Why then are they present in the tragic city?

The altars of Poseidon have a thematic function in the play. *Trojan Women* shows the consequences of war for a community, one of which is the breakdown of religious practice. When a city has been sacked and become desolate (ἔρημος), the gods no longer receive worship. Poseidon explicitly states this in the prologue:

ἐρημία γὰρ πόλιν ὅταν λάβῃ κακή,	When evil desolation seizes a city
νοσεῖ τὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐδὲ τιμᾶσθαι θέλει.	religion suffers and is not held in honour.
(E. *Tr.* 26-7)	

The theme of breakdown of religion as a result of war repeatedly returns in the play. In the third stasimon, for example, the women of the chorus say that Zeus can no longer be worshipped because the city has fallen (1071-6). Similarly, in the first episode, Cassandra states that the graves of the Greeks who have fallen at Troy cannot be tended, since their wives are too far away (381-2).[60] Poseidon's abandonment of his altars adds to this theme. War causes the end of his worship in the city (cf. **3.2.1**).

Sacrificial offerings

Not only the altars in tragedy differ from Homer, but also the sacrificial offerings. Euripides presents several of these in his *Trojan Women*. In the third stasimon, the chorus lament that Zeus has not prevented the fall of Troy in spite of their pious sacrifices to him. They state that the god has betrayed the (1) *pelanoi* (1063 πελανῶν) and (2) moon-cakes (1075-6 σελᾶναι) which they had sacrificed to him in the past.

(1) *Pelanos* is a semi-fluid mixture of flour, oil, and honey that can be poured into the sacrificial fire.[61] The term *pelanos* first appears in fifth-century sources (e.g. Ar.

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[59] On the origins of the *agyieus* see: Fehrentz 1993, 134-5.

[60] For a more elaborate analysis of the theme of ritual disorder see: Croally 1994, 70-84.

[61] *DNP* s.v. *pelanos*.

Pl. 661; Plat. *Leg.* 782c4), although the substance itself is older. It was already used as a sacrificial offering in Homer (*Od.* 10.519-20). Thus, *pelanos* may be a classical term for a traditional offering.

(2) Sacrificial cakes are not present in Homer. In addition to mixtures with flour, Homer has animal sacrifices and libations.[62] Sacrificial cakes are first attested in Stesichorus (fr. 2a.2 *PMG*). They thus belong to the archaic-classical cultic practice. It is possible, nonetheless, that their origin is older, since the reference in Stesichorus is only a *terminus ante quem* for their use. During their historical development, the forms of sacrificial cakes became increasingly fixed. In the classical period, a particularly large range of inscriptions appears that prescribe the specific form and ingredients of different cakes (e.g. *IG* II² 4970, 4987).[63] The reference to *moon-shaped* cakes in the *Trojan Women* may reflect this development.[64]

Thus, the *pelanos* and moon-cakes in the *Trojan Women* seem to resemble the cult practice of the archaic-classical period, although *pelanos* also bears traces of an older practice (present in Homer). The offerings are presented in the play to question the religious notion of reciprocity between gods and humans (cf. **3.1.2**). The capture of Troy has revealed that the gods do not always answer human prayers and sacrifices. Although the Trojans had sacrificed to Zeus, he did not support them in return.

Conclusion

The altars in tragic Troy are not adopted from Homer. They either derive from canonical stories (altar of Zeus Herkeios) or are invented by the tragedians themselves (*agyieus*; altars of Poseidon). Both traditional and 'new' altars have a thematic function in the play: they are presented to serve the needs of the plot. The altars resemble those of the classical period in construction. The tragedians, in other words, have projected the shape of contemporary altars on the past.

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[62] Townsend Vermeule 1974, 95-100.

[63] Kearns 1994, 65-70 (with further epigraphical evidence).

[64] In classical Greek cult many types of sacrificial cake were used. Religious norms existed for the correct size and number of the specific cakes that were used in a particular sacrificial rite. Each type of cake belonged to a particular deity and cult: the ἀμφιφῶν, for example, was dedicated to Artemis and the ὀβελίας to Dionysus. The specific type of cake indicated the *individuality* of each sacrifice. Few variants are found when it comes to animal sacrifice, since animal species are few compared to the large amount of sacrifices that were arranged by the different Greek communities. The use of cakes, on the contrary, permits a large range of variants – not only in the ingredients used, but also in the shape into which the cakes are moulded. Literary sources (such as Euripides' *Trojan Women*), however, do not clearly distinguish between the different types of cake that were used in real sacrifices (Kearns 1994, 65-70).

3.1.4 Statues

Homer

Homeric Troy contains only one statue: the cult statue of Athena in her temple. Since this image can receive Hecuba's 'most beautiful' robe on its lap (*Il.* 6.303 ἐπὶ γούνασι), it must be seated and at least life-sized. Such statues appeared in Greece in the mid-seventh century, following Egyptian sculpture. Before this period statues were generally smaller than life-size and shapeless below the waist.[65] Homer does not specify the material of which the statue of Athena is made, but it is likely wood, limestone or marble. Until the late eighth century, statues were usually made of wood.[66] These do not survive in the archaeological record due to their perishable nature. Around 700, limestone statues appeared on Crete from where they spread throughout neighbouring areas. The rise of marble sculpture, which again followed an Egyptian precedent, took place in the mid-seventh century.[67]

Although Homeric Troy contains only one statue, the tragedians fill up the city with all kinds of them. This section will analyse why the tragedians present these statues and what they look like.

Palladium

In the *Rhesus* the city of Troy contains a statue of Athena. When Rhesus arrives in Troy, he asks Hector for the most fearsome warrior of the Greeks. Hector says that it is Odysseus who harmed the Trojans most (500 πλεῖστα ... καθυβρίσας). Not only did he penetrate into Troy and kill the Trojan sentinels, he also stole the statue of Athena from her temple:

ὃς εἰς Ἀθάνας σηκὸν ἔννυχος μολὼν	At night he went to the sanctuary of
κλέψας ἄγαλμα ναῦς ἐπ' Ἀργείων φέρει.	Athena, stole the statue and carried
(E. *Rh.* 501-2)	it to the ships of the Argives.

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[65] Van Wees 1999, 15; Boardman 2006, 4. Some scholars (e.g. Lorimer 1950, 445-9) suggest that the passage in which the statue is 'dressed' is a sixth-century interpolation in the *Iliad*. It resembles the Athenian Panathenaea, during which the Athenians offered a robe to the statue of Athena in the Erechtheum. According to these scholars, the *Iliad* was modified to contain a reference to the festival in which it was performed. Other scholars (e.g. Graziosi and Haubold 2010, 28) argue for the authenticity of the passage. They support their view by stating that ceremonial dressing of cult statues was already current in the seventh century. Moreover, the Trojan and Athenian ritual differ in one respect. In the *Iliad* Hecuba *individually* chooses the robe that pleases her most, whereas during the Panathenaea the Athenian community *collectively* appointed weavers to fabricate a robe for Athena.

[66] Bronze was also used, but only for *sphyrelata*. These were small, hollow figurines made of hammered bronze plates. The technique of hammering bronze was probably adopted from the Near East, where it was used for the manufacture of furniture and vessels (Boardman 2006, 2-4).

[67] Boardman 2006, 4-12.

Is this statue of Athena identical with that in Homer? In my view, this is unlikely. Since Odysseus is able to carry it through the city without being noticed, the statue is presumably relatively small; that in Homer was at least life-size. It is more likely that the statue in the *Rhesus* is adopted from the non-Homeric tradition. The theft of Athena's statue by Odysseus was a canonical episode in the tradition of the Trojan War, told, for example, in the *Little Iliad* (Procl. *Chr.* 228).[68] Later sources call this statue the Palladium and state that it had protective powers (e.g. Apollod. *Epit.* 5.10). It had to be stolen by the Greeks to facilitate the capture of Troy. As long as the statue was in Troy, the city would remain safe.[69]

Although the Palladium episode is adopted from the tradition, it is also modified in the *Rhesus*:

(1) The episode is taken from its traditional temporal sequence. The theft of the statue usually takes place after the death of Hector, shortly before the capture of Troy (e.g. *Little Iliad*). In the *Rhesus* the episode occurs *before* the death of the Trojan hero. The Palladium episode is shifted in time so that it can be used to indicate Odysseus' fearsome character, for which Rhesus asks.

(2) Odysseus alone is presented as stealing the Palladium, although in the tradition he was accompanied by Diomedes. This emphasises his willingness to face danger.[70]

Odysseus' characterisation functions as a *seed* in the play. He will again appear as very dangerous for the Trojans later in the drama: he will deceive the sentinels in the Trojan camp (675-91), and finally kill Rhesus himself (893-4).

A statue on a base

In Sophocles' *Ajax the Locrian*, another statue of Athena is mentioned.[71] The goddess complains that her statue has been pulled down from its base by Ajax (fr. 10c.9 κρηπῖδος). He attacked the Trojan princess Cassandra, who had taken refuge at the statue during the capture of Troy. Like the Palladium, this statue of Athena is probably not adopted from Homer but from the non-Homeric tradition. Ajax' attack on Cassandra was a canonical event in the tradition of the fall of Troy. It had, for example, been presented in the *Iliupersis* (Procl. *Chr.* 262).[72] Sophocles

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[68] Cf. *LIMC* III.1 401-2; III.2 286-7.

[69] Anderson 1997, 18-9.

[70] Feickert 2005, 240. For the *Little Iliad* see: Procl. *Chr.* 228. For vase paintings in which Diomedes accompanies Odysseus see: note 68.

[71] It should be noted that the observations in this paragraph are based on a restored passage: ... ἀκόλλητον βρέ[τας | κρηπῖδος ἐξέσ]τρεψεν ... (S. fr. 10c.8-9). Conjectures are made by Lloyd-Jones 1996.

[72] Anderson 1997, 201-2. The story is also presented in vase paintings. For archaic depictions see: *LIMC* I.1 339-31; I.2 253-8 (no. 16-41). For classical depictions see: *LIMC* I.1 344; I.2 263-4 (no. 44; 60-7). Archaic vases portray the Athena statue in a *promachos* (striding) position. Ajax and

not only adopted the event from the tradition (Ajax' attack on Cassandra), but also the location (the statue). These were inherently connected to each other.

Athena says that the statue was 'unfixed' to its base (8 ἀκόλλητον). This detail seems particularly relevant for a fifth-century audience, in whose time statues were usually fixed to their bases. This could be done in two ways:

(1) Stone statues were carved on a plinth, a small segment of stone, which was placed in a socket on top of the base. Bronze statues, which did not have a plinth, were placed in a socket made for their feet. Sockets were usually somewhat larger than the plinth or feet of the statue. After the statue had been placed in the socket, the remaining free space was filled with molten lead. This technique appeared in Greece ca. 600.[73]

(2) Statues could be fixed to their base by tenons. This technique was particularly used for wooden statues.[74]

When the deed of Ajax was presented to a fifth-century audience, they might have envisaged contemporary statues and bases. Since these statues and bases were normally indivisible, Athena's comment that the statue was unfixed would have made it clear for the audience why Ajax could have pulled this statue from its base.

The technique of fixing statues to bases is also referred to in Euripides' *Andromache*. Hermione compares Andromache to a statue that is kept in place by lead. After Andromache takes refuge at the altar of Thetis, Hermione swears that she will force her to leave it even if 'molten lead' holds her in place (267 τηκτὸς μόλυβδος). For this comparison, Euripides envisages stone and bronze statues of the sixth and fifth century that were fixed to their base by lead.

Bronze casting

In Sophocles' *Captive Women*, a sculpting technique is mentioned. This play, which is preserved only in fragments, probably dealt with the fate of women who were held captive in the Greek camp during the Trojan War. An unknown speaker says that his shield contains as many holes as a 'clay mould' (fr. 35.1 λίγδος).[75] These holes may have been caused during battle, for example by the spear of an enemy.

Athena are depicted as facing each other with weapons raised as if engaged in a fight. This emphasises Ajax' desecration of Athena's statue: Ajax attacks not only Cassandra, but also the statue of Athena. Classical vases depict the statue *without* motion. This suggests that Cassandra is defenceless against her opponent and that even the sanctuaries and statues of the gods cannot protect the Trojans against the Greeks (Anderson 1997, 201-2).

[73] Sturgeon 2006, 40-3.

[74] Bald Romano 1980, 275.

[75] For the meaning of λίγδος compare: Poll. 10.189

The comparison of a perforated shield with a clay mould is based on the technique of hollow bronze casting. This technique, which was used for the production of hollow bronze statues, is absent in Homer.[76] It was introduced on Samos at the end of the seventh century, under influence of the Egyptians. The Samians at first used this technique for the production of appliques of bronze tripods, but later for statues as well.[77] In the sixth century the technique was adopted by the Greeks on the mainland.[78] In the first step of the process, a clay mould of the statue was covered with a layer of wax and a second layer of clay, the whole of which was held together by pins. The wax was then melted and let out through a network of hollow channels in the outer layer of clay. (It is these channels to which the holes in the shield in Sophocles' *Captive Women* are compared.) Thereupon, molten bronze was cast in the newly arisen hollow part of the mould. After cooling, the clay shell (the outer layer) was removed whereupon the bronze was polished. If the statue was made in parts, the clay core (the inner layer) could be removed as well.[79]

Thus, Sophocles presents a sculpting technique which was used for the production of bronzes in the archaic and classical period. In this respect, tragedy differs from epic, which does not present bronze statues at all.

Golden statues

In Euripides' *Trojan Women*, the city of Troy contains golden statues. In the third stasimon, the Trojan women criticise Zeus for having betrayed their city to the Greeks, although they had always piously observed their religious duties (cf. **3.1.2**). They state that since the city is destroyed, the gods can no longer be worshipped. Not only are their sacrifices and festivals gone (1073), but also their 'golden statues' (1074 χρυσέων ... ξοάνων).[80]

Golden statues appear in Homer too, but only in 'fantastic' contexts:

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[76] The Greeks were also acquainted with the technique of solid bronze casting. This technique appeared in Greece in the eighth century. Solid bronze figurines have been found at major sanctuaries of that time, such as Delos and Olympia. Solid bronze casting involved the following steps: a wax model of the statue was covered with a layer of clay; upon heating the wax melted and leaked out via an aperture; the hollow part of the mould was then filled with bronze; and after cooling the clay shell was removed and the bronze was polished (Spivey 2013, 76-7).

[77] Spivey 2013, 76.

[78] *DNP* s.v. technique of sculpting.

[79] Mattush 2006, 11-6; Spivey 2013, 76-9.

[80] *Xoanon* can refer to any kind of statue, regardless of size and material. In the fifth century, however, *xoanon* is not only used of statues, but also of other 'carved' objects. For example, in Euripides' *Ion*, *xoanon* refers to the carved ornaments of an altar (1403 βωμοῦ ... ξόανα). Similarly, in Sophocles' *Thamyras*, it is used of carved musical instruments (fr. 238.2 ξόαν' ... ἡδυμελῆ). From the fourth century, *xoanon* exclusively refers to statues (Donohue 1988, 9-32).

(1) The smithy of Hephaestus contains golden statues that have the semblance of girls and can even *move* (*Il.* 18.417-8). They are present among other eccentric objects, such as tripods which of themselves enter and leave the gatherings of the gods (373-7). All these objects are not historical, but expressive of the outstanding craftsmanship of Hephaestus. That the statues are made of gold relates to Hephaestus' divine nature. The gods in the *Iliad* are generally presented as living in a 'golden environment' (e.g. 5.722-32, 743-4).

(2) The palace of Alcinous on Scheria is provided with golden *kouroi* (*Od.* 7.100) and gold and silver dogs (91). Scholars have suggested that this palace, which is richly decorated and has a luxuriant orchard, is not modelled after a real, historical palace but is a product of fantasy: several elements, such as the golden statues, were highly uncommon in the early archaic period. The richness of the palace nevertheless suggests that the early archaic Greeks cherished the ideal of wealth. The audience of the *Odyssey* may have dreamt of living in a palace such as that of Alcinous.[81]

Golden statues became more regular in Greece at the end of the archaic period. Wooden statues were gilded from the end of the sixth century,[82] although gold *appliqués* had been attached to wooden statues earlier. Statues of gilded marble and solid gold started to appear in the fifth century, especially in Athens.[83] Statues could be gilded by pressing gold leaf on a marble or wood core, which had to be fully modelled before receiving the gold.

Unlike Homer, Euripides does not present the golden statues in a fantastic context but in a *realistic* one. This may reflect the presence of golden statues in the real, actual world in the fifth century. In other words, the golden statues in tragedy are no longer the reflection of an ideal but of a realistic state of affairs. The city of Troy in tragedy is a realistic setting, since it is made up of buildings and objects that are also present in the real Greek world.

Hall considers the golden statues in Troy a *barbarian* element. Fifth-century Greeks regarded Easterners, particularly Persians and Phrygians, as prone to luxury. Hall claims that since the Trojans possess golden idols in their city, they are portrayed as luxurious barbarians, too.[84] I do not agree with Hall. Although the Trojans are repeatedly barbarised in tragedy (e.g. E. *Tr.* 994-5), the golden statues in this passage should not be considered a barbarian element. Since golden idols

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[81] E.g. Van Wees 1992 has shown that Homeric epic contains many fantastic elements, which reflect the ideals of the early archaic society. For the palace of Alcinous as a fantastic setting see: Van Wees 1995, 149 n3.

[82] *DNP* s.v. technique of sculpting.

[83] Hurwit 2004, 240 (statues of solid gold); Palagia 2006, 261 (statues of gilded marble). As for terminology, the Greeks do not seem to have distinguished between 'golden' and 'gilded' statues (Donohue 1988, 141 n336).

[84] Hall 1989, 128.

were also present in fifth-century Athens (as I described above), the audience would not have regarded them as typical of the East. Golden or luxurious elements can in my view only be regarded as barbarisations if they are not present in the world of the audience and occur in a context with other barbarian/Eastern elements, such as effeminacy and servility.

Why are the golden statues presented in the *Trojan Women*? They have a thematic function in the plot. The chorus list the places in Troy that have been destroyed by war. They mention as examples the temple of Zeus, his altar, and the statues. That these statues are of gold and therefore very valuable increases the horror of the destruction and makes the fall of Troy more deplorable.

Wooden Horse

The first stasimon of the *Trojan Women*, which describes the fall of Troy, features the Wooden Horse. After the Greeks placed the Horse at the Trojan gates and departed to Tenedus, the Trojans lead it to the citadel to present it as a votive statue to Athena (525 ἱερὸν ... ξόανον). The Horse is elaborately constructed, as it is decked with 'trappings of gold' (520 χρυσεοφάλαρον).

According to Stieber, the image of a gold-decked horse is motivated by the Bronze Horse of Strongylion, a statue on the Athenian acropolis. This statue was dedicated in the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia in 420, five years before the performance of *Trojan Women*. It represented the Trojan Horse out of which four Greeks were peeking or climbing. What is more, Stieber thinks that the audience envisaged this statue when they listened to the ode. She gives the following arguments for her view:

(1) The designation of the horse as 'polished ambush' (534 ξεστὸν λόχον) must have reminded the audience of the statue on the acropolis, since ξεστός applies to a bronze sculpture, not to a wooden one.

(2) The *hapax* χρυσεοφάλαρον suggests that the statue of Strongylion contained golden ornaments. This word cannot 'have earned legitimacy' if the spectators did not have had a concrete, clear example in their minds, which must have been Strongylion's bronze decked with gold.[85]

I do not consider Stieber's arguments convincing:

(ad 1) Although Stieber claims the opposite, the word ξεστός is very often used of wooden objects. Homer himself calls the Trojan horse a ἵππος ξεστός (*Od.* 4.272) and he, too, presents the Horse as made of wood (*Od.* 8.512 ἵππος δουράτεος).

(ad 2) It is unclear whether the bronze statue of Strongylion was decorated with gold ornaments. In his description of the statue, Pausanias does not provide any information about this aspect (1.23.8). Stieber first assumes on the basis of Euripides' *hapax* χρυσεοφάλαρον that Strongylion's statue was decorated with golden

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[85] Stieber 2011, 190-1.

ornaments; then, she contends that Euripides borrowed the image of the gold-decked horse from Strongylion. This is circular reasoning.

Since Stieber's arguments are not compelling, we cannot determine whether Euripides modelled his gold-decked horse after Strongylion's bronze.

I would venture another suggestion. The image of the Horse with gold trappings may have been motivated by wooden sculpture of the archaic and classical period. Wooden statues were sometimes adorned with gold ornaments, particularly ancient and sacred ones. For example, the wooden sculpture of Athena Polias in the Erechtheum, which was regarded as an antiquity, was decorated with a golden aegis, golden jewellery, and a gold libation bowl (cf. **4.1.2**). Euripides presents the Wooden Horse as a *sacred* statue too (525 ἱερὸν ... ξόανον), which enhances its venerability and makes it fit for gold trappings as well.

Conclusion

The statues in tragic Troy are not adopted from Homer. Some derive from canonical stories of the non-Homeric tradition (E. *Rh.*, S. fr. 10c), others are invented by the tragedians themselves. Both traditional and invented statues accord with the needs of the plot (S. fr. 35, E. *Tr.*). As for materials and construction, it seems that the tragedians projected the characteristics of statues of their own time onto those of the past. Although some elements had been known for more than a century (such as bronze casting and the fixing of statues by lead), it is in particular the fifth-century elements (such as golden statues in a realistic context) that suggest that the tragedians envisaged the statues of the heroic past as those of their own time.

3.1.5 Houses

Homer

The Homeric house consists of walls of stone (*Od.* 23.193), floors of beaten earth (*Od.* 21.120-3), and roofs of wood and thatch (*Il.* 23.172, 24.451). It contains the following areas:

(1) *megaron*. This is the main chamber of the house. Since it serves as a dining and feasting hall, it contains a hearth for heating and cooking (*Od.* 14.420 ἐσχάρῃ). The *megaron* has two doors: a side door that leads to a corridor (*Od.* 22.128 λαύρην) and a main door that provides entrance to the

(2) courtyard. The courtyard is an open space extending in front of the *megaron*, surrounded by a fence (*Il.* 9.476) or a wall (*Od.* 17.266-7). It is used as a stable for animals, which can be sacrificed at the altar of Zeus Herkeios (*Il.* 24.164, *Od.* 17.170-1, 22.334). The entrance to the *megaron* is marked by a

(3) portico. This structure is indicated by the words αἴθουση and πρόδομος (*Od.* 4.297-302, 20.1-6). That beds for guests are placed here suggests that Homer has in

mind rather small houses with few rooms.[86] At the same time, he also presents magnificent houses with a large number of rooms. An example of these is the palace of Odysseus in Ithaca. The minor rooms, such as bedrooms and storerooms, are called

(4) *thalamoi*. These are presumably located behind or next to the *megaron*. This is suggested by the presence of the corridor (*Od.* 22.128), which probably gives access to these rooms. Some houses have an upper storey with rooms (*Od.* 4.787 ὑπερῴῳ), some of which are only accessible to women.[87]

It is difficult to connect the Homeric house to the domestic architecture of one specific period. To a large extent, Homer's houses resemble those of the Geometric Period (1050-700). Houses of this period were small: they consisted of one unit or two units in line. They had a stone foundation, floors of beaten earth, mud-brick walls, and roofs of thatch. A fenced courtyard extended in front of the house. Elements of the Homeric house that are difficult to reconcile with Geometric houses are the large number of *thalamoi* and its division in two storeys. These elements may be a product of poetic fantasy or a reflection of the layout of the great Bronze Age palaces. The former option would mean that the poet has inflated small Geometric houses; the latter that some elements of Bronze Age palaces were preserved in the oral tradition for centuries. It is also possible that Homer based his multi-roomed houses on the ruins of the Bronze Age palaces, some of which were visible in the seventh century.[88]

What domestic architecture is found in the city of Troy in the *Iliad*? It contains a palace of the royal family, which is situated on the acropolis (6.242-50), and houses of the ordinary Trojans, which are located in the lower city (15.498). The narrator only shows what happens in the palace; he does not provide a look into the houses of the ordinary Trojans. His story primarily focuses on the lives of the members of the royal family, not on those of the common people of Troy.[89]

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[86] *HE* s.v. houses. Van Wees (1992, 331-2 n54) explains: 'The shade (*aithousa*) projecting over the door, together with the pillars or beams that presumably support it, forms the 'porch' (*prodomos*); there is nothing to suggest that the porch is a separate room attached to the front of the hall (*contra* Plommer 1977, 80-1). There are also *aithousai* along the courtyard wall: "colonnaded walls" (Plommer: *ibid.*) may be too grand a term for them. The space in front of the courtyard gate is called *prothyron* [*Od.* 4.20]. It is not clear whether there is a shade here too, but there is no reason to think that the *prothyron* is a "roofed building" (*ibid.*).'

[87] For houses in Homer see: Van Wees 1992, 41-4; Rougier-Blanc 2005, 97-257; *HE* s.v. houses.

[88] For the relation between Homeric and historical houses see e.g.: *HE* s.v. houses; Van Wees 1999, 16. Around 700 houses increased in size and their layout started to change. The courtyard became the central space of the house, around which the other rooms were located. For an analysis of this development see: Höcker 2004, 121-4; Lang 2005, 12-35; Crielaard 2009, 362.

[89] Likewise, the *Odyssey* does not offer a look in the houses of the 'ordinary' Phaeacians (6.9 οἴκους) when Odysseus reaches Scheria. The story only presents the interior of the palace of

The palace on the Trojan citadel is extensive: it is able to accommodate the fifty sons of Priam and their wives as well as his twelve daughters and their husbands.[90] Hector and Paris have their own houses on the acropolis.[91]

An ordinary house

In the third stasimon of Euripides' *Hecuba*, the captive Trojan women tell about the night of the fall of Troy. After describing the ritual feast in the city (915-8), they paint a picture of their bedrooms (919 θαλάμοις) by recounting their nightly preparations for bed, especially how they made their toilette after their husbands went to bed (919-26). I just pointed out that Homer only shows what happens in the royal palace of Troy. In *Hecuba*, on the contrary, Euripides provides a look into the bedroom of an 'ordinary' Trojan couple. What is the reason for this difference?

Euripides presents the fall of Troy through the eyes of ordinary Trojan women, who do not belong to the royal family of Hecuba. Since these women describe their personal experiences, we get an image of the activities in their private bedrooms. This personal experience is emphasised by the repeated use of the first person (e.g. 914 ὠλλύμαν, 936 ἀγόμαν) and by verbs of 'seeing' (e.g. 925 λεύσσουσ', 936 ἰδοῦσ').[92] Thus, normal Trojan houses are visible because Euripides presents the fall of Troy from the point of view of ordinary women.

The presentation of the capture of Troy through the eyes of ordinary women can be linked to a general tendency in Euripidean tragedy. The tragedian is famous for having 'vulgarised' tragedy. In addition to the 'Homeric' heroes, he has

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Alcinous, which is the setting of Odysseus' encounter with the rulers of the land (7.82-132). Cf. Drerup 1969, 30; Rougier-Blanc 2009, 472.

[90] In epic, as a rule, women move to the house of the husband after marriage. The sons-in-law of Priam, however, moved to his palace to support the Trojans during war (13.172-6). Men could also move to the house of their in-laws when they lost their estate or when the father of the wife was superior in status. For example, Tydeus from Calydon marries a daughter of the rich king Adrastus, whereupon he moves to his 'abundant' palace in Argos (*Il.* 14.115-25). Furthermore, Bellerophon, who is driven from his estate by Proteus (6.157-9), moves into the palace of the Lycian king after a marriage with his daughter (191-3) (Van Wees 1992, 333 n60; Graziosi and Haubold 2010, 146-8).

[91] That Hector and Paris possess their own houses is related to their characterisation. Hector's possession of a private house is expressive of his status as the 'best' of the Trojans. Moreover, he is the only son of Priam, who is himself presented as a father and having a household of his own. Paris, for his part, is said to have built his house himself, with the help of the best craftsmen of Troy (6.314-5). His building activities emphasise, by contrast, his inactivity at the present point of the story (book six of the *Iliad*). Unlike his fellow Trojans, he does not wage war on the battlefield but remains in his house together with Helen (6.321). The reference to the construction of his house shows, however, that Paris is perfectly able to undertake great activity (Graziosi and Haubold 2010, 166).

[92] Collard 1991, 177; Gregory 1999, 154.

presented the ordinary man onstage. In Aristophanes' comedy *Frogs*, the *persona* of Euripides prides himself on having made women, maidens and slaves speak as much as masters and kings (948-9). He claims to have staged 'everyday scenes' (959 οἰκεῖα πράγματ') that are familiar to the audience and easy to understand. Examples of 'vulgarisation' can be found in the *Ion* and the *Electra*. In the former play, the main character is the temple servant Ion, who spends his time cleaning the sanctuary of Apollo (121). In the latter play, the traditional Argive princess Electra has become the wife of a poor farmer and inhabits a rustic cottage instead of a palace (34-8).

The presentation of the intimate bedrooms of Troy in the *Hecuba* is also linked to the female gender of the chorus members. Women usually create a domestic and familial atmosphere in literature, since they primarily care for the welfare of the household (*oikos*).[93] Men, by contrast, have a preference for public issues of the *polis*, such as warfare and politics.[94] This is probably a reflection of the historical situation in archaic and classical Greece, where women generally remained indoors (although they could participate in public rituals) and men held public offices. Since it is women who recount the capture of Troy in the *Hecuba*, the effects on the private households are emphasised. The women speak of the infiltration of their bedrooms by the Greeks and the death of their husbands in bed (919, 937).[95]

A bridal chamber
The design of a Trojan house is presented in Aeschylus' fragmentary play *Chamber Makers*. This play probably deals with the construction of a bridal chamber (*thalamos*) in Troy. It should be noted that the observations in this section are tentative, since it is unclear whether the *Chamber Makers* is a tragedy or a satyr

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[93] Easterling 1987, 23.
[94] Mattison 2009, 39-52. For example, in *Iliad* 6, Andromache advises Hector not to enter the battlefield and stay in the city. She has already lost her father and brothers and does not want to become a widow in Troy (413-32). Similarly, in *Iliad* 22, Hecuba shows her breast to Hector, in order to remind him of their intimate relationship as mother and child. In this way, she attempts to convince him to avoid a fight with Achilles (79-89). In both cases, however, Hector rejects the request, since he does not want to neglect his role as prime defender of the city.
[95] Lebeau 2009, 250-1. The remarks of the female choruses in *Andromache* and *Trojan Women* show the typical domestic and familial perspective of women, too. According to the women of Phthia, the 'marriage beds' of Troy would have been spared (*Andr.* 307 λέχη) if Paris had died. Similarly, in their name play, the Trojan women lament the desolation in their 'beds' after the beheading of their husbands on the night of the fall (563 δεμνίοις). The killing of the husbands in their marital beds symbolises the end of the Trojan *oikoi*.

play.[96] An unknown character gives orders for the construction of a decoration on the ceiling:

ἀλλ' ὁ μέν τις Λέσβιον φατνώματι   Let someone complete a Lesbian wave
κῦμ' ἐν τριγώνοις ἐκπεραινέτω ῥυθμοῖς.   with its triangular pattern on the coffered
(A. fr. 78.1-2)   ceiling.

The chamber has (1) a coffered ceiling that is (2) decorated with a Lesbian wave. Both elements are absent in Homer.
(1) Coffered ceilings usually consisted of beams (στρωτῆρες) supporting a trellis (φάτνωμα) with decorated slabs (καλύμματα). The trellis and slabs could be made in one piece or in separate parts. The first coffered ceilings appeared in temples on the Cyclades in the sixth century, for instance in the temple of Demeter in Sangri (Naxos). These temples were the first in Greece that had stone ceilings.[97]
(2) The Lesbian wave was an ornamental ribbon consisting of painted or moulded leafs and darts. The leafs were more or less of a triangular shape, as their S-shaped rims converged into a sharp point (hence the reference to the 'triangular pattern' in the fragment). This decoration is usually called the 'Lesbian cymatium' by archaeologists. It is first attested in temple architecture in Neandria (Asia Minor) at the end of the seventh century. In Attica it appeared for the first time in the second half of the sixth century, for instance on the altar of Twelve Gods on the agora.[98]

Thus, the ceiling of the bridal chamber seems to have a rather 'modern' design. This can be compared to other houses in tragedy:
(1) The palace in Argos in Euripides' *Orestes* contains a *pastas* (passage) (1371 παστάδων). This was a prototypical element of the so-called 'courtyard house', which appeared in Greece in the seventh century. The central space of these houses was the courtyard, around which the other rooms were located. This is in contrast with the Homeric house, where the minor rooms are positioned around the *megaron* (see above). The *pastas* connected the courtyard to the rooms behind it. It first appeared in houses in Megara Hyblaea (Sicily).[99]

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[96] For suggestions regarding the identity of the bridal couple and the genre of the play see: Sommerstein 2008b, 80-1. The suggestion that this drama is set in Troy is based on a reference to Priam (fr. 451l, 12 = Oxyrynchus papyrus 2254).

[97] *DNP* s.v. lacunar; Tancke 1989, 24; Müller-Wiener 1998, 94. Hoepfner (1991, 90-4) suggests that wooden ceilings could also be decorated with coffers. This suggestion is difficult to prove, since few ancient wooden ceilings have been preserved.

[98] Gantzert 1983, 125-6; 136-42. In addition to the Lesbian cymatium, ornamental ribbons could also be decorated with an Ionic cymatium, which consisted of an egg-and-dart pattern, or a Doric cymatium, which consisted of a meander.

[99] Höcker 2004, 123.

(2) The house of Heracles in Thebes has an *andrōn* (*HF* 954 ἀνδρῶν') and stone pillars (979-80 λαΐνους ὀρθοστάτας). The *andrōn* was the men's room of the Greek house, where symposia were held. The first *andrōnes* appeared in houses in the seventh century (in Athens around 640). In some places, such as Zagora (Andros) and Xoburgo (Tenos), they were attached as a separate room to existing houses of the Geometric period (which consisted of one or two units). With the appearance of the Greek courtyard house, the *andrōn* became one of the standard rooms of the house.[100] Stone pillars appeared for the first time in temple architecture of the early sixth century (temple of Artemis in Cercyra).[101] It is likely, then, that they were employed in houses even later. Columns are present in Homeric houses, too, although their material is not specified (*Od.* 17.29). If Homer lived in the early seventh century, he may have envisaged columns of wood.

In conclusion, the houses in tragedy do not resemble the Homeric house (with, for example, the *megaron* as main hall) but the houses of the late archaic and classical period. This particularly follows from the presence of elements that are not attested before the sixth century.

Symposium in the andrōn

Houses are the location *par excellence* for hosting and feasting. One of these practices is alluded to in the *Rhesus*. Hector criticises the Thracian king for arriving too late on the Trojan battlefield. He states that when the other allies fought against the Greeks, Rhesus received the full wine cup 'on couches' (418 ἐν δεμνίοις).

Hector imagines Rhesus to display sympotic behaviour during daytime.[102] The symposium was a Greek drinking party with a ritualised ceremony. Participants lay on couches, which were placed along the walls of the *andrōn*. The practice of reclining at table was adopted from the Near East probably in the eighth century and became part of the luxurious lifestyle of the archaic aristocracy.[103] The symposium as such is absent in Homer. Epic feasts take place in the *megaron*, where participants sit on chairs, placed along the wall (e.g. *Od.* 7.95-6).[104]

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[100] Hoepfner 1999, 143-4; Höcker 2004, 12.

[101] Coldstream 1985, 73.

[102] Liapis 2012, 181.

[103] Murray 1990, 6.

[104] Weçowski (2002, 625-33) has demonstrated that several customs of the Homeric feast nevertheless correspond to those of the (early) symposium. (1) The palace on Scheria contains statues with torches that radiate during feasts 'in the night' (*Od.* 7.100-2). According to Weçowski, the time of the feasts corresponds to that of the symposium, which often lasted from dinner to dawn. (2) The bow of Odysseus, which is used by the suitors during the contest for Penelope, circulates through the *megaron* 'from left to right' (*Od.* 21.141 ἐπιδέξια), starting from the place of the mixing bowl (145-6). The circuit of the bow resembles the sequence of participants in games during symposia (e.g. Pl. *Smp.* 177d ἐπὶ δέξια). (3) Agamemnon, claiming that the Greeks by far outnumber the Trojans, says that every single Trojan man could serve a group of ten Greek

The practice of the symposium is also presented by the chorus in the *Rhesus*. After the announcement of Rhesus' arrival in the Troad, the chorus sing a song of joy. His arrival raises their hopes of a speedy end of the war. They express their longing for the revival of symposia in Troy:

ἆρά ποτ' αὖθις ἀ παλαιὰ Τροία	Will it ever again be that ancient Troy
τοὺς προπότας παναμερεύ-	keeps up bands of revellers all day long
σει θιάσους ἐρώτων	by songs of love and
ψαλμοῖσι καὶ κυλίκων οἰνοπλανήτοις	contests of wine cups, which make the wine
ἐπιδεξίοις ἁμίλλαις ...	wander from left to right?
(E. *Rh.* 360-4)	

This passage refers to the practices of (1) singing and (2) playing games during symposia.

(1) The participants of the symposium were supposed to contribute to the entertainment of the party, for example by the recitation or improvisation of poetry. The 'songs of love' in the passage may refer to monodic poetry on this subject.[105] Participants of the Homeric feast only had to sit back and enjoy the songs of a bard (e.g. *Od.* 8.62-83).[106]

(2) Games were played during a symposium. The 'contests of wine cups' in the passage (363-4 κυλίκων ... ἁμίλλαις) may be a reflection of this practice. Wine cups were used for games such as *kottabos*. For this game, the player had to shoot the wine dregs from his cup at a target. This could be a small disk on a stand or cruets floating in a vessel with water. The symposiast had to put his index finger through one of the handles and make his cup perform a hurling motion.[107] The game of *kottabos* is first attested in the sixth century in a poem of Anacreon (fr. 70 *PMG*).[108]

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soldiers as a wine pourer (*Il.* 2.123-30). According to Węcowski, this passage is modelled after a symposium of ten men and a cupbearer. In contrast to these similarities, several differences between the Homeric feast and the (archaic-classical) symposium can be detected. For these differences see note 106.

[105] Feickert 2005, 201.

[106] More differences between the Homeric feast and the archaic-classical symposium can be detected. (1) Before the symposium, the participants had to anoint themselves by way of purification. This practice may have been adopted from the Near East. (2) The symposium was only open to men. During the Homeric feast, by contrast, the wife of the host could be invited. Her role was restricted to conversation and handiwork (*Od.* 4.137-46, 6.305-9); eating and drinking was reserved for men (Van Wees 1995, 155-63; 177-9; cf. Murray 1990, 6-7).

[107] Kurke 1999, 278-9. The game of *kottabos* had erotic associations. During a throw the symposiast called the name of a beloved. A good throw promised the fulfilment of erotic desires. The target (also called *kottabos* (Ath. 666d)) sometimes involved a soundboard, called the *manes* (μάνης), which rang when a winner shot the disk from the stand (Ath. 667a). *Manes* was also the designation for a slave from a foreign country, especially from Phrygia. The sound of the sound-

All in all, the practice of feasting in the *Rhesus* does not resemble that in Homer, but instead contains elements of the archaic-classical symposium. Other tragedies contain references to symposia, too (e.g. A. *Ag.* 244-6).

Gymnasium

A gymnasium features in the second stasimon of Euripides' *Trojan Women*. Although this building does not fall in the category of houses, I nevertheless include it in this paragraph, as it is the only building of tragic Troy that has not yet been discussed.

The chorus lament the fall of Troy and criticise Zeus for not having prevented the victory of the Greeks. They supposed that Zeus' love for Ganymede, a Trojan boy whom he had once abducted to the Olympus, had made him favourable to the Trojans (821-3). Additionally, the women are disappointed that Ganymede did not use his influence to save the city. They apostrophise him and remind him of the gymnasium where he trained in the past:

τὰ δὲ σὰ δροσόεντα λουτρὰ	Your fresh bathing places and
γυμνασίων τε δρόμοι	the racetracks of the gymnasium
βεβᾶσι, σὺ δὲ πρόσωπα νεα-	are gone, but you keep your face
ρὰ χάρισι παρὰ Διὸς θρόνοις	youthful and serene because of
καλλιγάλανα τρέφεις.	your services at the throne of Zeus.
(E. *Tr.* 833-7)	

The gymnasium in Troy contains (1) a *dromos* and (2) *loutra*. Gymnasia are absent in Homer. They appeared in Greece in the sixth century.
(1) The *dromos* was the open, uncovered racetrack of the gymnasium. At first, the gymnasium was an area that was little developed architecturally, consisting of a racetrack located in a park outside the city. Archaeologists call such gymnasia 'park-gymnasia'. Around 550, the *dromos* was enclosed by a low wall so that it became a demarcated area in the landscape. When in the fifth century the gymnasium developed into a full-scale building, the racetrack was surrounded by colonnades, behind which rooms were located for exercise and instruction. At that

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board when hit resembled the cry of a slave when struck by his master. Hence, the game of *kottabos* symbolised the hierarchy in Greek society, the pre-eminence of Greeks over barbarians, and the domination of master over slave. This is illustrated in Aeschylus' *Bone Gatherers* (fr. 179). The suitor Eurymachus throws his wine dregs to the head of Odysseus, who is disguised as a beggar. Odysseus, thereupon, describes his head as a *kottabos*-target (3 κότταβος). By his act, Eurymachus emphasises his supremacy over Odysseus and reduces him to the status of a slave (Kurke 1999, 280-3).
[108] *DNP* s.v. kottabos.

time, the gymnasium was transferred into the urban area due to its increasing role in civic instruction.[109]

(2) The *loutra* were the bathing facilities of the gymnasium. In park-gymnasia, *loutra* were open-air spaces set aside for cold-water ablutions. They were sometimes equipped with elevated basins (*pueloi*) or simple shower arrangements. When gymnasia developed into great buildings, the *loutra* became more luxurious and were situated in the rooms behind the colonnades of the *dromos*.[110]

Thus, the gymnasium is a rather 'modern' building in heroic Troy. It is presented in the ode for two reasons. It has (1) a characterising function (2) and a thematic function.

(1) The gymnasium highlights Ganymede's youthful age (835-6) and physical attractiveness. Ganymede was traditionally known for his beauty, which did not escape the notice of Zeus (e.g. *h.Ven.* 202-6). According to Burnett, the gymnasium and racetrack suggest that it was the sight of the naked boy during exercise that roused Zeus' desire.[111]

(2) The destructed gymnasium in Troy stands in contrast with the luxurious residence on the Olympus, where Zeus and Ganymede live. Zeus is presented as sitting on his heavenly throne (836 θρόνοις), while Ganymede is walking 'delicately' (820 ἁβρά) amid the 'golden vessels' (820 χρυσέαις ἐν οἰνοχόαις) of the Olympus. This contrast highlights the divide between gods and humans and adds to the misery of the Trojan women. Although the chorus had hoped for the support of the Olympians, it has appeared that the gods only wallow in luxury and do not care for mortals.[112]

Conclusion

The houses in tragic Troy are not adopted from Homer. Whereas Homer only shows the interior of the royal palace, Euripides provides a look into the houses of the common people. Moreover, the *design* of houses in tragedy differs from that of Homeric houses. Tragic houses resemble those of the late archaic and classical

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[109] For the development of gymnasia see: Yegül 1992, 9; Mango 2003, 18-9; Höcker 2004, 114-5.

[110] Yegül 1992, 9; Mango 2003, 18-9. Mastronarde (1994, 252) contends that the *loutra* refer to a swimming pool in the Trojan gymnasium. Although Greek gymnasia could contain a swimming pool (such as for instance the gymnasium in Olympia), these are usually called κολυμβήθρα (e.g. Pl. *R.* 453d). *Loutron* is always used for a bathing place.

[111] 1977, 304.

[112] Other cities in tragedy, such as Thebes and Troezen, contain gymnasia, too (E. *Ph.* 368, *Hipp.* 229). In Euripides' *Andromache*, the *palaestra* of a gymnasium is mentioned (599 παλαίστρας). Peleus emphasises the transgressive character of Spartan women, by saying that they leave their thighs uncovered and share the *palaestra* with men. The *palaestra* was an approximately peristyle court used for exercises such as wrestling and boxing. It was incorporated in gymnasia in the fifth century (Höcker 2004, 115).

period. The same holds true of the gymnasium, which is absent in Homer. The non-Homeric elements are all motivated by the needs of the plot.

3.2 The Troad

This section examines the presentation of the Troad, the environment of Troy. It has the same structure and purpose as the previous part: it analyses what scholars have understood as the Homeric character of the tragic world by comparing the space of tragic Troy to that of Homeric Troy.

3.2.1 Trojan plain

Homer
The Trojan plain is the area between the city of Troy and the army camp of the Greeks. It is the place where the battle scenes between the Trojans and Greeks take place. In the *Iliad*, the plain is not only called the 'Trojan plain' (23.464 Τρωικὸν ... πεδίον), but also the 'Scamandrian plain' (2.465 πεδίον ... Σκαμάνδριον) and 'Ilean plain' (21.558 πεδίον ... Ἰλήιον). These designations derive from the Scamander, a characteristic river of the plain, and Ilus, Troy's founder, who lies buried in its centre (11.166-7).

Homer portrays the plain mainly as an arid stretch of land, consisting of sand and dust (5.588) with vegetation in only two places.[113] The first 'green' place is the strip of land along the rivers Scamander and Simois. The banks of the Scamander contain elms, willows, tamarisks, lotus, rushes, and galingale (21.350-1); those of the Simois contain ambrosia (5.777).[114] The second place with vegetation is the area around the Trojan wall. Homer mentions an oak tree standing at the Scaean Gates (9.354 φηγόν)[115] and a fig tree growing near the 'weakest' part of the wall (6.433 ἐρινεόν).[116] He also speaks of two springs lying in front of the wall

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[113] Elliger 1975, 44-5; Andersson 1976, 24. In the *Iliad*, natural elements frequently appear in similes, in which they are usually presented as being destroyed by elementary forces such as fire and water. Homer evokes these forces to illustrate the power of the heroes on the battlefield. For example, when Hector fights at the ships, he is compared to a fire that rages through mountain forests (15.605-6). Similarly, when Diomedes runs across the plain, he is likened to a winter torrent that sweeps away all vegetation (5.87-92) (Bouvier 1986, 237-57).

[114] Scholars disagree about the specific location of the rivers in the plain. For this question see: Elliger 1975, 45-51; Trachsel 2007, 67-78; Clay 2011, 103 n25.

[115] The oak is used as a symbol of safety for the Trojans. For example, Achilles states that when he still fought among the Greeks, Hector did not move beyond this point (Thornton 1984, 151; Trachsel 2007, 85).

[116] The position of the fig tree near the weakest part of the wall is characteristic of its symbolism. The tree repeatedly appears in situations of danger for the Trojans (Thornton 1984, 152). For example, the Trojan warriors flee past this tree when Agamemnon pursues them (11.167), and

(22.147-8 πηγαὶ δοιαί). This is the place where the Trojan women wash their clothes in times of peace.

Homer presents several landmarks lying within the plain. He mentions two hills: the 'Pleasant Hill' near the river Simois (20.53 Καλλικολώνη) and the 'rise of the plain' near the Greek army camp (10.160 θρωσμῷ πεδίοιο). He also speaks of an earthen wall lying near the seashore. This wall has been built by the Trojans as a defence against a sea-monster of Poseidon (20.145 τεῖχος ... ἀμφίχυτον). Outside the immediate boundaries of the Trojan plain, in the larger area of the Troad, Homer locates several villages. Some of these are destroyed by Achilles, such as Thebe and Lyrnessus, which are the native towns of Andromache and Briseis, respectively (6.414-6, 2.689-90).

The plain is also presented in tragedy. It is called the 'Trojan plain' (e.g. S. *Ai.* 862 τὰ Τρωικὰ πεδία), 'Dardanian plain' (S. *Ph.* 69 τὸ Δαρδάνου πέδον), and 'Erechthean plain' (A. *fr.* 158 Ἐρέχθειον πέδον). The latter two designations probably derive from the names of the Trojan forefathers Dardanus and Erichthonius (e.g. *Il.* 20.215-9).[117] It will appear that the plain, which Homer presented mainly as an arid stretch of land, is filled by the tragedians with all sorts of natural elements. The aim of this section is to determine why they do so.

Sacred groves

In the prologue of Euripides' *Trojan Women*, Poseidon states that the 'sacred groves' of Troy are desolate since the Greeks have captured the country (15 ἔρημα δ' ἄλση).[118] These groves are not mentioned by Homer. Why then does Euripides evoke them in his play?

The groves have a thematic function in the *Trojan Women*. One of the themes of the play is the breakdown of religious practice as a consequence of war. The play shows that when a city has been captured, people cannot perform rituals anymore, whereupon the gods leave the city. For example, the chorus say that the

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Hector passes it during his flight for Achilles (22.145). In book 11, the fig tree seems to be further away from the wall than in other passages. Clay (2011, 102-6) connects this 'inconsistency' to the oral tradition. She states that oral poets visualise the literary world in their minds and construct so-called *mental maps*. These mental maps consist of the landmarks of the literary world with ever fluctuating distances in between. This means that the poet only remembers the landmarks themselves without the distances between them. This tendency is also visible in the case of the wall and ditch of the Greek camp. The poet repeatedly presents these landmarks as the defence line of the camp, but the distance between them varies each time (9.85-8, 12.66).

[117] Sommerstein 2008b, 167 n3. Cf. τὰ Τροίας πεδία (S. *Ph.* 920), τὸ Τροίας πεδίον (S. *Ph.* 1435), Τροίας πέδον (E. *Andr.* 58).

[118] Desolation (ἐρημία) is a recurrent word in the play. For example, Hecuba calls herself a 'mother whose city is left desolate' (603 ἐρημόπολις μάτηρ). Similarly, the Trojan women say that they are 'desolate' since their husbands have been beheaded by the Greeks (564 κατάτομος ἐρημία). Cf. *Tr.* 26.

gods can no longer be worshipped, since the Trojans have been killed by the Greeks (599-600). Poseidon states that he is leaving the city because his worship is no longer honoured (25-7). The abandoned groves in the Trojan plain highlight the theme of religious breakdown by war. Sacred groves are normally used as sites of worship and are supposed to be residences of the gods.[119] Since the country has been taken, the groves cannot perform these functions anymore: people do not worship the gods any longer, whereupon they abandon their residences.

The isolation of Ajax

A canonical story from the Trojan Cycle is Ajax' attempt to kill the Atridae, the leaders of the Greek army. Ajax is angry at them because they have awarded Achilles' arms to Odysseus. Athena, however, thwarts Ajax' attack by robbing him from his senses and making him kill a herd of cattle. Sophocles' *Ajax* begins after the slaughter and shows Ajax gradually coming to his senses again.[120] The hero feels totally ashamed and disgraced (364-7) and separates himself from all those around him.

Sophocles elaborates on the motif of Ajax' isolation. Ajax feels isolated from the *army* because the soldiers laugh at him behind his back (454 κεῖνοι δ' ἐπεγγελῶσιν); from the *gods*, since he has been misled by Athena (457-8 ἐμφανῶς θεοῖς ἐχθαίρομαι);[121] and from his *companions* (Tecmessa and the chorus) because their view of the situation is incompatible with his own. They suggest that Ajax should accept the situation, but he considers suicide the only solution. Although his companions try to dissuade him from this, he remains stubborn and persists

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[119] Sacred groves were a prominent feature of the Greek landscape. They were present in cities as well as in the countryside and were of a natural or artificial origin. Sacred groves were usually equipped with an altar at which votives could be left, and surrounded by boundary markers, such as a wall, columns, or stones. These boundaries emphasised the sacredness of the grove in contrast to the surrounding region. Artificial (manmade) groves were generally planted in or near temple areas, for instance near the temple of Hephaestus on the Athenian agora. The products of a grove were used for public ends. For example, the olive trees in the groves of Athena in Athens provided the olive oil for the victors in the Panathenaic Games. Similarly, the laurels in the groves of Apollo in Delphi were used to make garlands for the victors in the Pythian Games (Birge 1982, 16-7; 190-4; 213-8).

[120] Ajax' *recovery* from insanity is probably an innovation in the Ajax-story (Garvie 1998, 5). In the *Little Iliad*, judging by its summary, Ajax became insane (ἐμμανὴς γενόμενος) and killed himself together with the cattle, presumably without becoming sane in between (Procl. *Chr.* 209-10). Similarly, in the *Aethiopis*, Ajax is said to have killed himself 'towards dawn' (περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον) (sch. in Pi. *I.* 4.58), that is, possibly, after the killing of the cattle at night (cf. S. *Ai.* 22 νυκτός). In Sophocles' play, Ajax' recovery from sanity makes his situation more tragic. He is able to recognise his deeds and to suffer from the mockery of his enemies.

[121] For an analysis of the origin and nature of Athena's anger (especially its 'one-day limit') see: Van Erp Taalman Kip 2007.

in his plan (371-8). Stubbornness is a characteristic feature of the 'Sophoclean hero', who is in general an isolated character.[122]

Sophocles evokes several natural elements in the plain which contribute to the motif of Ajax' isolation. The elements in question are (1) the untrodden grove, (2) the springs, and (3) the pastures and caves on the shore. Elements 1 and 3 are not found in Homer.

(1) *Untrodden grove*
Ajax commits suicide in an untrodden grove (657 ἀστιβῆ; 892 νάπους). The qualification of the grove as 'untrodden' underscores its isolated nature. The solitude of the landscape mirrors Ajax' sense of isolation. The grove thus has a psychologising function.

The grove is located on the shore (654 παρακτίους). This highlights Ajax' isolation as well, since the shore is generally a place where the mournful and desperate withdraw in isolation. For example, in the *Iliad*, Achilles goes to the shore 'apart from his friends' to lament the abduction of Briseis (1.349 ἑτάρων ... νόσφι). His position is similar to that of Ajax in Sophocles, since his anger at the generals isolates him from the army too. Later in the *Iliad*, Achilles roams the shore in loneliness grieving over the death of his friend Patroclus (24.12).[123]

The staging of the *Ajax* also aims to emphasise the isolation of the hero. Sophocles shows Ajax onstage *alone* just before his suicide (815-65). The other characters, Tecmessa and the chorus, have left the stage in search of the hero. Ajax' solitary presence in the theatre gives dramatic expression to his sense of isolation.[124]

(2) *Springs*
Just before killing himself, Ajax calls on the springs of the plain to testify to his misery (862). This apostrophe emphasises Ajax' sense of isolation. Since he feels

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[122] Knox 1964, 15-7.
[123] Kamerbeek 1963, 137.
[124] Rehm 2002, 123; 130. The first part of the *Ajax* takes place in front of Ajax' barrack in the Greek camp (1-814), the second part in the untrodden grove on the Trojan shore (815-1420). The change of setting is made clear by the evacuation of the chorus (*metastasis*) and by verbal indications of the characters. Kamerbeek (1963, 168) claims that this change of setting was accompanied by a change of painted panels, indicating the places of action. Rehm (2002, 131-2) does not agree with Kamerbeek. This act, he claims, would reduce the dramatic effect. After the excited exits of Tecmessa and the chorus, the dramatic action would have to stop for stagehands to reset the scene. Rehm thinks that Tecmessa ripped down a fabric that indicated Ajax' barrack while rushing off. This action prevents an interruption of the drama and could have revealed pre-set elements, indicating the shore. Rehm claims that the ripping down of the fabric has a symbolic function, too. It represents Tecmessa's sense that Ajax' absence from the barrack will cause the destruction of her *oikos*.

isolated from all the Greeks, only the natural elements of the landscape are left for him to address. Apostrophe to the landscape is a dramatic technique that Sophocles regularly employs to emphasise the isolation of his protagonist.[125]

The Trojan plain in the *Iliad* also contains springs. These lie near the wall and are used by the Trojan women as washing place (see above). It is possible that Sophocles has adopted the springs in the *Ajax* from the Homeric plain. On the other hand, since springs belong to the generic elements of a plain, Sophocles need not necessarily have taken the Homeric plain into account. In other words, Sophocles may have modelled the plain in the *Ajax* after a 'common' plain with springs.

(3) *Pastures and caves*

Earlier in the play, Ajax even regards the landscape itself as hostile to him. Ajax says that he feels hated not only by the army and the gods (457-8), but also by the city of Troy and the plain:

… μισεῖ δὲ Τροία πᾶσα καὶ πεδία τάδε.   All Troy and these plains hate me.
(S. *Ai.* 459)

This is an instance of the pathetic fallacy, since Ajax attributes human emotions to the inanimate space. That the hero feels hated even by the landscape enhances his isolation. What is more, Ajax even implicates the landmarks of the plain in his downfall. Since he has lost his heroic status in Troy, he blames the 'caves by the shore' and the 'pastures of the coast' (413 πάραλά τ' ἄντρα καὶ νέμος ἐπάκτιον) for having 'detained' him far too long there (415 κατεῖχετ').[126]

Bathing places

Before Ajax goes to the shore, he speaks to Tecmessa and the chorus (646-92), who think that he has given up his suicidal intentions (807, 912). His speech is nevertheless full of references to his upcoming death, although these are not picked up by his companions. For example, Ajax says that he will dig away the earth and hide his sword (658-9 κρύψω τόδ' ἔγχος τοὐμόν, ἔχθιστον βελῶν, γαίας

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[125] Knox 1964, 33-4; Elliger 1975, 229. For example, Philoctetes calls on the Lemnian bays, head-lands, and jagged rocks to bear witness to his despair (S. *Ph.* 936-7 ὦ λιμένες, ὦ προβλῆτες … ὦ καταρρῶγες πέτραι), when he finds out that he has been deceived by Neoptolemus, whom he considered his only friend. Similarly, Antigone asks the springs of Dirce and the groves of Thebes to testify to her misery (S. *Ant.* 844-5 Διρκαῖαι κρῆναι Θήβας τ' … ἄλσος), when she is led to her subterranean grave. Oedipus asks Mount Cithaeron and the crossroads to remember his terrifying deeds (S. *OT* 1391 Κιθαιρών; 1398 τρεῖς κέλευθοι), when he discovers his identity and considers himself the loneliest man on earth.

[126] Elliger 1975, 220.

ὀρύξας). Tecmessa and the chorus suppose these words to mean that Ajax will not use his sword anymore and will hide it in the ground. Ajax, however, means that he will only place the hilt of the sword in the earth but will hide its blade in his *body*, by falling on it.[127]

Ajax says that he will go to the 'bathing places' on the shore (654 λουτρά) to wash away the stains of the slaughter (655 λύμαθ' ἁγνίσας ἐμά). Although Tecmessa and the chorus think that Ajax goes to the *loutra* to take a bath, the hero himself is intending to commit suicide there. Ajax' real intention becomes clear if one takes into account the symbolic value of the word *loutron*. This word often has morbid connotations in Sophocles: it usually refers to the water with which a corpse is washed. For example, in the *Antigone*, servants of Creon are said to cleanse the body of Polynices with 'purifying water' (1201 ἁγνὸν λουτρόν); in *Oedipus at Colonus*, Antigone and Ismene bring water to wash their dying father (1602 λουτροῖς). Likewise, the bathing places in the *Ajax* foreshadow Ajax' suicide, if the morbid connotations of the *loutra* resonate in his words.[128]

A lamenting shore

In Sophocles' *Ajax*, the shore is the place where Ajax retreats in loneliness. In Euripides' *Trojan Women*, by contrast, the shore is crowded with the unhappy women of Troy, waiting to be led away to Greece for a life of slavery. Not only the women themselves are in distress, but also the shore laments their fate:

ἠίονες δ' ἅλιαι	The shores of the sea
ἴαχον οἰωνὸς οἶον τέκνων ὑπὲρ βοῶσ' ...	wail like a bird for its young.
(E. *Tr.* 827-30)	

Biehl adopts a rationalist stance and claims that it is the women on the shore who are moaning.[129] Yet, I would take this passage at face value and consider it an instance of the pathetic fallacy. That space is endowed with human emotions con-

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[127] Lardinois 2006, 221. Most scholars call Ajax' speech a deception speech. According to them, Ajax intends to deceive Tecmessa and the chorus by feigning that he has given up his suicidal intentions. He tries to relieve them from distress, so that he can kill himself undisturbed. According to this view, the references to the suicide are opaque to Ajax' friends, but clear to the audience. Lardinois (2006), on the contrary, regards Ajax' speech as a speech misunderstood. He thinks that Ajax intends to inform Tecmessa and the chorus about his suicidal intentions, but that they do not understand what he means, since his remarks are liable to multiple interpretations.

[128] Hesk 2003, 79. For another interpretation of the *loutra* (also connected to Ajax' suicidal intentions) see: Lardinois 2006, 218.

[129] Biehl 1989, 314.

tributes to the atmosphere of misery that is created in the scene. The fate of the women is so unfortunate that even nature pities them.[130]

The lamenting shores are compared to a bird moaning for its young. Comparisons between lamenting subjects and birds are traditional, but it is generally lamenting humans who are compared to moaning birds. For example, in the *Iliad*, fleeing warriors who are shrieking 'cries of destruction' (17.759 οὖλον κεκλήγοντες), are compared to moaning starlings during the attack of a falcon. Similarly, in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, the lamenting Cassandra is compared to a nightingale crying for its young (1140-5). The passage in the *Trojan Women* differs from this motif to the extent that it is space that is compared to a bird.

Trophies
In the *Trojan Women*, Hecuba says that the Trojan plain contains victory trophies that have been erected by Hector (E. *Tr.* 1222 τρόπαια). The memory of these trophies intensifies her misery, as they remind her that she has lost a very *brave* son. The *tropaia* are absent in Homer. They derive from the war practice of the classical period. It was an unwritten rule in the fifth century that victors of a battle 'claimed victory by erecting a simple trophy (*tropaion*) at the place where the enemy turned to flee (*tropaion* derives from the same root as *trepein*, "to turn"). The trophy consisted of captured armour and weapons hung on a post or tree stump.'[131] Trophies are not attested in literature or vase painting before the 450s (e.g. Th. 2.92).[132] Thus, the presence of *tropaia* in the heroic world must be considered a projection from the time of the poet.

Scamander and Simois
The Trojan plain in tragedy features the rivers Scamander and Simois. That they are also present on the Homeric plain, does not necessarily imply an imitation of Homer. The rivers are found not only in Homer, but also in other poetry (e.g. Pi. *N.* 9.39; B. fr. 8.16 Irigoin). They are canonical (characteristic) elements of Troy and

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[130] The same sort of pathetic fallacy is also used in Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound*. The Titan Prometheus is bound to a rock in Scythia since he has stolen the divine fire from Zeus (6-8). The Oceanids who lament Prometheus, present the entire world as bewailing the Titan. They state that the sea groans (431 βοᾷ ... πόντιος κλύδων), that the black recesses of the earth roar (433 κελαινὸς ... ὑποβρέμει μυχὸς γᾶς), and that the streams of rivers wail (434-5 παγαί ... ποταμῶν στένουσιν). Just like the shores in *Trojan Women*, the lamentations of nature in *Prometheus Bound* increase the atmosphere of pain and misery that surrounds the lamented subject (Griffith 1983, 156).
[131] Krentz 2007, 173.
[132] Krentz 2007, 173 n42. Cf. E. *Heracl.* 937, where Hyllus and Iolaus erect a *tropaion* in honour of Zeus after their victory over Eurystheus.

were continuously preserved in the tradition as identifiers of the city (**2.1**). Another example of a canonical Trojan landmark is Mount Ida (**3.2.3**).

The Scamander and Simois are often used as metonyms for Troy. For example, in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, a messenger who tells about the Trojan War says that Apollo was ill-disposed towards the Greeks 'at the Scamander' (511). Similarly, in the *Andromache*, Peleus wishes that Neoptolemus had died 'at the banks of the Simois' instead of in Delphi (1183), so his death would have entailed glory.

Many tragedies highlight the misery that the Trojan War has caused. This misery is often connected to the Scamander and Simois. For example, in Euripides' *Helen*, Helen complains that many lives have been lost 'at the streams of the Scamander' (52), and in the *Trojan Women*, the chorus state that Helen has brought wide suffering to 'the streams of the Simois' (1116). It is possible that the Scamander and Simois are again metonyms for Troy. It is also possible that the misery is specifically connected to the rivers. The reason for this may be that the war, which has caused many victims, has mainly taken place in the plain, of which the Scamander and Simois are characteristic landmarks.[133]

In the *Iliad*, the Scamander often has connotations of safety for the Trojans.[134] For example, in book 14, the Trojans bring the wounded Hector from the battlefield to a safe place at the Scamander (433-4). The river, nevertheless, does not always convey these connotations. It is, for instance, also the place where Achilles kills many Trojans (21.1-33). In tragedy, the connotations of safety are completely absent: the river is a place only of misery, for Greeks and Trojans alike.

Weather of the Troad
In Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, a messenger from the Greek army at Troy informs Clytaemnestra about the hardships of the Greeks during the Trojan War. He emphasises the intolerable climate and erratic weather of the Troad, to which the Greeks were constantly exposed. He speaks of moisture dripping from the air (561 δρόσοι)[135] and extremes of heat and cold in the country:

χειμῶνα δ' εἰ λέγοι τις οἰωνοκτόνον,	The intolerable, bird-killing cold – if
οἷον παρεῖχ' ἄφερτον Ἰδαία χιών,	someone could tell of it – such as the
ἢ θάλπος, εὖτε πόντος ἐν μεσημβριναῖς	snow of the Ida brought, or the heat

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[133] Other passages in which the Scamander and Simois appear in a context of misery: A. *Ag.* 696; *Ch.* 366; E. *Andr.* 1019; *Hec.* 641; *Tr.* 29, 374; *Or.* 1310; *Hel.* 609, 369; *IA* 750; 767; *Rh.* 546-7.
[134] Trachsel 2007, 77
[135] In the *Agamemnon*, drops and dripping liquids (in general) appear in a context of suffering and misery. For example, when Agamemnon is murdered, Cassandra screams that the palace in Argos breathes 'blood dripping murder' (1309 φόνον ... αἱματοσταγῆ). Similarly, the chorus state that the memory of miseries 'drips' before their heart (179 στάζει). The heart is considered the seat of thought and emotions. For further examples see: Sommerstein 1996, 241-7.

κοίταις ἀκύμων νηνέμοις εὕδοι πεσών ...   when the sea calmly fell asleep on its
(A. *Ag.* 563-6)   windless noontide couch.

In the *Iliad*, no references are made to sudden weather changes in the Troad.[136] The heroes generally fight under a clear sky (17.371 ὑπ' αἰθέρι) and the light of the sun (371-2 αὐγή ἠελίου). This does not mean that weather phenomena play no role in the *Iliad*, but they are only used in two particular ways:

(1) Weather phenomena are used in similes and comparisons. For example, the clamour of the Trojans on the battlefield is compared to the noise of cranes that flee from 'wintry storms' and 'boundless rain' (3.4 χειμῶνα; ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον).

(2) The gods use meteorological phenomena as weapons during battle. For instance, Zeus hurls a thunderbolt to the chariot of Diomedes to frighten his horses (8.133-4). Nevertheless, when Zeus swings his bolt, the general state of the weather remains constant: the sky remains blue.[137] The same goes for mist, with which the gods hide individual warriors from view (e.g. *Il.* 21.597).

The unsettled weather in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* has a thematic function. The play shows that war causes many hardships, both to soldiers and to those who stay at home. Aeschylus evokes moisture from the air as well as extreme heat and cold in the Troad to add to the miseries of the soldiers.[138]

Heat and coldness also appear in the *Rhesus*. Hector criticises his Thracian ally Rhesus for his late arrival in Troy. He states that the other allies have long shown great loyalty (415 πίστις οὐ σμικρά) to the Trojans. Some have died for Troy, others still endure 'in armour and on war chariots' the 'chilly blast and thirsty heat of the god' (417 ψυχρὰν ἄησιν δίψιον τε πῦρ θεοῦ). Feickert and Liapis take this passage at face value and compare it with the messenger speech in *Agamemnon*.[139] They regard ἄησις and πῦρ as the meteorological phenomena of the Trojan plain. I do not agree with them. Why would Hector consider the endurance of blasts of wind and heat *on the battlefield* to be the greatest act of loyalty of his allies? Furthermore, who is the god who sends these blasts and heat? In my opinion, the

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[136] The *Odyssey*, by contrast, does contain references to weather changes. It is particularly stormy weather that regularly appears. For example, when Poseidon wants to destroy the raft of Odysseus, he rouses a storm by gathering clouds, rousing winds, and covering the earth in darkness (5.291-6).

[137] Bouvier 1986, 237-53. The course of the battle is also presented in terms of the weather. For example, Zeus prefigures the death of Sarpedon by shedding bloody raindrops on the battlefield (16.459). Similarly, thick mist appears on places of heavy combat: warriors in the fierce battle around the body of Patroclus are shrouded in mist (17.368 ἠέρι ... κατέχοντο μάχης), while the others fight under a clear sky (17.371). This contrast is expressive of the intense battle around Patroclus and the diffused fighting elsewhere (cf. Edwards 1991, 98).

[138] According to Fraenkel (1950, 285), the experience of coldness by the soldiers is a reference to contemporary Athenian expeditions in the chilly north of Greece. Cf. Leahy 1974, 5-6.

[139] Feickert 2005, 220; Liapis 2012, 181.

winds and heat have a symbolic function. Blasts of wind and heat are repeatedly associated with violence and battle. For example, in the *Rhesus*, Hector considers the war god Ares to 'blow heavily' during a fierce battle (322-3 Ἄρης … μέγας πνέων).[140] Similarly, in the *Iliad*, the Greeks and Trojans on the battlefield fight like 'blazing fire' (e.g. 13.673 μάρναντο δέμας πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο). This shows that Hector does not consider the endurance of the climate, but the perseverance in fighting to be his allies' greatest act of loyalty.

When ἄησις and πῦρ are taken symbolically, the identity of the god becomes clear as well. It is Ares, the war god, whose battles are often associated with blasts and fire. In Euripides' *Phoenician Women*, moreover, Ares is said to 'breathe' the Argive army upon the Theban people when they are attacking the city (789 ἐπιπνεύσας). In the *Rhesus*, the blasts are presented as 'chilly' (ψυχράν) and the heat as 'thirsty' (δίψιον) to emphasise the harshness of the vicissitudes on the battlefield. This enhances the loyalty of the allies and makes the absence of Rhesus more offensive.

Villages

In addition to natural elements, the tragic Troad also has villages. Euripides presents the village of Thebe as the native city of Andromache (*Andr.* 1), which is in accordance with the tradition (*Il.* 6.414-6; Sapph. fr. 44.6 Lobel-Page). Aeschylus, on the contrary, presents Andromache in his *Phrygians* as coming from Lyrnessus (fr. 267). He thus makes her a fellow citizen of Briseis, who traditionally came from this village (*Il.* 2.689-90).[141] According to Sommerstein, Aeschylus makes the women fellow citizens to create a close link between them. Some similarities in the tradition enabled this link: they were both women who were deprived of their family by Achilles (*Il.* 6.413-24, 19.291-4) and who were taken captive in the Trojan War (Briseis during it, Andromache at its end).[142]

Sommerstein does not say *why* Aeschylus would create a link between Andromache and Briseis. The highly fragmentary state of the *Phrygians* makes it difficult to provide an explanation. Nevertheless, I would like to venture a suggestion. The *Phrygians* presents the meeting between Achilles and Priam about the ransoming of Hector's corpse. As Sommerstein suggests, it may have been Briseis

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[140] In Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes*, the battle around Thebes is compared to a wave raised by the 'blasts of Ares' (63-4 πνοὰς Ἄρεως, cf. 114-5). Similarly, in the *Iliad*, warriors in fierce battle are compared to furious storms (e.g. 11.747, 12.375).

[141] Cf. *Cypria* (Procl. *Chr.* 160-5). Stauber claims that villages called Thebe and Lyrnessus existed in the Troad in the classical period. He states that these villages were founded in imitation of the cities in the *Iliad* (*Nachfolge-Siedlungen*). Stauber bases the existence of the two villages (in the classical period) on indications by Strabo (13.1.61) and the discovery of classical finds on the described locations (Stauber 1996, 42-7; 66-71; 107-8).

[142] Sommerstein 2008b, 269 n1.

who persuaded Achilles in this play to return the corpse of Hector. This would parallel the *Myrmidons*, the first play of the trilogy, in which Patroclus (another sexual partner of Achilles) had persuaded him to lend him his armour.[143] One of the possible motivations for Briseis to persuade Achilles might be pity for Andromache. Characters in tragedy who come from the same city and have experienced the same misfortune often feel pity for each other. For example, the women of Troy pity their queen in Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women*. That Briseis has suffered the same misfortune as Andromache (both have lost their family) and comes from the same village might have aroused a sense of compassion for her.

Another village of the Troad appears in the *Eumenides*. When Athena arrives onstage, she says that she has come 'from the Scamander' (398 ἀπὸ Σκαμάνδρου) where she has taken 'possession of the land' (398 γῆν καταφθατουμένη). This land has been apportioned to the Athenians 'for ever' (401 ἐς τὸ πᾶν) as a share of the Trojan war booty (400 λάχος μέγα). Scholars generally take this passage as referring to the village of Sigeum (absent in Homer).[144] This village lay on a headland of the Hellespont at the mouth of the Scamander (Hdt. 5.65.3).[145] This was a strategic position, since it provided control over the entrance to the Black Sea. Sigeum was founded in the seventh century by the inhabitants of Mytilene, who lost it to the Athenians around 600 after a conflict about its possession (Hdt. 5.94-5). The Athenians, in turn, lost Sigeum to the Persians at the end of the sixth century, when the latter enlarged their influence in Asia Minor (Hdt. 4.38).[146] It is likely that the Athenians recovered Sigeum from them in 464. This may follow from the facts that the name of the village appears in an Athenian casualty list of that year (*IG* I³ 1144)[147] and that Sigeum is known to have been a member of the Delian League from the 450s at least (*IG* I³ 17).[148]

Athena's claim in the *Eumenides* that the area of Sigeum is an Athenian possession 'for ever' justifies contemporary Athenian influence in the area. By giving the Athenian rule a heroic origin, Aeschylus presents the Athenians as the rightful rulers of the region.

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[143] Sommerstein 2008b, 263. For Achilles' sexual relationship with Patroclus see fr. 135-7.

[144] E.g. Podlecki 1989, 163; Sommerstein 1989, 151-2.

[145] Sigeum is also mentioned in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (355 Σίγειον).

[146] Berlin 2002, 133-41. Herodotus says that Hippias took shelter in Sigeum in 510, when he was exiled from Athens (5.65). As Sommerstein (1989, 151) notes, he is likely to have held it as tributary to the Persian king.

[147] Cf. Bradeen 1967, 321-8.

[148] Sommerstein 1989, 151.

Conclusion

The tragedians have not modelled the Trojan plain after Homer. Most elements of the Homeric plain, such as the oak tree, fig tree, and Pleasant Hill, are not adopted by them. They fill the plain with their own landmarks, according to the needs of the plot. These landmarks have a thematic (e.g. A. *Ag.*, E. *Tr.*) or psychologising function (e.g. S. *Ai.*). Nevertheless, some landmarks, such as the Scamander and Simois, are present on both the tragic and Homeric plain. They do not necessarily imply an imitation of Homer but are *canonical* elements, which are continuously preserved in the tradition to distinguish the city.

3.2.2 Graves

Homer

The Trojan plain has graves of Greek and Trojan heroes. I first describe (1) the burial customs in Homer and then (2) list the graves that are present in the Trojan plain.

(1) Homeric heroes are only familiar with the practice of cremation; inhumation is unknown to them. Burials consist of the following procedures. After a procession the corpse of the hero is placed on a pyre along with funeral gifts, such as weapons (*Il.* 6.418-9, 23.170)[149] and corpses of sacrificed animals (*Od.* 24.66).[150] The pyre is then kindled and the corpse is burnt together with the gifts.[151] After the cremation the attendants of the funeral collect the bones of the hero. They either place them in an urn or box (*Il.* 24.795-6) or leave them at the place of the pyre (*Il.* 7.435-6). Lastly, a mound of earth is heaped over the urn or bones (*Il.* 16.457 τύμβῳ; 24.797-9). This mound can be supported by a foundation (*Il.* 23.255 θεμείλια), surrounded by trees (*Il.* 6.418-9), or marked by a gravestone (*Il.* 16.457 στήλῃ). The function of a mound is to preserve the memory of the deceased hero and to contribute to his *kleos* (*Od.* 1.239-40).[152] According to Antonaccio and Van Wees, Ho-

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[149] The practice of cremating weapons was familiar to the historical Greeks. Fragments of burnt armour have, for example, been found in Euboean and Athenian warrior graves from the Geometric period (Coldstream 1977, 120; 126; 350).

[150] Human sacrifice occurs once in Homer, at the funeral of Patroclus. Achilles sacrifices twelve Trojans to the deceased hero out of revenge for Patroclus' untimely death (*Il.* 23.175). According to some scholars (e.g. Andronikos 1968, 29; Finkelberg 2005, 14), the presence of human sacrifice in Homer indicates that this practice really existed in historical Greece and was preserved in oral tradition until Homer's time. Archaeologists have found traces of a human sacrifice in a Cypriot tomb of the Middle Bronze Age (Coldstream 1977, 350).

[151] The gifts are probably supposed to benefit the hero after his death and the animals to accompany his soul on his journey to the underworld (Andronikos 1968, 25-7).

[152] E.g. Andronikos 1968, 34. Grethlein (2008, 28) points out that tombs and, consequently, the heroes who are buried within it, can fall into oblivion. This happens in the *Iliad* several times (e.g. 2.811-4; 23.326-33).

meric funerals largely correspond to those of the late eighth and early seventh century. Elements that are shared by both funerals are the practice of cremation, the burial of cremated remains, and the erection of mounds. Homeric funerals do not resemble those of the Bronze Age, since at that time inhumation was common.[153]

(2) The Trojan plain contains a number of tombs. Some of these belong to Trojan primogenitors, such as Aesyetes (2.793) and Ilus (11.166-7), others to enemies of the Trojans, such as the Amazon Myrine (2.811-4). Several tombs are erected during the story of the *Iliad* itself. In book 7, the Greeks raise a mound near their camp for a collective body of warriors (435-6); in book 24, the Trojans erect a tomb for Hector in the plain (799). For Patroclus, the Greeks construct a cenotaph. Achilles keeps Patroclus' bones in his barrack until he dies, after which the two of them will be buried in one urn and tomb (23.83-92). The construction of this tomb is described in *Odyssey* 24. It is erected on a promontory of the Hellespont so that it is conspicuous for all men from the sea. In addition to the urn of Patroclus and Achilles, this tomb also contains the urn of the hero Antilochus, who was another friend of Achilles (*Od.* 24.76-82).[154]

The plain in tragedy also contains graves. For the analysis of the supposed Homeric character of the Trojan plain, two questions are important:

(1) Do the graves in tragedy resemble the Homeric graves in design?

(2) Do the tragic and Homeric plain have the same graves? If so, are these graves in the same location?

The tragedians, moreover, may not only have been influenced by Homer, but also by the layout of the real, fifth-century Troad. Some tombs in the Troad were identified as those of the heroes who had died in the Trojan War. In other words, stories about the deaths of these heroes were connected to the actual landscape in the form of *lieux de mémoire* (2.1). The tragedians may have aligned the layout of their heroic plain with the real, actual Troad by incorporating some of the 'heroic' tombs in their plays. Most of these tombs were very old by the time of the trage-

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[153] *HE* s.v. burial customs (Antonaccio); Van Wees 1999, 20. Van Wees states that Homer does not include specific local burial practices in his epics, but creates a generic heroic burial in which he combines the 'standard' (shared) elements of funerals of different regions in Greece. This might have increased the appeal of his epics among a panhellenic audience. Crielaard (2002, 246-8), however, points to specific similarities between Homeric funerals and those at Eretria in Euboea.

[154] *HE* s.v. geography, the *Iliad*. According to Russo, Fernández-Galiano and Heubeck (1992, 368), the joint burial of the three heroes in the *Odyssey* is a combination of two different traditions. According to one tradition, Patroclus was the closest friend of Achilles; according to another, it was Antilochus. The *Odyssey* combines these traditions by having the three heroes buried in one tomb.

dians; some of them had been erected in the Bronze Age.[155] Hence, the incorporation of these tombs in the heroic world may have created an archaising patina for this world. My third question is:

(3) Do the tragedians align the layout of the tragic plain with that of the real, actual Troad? Category 2 and 3 overlap when graves have the same location in the actual Troad as on the Homeric plain.

Greek graves around the Trojan wall

In the first stasimon of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* the chorus deplore the misery that the Trojan War has caused. They particularly mourn the deaths of Greeks warriors who have been buried in graves along the Trojan wall:

οἱ δ᾽ αὐτοῦ περὶ τεῖχος	On the spot, around the wall
θήκας Ἰλιάδος γᾶς	the men of fair form occupy
εὔμορφοι κατέχουσιν· ἐχ-	graves in the land of Ilium
θρὰ δ᾽ ἔχοντας ἔκρυψεν.	and hostile soil conceals its possessors.
(A. *Ag.* 452-5).	

The location of the graves in Aeschylus differs from that in Homer. In the *Iliad*, the Greeks are not buried along the Trojan wall but in the vicinity of their own camp (7.435-6). The only landmarks that Homer locates along the Trojan wall are two springs, a fig tree, and an oak tree (**3.2.1**). Why, then, does Aeschylus locate the Greek graves on this spot in the *Agamemnon*?

The location of the graves has a thematic function in the ode. It highlights the double-edged sword of war. The walls that the Greeks have taken in possession (355-61) are also the place where many Greek warriors have died. Although the Greeks were victorious in war and have captured the Trojan land, many of them only 'occupy' it (454 κατέχουσιν, 455 ἔχοντας) in the sense that they are buried there.[156] What is more, Aeschylus states that the deceased warriors were 'men of fair form' (454 εὔμορφοι). That it is young men who have died in the prime of their lives increases the horror of the war.

A cemetery along the public road

In the *Rhesus* the Thracian allies of the Trojans are killed on a nightly expedition of the Greeks who penetrate into the Trojan camp in the plain. After this incident Hector instructs the Trojans on guard on the city wall (879 τοῖσιν ἐν τείχει) to bury the corpses 'at a sideway of the public road' (881 κελεύθου λεωφόρου πρὸς ἐκτροπάς). Homer, for his part, does not portray this site as a burial place. He pre-

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[155] E.g. Boardman 2002, 53.

[156] Thomson 1966, 45; Collard 2002, 130.

sents the graves of the dead as lying 'scattered' throughout the plain. The tomb of Ilus, for example, is located in the middle of the plain, whereas that of Achilles lies on a promontory of the Hellespont (*Il.* 11.166-7, *Od.* 24.82). What is the reason, then, for the location of the graves along the public road in the *Rhesus*?

The location of the graves in the *Rhesus* must not be explained in literary terms, as in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, but in historical terms. The burial site in Troy resembles that of cemeteries of Greek cities of the archaic and classical period. Until the eighth century Greek settlements consisted of clusters of houses with uninhabited spaces in between. People were buried in these 'open' spaces or within the residential areas themselves. In Athens, for example, graves lay on the site of the later (classical) agora, which was inhabited, and on the slopes of the acropolis and the Areopagus.[157] When the Greek population increased in the archaic period, the residential clusters agglomerated. Due to the increasing lack of space within the settlements themselves, graves began to be located at burial places outside the villages. These cemeteries were as a rule located along important highways. An example is the Ceramicus in Athens, which lay outside the city along the Sacred Way to Eleusis. In cities that already possessed a defensive wall, the cemeteries were located outside this wall.[158] (That the Thracian corpses in the *Rhesus* are buried by the Trojans 'on the wall' (879) suggests that the cemetery of Troy lies near the wall.) Morris claims that the process of 'relocating' burial places took place in the early seventh century (at least in the case of Athens),[159] although other scholars argue for a later date. Papadopoulos, for example, states that the site of the later (classical) agora remained an important burial place in the seventh century and that the Ceramicus took over this function only in the sixth century.[160]

In section **3.1**, I have shown that tragic Troy contains many features of a fifth-century city, especially buildings and objects. The presence of a cemetery along the public road can be added to these (although it is not an exclusively fifth-century element). In other tragedies, too, graves are located along the highway outside the city. In Euripides' *Alcestis*, for example, a servant says that Alcestis' tomb lies 'next to the road to Larisa' and can be seen 'from the outskirts of the city' (835 παρ' οἶμον ἢ 'πὶ Λαρίσαν; 836 ἐκ προαστίου).

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[157] Morris 1987, 63.

[158] Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 91-6; Frederiksen 2011, 76. Areas that were chosen for the location of cemeteries were often sites where burials had already taken place for a long time. The Ceramicus in Athens, for example, had served as a burial place since the early Helladic period, that is, from the end of the third millennium onwards (Knigge 1988, 14).

[159] Morris 1987, 65-8.

[160] Papadopoulos 1996, 107-28.

Tomb of Achilles

The tomb of Achilles was identified in the real, actual Troad at the southern end of the coast of Sigeum (Str. 13.1.39). This site was fortified by inhabitants of Mytilene in the sixth century during a war with Athens for the rule over Sigeum (cf. **3.2.1**). The site became known then as Achilleum (Hdt. 5.94). Cook, moreover, points out that the earliest offerings at the tomb date from the second quarter of the sixth century.[161] It is likely then that it was at this time that the tomb was identified as that of Achilles. The location of the tomb in the real Troad (at the Hellespontine coast) corresponds to that in Homer (*Od.* 24.76-82).

The tomb of Achilles is presented in several tragedies as the location of the sacrifice of Polyxena.[162] This was a canonical event in the tradition about the fall of Troy (*Iliupersis*; cf. Procl. *Chr.* 274; Ibyc. fr. 26 *PMG*).[163] A first instance of the story is found in Euripides' *Trojan Women*. Euripides refers to the sacrifice for thematic reasons, since it contributes to the series of outrages by the Greeks after the fall of Troy, which dominates the play. Euripides, moreover, enhances the horror of the sacrifice by presenting the Greeks as leaving Polyxena unburied at the tomb. It is Andromache who pays Polyxena the last honours by mourning her and covering her corpse with a garment when she happens to pass the tomb on her way to the Greek camp (626-7). This is in contrast with Euripides' *Hecuba*, in which the Greeks arrange an elaborate funeral for the princess (571-80). The detail of Andromache improvising a burial in the *Trojan Women* is probably an innovation by Euripides in the story of the sacrifice.[164]

In the *Trojan Women* Euripides locates Achilles' tomb in the Trojan plain. This location corresponds to that in Homer and the actual Troad (although Euripides does not mention the Hellespontine coast).[165] Sophocles devoted a whole play, the *Polyxena*, to the sacrifice of the princess. Although this play has only

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[161] Cook 1973, 178-88. Cf. Boardman 2002, 54-5.

[162] According to another version, Polyxena was fatally wounded by Odysseus and Diomedes during the capture of Troy (*Cypria*; cf. sch. in E. *Hec.* 41). The sacrifice of Polyxena at Achilles' tomb is an example of hero-cult, a cult act directed to a hero at his grave or memorial. It is debated whether the practice of hero-cult is present in Homer: e.g. Nagy (1979, 116-7) and Janko (1992, 2) argue in favour of its presence; e.g. Currie (2005, 48-57) and Antonaccio (*HE* s.v. hero-cult) argue against its presence.

[163] See further: Apollod. 5.23, Q.S. 14.234-45. The sacrifice of Polyxena is also attested in the visual arts. For examples see: *LIMC* VII.1 433; VII.2 347 (no. 22-8). For an analysis of the story of the sacrifice in epic see: Anderson 1997, 59-61. For a discussion of the story in Euripides' *Hecuba* see: O'Connor-Visser 1987, 50-72.

[164] Petersmann 1977, 158.

[165] The location of the tomb also corresponds to that in other accounts. For example, Proclus' summary suggests that the tomb of Achilles is located in the Trojan plain in the *Iliupersis* (*Chr.* 274). Since Polyxena is sacrificed soon after the burning of Troy, the grave of Achilles must be located nearby, that is, in the plain.

been preserved in fragments, it is clear that Sophocles, too, located the tomb of Achilles in the Trojan plain (fr. 522; cf. Str. 10.3.14).[166]

The tomb of Achilles is also presented in Euripides' *Hecuba*. In this play it is not located in the Trojan plain, but in the Chersonese – a peninsula in Thrace lying opposite Troy at the other side of the Hellespont (8 Χερσονησίαν πλάκα). The deviant location of the tomb in the *Hecuba* follows from the dramatic structure of the play. Euripides combines in this play the story of Polyxena's sacrifice with that of the murder of Priam's son Polydorus. This prince was sent to Thrace for safe-keeping during the Trojan War but was murdered there after the capture of Troy (1-25). By combining the two stories in one play, Euripides must relocate the tomb of Achilles to Thrace, where the action of the play takes place.[167] Thus, the location of the tomb in the *Hecuba* differs from that in the real, actual world. The demands of the plot, then, prevail over geographical accuracy.

The tragedians do not mention the joint burial of Achilles, Patroclus and Antilochus, which is described in the *Odyssey* (24.76-82). They only refer to the grave *of Achilles*. There are two possible explanations for this difference:
(1) The tragedians present the tomb in connection with the sacrifice of Polyxena, which was, according to the tradition, directed only to Achilles, not to Patroclus or Antilochus.
(2) Strabo mentions the existence of three separate tombs for Achilles, Patroclus and, Antilochus in the actual landscape of the Troad (13.1.32).[168] Although he describes the situation in the Troad in the first century AD, it is possible that separate tombs were already identified in the landscape in the fifth century. If so, the tragedians may have suppressed the joint burial of the three heroes to account for this contemporary situation. This suggestion must nevertheless remain conjectural, since the existence of separate tombs is not attested in fifth-century sources.

Tomb of Hector
Like the tomb of Achilles, the tomb of Hector was identified in the actual Troad. It was supposed to be located at Ophryneum, a coastal town in the region of Troy,

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[166] Calder 1966, 31; Pralon 2009, 192.

[167] Collard [1984] 1991, 34; Gregory 1999, 47.

[168] Arrian (*An.* 1.12.1) states that Alexander the Great and Hephaestion, who lived in the fourth century, sacrificed at separate tombs of Achilles and Patroclus in the Troad. According to Cook (1973, 160), this reference demonstrates that two separate tombs must have been pointed out in the landscape at that time. However, it is not certain whether Arrian, who lived in the second century AD, gives a correct representation of the fourth-century Troad. He might have projected the situation of his own time, that is, the existence of separate tombs (cf. Str. 13.1.32), into the past. He may have done this for literary reasons: by presenting the two Macedonians as sacrificing at the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus, he highlights their connection as friends and lovers (as were the two heroes).

according to a reference of the second-century BC historian Aristodemus (*FGrH* 383F7). It is uncertain, however, whether this tomb was pointed out in the fifth century. A series of coins with the image of Hector that was struck at Ophryneum in the fourth century suggests that the tomb had been identified by then.[169] We have, however, no source that confirms the identification in the fifth century.

The tomb of Hector is presented in Euripides' *Trojan Women*, in which it has a characterising function. In the fourth episode, Talthybius says that Andromache addressed the tomb of Hector when she was led to the ship of Neoptolemus (1132-3 τὸν Ἕκτορος τύμβον προσεννέπουσα). The text does not make clear whether Andromache actually saw the tomb while passing it or only apostrophised it in her thoughts. In both cases, that she addresses the tomb while being led to Neoptolemus' ship is expressive of her devotion to Hector. Although she is forced to live with a new man, she clings to the memory of her former husband. This accords with Andromache's characterisation as a loyal and virtuous woman throughout the play (e.g. 650-6). If Andromache actually passed the tomb (while being brought to Neoptolemus' ship), it must be located in the Trojan plain. This was also its location in Homer (*Il.* 24.799-802) and in the actual Troad, if the tomb was identified in the fifth-century.[170]

Andromache's journey from Troy to the ships is also portrayed in Euripides' *Andromache*. While living with Neoptolemus in Phthia, Andromache laments the fall of Troy and the destruction of her former marriage (103-16). She says that Hector was lying in the dust unburied (111-2 πόσιν ἐν κονίαις) when she was led from her city to the coast. Euripides here breaks with the tradition, since Hector is normally presented as having been buried at the time of Troy's capture. What is more, if the tomb of Hector was present in the actual Troad in the fifth-century, Euripides takes liberties with contemporary geography by suppressing its presence in his play.

What is the function of this break with tradition? The image of Hector lying in the dust contributes to the *pathos* of Andromache's situation. She is not only presented as being led to Greece for a life of slavery, but also as having to leave her husband behind unburied. Throughout the play Euripides characterises Andromache as miserable and dejected (e.g. 74-6).

Tomb of Ajax
The question of identification that concerned Hector's tomb bears on Ajax' tomb as well. It is unclear whether his tomb had been identified in the actual Troad in the fifth century. The earliest reference to the presence of Ajax' tomb in the actual

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[169] Head 1911, 547-8.
[170] Other poets also locate Hector's grave in the Trojan plain (e.g. *Aethiopis*). Cf. Burgess 2001, 140-2.

landscape is Strabo, who lived in the first century AD (13.1.30; cf. Paus. 1.35.4). He states that the tomb is located at Rhoeteum, a coastal town of the Hellespont.[171] This location corresponds to that in Sophocles' *Ajax*, where the tomb is erected on the Trojan shore. Teucer says (by way of aetiology) that Ajax' grave will be remembered 'for all time' (1166 ἀείμνηστον). This may suggest that the audience were familiar with the existence of the tomb. Otherwise the words of Teucer would not have made sense. Nevertheless, we have no historical or archaeological source that confirms the presence of the tomb in the fifth-century Troad.

In the *Ajax*, the hero seems to be buried by inhumation. This is implied by the description of the preparations for his burial. Teucer orders Ajax' soldiers to wash his corpse and to seek a 'hollow trench' (1403 κοίλην κάπετον) in which the corpse must be placed. Teucer does not instruct them to gather wood or build a pyre. The motif of Ajax' inhumation was traditional. It was treated in the *Little Iliad*, in which Ajax was inhumed in a coffin (ἐν σόρῳ) 'due to the anger of Agamemnon' (διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως) (Eust. 1.439.35 Van der Valk). It seems that inhumation is used as punishment in this epic, since Agamemnon orders Ajax to be inhumed out of anger. This may be explained by cremation being the most common burial method in epic, at least in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and probably also in the *Little Iliad*.[172] Agamemnon seems to deny Ajax 'proper' burial rites by having his corpse inhumed instead of cremated.[173]

Although Sophocles seems to preserve the tradition that Ajax was inhumed instead of cremated, he does not present it as punishment of Agamemnon.[174] This might be linked to the status of inhumation in the fifth century. Cremation and inhumation were both practiced at that time and were of equal status. Inhumation had become common in Athens in the mid-sixth century, although cremation (which had been dominant before) remained in existence too.[175] The choice whether to cremate or inhume a corpse was usually a private affair.[176] Thus, the motif of inhumation as punishment does not fit the values of Sophocles' fifth-century Athenian audience. Sophocles nevertheless preserves the motif of Agamemnon's anger at Ajax, but expresses it differently from the poet of the *Little*

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[171] Cf. Cook 1973, 88-9; Boardman 2002, 53.

[172] The suggestion that cremation was common in the *Little Iliad* too, seems to be supported by Apollodorus' statement that Ajax was the only Greek who was inhumed at Troy. Ἀγαμέμνων δὲ κωλύει τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ καῆναι, καὶ μόνος οὗτος τῶν ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἀποθανόντων ἐν σόρῳ κεῖται. (*Epit.* 5.7). 'Agamemnon forbids his [Ajax'] body to be cremated, so he is the only one of those who have died in Troy, who lies in a coffin.' Had other inhumations been presented in the *Little Iliad*, Apollodorus would presumably not have made this statement.

[173] Garvie 1998, 2-3.

[174] Garvie 1998, 2-3.

[175] Morris 1987, 21-2.

[176] Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 96-9.

Iliad. Agamemnon agrees with Ajax' burial only after being reminded of 'the divine laws' by Odysseus (1343 τοὺς θεῶν νόμους), which prescribe burial. Initially he proclaimed that Ajax' corpse had to be cast out on the shore (1064-5).[177]

In addition to inhumation, tragedy also presents the practice of cremation. For example, in Euripides' *Hecuba*, the Greeks prepare a pyre for Polyxena after her sacrifice to Achilles (571-80). Similarly, in Euripides' *Suppliants*, the seven generals of the Argive army, who have died in the war against Thebes, are cremated in Eleusis. Their ashes are put in urns and taken to Argos (1207-10) (cf. **4.3.1**). That both inhumation and cremation appear in tragedy corresponds to the situation in the fifth century. In this respect tragedy differs from epic, which only presents the practice of cremation.

Tomb of Astyanax

The tomb of Astyanax is presented in Euripides' *Trojan Women* (1246 τύμβῳ). The boy is interred by the Greek herald Talthybius (1153-5) after he has been thrown from the Trojan wall. Although the tradition has Astyanax die in Troy (e.g. *Little Iliad*),[178] we have no evidence that the archaic or classical Greeks ascribed a tomb in the actual Troad to him. Later authors, such as Strabo and Pausanias, do not mention a tomb of Astyanax either in their descriptions of the Troad. The presence of Astyanax' tomb in the plain in the *Trojan Women* might thus be an invention of Euripides.

Astyanax is inhumed in the shield of his father Hector. This is an example of poetic fantasy, since shields did not serve as coffins in historical Greece. The idea of a shield-burial may nonetheless be based on real archaic and classical child burials. From the eighth century onwards (at least in Athens) it was common practice to inhume little children in pots, such as *pithoi* and *amphorae*. Moreover, from ca. 500 children were buried in clay tubs and vats. Conversely, before the eighth century children were generally inhumed in simple pits and shafts.[179] The shield in which Astyanax is buried might thus be considered a heroic equivalent of the archaic and classical pots and tubs that served as children's 'coffins'.[180]

What is the function of this fantasy element in the heroic world? Astyanax' inhumation in his father's shield adds to the *pathos* which surrounds the end of his life. The shield in which he is buried is precisely the object that should have protected him from death. Astyanax' burial thus emphasises that the shield has not performed its proper function. Moreover, had Troy not been captured, Astya-

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[177] Garvie 1998, 2-3.
[178] In literary accounts Astyanax is hurled from the wall (e.g. *Il. Parv.* fr. 29.4, cf. *Il.* 24.735); in visual accounts he is killed with Priam at the altar of Zeus by Neoptolemus (e.g. *LIMC* II.1 931-3, II.2 682-5 (no. 7-24)).
[179] Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 36; 55; 72; Morris 1987, 18-21.
[180] Dyson and Lee 2000, 25.

nax would have inherited his father's shield (1192 πατρῴων) and taken it to the battlefield to imitate his father's heroic deeds, as Hecuba says (1192-5). Although Astyanax obtains the shield of his father, he inherits it only in *death*. The burial in the shield emphasises that the boy will never gain the same martial glory as his father. This idea is a reversal of the situation in Sophocles' *Ajax* in which Ajax' son Eurysaces inherits the shield of his father so as to give the boy the same chance on heroic glory on the battlefield as his father (550-76).[181]

The shield in which Astyanax is buried is round, consists of wicker covered with bronze, and has a double arm-grip (1156 ἀμφίτορνον ἀσπίδα; 1193 χαλκόνωτον ἰτέαν; 1196 πόρπακι).[182] It differs from Homeric shields, which are made of leather and bronze and contain a shoulder strap (τελαμών) for carrying (*Il.* 12.294-7, 13.156-66, 17.290).[183] The shield that Euripides presents belongs to the so-called 'hoplite' type. This follows from the combination of wood and bronze, the presence of the double arm-grip and the absence of the shoulder strap. Hoplite shields appear in the archaeological record from ca. 650.[184] The design of hoplite shields, however, remained virtually unchanged through the archaic and classical periods.[185] Thus, the shield of Hector in the *Trojan Women* resembles shields of the time of the audience. What is more, Hector's shield is physically brought on stage. Boardman noted that the archaic and classical Greeks rarely attempted to recreate objects from a distant past (cf. **2.1**). This observation bears on Hector's shield as well because this kind of shield was in use in the fifth century.[186]

Astyanax' gravestone contains a written epigram. When Hecuba laments the boy's premature death, she imagines what kind of epigram could be written on it:

... τί καί ποτε	What could a poet write for you
γράψειεν ἂν σοι μουσοποιὸς ἐν τάφῳ;	on your grave? 'This child the
'Τὸν παῖδα τόνδ' ἔκτειναν Ἀργεῖοί ποτε	Argives once killed in fear?'
δείσαντες;' αἰσχρὸν τοὐπίγραμμα γ' Ἑλλάδι.	The inscription is a disgrace to Hellas.
(E. *Tr.* 1188-91)	

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[181] Dyson and Lee 2000, 26-7.

[182] The double 'arm-grip' consists of the *porpax* in the middle of the shield (through which the left forearm was placed) and the *antilabe* at the right edge of the shield (which was grasped by the left hand) (Schwartz 2009, 32).

[183] Scholars disagree whether Homer describes one specific shield or a combination of several shields from various periods. For an overview of this discussion see e.g. Van Wees 1992, 17-22; 2004, 250.

[184] Snodgrass 1967, 57; Van Wees 2004, 48-50. Van Wees argues that Homeric shields had a shoulder strap as well as a double arm-grip, although the latter is not explicitly mentioned.

[185] Schwartz 2009, 28.

[186] Boardman 2002, 45; 91.

Homeric graves can be marked by gravestones (e.g. *Il.* 16.457 στήλῃ) but do not contain written epigrams.[187] It is even debated whether Homer's heroes know the practice of writing at all.[188] In historical Greece, funerary epigrams appeared in the course of the seventh century. As Thomas notes, '[m]arked tombstones … do not appear till the first half of the seventh century and then only sparsely: this may be related to the fact that inscriptions on stone only start appearing in earnest in the middle of the seventh century.'[189]

The inscription on Astyanax' grave is written in the style of realistic epigrams, which Euripides may have seen and read himself:[190]

(1) It is a so-called 'non-ego' inscription. This type of inscription contains a piece of information written in the third person. 'Ego-inscriptions', by contrast, are written in the first person and symbolically give the memorial a voice: the object on which the epigram is written is figuratively presented as 'speaking' the lines. An example of an ego-inscription is 'I am the tomb of …'. Thomas points out that non-ego inscriptions started to appear on memorials around 550/540 whereas ego-inscriptions dominated the preceding period. The initial dominance of ego-inscriptions might be related to the predominantly 'oral' character of the early archaic period: ego-inscriptions, which give a memorial the appearance of speaking, are characteristic of a world in which fame was normally spread by oral communication.[191]

(2) The main function of a funerary epigram is to commemorate and celebrate the person to whom the epigram is dedicated. Inscriptions, in other words, are generally endowed with encomiastic force.[192] In the grave epigram for Astyanax the boy is praised indirectly, through the criticism of his enemies who feared the child.'[193]

(3) Astyanax' epigram contains the word ποτέ which is characteristic of funerary inscriptions. ποτέ means 'once' (in the past/long ago) and has a 'future point of view'. It is connected to the moment in the future when a passer-by reads the epi-

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[187] According to some scholars, Homer presents so-called 'oral' epitaphs, remarks *spoken* by heroes which resemble written epigrams. For instance, in *Iliad* 7, Hector imagines what men of future generations will say when they see the tomb of a Greek whom he killed: ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος, | ὅν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ (89-90). 'This is the tomb of a man who died long ago, whom once in his prowess famous Hector killed.' Young (1983, 39 n24) states that Homer had written epitaphs in mind when he composed this oral variant. Homer's epitaph nevertheless differs from real, written epigrams in that its content reveals more about Hector than the person who lies in the grave (De Jong 1987b, 77; cf. Scodel 1992).

[188] For an overview of this discussion see e.g. Heubeck 1979.

[189] Thomas 1992, 59.

[190] Stieber 2011, xxi.

[191] Thomas 1992, 63-5.

[192] Day 1989, 18.

[193] Biehl 1989, 417.

gram, not to the moment on which the epigram is written (that is, shortly after a person's death).[194] Astyanax can only be presented as having been killed ποτέ (long ago) from a standpoint in the future.

The grave of Astyanax cannot be considered a 'Homeric' grave. The hoplite shield in which the boy is buried and the 'non-ego' epigram written on the gravestone must be regarded as 'modern' elements. Since these objects were common in the classical period, they make strong arguments in favour of my thesis that tragic Troy is by and large a projection of a fifth-century city.

Conclusion

The three questions at the beginning of this section can be answered as follows:

(1) Graves in tragedy are unlike those in Homer because they are designed around different burial practices. Whereas Homer presents only the practice of cremation, tragedy portrays both cremation and inhumation. Homer's graves consist of a tomb containing a box or urn with cremated remains and a gravestone without inscription. Tragic graves consist of a tomb containing either an urn with burnt remains (E. *Supp.*) or a coffin (or another container) with an inhumed body (S. *Ai.*, E. *Tr.*). Tragic graves, moreover, can be provided with an inscribed gravestone. Some characteristics of these graves as well as the equal status of inhumation and cremation in tragedy correspond to fifth-century burial practices.

(2) The only graves on the tragic plain that are also present on the Homeric plain are those of Hector and Achilles. Nevertheless, the presence of these graves need not suggest imitation of Homer. The Trojan plain was the canonical location of these graves as they had always had been located there in the tradition (e.g. *Iliupersis* (Procl. *Chr.* 274), *Aethiopis*). The imitation of Homer seems even more unlikely if one notices that many graves on the tragic plain differ from those in Homer: the grave of Achilles in tragedy does not contain the remains of Patroclus and Antilochus, as in Homer; the tombs of Ilus, Aesyetes, and Myrine, which Homer mentions, are absent in tragedy. Moreover, the tragedians present graves that are absent in Homer. These are either adopted from the non-Homeric tradition, such as that of Ajax (S. *Ai.*), or invented by the tragedians themselves, such as those of the Thracians along the public road (E. *Rh.*) and those of the Greeks around the Trojan wall (A. *Ag.*).

(3) It is difficult to specify whether the tragedians aligned the geography of the tragic plain with that of the real, fifth-century Troad. It cannot be determined whether several tombs in the Troad had already been identified as 'heroic' in the fifth century. If so, some similarities between the tragic and actual Troad emerge: a number of tombs, such as that of Ajax (S. *Ai.*), have the same location in the tragic world as in the actual world. At the same time, the tragedians also take lib-

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[194] Young 1983, 36; Day 1989, 19; Grethlein 2010, 78.

erties with actual geography, for example by locating Achilles' grave in Thrace (E. *Tr.*), suppressing the existence of Hector's tomb (E. *Andr.*), and (possibly) inventing the tomb of Astyanax (E. *Tr.*). In these cases the demands of the plot prevail over geographical accuracy.

3.2.3 Mount Ida

Homer

The Ida is a mountain in the Troad (*Il.* 21.558-9) with forests of fir and oak trees (21.449 ὑληέσσης; 14.287 ἐλάτην; 23.118 δρῦς) and many springs, which are the source of several rivers (8.47 πολυπίδακα; 11.83 πιδηέσσης; 12.19).[195] The Trojans use the mountain as pastureland for their flocks (11.105) and hide themselves in the thickets when they are in danger (21.559 ῥωπήια). The summit of the mountain, called Gargaron (14.292), contains a *temenos* for Zeus, which is provided with a 'fragrant' altar and is taken care of by the Trojan priest Onetor (8.48 τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις; 16.604).[196] When Zeus and Hera have sex on Gargaron, the soil provides a bed of blooming flowers, containing lotus, crocus, and hyacinth (14.348 λωτόν; κρόκον; ὑάκινθον).[197] The village of Zeleia lies at the foot of the mountain (2.824) and the city of Dardania on its slopes (20.216).

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[195] For a description of the Ida see also: *LfgrE* s.v. Ἴδη; Luce 1998, 27-37. In Homeric similes, mountains are generally a symbol of danger. Mountains are the domain of wild animals, subject to stormy winds, and the place where pedestrians shrink back from threatening snakes (e.g. *Il.* 13.471-5; 22.189-92) (Elliger 1975, 89).

[196] Zeus, who sides with the Trojans during war, protects Trojan warriors from the Ida. For example, when the Trojans advance to the Greek camp, Zeus sends dust from the mountain to impede the sight of the Greek warriors (*Il.* 12.252-5). Yet, as the supreme god, Zeus is also the executor of fate, which dictates that Troy will fall. This task he performs from the Olympus, where he makes battles end in accordance with fate. During the battle between Hector and Achilles, for example, Zeus stays on the Olympus. When he weighs the lives of the heroes in his balance, he resigns himself to the outcome – that is, the death of Hector (22.187; 209-13) (Woronoff 1983, 83-92; 2001, 37-44).

[197] Herzhoff (1984, 257-71) has attempted to identify the specific species of the Homeric flowers on the basis of present vegetation in the Mediterranean. He argues that the Homeric κρόκος is the yellow *Crocus gargaricus* or the white-blue *Crocus biflorus*, and that ὑάκινθος is the dark blue *Scilla bifolia*: only these species of the crocus and hyacinth grow on mountaintops in the present Mediterranean. The term λωτός is used of various plants in Greek botany (Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 7.15.3). Herzhoff states that it stands for celandine in the Iliadic passage (*Ranunculus ficaria L.*), since this is the only plant that grows with crocuses and hyacinths on Mediterranean mountaintops. In my opinion, it is problematic to identify Homeric vegetation on the basis of present flora, since modern and Homeric vegetation do not necessarily correspond. Vegetation might have changed in the course of the millennia, for example as a result of climate change or global warming.

The Ida is a canonical element of the Troad and was continuously preserved in the tradition as an indicator of Troy (e.g. *Cypria* fr. 6.6; *h.Ven.* 68).

Paradise lost

In the third stasimon of Euripides' *Trojan Women*, the chorus lament the fall of Troy and criticise Zeus for not having prevented the victory of the Greeks. The women list the places in Troy where they have worshipped Zeus, but that he has given up to the enemy (1062 προύδωκας). They start with his temple and altar in the city (1061-2) and then mention mount Ida in the plain:

... Ἰδαῖά τ' Ἰδαῖα κισσοφόρα νάπη	The vales of Ida, Ida, clad in ivy,
χιόνι κατάρυτα ποταμία	watered with streams of melted snow,
τέρμονα τε πρωτόβολον ἕῳ,	the boundary first struck by the light of day,
τὰν καταλαμπομέναν ζαθέαν θεράπναν.	the abode illuminated and sacred.
(E. *Tr.* 1066-70)	

The women present the Ida as an idyllic place:[198] it contains vales rich in ivy and streams running with meltwater, and it is first illuminated by the sun at dawn.[199]

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[198] 'Idyllic place' is the English translation of Latin *locus amoenus*. Three scholars have tried to determine the 'basic' elements of this motif. A landscape can be called a *locus amoenus* when
(1) it contains at least a meadow, a tree and a spring (Curtius [1948] 1954, 202);
(2) it contains some of the following elements: soft wind (particularly *zephyr*), water, human or animal life, movement, spring elements, garden elements, trees, and elements that lull someone to sleep, such as the chirping of crickets (Schönbeck 1962, 18-60); or
(3) it is a clear-cut and surveyable piece of land, provided at least with water and a shelter (e.g. a cave or shadow), all of which is presented as admirable, for example by an adjective (Haβ 1998, 19-20).
The three scholars all mention different 'basic' elements of the *locus amoenus*. They have deduced these from passages in which beautiful landscapes are described. However, it is problematic that they based their definitions on different passages, the selection of which seems to be random. For example, it is not clear why Haβ considers the cave of Polyphemus in the *Odyssey* a *locus amoenus* (9.181-9). Although it contains the elements of her formal prototype, the cave also has other, less charming elements, such as the dung of Polyphemus' sheep and the entrails of Odysseus' companions on the ground (290; 329-30). I would therefore not call this landscape a *locus amoenus*. Furthermore, I think that it is not very useful to establish 'basic' elements of the *locus amoenus*. Every place that is presented as idyllic can in my view be called a *locus amoenus*, regardless of the specific elements it contains. Every author probably included in the *locus amoenus* the elements that he needed for the plot. I therefore agree with Elliger, who calls the *locus amoenus* an 'entirely undefined category' (*recht unbestimmte Rubrik*) (1975, 275).
[199] According to Biehl (1989, 385), the remark πρωτόβολον ἕῳ (1069) refers to the notion of the Heraclitean philosophers that on top of the Ida sparks and bolts can be seen accumulating into the globe of the sun. I do not agree with Biehl. Firstly, this notion does not emerge from the words of the chorus. Secondly, it is doubtful that Heraclitean philosophers adhered to this theo-

All these elements are absent in Homer. Euripides gives the Ida an idyllic appearance to increase the horror of the destruction of the country and to intensify the chorus' sense of grief.[200] The loss of a country becomes more deplorable when it is a very beautiful region that is lost. Later in the ode, the women grieve more intensely when they visualise their future life in Greece. They present the landscape of Greece as the opposite of the idyllic Ida: they imagine it as a gloomy country, dominated by 'walls of stone, built by Cyclopes, reaching to heaven' (1087-8 τείχε' ... λάινα Κυκλώπια οὐράνια).[201]

The Ida is also presented as 'sacred' (1070 ζαθέαν). According to Biehl, this word is used only for a phonetic reason, that is, to make the *a*-sound dominant in the verse.[202] In my view, ζάθεος also highlights the relation between the Ida and Zeus. Mountains were often sacred to Zeus, who was worshipped on summits in the guise of *Hypatos* (the 'Highest'). This religious notion finds expression, for example, in the *Iliad*, where he has a *temenos* on top of the Ida (8.48).[203] The Trojan women emphasise Zeus' relationship to the Ida to criticise the god more sharply. Although the mountain was sacred to him and was a place where he received worship, he nonetheless abandoned it to the enemy.

A fertile mountain

In Euripides' *Orestes*, Pylades and Orestes want to take revenge on Helen for the misery that she has brought on the Greeks (1134-6). They attempt to kill her inside the Argive palace, which is represented by the scene building in the theatre. The chorus of Argive women, who are waiting outside, hear Helen shouting: 'I am perishing miserably' (1296 ὄλλυμαι κακῶς) and 'I am dying' (1301 θνῄσκω). These cries suggest that the plot of Pylades and Orestes succeeds. When Helen's Phrygian slave appears from the palace, the chorus ask what happened inside (1380; cf. 1366-8). Instead of relating Helen's fate, the Phrygian bursts into a lyric lament for Troy:

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ry in Euripides' time, since it is first attested in Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, written in the first century (5.663-5). In my view, πρωτόβολον ἔῳ is used to situate the Ida at the eastern border of the Troad, which corresponds to its location in the real, actual landscape.

[200] Lee 1976, 248.

[201] The Cyclopes were traditionally regarded as the builders of the walls of Mycenae and Tiryns (e.g. B. 11.76-8; Paus. 2.16.5).

[202] Biehl 1989, 385.

[203] To add an example from classical Greece: Zeus had a sanctuary on Hymettus, a mountain near the city-centre of Athens. For an overview of mountain cults to Zeus see: Dowden 2006, 57-61.

Ἴλιον Ἴλιον, ὤμοι μοι,
Φρύγιον ἄστυ καὶ καλλίβωλον Ἴ-
δας ὄρος ἱερόν, ὥς σ' ὀλόμενον στένω.
(E. *Or.* 1381-2)

Ilion, Ilion, ah me, woe,
Phrygian city and holy mountain of the Ida
with rich soil, how I bewail your fall.

As in *Trojan Women*, the Ida is presented as a 'lost' region. The mountain is described (1) as having rich soil and (2) as being holy. Both elements are absent in Homer.

(1) The presentation of the mountain as a fertile region intensifies the Phrygian's grief: the more lush a country, the more deplorable its loss. The same dramatic technique was used in the *Trojan Women*.

(2) Unlike the Trojan women, the Phrygian slave does not mention Zeus in connection with the holiness of the mountain. The god, whom he connects to the Ida, is Cybele, whom he calls the 'mighty mother of the Ida' (1454 Ἰδαία μᾶτερ ... ὀβρίμα). Cybele received this name after her cult on the mountain (Str. 10.3.12). The Greeks in Asia Minor adopted Cybele from the Phrygians probably in the seventh century.[204]

The main function of the Phrygian's lament is to raise suspense in the audience. Helen's cries suggested her untimely death, but the audience are still ignorant of what happened within the palace. When the Phrygian slave, an eyewitness, appears, the audience may expect that he will relate these occurrences. It is, after all, a convention of tragedy that a messenger tells the main news first.[205] The Phrygian, however, does not start relating the fate of Helen but lamenting the fall of Troy, which would have tested the patience of the audience.[206]

The Phrygian slave calls Troy a 'Phrygian city' (1381), a designation which is not found in Homer. In the *Iliad*, Phrygia and Troy are presented as separate areas: Phrygia is a region east of Troy bordering on the Sangarius river (16.717-9, 24.545).[207] This corresponds to the geography of Asia Minor in the eighth century.[208] In the seventh century, the Phrygians started to move to other areas of Asia Minor, such as its northwest coast, which was the supposed location of mythical Troy.[209] This area remained within their sphere of influence in the classical period.

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[204] Burkert 1977, 267-8.

[205] De Jong 1991, 32. For example, in Euripides' *Medea*, the Corinthian messenger starts his account with telling that Creon and the princess have been killed by Medea's poison (1125).

[206] Porter 1994, 208-11. In the end, the Phrygian announces that Helen disappeared when she was attacked by Orestes and Pylades (1493-7). Apollo then appears who states that Helen has become immortal and gone to heaven (1629-37).

[207] *LfgrE* s.v. Φρυγίη; Kirk 1985, 291.

[208] *DNP* s.v. Phryges, Phrygia.

[209] Hall 1988, 15-8; Berlin 2002, 141.

Thus, the designation of Troy as a 'Phrygian' city in *Orestes* is a reflection of the archaic-classical geography of Asia Minor.

A bare mountain

In the second stasimon of Euripides' *Helen*, the chorus tell the story of Demeter's long search for Persephone, who was abducted by Hades to the underworld. After much wandering, the goddess arrives at mount Ida where she falls down in grief (1325).[210]

The arrival of Demeter at the Ida is probably an innovation of Euripides in the story of Demeter: in earlier versions, such as the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, the quest does not lead the goddess to the mountain. Demeter arrives at the Ida in this ode due to her equation with the Eastern goddess Cybele. Euripides transfers several features of Cybele to Demeter in this ode (*syncretism*).[211] For example, Demeter drives a chariot, which is pulled by wild animals (1310-1 θηρῶν … σατίνας) and to which roaring cymbals are fixed (1308 κρόταλα … βρόμια). Wild nature and cymbals belong to the domain of Cybele. Demeter and Cybele would have been relatively easy to equate, since they have several similar features. They are both mother goddesses (Demeter of Persephone; Cybele of the Eastern gods) and are associated with fertility (Cybele is the goddess of wild nature; Demeter presides over the Greek grain production).[212] The syncretism of the goddesses in the *Helen* ode results in the Ida, a characteristic *space* of Cybele, being transferred to the domain of Demeter. Cybele was associated with Phrygia and had a major cult centre on the mountain (see above).[213]

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[210] The myth of Persephone is a parallel to Helen's sojourn in Egypt. Both women have been abducted from a flowery meadow and have to marry a new husband (*h.Cer*. 6-8; E. *Hel*. 243-7). Moreover, Helen's stay at the palace of Theoclymenus, which lies next to the tomb of his father Proteus, corresponds to Persephone's sojourn in the palace of the Underworld. In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, mother and daughter are reunited in the end, provided that Persephone returns to Hades a third of the year (445-7). Euripides suppresses this episode in his ode, which raises suspense in the audience because they do not know whether Helen will leave her place of imprisonment, like Persephone (Robinson 1979, 164).

[211] Burkert 1977, 276-8; Rohdich 1989, 41. Allan (2004, 116; 141-4) distinguishes two kinds of syncretism, that is, the equation of different gods. The first kind is *contact syncretism*. This involves the equation of a foreign religion's gods with one's own to make sense of that foreign religion. Herodotus, for example, equates the gods of the Scythians with those of the Greeks (4.59.2). The second kind of syncretism is *internal syncretism*, or the attribution of features and powers of one deity to another. This usually happens with gods who belong to the same religious domain. This is, for example, the case with Demeter and Cybele in the *Helen* ode.

[212] Demeter and Cybele were also connected in Attic cult. For example, the rites of Cybele in the Attic deme of Agrae, the so-called Lesser Mysteries, were a prelude to the Greater Mysteries of Demeter in Eleusis. Similarly, next to the Metroon, the sanctuary of Cybele on the Athenian agora, stood an altar dedicated to Demeter and Persephone (Allan 2004, 144).

[213] Allan 2008, 302.

The Ida is presented as a bare and inhospitable landscape in this ode:

... χιονοθρέμμονάς τ' ἐπέρασ'	[Demeter] arrived at the snow clad peaks
Ἰδαιᾶν Νυμφᾶν σκοπιὰς	of the Idaean nymphs and
ῥίπτει τ' ἐν πένθει	hurls herself down in grief
πέτρινα κατὰ δρία πολυνιφέα.	amid the rocky thickets deep with snow.
(E. *Hel.* 1323-6)	

Whereas in the *Trojan Women* idyllic elements dominated the Ida, here the mountain is littered with rocks and snow. The harshness and coldness of the landscape have a psychologising function. They reflect the goddess' state of mind and are expressive of her grief.[214] In Greek literature misery is regularly reflected by an inhospitable landscape (e.g. S. *OC* 348-50, 1240). Moreover, the image of the rocky and bare Ida prefigures the wide-reaching infertility that Demeter will cause. Due to her grief, she makes the earth infertile and destroys the harvest. This episode is narrated in the same stanza (1327-36).[215]

The Judgement of Paris
In the following passages, the Ida is presented as the location of the Judgement of Paris. This Judgement was a canonical event in the tradition of the Trojan War.[216] The tragedians adopted not only the event from the tradition but also its location, which were intrinsically connected. Characters in tragedy often present the Judgement of Paris as the cause of their misery. In Euripides' *Hecuba*, for example, the Trojan women of the chorus regard the Judgement as the cause of their imminent lives of slavery (629-54). The attribution of all guilt to Paris belongs to the motif of the ἀρχὴ κακῶν, the 'beginning of evils'. This means the retracing of a miserable situation to a first responsible person or event.[217]

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[214] Elliger 1975, 265; Allan 2008, 302. For the presence of the nymphs see below.

[215] Kannicht 1969, 346. The chorus tell this story to illustrate for Helen the destructive powers of the goddess. They state that the goddess is angry with her (1355 μῆνιν ... μεγάλας Ματρός) and that Helen should carefully observe her rites to mitigate her wrath (1353-68). The reason for the goddess' anger is not explicitly stated. According to Allan (2008, 294; 307), it may result from the fact that Helen behaves as a chaste and faithful woman – in this tragedy at least – whereas Cybele, with whom Demeter is equated, is associated with ecstasy and erotic licence.

[216] The Judgement is presented, for example, in the *Iliad* (24.28-30) and the *Cypria* (fr. 5, 6; Procl. *Chr.* 84-90).

[217] Pallantza 2005, 255; Mastronarde 2010, 123-4. To add another example: the Tantalids regard Pan's gift of the golden lamb as the cause of the misery in their family; see E. *El.* 699-746, *Or.* 807-43, *IT* 191-201.

A lonely place

In the first stasimon of the *Andromache*, the chorus relate the arrival of Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite on the Ida. The goddesses take a bath in the springs to prepare themselves for the Judgement:

ταὶ δ' ἐπεὶ ὑλόκομον νάπος ἤλυθον οὐρειᾶν	When they arrived at the leafy glen,
πιδάκων νίψαν αἰ-	they bathed their radiant bodies in
γλᾶντα σώματα ῥοαῖς ...	the streams of the mountain springs.
(E. *Andr.* 284-6)	

The toilette of the goddesses before the Judgement is a traditional part of the story. On vases, for example, they are depicted as washing and adorning themselves in the presence of Paris.[218] Stinton states that the springs are adopted from Homer, who presents the Ida as 'many-fountained' (πολυπῖδαξ).[219] In my view, this need not be the case. It is also possible that Euripides has modelled the Ida after a 'common' mountain. Springs, after all, are one of the *generic* elements of a mountain. The same holds true of the 'leafy glens'.[220] The springs and glens in the *Andromache* primarily serve to create background (location) for the events, but also produce an idyllic atmosphere that contrasts with the frenzy and slaughter of the Trojan War, described in the next stanza (293-308).[221]

The Judgement takes place at Paris' shepherd-lodge. Paris' status as herdsman is adopted from the tradition (e.g. *Il.* 24.29, Pi. fr. 6b (Maehler)). What is new in the *Andromache*, is the location of his shepherd-lodge at a remote place (282 ἔρημον ... αὐλάν). The secluded location of Paris' residence has a characterising function, since it relates to his way of life. He is presented as an isolated man in this ode (281 μονότροπον νεανίαν).

Why is Paris characterised as isolated? This feature has been explained in two ways. Stinton, firstly, gives a biographical explanation. He states that Paris' isolated life is an expression of Euripides' own secluded existence: 'The man [Euripides] who lived and worked as a recluse and died in voluntary exile may have seen in Paris the symbol of his own spiritual isolation.'[222] According to the ancient

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[218] E.g. *LIMC* II.1 993; II.2 751 (no. 414).

[219] Stinton [1965] 1990, 30.

[220] Homer presents the Ida as 'woody' (21.449 ὑλήεις).

[221] Allan 2000, 206. The contest between the goddesses is a parallel for the strife between Andromache and Hermione in the preceding episode. Both the goddesses and the mortal women compete for the attentions of one man. The chorus describe the two conflicts in similar terms (122, 279 ἔριδι στυγερᾷ). There is also a difference between the contests. 'Whereas the three goddesses are all eager to win ... the contest between Hermione and Andromache is only seen as such by the former (Allan 2000, 206-7).'

[222] Stinton [1965] 1990, 65.

biography of Euripides, the poet secluded himself in a cave on Salamis.[223] Elliger, on the contrary, supposes that Paris' loneliness is related to Euripides' worldview. He thinks that Euripides wants to show by Paris' seclusion that even the most secluded area is laden with tragic complication (*tragischer Verstrickung*).[224]

I would rather explain Paris' seclusion in text-internal terms. By presenting Paris as secluded at the time of the Judgement, it is emphasised that he was the sole cause of the Trojan War. The Judgement, which resulted in the Trojan War, was passed by Paris alone; there were no others who played a role in it. The presentation of Paris as the sole cause of the Trojan War prepares for the harsh criticism of the chorus in the next strophe. They call Paris the 'great ruin of Priam's city' (298 μεγάλαν Πριάμου πόλεως λώβαν) and blame him for the great misery that he has produced.

A cold and 'hot' landscape

In *Iphigenia in Aulis*, the Greeks want to sail to Troy but can only obtain a favourable wind if they sacrifice Iphigenia. When Iphigenia discovers her terrible fate, she sings a pathetic monody (1279-335). She describes Paris as the primary cause of her misery because his Judgement has resulted in the Trojan War.

Iphigenia apostrophises the Ida. This apostrophe, combined with the exclamation ἰὼ ἰώ (1283), heightens the emotional tone of her monody. Iphigenia wishes that the mountain had killed Paris, when he was exposed there as an infant (1291-3).[225] As in the *Helen* ode (discussed above), the mountain is described as being covered in snow (1284 νιφόβολον). In *IA*, the presence of snow does not relate to the emotions of the protagonist (as in the *Helen*), but fits Iphigenia's wish. Since the mountain was covered in snow, it could have easily killed the boy by freezing him to death.

Iphigenia next describes the Judgement, which took place when Paris had grown up. The cold, snowy landscape is now replaced by a landscape with blooming meadows and springs. The Judgement took place

... ἀμφὶ τὸ λευκὸν ὕδωρ, ὅθι κρῆναι	... near the bright water, where
Νυμφᾶν κεῖνται	lie the springs of the Nymphs,

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[223] *TrGF* 5.1 T A 1 III.1-2 (page 49). Lefkowitz, however, has demonstrated that most details of the poet's biography are not historical but based on his own poetry (1981, 91).

[224] Elliger 1975, 264.

[225] Euripides repeatedly attributes human activities to mountains (*personification*). For example, in *Hercules*, the Euboean mountain Dirphys is condemned for having raised the tyrant Lycus (185 ἔθρεψ'). In *Bacchae*, the Theban mountain Cithaeron is presented as joining in the revelries of the maenads (726 συνεβάκχευ' ὄρος). In *Phoenician Women*, Mount Cithaeron is criticised for not having killed the foundling Oedipus (1606 οὐ διώλεσ'). Cf. A. *Suppl.* 117-8; 797; S. *OT* 464; 1311-2 (Huys 1986, 141-2).

λειμών τ' ἔρνεσι θάλλων   and a meadow blooming with
χλωροῖς καὶ ῥοδόεντ'   fresh sprouts and roses
ἄνθε' ὑακίνθινά τε ...   and hyacinth flowers ...
(E. *IA* 1294-8)

The Judgement is set in an idyllic landscape. Springs with 'bright water' are a prototypical element of such a landscape: these often appear in contexts of pleasure. In the *Odyssey*, for example, Hermes is delighted when he sees the landscape of Ogygia, which contains springs of bright water (5.70 κρῆναι ... ὕδατι λευκῷ).[226] Dark water, by contrast, is connected to contexts of grief.[227] The idyllic scene on the Ida stands in contrast with the miserable fate of Iphigenia, who suffers the terrible consequences of the event on the mountain. This contrast adds to the *pathos* of her situation.[228]

In addition to its idyllic character, the landscape has predominantly erotic overtones. (1) Meadows, (2) flowers, and (3) nymphs are all associated with sexual desire.

(1) Fields, meadows, and gardens are often used as metaphors for the female genitalia. Pindar, for example, compares the impregnating of women with the sowing of 'fields' (*P.* 4.255 ἀρούραις). In Archilochus' *Cologne Epode*, similarly, a male speaker who wants to sexually engage with a woman says that he shall steer towards her 'grassy gardens' (fr. S478a.23-4 *SG* ἐς ποη[φόρους κ]ήπους). Fields are also the place where sexual engagement takes place. Hesiod, for example, says that Poseidon made Medusa pregnant in a 'soft meadow' (*Th.* 279 ἐν μαλακῷ λειμῶνι).[229] The erotic connotations of fields may stem from their association with fertility and fecundity.[230] In *IA*, the field on the mountain is presented as very fertile because it blooms 'with fresh sprouts'.[231]

(2) Stinton says that Euripides borrowed the roses and hyacinths on the Ida from the *Cypria*, in which Aphrodite is presented as picking flowers to adorn herself for the Judgement (fr. 5, 6). Stinton states: 'Perhaps Euripides was thinking of the flowers which scented the robes of Aphrodite when she prepared for the Judge-

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[226] To add another example: Demeter brings the flowing of bright water to a halt when she grieves at the loss of Persephone (E. *Hel.* 1336 λευκῶν ... ὑδάτων).

[227] In the *Iliad*, Agamemnon and Patroclus are compared to a spring that pours out dark water when they lament the defeats of the Greeks (9.14, 16.3 κρήνη μελάνυδρος).

[228] Elliger 1975, 265; Stockert 1992, 563.

[229] For more examples see: Heirman 2012, 86-112.

[230] Motte 1973, 1-147.

[231] χλωρός (1293) can mean 'fresh, green' and be associated with fertility, but it can also mean 'pale' and have connotations of death. In this passage, the former meaning is more likely to be intended.

ment, and the flowers of which she wove garlands.'[232] Stinton may be right, but he overlooks that the flowers also have a dramatic function in the ode. In other words, they are not merely a borrowing from the *Cypria*. The flowers are used to add to the erotic character of the landscape. Flowers, such as roses and hyacinths, are often associated with eroticism. To give some examples: in a fragment of Anacreon, a girl called Herotime longs for 'the fields of hyacinth' (1.1.7 *PMG* τὰς ὑακινθίνας ἀρούρας), where Aphrodite tethers her mares, which is a metaphor for the sexual subjection of girls; in the *Iliad*, Zeus and Hera have a sexual encounter on the Ida, where they lie on a field of lotus, crocus, and hyacinth (14.348). What is more, a much-used literary motif is the *abduction* of a girl while picking flowers. The most famous example of this is the abduction of Persephone by Hades in the *Hymn to Demeter* (6-8).[233]

(3) Nymphs are divine female beings who were considered to inhabit all kinds of natural places, such as mountains, springs, and forests.[234] This may explain their presence on the Ida in the *Helen* ode, discussed above (1324). Nymphs belonged to the company of gods who had rural or pastoral associations, such as Pan and Hermes, and they presided over activities that took place in nature, such as hunting. They were often presented as having a sexual aura, which probably resulted from their association with nature. Several stories of sexual encounters between nymphs and young heroes, especially herdsmen, were told as early as Homer (*Il.* 6.20-6, 14.442-5).[235] As Larson notes: '... if we except certain ... special cases, it would be reasonable to say that their [i.e. the nymphs'] habit of sexual relations with mortals constitutes a defining characteristic.'[236]

What is the function of the erotic overtones of the landscape? By giving it an erotic character, the landscape reflects the nature of the event that takes place in it. The Judgement of Paris itself had erotic connotations: the winner of the Judgement was Aphrodite, the goddess of love, and her gift to Paris was erotic in nature as well.

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[232] Stinton [1965] 1990, 42. Cf. Stockert 1992, 564.

[233] Bremer 1975, 269-70; Heirman 2012, 86-112. To add some more examples: in a poem of Sappho, paraphrased by Himerius (*Or.* 9.43), Aphrodite is led into the bridal room with hyacinths plaited in her hair. In Bacchylides' *Ode* 17, Amphitrite receives a garland of roses from Aphrodite at her wedding (115-6). Cf. Hes. fr. 26.18-21 (Merkelbach and West).

[234] Larson 2001, 8-10. Mountain nymphs: *Il.* 6.420. Spring nymphs: S. *Ph.* 1454. Forest nymphs: S. *OC* 680.

[235] Other examples of sexual encounters between nymphs and mortal men: *FGrH* 4F29; 45F2, 6; 262F12a, b. Stories about the abduction of men by nymphs, such as that of Hylas (A.R. 1.1228-39), reflect a male desire for passive sexual experience (Larson 2001, 89).

[236] Larson 2001, 65. The designation *numphe* is used of women who get married or are of marriageable age. That the term is used specifically at this time of a woman's life points at her status as sexual being (Larson 2001, 3).

Dewy springs

In the parodos of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, the Judgement is set at the springs of the Ida. This was also the location of the event in Iphigenia's monody (1294). Whereas in the monody the springs were presented as containing 'bright water' – to increase the idyllic character of the landscape – in the parodos they are described as 'dewy' (182 κρηναίαισι δρόσοις).

Dew has a symbolic function in this passage. Dew often appears in contexts of love and desire and has erotic connotations. For example, the erotic union between Zeus and Hera in the *Iliad* takes place on a field that is rich not only in flowers (see above), but also in dew (14.348).[237] Similarly, Phaedra expresses her sexual desire for Hippolytus by her wish to drink from a 'dewy spring' (E. *Hipp.* 208 δροσερᾶς ἀπὸ κρηνῖδος).[238] The erotic connotations of dew probably arose from its connections with fertility: moisture from the air makes vegetation grow.[239]

Thus, in the parodos, the Judgement is placed at a landmark that has erotic overtones. This was also the case in Iphigenia's monody, although in that passage it was the flowery fields that created the erotic atmosphere. The erotic connotations of the landscape in the parodos have the same function as in the monody: the erotic character of the landscape reflects the erotic character of the Judgement. The erotically laden gift of Aphrodite to Paris is even explicitly mentioned in the parodos. The chorus say that Paris has taken Helen from Greece as a 'gift from Aphrodite' (181 δῶρον τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας).

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[237] The sacrifice of Iphigenia takes place in a grove of Artemis, which contains 'flowery fields' (1544 λείμακας ... ἀνθεσφόρους) and 'springs with plenteous dew' (1517 εὔδροσοι παγαί). I agree with Stockert (1992, 624), who states that these idyllic elements contrast with the 'shocking' events in the grove. Stockert overlooks that the flowers and dewy springs also have erotic connotations. These reflect the erotic character of the sacrifice. The death of a virgin, such as that of Iphigenia, was considered a defloopering and a marriage with Hades (E. *IA* 460-1). The erotic nature of the sacrifice is also emphasised by the fact that Iphigenia wears a garland during the ritual (1513). Garlands belonged not only to the ritual of death, but also to that of marriage (cf. Michelakis 2006, 70-1).

[238] Boedeker 1984, 65. Hippolytus eschews erotic desire and is devoted to Artemis, the goddess of chastity. In the prologue, he returns from hunting in an 'undefiled meadow' (73-4 ἀκηράτου λειμῶνος) watered by a 'dewy river' (78 ποταμίαισι ... δρόσοις). The purity of the meadow reflects the chastity of Hippolytus (cf. 2.2), but the dewy river prepares for the temptations he has to resist later in the play.

[239] Boedeker 1984, 10-66. The productive powers of dew are mentioned by Homer. He presents dew as favourable to the fields of grain (*Il.* 23.598-9) and as the primary source behind the rich vegetation of Odysseus' island Ithaca (*Od.* 13.244-5). Dew can also be a metaphor for sperm, which also has a 'productive' power. This idea stems from Greek cosmogony, according to which a male Sky once impregnated a female Earth by wetting her with 'moisture' (e.g. A. fr. 44).

Conclusion

Euripides changes the image of the Ida in every play. He presents the mountain as an idyllic (*Tr.*, *Andr.*), fertile (*Or.*), erotic (*IA*), or inhospitable domain (*Hel.*). Some features of the Ida, such as the springs and flowers, had already been described by Homer. These might be specific borrowings but need not be, since they are also generic elements of a mountain. Since the characteristics of the Ida differ from Homer in most cases, the latter seems more likely. The image of the mountain is firmly linked to the context in every passage. It is connected to a theme of the plot, it corresponds to the emotions of a character, or it has symbolic overtones that reflect the nature of the event taking place on it.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has evaluated claims about the Homeric character of the tragic world by mapping the city of Troy. I have indicated similarities and differences in the outline of tragic and Homeric Troy and analysed these by using the framework set out in chapter 2. My observations on the presentation of Troy can be summed up as follows.

Canonical spaces

The tragedians fill Troy with canonical spaces. This category consists of landmarks that are intrinsically connected to Troy and repeatedly return in the tradition. Examples of canonical landmarks are the Trojan plain, the rivers Scamander and Simois, and Mount Ida. Several canonical spaces are connected to canonical events. When the tragedians refer to these events, they present the corresponding spaces, too. Examples of such spaces are the temple of Athena, which is connected to the story of the Wooden Horse, the altar of Zeus Herkeios, linked to the murder of Priam, and the grave of Achilles, related to the sacrifice of Polyxena.

Canonical spaces are presented by the tragedians to legitimise their constructions of the past. Their predecessors had already created an image of Troy which had received authority in the Greek community. Had the tragedians not taken account of the tradition, their constructions would differ too much from what the community held true about the past (2.1). Canonical spaces also have a dramatic function in the plot. An example is the altar of Zeus Herkeios in the *Trojan Women*, where the murder of Priam takes place. Since this murder entails sacrilege, it contributes to the series of outrages by the Greeks, which dominates the play.

Some canonical spaces of Troy are present in Homer as well as in tragedy. This need not imply that the tragedians imitated Homer. It is also possible that Homer and the tragedians each followed the same canonical traditions.

New spaces

The tragedians also add new spaces to Troy that they themselves invented. Examples include the temple of Zeus (E. *Tr.* 1061), the sanctuary of Artemis (E. *Tr.* 552), the groves in the plain (S. *Ai.* 892), the pastures and caves on the shore (S. *Ai.* 413), and the Greek graves along the Trojan wall (A. *Ag.* 452-5). Like traditional elements, the new elements are presented to serve the needs of the plot. They have a characterising, psychologising, thematic, or symbolic function.

Contemporary city

Tragic Troy is a projection of a fifth-century city. Its buildings and objects resemble those of the classical period. Spaces that are adopted from the tradition are given characteristics of contemporary equivalents: the temple of Athena (which is traditional) is presented as consisting of stone, and the altar of Zeus Herkeios is given a stepped pedestal. These features belong to fifth-century temples and altars, not to those in Homer. New (non-traditional) spaces also resemble those of the contemporary world. Examples of modern buildings and objects include the gymnasium (E. *Tr.* 834), the *agyieus* altar (S. fr. 370.1), the golden statues (E. *Tr.* 1074), the victory trophies on the battlefield (E. *Tr.* 1222), the cemetery along the public road (E. *Rh.* 879-81), and the inscription on Astyanax' gravestone (E. *Tr.* 1188-91).

Scholars have criticised the use of contemporary elements (1.2). However, their presence can be explained on the basis of the dynamic character of the heroic world. I have shown in chapter 2.1 that the image of the heroic past is continuously adjusted to the present context. This holds true for its physical part as well. Tragic Troy is modernised and filled with all kinds of contemporary spaces. These elements should not be regarded as 'dramatically inappropriate' or as violating the 'integrity' of the heroic world. On the contrary, traditional and contemporary elements are of equal status in the sense that they both contribute to the construction of the heroic world and have a dramatic function in the plot.

At this point, I would like to refine the view of Grethlein presented in chapter 1.2. He states that the Greeks saw no qualitative differences between past and present. In my view, this is a step too far. The image of Troy in tragedy is also archaised to some extent. The tragedians do not incorporate buildings of the archaic-classical city of Troy (Troia VIII) in the heroic world, such as the sanctuary of Cybele and the *temenoi* with lions (3.1.2). These were probably regarded as too suggestive of the present world and therefore unfit for the heroic past. Moreover, the tragedians refer to landmarks of the actual, fifth-century Troad (*lieux de mémoire*) that were regarded as 'heroic', such as the tomb of Achilles. Since these landmarks were very old – some had existed since the Bronze Age – they may create an archaic patina for the heroic world.

Heroic vagueness

To round off this conclusion, I would like to revisit the discussion between Easter-
ling and Croally, presented in chapter **1.2**. According to Easterling, tragedians at-
tempt to tone down the conspicuousness of contemporary elements by using
vague and poetic words. She called this convention *heroic vagueness*. For example,
when the tragedians refer to the modern concept of money, they do not speak of
δραχμή or στατήρ, which are too glaring and reminiscent of the contemporary
world, but use the vague word 'silver' (ἄργυρος), which suits the heroic world bet-
ter. In this way, the tragedians can refer to modern concepts and at the same time
preserve the 'integrity' of the heroic world.

Croally raised doubts about the concept of heroic vagueness. He stated that
the convention that Easterling described is often contradicted by the evidence
from the plays. In my opinion, Croally is right. My analysis of tragic Troy has
demonstrated that tragedians often refer to modern spatial elements in current
language. Words referring to space in tragedy also appear in contemporaneous
genres such as historiography or comedy. Examples include the gymnasium (E. *Tr.*
834 γυμνασίων, compare X. *HG* 3.4.16), the stepped pedestal of the Zeus altar (E. *Tr.*
16 κρηπῖδων, Hdt. 2.170), the *agyieus* altar (S. fr. 370.1 ἀγυιεύς, Ar. *V.* 875), the victo-
ry trophies on the battlefield (E. *Tr.* 1222 τρόπαια, Th. 3.112), and the golden statues
(E. *Tr.* 1074 χρυσέων … ξοάνων, X. *An.* 5.3.12).

4. Athens

This chapter examines the presentation of Athens in tragedy. Since Athens plays only a marginal role in Homer – only the temple of Athena (*Il.* 2.549), Cape Sounion (*Od.* 3.278), and the palace of Erechtheus (*Od.* 7.81) are mentioned – the tragedians probably made use of other local traditions to depict the city. This chapter aims to identify these traditions and determine how they influenced the image of tragic Athens. Since some local traditions were connected to the real, actual landscape by *lieux de mémoire*, it also analyses how the layout of tragic Athens relates to that of real, classical Athens.

4.1 Acropolis

This first section analyses the layout of the Athenian acropolis in tragedy. It determines what elements are found in the tragic acropolis and their relationship to the real, actual acropolis. Are they invented by the tragedians or do they derive from the actual, fifth-century acropolis? By way of introduction, I first survey the image of the acropolis in comedy, which is a reflection of the fifth-century hill.

Comedy
The comedies of Aristophanes are littered with references to the actual Athenian acropolis. Here I list a representative selection of them. In the *Lysistrata* the women of Athens arrange a sex strike and withdraw to the acropolis, where they barricade the Propylaea (265 τὰ προπύλαια), the entrance gate, to keep their husbands from the hill. One of Lysistrata's women who wants to give up the strike feigns a pregnancy by hiding the helmet of the Bronze Athena (751 τὴν ἱερὰν κυνῆν, cf. 749 χαλκίον), a colossal statue by Phidias, under her dress. In the *Wealth* the Athenians install a statue of the personified god of affluence on the acropolis as the guardian of the *opisthodomos* (1193 τὸν ὀπισθόδομον), the treasure chamber of Athens.[1] The chorus leader in the *Wasps* states that the Odeum of Pericles (1109 ᾠδείῳ), located on the south slope, belongs to the natural habitat of the Athenian jury members. Lastly, the sausage seller in the *Knights* boasts of the size of his spoon breads (bread that was pressed into scoops for eating thick soup)[2] by claiming that they were pressed by the hand of the gold and ivory statue of Athe-

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[1] The *opisthodomos* was either the western part of the Parthenon or a portion of the archaic temple of Athena Polias (the so-called *archaios neos*), which was rebuilt after the Persian Wars (Hurwit 1999, 38).
[2] Sommerstein 1981, 204.

na Parthenos (1169 τῇ χειρὶ τῇλεφαντίνῃ).[3] The buildings and objects listed here are all adopted from the late fifth-century acropolis. This presentation relates to the nature of the genre. Comic events are generally located in a contemporary setting, such as the Athenian Pnyx or the Thesmophoria, which emphasises their current social and political relevance.

Let us now turn to the acropolis in tragedy, first to its natural (**4.1.1**) and then to its artificial elements (**4.1.2**). Since tragic events take place in the heroic past, the image of the acropolis in tragedy differs from that in comedy.

4.1.1 Nature

Olive tree

The tragic acropolis contains an olive tree, which is also found on the real, actual acropolis. It is so characteristic of the citadel that the whole acropolis is called 'hill of the olive'. For example, in Euripides' *Hercules*, Amphitryon addresses Theseus as 'lord of the olive-bearing hill' (1178 ὦ τὸν ἐλαιοφόρον ὄχθον ἄναξ). Similarly, in the *Ion*, Creusa calls Athena the goddess who sits upon the 'olive-producing hill' (1480 τὸν ἐλαιοφυῆ πάγον).

A canonical story about the olive tree is the aetiological myth about its origin. The story goes that when Athena and Poseidon competed for control over Attica, Athena produced an olive tree and Poseidon a salt spring (Hdt. 8.55) or, in some versions, an oar (S. *OC* 716). While fifth-century sources do not expand on the character of the contest, later sources present two variants.[4] In one, the control of Attica is ascribed to the god who wins a race from the Olympus to the acropolis and brings forth his token on arrival (e.g. Apollod. 3.14.1). In the other, the reign comes to the god whose token is considered best by the Athenian king Cecrops (e.g. X. *Mem*. 3.5.10). In either case, Athena wins the contest and becomes prime goddess of the country. Since the olive tree and salt spring were present on

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[3] Hurwit 1999, 37-8; Loraux [1984] 1993, 147-83 (for *Lysistrata*). For the depiction of Athens (as a whole) in comedy see: Said 1997.

[4] The story of the contest first appears in the fifth century. In literature, it is first attested in Herodotus' *Histories* (8.55); in the visual arts, it first appears on the west pediment of the Parthenon. The story may have been invented in the classical period to offer a mythological explanation for the increase of Athens' power on sea. As a result of their new power, the Athenians may have considered Poseidon benevolent to them. The story showed that Poseidon was well disposed to Athens, although Athena had become the city goddess. On the other hand, the story can also have originated in the archaic period. It belongs to an older pattern, in which two gods compete for the control over a country. Several cities in Greece told such stories, in which Poseidon is often the loser. In Argos, for example, he loses to Hera (e.g. Paus. 2.15.5). The Greeks regularly worshipped Poseidon as the second god of the city, probably to propitiate the violent features of his character, since he was held responsible for floods and earthquakes (Parker 1987, 199-200).

the classical acropolis (Hdt. 8.55), they may have supported the memory of the story of the contest. In other words, they were probably *lieux de mémoire* for this story.

The tree and spring on the actual acropolis were considered symbols of divine favour. The notion that Athens was favoured by the gods was part of civic ideology in the archaic-classical period (e.g. Sol. fr. 4.1-4 West; Isoc. 4.29).[5] The olive tree and spring on the actual acropolis may have reminded the Athenians of this ideological notion. The belief in divine favour may have given them, for instance, courage in war (e.g. D. 18.153).

The olive tree is mentioned in the second stasimon of Euripides' *Trojan Women*, in which the chorus lament the indifference of the gods to the fall of Troy. They contrast their city with Athens, which *did* receive the gods' favour. They evoke Athens by metonymy:

... ὄχθοις ἱεροῖς, ἵν' ἐλαίας	The holy hill, where Athena showed
πρῶτον ἔδειξε κλάδον γλαυκᾶς Ἀθάνα,	the first branch of the grey olive,
οὐράνιον στέφανον λιπαραῖσί	a heavenly garland and crown
<τε> κόσμον Ἀθάναις...	for shining Athens.
(E. *Tr.* 799-803)	

The olive tree has a symbolic function in the ode. It is expressive of the divine favour of the city. The presentation of the olive as a 'heavenly garland' enhances the praise of Athens and alludes Athena's victory in the contest against Poseidon.[6] The contrast between Athens and Troy makes the fall of the latter seem more miserable. Athens is 'shining' and is crowned with a garland, while Troy is captured and reduced to ashes (814-9).

The olive tree also appears in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*. When Oedipus arrives in Colonus, he promises the Athenians protection after his death (621-3). The chorus then sing a song of praise about the region to inform Oedipus about his new residence (668-9). The chorus focus on the region's divine favour, of which the gifts of Athena and Poseidon are physical proof. The olive tree that Athena gave is described as indestructible (702-3) and a 'terror to spears of enemies' (699 ἐγχέων φόβημα δαΐων). These features represent the perpetuity and power of the city of Athens. Poseidon, for his part, gave Attica the bridle (714 χαλινόν), which represents the taming of horses, and the 'well-rowing oar' (715-6 εὐήρετμος ... πλάτα), which symbolises control of the sea.[7] Since the gifts are de-

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[5] Cf. Grethlein 2003, 130.

[6] Biehl 1989, 307.

[7] According to Edmunds (1996, 92), that Sophocles presents the bridle as well as the oar as gifts of Poseidon bears on the contemporary situation. By staging the *OC* Sophocles attempts to reconcile the Athenian oligarchic and democratic factions, which were opposed to each other

scribed as beneficial to Athens, Sophocles underscores the ideological notion of divine favour in this ode.[8] He does not mention the contest between the gods, but presents them as working together for the well being of Athens.

The gifts of the gods have a thematic function in the *OC*. The divine favour that Athens receives is an important theme in the play. The drama focuses on the last hours of Oedipus, who promises that he, too, will favour Athens after his death. Like Athena and Poseidon, he will secure the continuity of Athens, by keeping enemies from the country (621-3).[9]

Long Rocks

A second fifth-century element that is referred to in tragedy is the Long Rocks (Μακραί), steep cliffs at the north side of the acropolis. Several members of the Athenian royal house commit suicide here.

(1) In Euripides' *Ion*, the cliffs are the place where the daughters of king Cecrops hurl themselves to death (274). The story goes that when they opened a basket that Athena had given them, they went mad and leapt from the acropolis (269-73). The basket contained the infant Erichthonius and two guardian snakes. Although Athena had instructed them to keep it closed, they were disobedient. The leap of the daughters from the cliffs was a canonical event in the tradition of early Athens.[10] Euripides adopted not only the event itself from tradition, but also its location. These were inherently connected to each other.

(2) In Euripides' *Erechtheus*, the cliffs are probably the place where the daughters of king Erechtheus commit suicide. When the Thracian king Eumolpus attacks

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at the end of the fifth century. The oligarchic faction largely consisted of knights (cf. Ar. *Eq.* 257, 461-3), the democratic faction of rowers. Sophocles presents the knights and rowers as equals in the *OC* and as jointly constitutive of the Athenian community. To support this notion, Sophocles combines the equestrian and maritime aspects of Poseidon, which he presents as equally important for the continuity of Athens (see Edmunds for further examples).

[8] Mills 1997, 184-5. Grethlein (2003, 302-13) adds that the image of a perpetual and divinely favoured Athens is also questioned in the play through references to the nightingale (672-3), which is often a symbol of death, and general remarks in the *OC* about the transience of life (e.g. 607-14). These elements suggest that Athens need not always remain the divinely favoured city, but that prosperity can come to an end.

[9] Markantonatos (2003, 36-9; 91-3) argues that the theme of divine favour in the ode relates to the contemporary context. When Sophocles composed the *OC* (409-6), Athens was at war with Sparta. Sophocles may have intended the ode as an encouragement of the Athenians in war and as a political assurance of the Athenian empire by reminding them of the divine favour of their city. Nonetheless, the *OC* was only performed in 401, when Athens had lost the Peloponnesian War and was in deep financial crisis. At the time of the performance, the audience may have understood the ode as a promise of a brighter future for Athens: the idea that the gods were behind their city could raise their hopes of renewed prosperity. *Contra* Grethlein (see note 8).

[10] E.g. *LIMC* I.1 288-9; I.2 212 (no.16-8). Cf. Gantz 1993, 236-7.

Athens,[11] Erechtheus and Praxithea sacrifice one of their daughters for the common good. An oracle revealed that a human sacrifice would guarantee them victory in this war (Lycurg. *Leocr*. 99). The royal daughters, nonetheless, have secretly agreed to die together (fr. 65.69-70 Austin). Although the text of the play is fragmentary, ἐπίπτετε (27) suggests that they hurled themselves to death.[12] Since the setting of the play is the acropolis, the Long Rocks are a likely location for this act. The suicide of Erechtheus' daughters may be an invention of Euripides, since it is not attested before. If it was set at the Long Rocks, Euripides may have modelled it after the leap of Cecrops' daughters.

What is the function of the suicide in the play? It contributes to the misery of queen Praxithea, who is the only survivor of the royal house after the war. Not only did her husband die in battle, but also her daughters committed suicide in loyalty to their sacrificed sister. This causes her much grief, since she could not have foreseen that her loyalty to the *polis* would cause the ruin of her whole family.[13]

Chasm of Erechtheus
The Long Rocks of the actual, fifth-century acropolis contain a chasm, a deep fissure in the soil. This spot is perhaps referred to in Euripides' *Ion* as the place

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[11] Eumolpus' Thracian origin may be an invention of Euripides. In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Eumolpus is the leader of an *Eleusinian* army. As priest of the Mysteries he battles against the Athenians who claim control over the sanctuary (473-6). In the *Erechtheus* Euripides substitutes this battle for a conflict with Thrace, which he portrays as a battle between Greeks and barbarians (fr. 366 Nauck). This may relate to the political circumstances of 422, which was the probable performance date of the play. At this time Athens waged war with Sparta, during which it was supported by Eleusis. If Euripides had staged a war between Athens and Eleusis, he may have weakened the cohesion between the allies (Treu 1971, 116; Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, 152-3).

[12] Collard, Cropp, and Lee 1995, 151; 188.

[13] Collard, Cropp, and Lee (1995, 152-5) have drawn attention to the relation between the *Erechtheus* and contemporary civic ideology.

(1) On the one hand, the play underscores civic ideology. Several patriotic notions are unambiguously proclaimed in the play. Praxithea, for example, repeatedly emphasises the superiority of the *polis* above the *oikos* (fr. 360 Nauck). She states that dying on the battlefield is glorious and that women should not bring up cowards. Moreover, Erechtheus and Praxithea themselves are presented as performing a patriotic deed by sacrificing one of their daughters for the common good. They are rewarded for their patriotism at the end of the play, when Athena gives them prestigious gifts (cult and priesthood) (fr. 65 Austin).

(2) On the other hand, the play also questions civic ideology. By living up to ideological standards, Praxithea is overcome by grief, since her loyalty to the *polis* results in the ruin of her *oikos*. Her husband dies on the battlefield and her daughters commit suicide in loyalty to their sacrificed sister. Thus, the *Erechtheus* probably highlights the ambivalence of Athenian civic ideology: although it is beneficial to the *polis*, it has negative effects on individual *oikoi*.

where king Erechtheus died. Ion inquires about Erechtheus' death in a dialogue with Creusa on the origins of the Athenian royal house:

[Ιων] πατέρα δ' ἀληθῶς χάσμα σὸν κρύπτει χθονός;
[Κρέουσα] πληγαὶ τριαίνης ποντίου σφ' ἀπώλεσαν.
[Ιων] Μακραὶ δὲ χῶρός ἐστ' ἐκεῖ κεκλημένος;
(E. *Ion* 281-3)
[Ion] Does a chasm of the earth really hide your father?
[Creusa] The blows of the sea-god's trident killed him.
[Ion] Is that place called the Long Rocks?

Creusa does not answer Ion's question but utters a complaint (284). The mention of the Long Rocks reminds her of the place where she was raped by Apollo. Ion's question, however, bears on the layout of the classical acropolis, since a real chasm existed in the soil at the Long Rocks.[14] Its connection with Erechtheus' death is first attested here. It is possible that Euripides made the connection himself. Yet it is also possible that the connection was traditional in Euripides' time,[15] and that earlier attestations were not passed down to us. In any case, that archaeologists discovered classical finds on the spot demonstrates that the fifth-century Athenians were acquainted with the chasm.[16]

The chasm has a characterising function in the play. It highlights the autochthonous nature of the king. As he was born from the soil, at least in some versions (e.g. *Il.* 2.548), so he is received in the earth again after his death.[17] The notion that Erechtheus was born from the earth played an important role in Athenian civic ideology of the classical period (e.g. Isocr. 12.125). The Athenian citizens regarded themselves as descendants of the king and thus also as 'children' of the earth. This notion had important socio-political implications. The Athenians used it to legitimate their rule over the land of Attica; by tracing their origins to the Attic soil,

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[14] Hurwit 1999, 78 (with a cross section of the cleft).

[15] The archaeologist Jeppesen argues that the so-called House of the Arrhephoroi, which was constructed in the second half of the fifth century, must be identified as the temple of Erechtheus because the building was built on top of the cleft and gave access to it. In line with this, he claims that the sanctuary usually called the 'Erechtheum' was dedicated to other gods and heroes, such as Athena Polias and Butes (Jeppesen 1987, 13-6).

[16] Broneer 1939, 371-433; 1948, 111-4. The cleft was already known to inhabitants of the acropolis during the Bronze Age. They discovered it in the second half of the thirteenth century and constructed a staircase within it to the fountain at the bottom. This staircase was used for a very short time, however, since the whole construction collapsed in the first half of the twelfth century, probably due to rot or an earthquake (Hurwit 1999, 78).

[17] Disappearing in the earth is not solely reserved for autochthonous humans. The seer Amphiaraus, for example, is swallowed up by the earth when he attacks the city of Thebes (e.g. Pi. *O.* 6.13-4).

they could claim the right to rule the country. Moreover, the notion enhanced the Athenian feeling of superiority over other Greek communities. The Athenians considered their autochthony unique and regarded other Greeks as mere immigrants, who had obtained their lands only by conquest (e.g. Lys. 2.17, D. 60.4).[18]

The chasm on the actual acropolis may have supported the memory of the story of Erechtheus' death. At the same time, it may have reminded the Athenians of their autochthonous origins, since this notion was inherent in the story. The chasm, in other words, was probably a *lieu de mémoire* for the myth of Erechtheus and its ideological connotations.

The chasm in which Erechtheus dies is also mentioned in Euripides' *Erechtheus*. However, it is not located on the acropolis but on the battlefield outside the city, as indicated by Erechtheus' death being reported by a messenger who comes from the battlefield (fr. 65.11-22 Austin). He says that the king was struck by Poseidon and disappeared into the earth (58-9 κατὰ χθονὸς κρύψας Ἐρεχθέα). If the chasm on the actual acropolis was identified as the king's place of death at the time of the *Erechtheus*, which was performed ten years before the *Ion*,[19] then Euripides is taking liberties with the geography of Athens by placing it on the battlefield.

Why does Euripides situate Erechtheus' death outside Athens in the *Erechtheus*? This relates to the needs of the plot. The play deals with the common Euripidean theme of the misery caused by war. The death of the king on the battlefield contributes to this theme. Although queen Praxithea first praises dying on the battlefield (fr. 360 Nauck), she later grieves when it happens to her husband. Similarly, whereas Praxithea first supports the sacrifice of one daughter, which would guarantee victory in war, she is later overcome by misery when it entails the death of her other daughters.

The deviant location of the chasm in the *Erechtheus* can be compared to that of Achilles' tomb in Euripides' *Hecuba*. Although this tomb was physically present in the classical Troad, Euripides locates it in Thrace in his play. This location is dictated by the needs of the plot; the *Hecuba* combines the story of Polyxena's sacrifice with that of Polydorus' murder. Since the latter takes place in Thrace, Euripides also locates the tomb of Achilles there. The demands of the plot thus prevail over geographical accuracy (3.2.2).

Caves
The Long Rocks of the actual acropolis are full of caves. These are referred to in Euripides' *Ion* (494 μυχώδεσι Μακραῖς). Moreover, one of the caves is presented as

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[18] Parker 1987, 194-5; Zacharia 2003, 56-65. The heroic Athenian king Cecrops was also regarded as having been born from the earth (e.g. Apollod. 3.177).

[19] The *Erechtheus* was probably performed in 422, the *Ion* in 412 (Calder 1969, 147-56).

the place where Apollo rapes the Athenian princess Creusa (10). Due to this rape Creusa becomes pregnant with a son, who later receives the name Ion. After having borne him, Creusa abandons him out of shame and fear (336, 1497) in the cave where he was begotten (18).

The rape and exposure probably occur in the cave because they are part of the earth. Ion is a descendant of Creusa, who belongs to the autochthonous royal house of Athens. Ion is thus begotten and abandoned in a place that reflects his earth-born origins. The cave, then, has a characterising function.[20]

Euripides probably invented the rape and abandonment. In other variants Ion is the son of Creusa and the Euboean prince Xuthus (e.g. Hdt. 7.94).[21] In these versions the autochthonous royal line of Athens is 'defiled' by Xuthus' foreign blood. In Euripides' *Ion* Creusa is also married to Xuthus, but it is Apollo who begets Ion. Hence, Ion receives pure Athenian blood with a dash of ichor (the golden 'blood' of the gods and immortals).[22] Ion's divine parentage adds to the glory of the classical Athenians, who considered themselves descendants of Ion (Hdt. 8.44). Euripides thus presents the Athenians not only as having autochthonous origins, but also as possessing divine roots.[23]

Since the cave in which Euripides situates Ion's conception and exposure was present in classical Athens, it may have supported the memory of his story. At the same time, it may have reminded the Athenians of their autochthonous and divine origins. In other words, the cave was probably a *lieu de mémoire* for the myth of Ion and its ideological connotations. If the rape was Euripides' invention,

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[20] Zacharia 2003, 39 n32. Ion's autochthony is also reflected by the objects with which he is exposed. Ion receives a woven fabric with pictures of a Gorgon and snakes (1421-3) as well as an amulet of a golden snake (25 ὄφεσιν ἐν χρυσηλάτοις). Like the cave itself, these objects have chthonic associations. Snakes are chthonic creatures *par excellence*, since they are regarded as children of the Earth. For example, in Hesiod's *Theogony*, Earth is presented as giving birth to the monster Typhoeus, who has a hundred snake heads (820-8). Furthermore, the first Athenian king Cecrops, who is born from the earth, is half-man half-snake (E. *Ion* 1163-4). Thus, although exposing him, Creusa invests her son with the symbols of the autochthonous royal family of Athens so as to legitimise his status as true heir of the Athenian throne (Huys 1995, 221-3; Mueller 2010, 365-402).

[21] Cf. Hes. fr. 10a.20-4 (Merkelbach-West) (although this passage is partly restored). Ion's parentage in Sophocles' lost *Creusa* cannot be determined.

[22] Parker 1987, 206-7.

[23] Lee 1997, 34. Euripides presents Ion as forefather of both Athenians and Ionians (1573-94). The presentation of this common ancestry bears on the contemporary situation. *Ion* was performed in 412, when the Athenians had suffered great losses in the Peloponnesian War. The Syracusans had defeated the Athenian fleet and the treasury of Athens had become empty. The Athenians feared that their allies, such as the Ionians, would desert. By highlighting their common ancestry in the *Ion*, Euripides may have enhanced their group cohesion. At the same time, he may have presented the Athenians as 'natural' leaders of the Ionians (Parker 1987, 206-7; Zacharia 2003, 1-3).

he himself made the cave a place of memory. The cave probably remained associated with Ion after the classical period, since the Roman emperor August set up a cult of Apollo in it.[24]

In the first stasimon the chorus state that the rape and abandonment took place in the cave of Pan (492 Πανὸς θακήματα, 502 ἐν ἄντροις). Since Creusa did not specify the cave, the women themselves must have made this association. One of the caves in the Long Rocks was dedicated to Pan in the fifth century. The Athenians claimed that Pan had supported them during the battle of Marathon (490), so they established a cult in the cave to express their gratitude (Hdt. 6.105). Thus, the association of the cave with Pan in the *Ion* is a projection of the contemporary acropolis.[25]

The cave of Pan has a thematic function in the ode. The god Pan, who has the body of a goat and man, is often associated with violent sexuality as well as wild nature. For example, in Euripides' *Helen* one of the protagonist's complaints is compared to that of a nymph who cries out that she is being raped by Pan (187-90). Furthermore, in the *Homeric Hymn to Pan* the god is said to roam the fields, hills, and mountains and to drive wild beasts through rocky glens (2-14). The attribution of the cave to Pan in the *Ion* relates to both the rape that took place there and the wildness of the site. The chorus present it as a residence of birds and wild beasts to which the miserable infant is exposed.[26] The presence of these beasts is important, since the chorus think that they killed the infant (505-6).

Flowers
The acropolis in the *Ion* contains flowers. Creusa states that Apollo dragged her into the cave when she was culling flowers:

ἦλθές μοι χρυσῷ χαίταν	You came to me, your hair flashing with
μαρμαίρων, εὖτ' ἐς κόλπους	gold, when I was gathering in the folds of
κρόκεα πέταλα φάρεσιν ἔδρεπον	my gown leafs of saffron, that reflected the
†ἀνθίζειν† χρυσανταυγῆ.	golden light †to adorn with flowers†.
(E. *Ion* 886-90)	

It is possible that this passage bears on the layout of the real, classical acropolis, since flowers may have grown around the caves. This is for example suggested by the fact that one of the caves was dedicated to 'Aphrodite in the Gardens' (Paus. 1.27.3), who was probably a fertility goddess.[27] Nonetheless, Euripides may also

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[24] Nulton (2003, 15-30) suggests that it was Euripides' *Ion* that inspired August to locate the cult of Apollo in the cave.

[25] Hurwit 1999, 130.

[26] Chalkia 1986, 119-20; Zacharia 1995, 52.

[27] Hurwit 1999, 41-3.

have invented the flowers because they are a prototypical element of mythical rape stories; girls are often culling flowers when they are abducted by gods. The most famous example is the story of Persephone, who is abducted by Hades while gathering flowers in the plain of Nysa (*h.Cer*. 6-28).[28]

Conclusion

The classical acropolis contains natural places that support the memory of the past (*lieux de mémoire*). Traditions that were connected to these places are adopted by the tragedians, such as the leap of the Cecropids from the Long Rocks. Moreover, the tragedians themselves connect invented stories to some places, such as the cave where Ion was abandoned. Why are the heroic stories connected to the natural landmarks of the acropolis? This is probably due to the antiquity of these places. Natural landmarks had existed since time immemorial and were therefore probably regarded as fit for connection with the heroic past.

4.1.2 Buildings and objects

Palace of Erechtheus

Euripides' *Erechtheus* takes place in front of the palace of the Athenian king, which is represented by the set in the theatre (fr. 350.1 Nauck). This is the place where queen Praxithea awaits the outcome of the war with Eumolpus. The palace has a characterising function, as it reminds the audience of Praxithea's royal status.

The classical acropolis did not accommodate a royal palace. It was primarily a sanctuary and not a regal residence. Nevertheless, the fifth-century Athenians knew of a tradition that a palace had once stood on the citadel. In the *Odyssey*, for example, Athena goes to Athens where she enters the 'strong house of Erechtheus' (7.81 Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον). This tradition may have a historical origin. It was in the thirteenth century (late Helladic IIIB) that the inhabitants of Athens built a palace on the citadel. It was probably the residence of a lord who had control over Athens and the surrounding villages, and it was built on a cluster of five terraces of varying sizes and heights that were supported by stone walls of rough Cyclopean masonry. These walls were still visible in the archaic and classical period and remained a physical reminder of the distant past. When new buildings were constructed on the acropolis, the terrace walls were preserved.[29] It is likely that they supported the memory of the palace on the citadel. If so, they were a *lieu*

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[28] Cf. Bremer 1975, 270-3.
[29] Hurwit 1999, 72-6.

de mémoire for it. The palace itself was destroyed around 1200, perhaps as a result of the Dorian invasions or internal conflicts caused by economic decline.[30]

Euripides may have located a palace on the heroic acropolis in the *Erechtheus* to account for the ruins of the Bronze Age palace on the actual acropolis. In any case, the palace in tragedy is an archaisation, since it has no equivalent on the contemporary citadel.

Temple of Athena

The acropolis contains a temple of Athena in the *Erechtheus*. The chorus of old men sing a song in which they express their hopes for a quick victory in the war with Thrace (fr. 369 Nauck). They wish that Thracian shields will be hung in the temple of Athena, which is 'surrounded by columns' (4-5 Ἀθάνας περικίοσιν ... θαλάμοις). Collard and Cropp claim that this temple has to be the Parthenon.[31] In my view, this need not be the case. The chorus do not mention a characteristic (unique) element of the Parthenon, such as, for example, its Panathenaic frieze. Conversely, the temple of Athena in the play contains only generic temple features: (1) the *peripteros* was a common temple type in Greece, and (2) the hanging of armour occurred in many Greek (and Athenian) temples.

(1) Peripteral temples appeared in Greece in the eighth and seventh century, but they were exceptional in this period. The only attested *peripteroi* of this period are the Artemisium in Ephese, the Heraeum in Argos, and the temple of Artemis in Ano Mazaraki (cf. **3.1.2**). Most temples of the early archaic period consisted of a *cella* and porch, the entrance of which could be marked by columns. An example of this temple type is the eighth-century Heraeum in Perachora, of which clay models survive.[32] The peripteral temple became common only in the sixth century.[33]

(2) Dedicating armour in a temple was a common practice in Greece from the archaic period. The *Iliad* refers to this custom; when Hector arrives on the battlefield, he boasts that he will hang the weapons of his enemy in the temple of Apollo in Troy (7.82-3).

Thus, since the temple of Athena in the *Erechtheus* is described by only common, generic temple features, it cannot be stated with certainty that it is the Parthenon or another specific temple in Athens. To compare: when the chorus in the *Ion* state that Athens has 'fair-columned halls' (185-6 εὐκίονες ... αὐλαί), they need not

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[30] Hurwit 1999, 81-4.

[31] Collard and Cropp 2008, 387 n1.

[32] Coldstream 1985, 69-70.

[33] Barletta 2001, 32-9. Barletta gives a list of eighth- and seventh-century temples that were formerly believed to contain a surrounding colonnade but have been proven to lack it (such as the eighth-century Heraeum on Samos).

refer to specific temples because columns are a generic element of temple architecture.

Since the temple in the *Erechtheus* is a *peripteros*, it has a rather modern design. In paragraph **3.1.2** I demonstrated that temples in Troy (and other cities) are envisaged as those of the classical age. The same process of projection seems to be at play in the *Erechtheus*.

The *presence* of Athena's temple on the tragic acropolis is motivated by tradition. The temple features, for example, in the *Iliad*; the goddess herself is said to have nurtured the infant Erechtheus 'in her rich temple' (2.549 ἐν πίονι νηῷ).[34] This tradition probably has a historical origin. The citadel was a sanctuary of Athena at least from the archaic period. The first temple of Athena of which traces have been found dates from the first half of the seventh century.[35] Traces of this early Athena worship were still visible on the classical acropolis, such as the foundations of the *archaios neos*, one of the archaic temples of Athena. These structures were a physical reminder of the long-established worship of Athena on the acropolis.

Thus, the temple of Athena is presented in the *Erechtheus* because it is a characteristic element of the acropolis. At the same time, it has a function in the plot. The old men, who long for a quick victory in the war with Thrace, wish that Thracian shields will be hung in Athena's temple (fr. 369.4-5 Nauck). This wish underscores the theme of victory, since the Greeks were accustomed to dedicating weapons of defeated enemies in temples. The temple thus has a thematic function.

Statues of Athena
In addition to a temple of Athena, the tragic acropolis also contains statues of the goddess. A first statue appears in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. When Orestes is pursued by the Erinyes, Apollo instructs him to flee to Athens and to embrace the 'ancient statue' of Athena (80 παλαιὸν βρέτας).

Aeschylus may refer here to the olive wood statue of Athena Polias on the actual acropolis.[36] This statue was called the 'ancient statue' by the classical Athe-

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[34] Cf. e.g. *LIMC* IV.1 935 (no.41).

[35] Hurwit 1999, 89-95. It is possible that worship of Athena began even earlier, perhaps in the second half of the eighth century. This is suggested by the discovery of objects (e.g. vases, tripods, and figurines) that were dedicated on the citadel at that time.

[36] Podlecki 1989, 135; Sommerstein 2008a, 365 n27. In the archaic period this statue stood in the *archaios neos*. During the Persian sack of Athens it was probably evacuated, after which it was placed either in a temporary *naiskos*, constructed on the north side of the citadel, or in the *opisthodomos* of the *archaios neos*, which might have been rebuilt after the sack. It was transferred to the newly built 'Erechtheum' at the end of the fifth century. The classical Athenians

nians (e.g. *IG* I³ 474.1 ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα), like that in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. Moreover, it was the *only* statue on the acropolis that was regarded as an antiquity.[37] Post-classical authors describe it as a relic of the heroic age.[38] Apollodorus, for example, states that it had been erected by Erichthonius when he founded the Panathenaea (3.14.6). It is likely that the statue was regarded as 'heroic' already in the classical age because it was called 'ancient' by then (*IG* I³ 474.1). This may be the reason why Aeschylus adopts it in his evocation of the heroic age.

It is telling that the statue is called 'ancient' even in the heroic age, as evoked in the *Eumenides*. This is a reflection of its antiquity in the classical age. In other words, Aeschylus projected the antiquity of the statue (in his own time) into the past.[39]

The story of Orestes' supplication is also referred to in Euripides' *Electra*. Here it is Castor who urges Orestes to flee to Athens. Castor advises the hero to 'embrace the holy statue of Athena' (1254-5 σεμνὸν βρέτας πρόσπτυξον) so that its Gorgon shield can cover his head from above (1257 γοργῶφ' ὑπερτείνουσα σῷ κάρᾳ κύκλον) and thus protect him from the attack of the Erinyes.[40] Cropp suggests that this

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[37] called this temple 'the temple in which the ancient image is' (*IG* I³ 474.1). Cf. Hurwit 1999, 109-10; 143-5; 200-3.

[37] The statue was made of wood (Athenagoras, *Legatio* 17.3), adorned with gold trappings (*IG* II² 1424a, 365-6), and dressed in a *peplos*, which was renewed every year at the Panathenaea. Tertullianus says that the statue was aniconic (*Ad Nationes* 1.12.3). This is possible, since many Greek statues that were (regarded as) ancient were aniconic. For example, according to Plutarch (quoting Callimachus), the 'ancient' statue of Athena in Lindos was a 'plain image' (λιτόν ... ἕδος) and that of Hera on Samos an 'unwrought board' (ἄξοος σάνις) (fr. 158 Sandbach; cf. Call. fr. 100 Pfeiffer). On the other hand, it also possible that the image was originally iconic and had become amorphous by the time of Tertullianus (Hurwit 1999, 20-1).

[38] E.g. Plut. fr. 158 (Sandbach); Philostr. *VA* 3.14. The Polias statue may have been a 'real' object from the distant past, for example from the Bronze Age, or a more modern statue, for instance from the archaic age, that was purported to stem from the heroic age (Kroll 1982, 65-76; Hurwit 1999, 20-1). Boardman has shown that the archaic and classical Greeks readily associated old as well as modern objects with the time of heroes (**2.1**).

[39] We might compare Meriones' boar tusk helmet in the *Iliad* (10.260-71). Such helmets were used by Greek warriors before 1400. Hence, they were regarded as antiquities in the archaic age, when Homer lived. Since Homer presents Meriones' helmet as ancient even in the heroic age, he projects its antiquity (in his own time) into the past. He gives it a long provenance with many owners and voyages over long distances (Grethlein 2006, 176).

[40] Emblems of monsters were set on shields to terrify one's opponent (Van Wees 2004, 53-4). For example, the *gorgoneion* on Agamemnon's shield in the *Iliad* is presented as 'grim of aspect' (11.536 βλοσυρῶπις) and as 'glaring terribly' (37 δεινὸν δερκομένη). Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether Athena's blazon in the *Electra* terrifies the Erinyes, since they themselves look like Gorgons (e.g. A. *Eum.* 46-59). Here, the blazon might have been used only as a symbol of Athena. In some versions, the slaying of the Gorgon was presented as one of her martial achievements (e.g. E. *Ion* 989-91).

statue (like that in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*) refers to the ancient, olive wood statue of Athena Polias.[41] In my view, this is unlikely. The statue in the *Electra* carries a shield, whereas the statue of Athena Polias held a golden bowl and owl in its hands.[42]

Two more features of Athena's statue can be deduced from Castor's words:

(1) It is of the Palladion- or Promachos-type. Both types represented Athena in a combative pose, with a spear in one hand and a shield in the other. The Palladion-type presented the goddess in a standing position, with her feet together (or with one foot slightly advanced); the Promachos-type showed her in a striding pose, with one foot moving forward. The Palladion-type appeared in the visual arts at the start of the seventh century, the Promachos-type in the first half of the sixth century.[43]

(2) The statue seems to be life-size or over life-size, as Orestes can take refuge under its shield.

Since both features (combative pose and large size) belong to the common representation of the goddess in sculpture, Euripides may not be referring to a specific statue of Athena in (classical) Athens, but may be evoking only a generic statue of the goddess.

The statue seems to have a rather modern design. It carries a Gorgon shield, which became part of Athena's iconography only ca. 600.[44] In paragraph **3.1.4** I demonstrated that statues in tragic Troy are decribed as having contemporary characteristics. The same process of projection seems to be at play in the *Electra*.

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[41] Cropp 1988, 184-5.

[42] Kroll 1982, 69-71; Hurwit 1999, 20-1. That the image held a golden bowl in one hand becomes clear from an inscription, φιάλη χρυσῆ, ἣν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει (*IG* II² 1424a, 365-6), which also lists a golden owl among the goddess' attributes (364 γλαὺξ χρυσῆ). Kroll argues that the image held this owl in its other hand. He bases himself on a scholiast on Aristophanes (*Av.* 516), who says that the 'statue of Athena Ἀρχηγέτις' had an owl in its hand. According to Kroll, the cult title Ἀρχηγέτις is synonymous with Polias because an inscription states that the Panathenaea were celebrated in honour of Athena Ἀρχηγέτις (although they were commonly known as a festival for Athena Polias) (*SEG* 28:60.65). Moreover, Kroll refers to third-century coins on which the statue of Athena Polias is possibly represented. These coins also show the statue with a bowl and an owl in its hands. If the image was originally aniconic (cf. note 37), it must have been later provided with anthropomorphic features, such as a face and arms, to enable the presentation of the attributes. The statue may have been reworked by Endoeus in the sixth century, for Athenagoras calls him its 'sculptor' (*Legatio* 17.3). The addition of anthropomorphic features to a statue is not unusual. For example, the Athenians provided the aniconic statue of Dione in Dodona with a face (Hyp. *Eux.* 24-5).

[43] Palladion: *LIMC* II.1 965; II.2 711 (no.67). Promachos: *LIMC* II.1 969; II.2 716 (no.118). For further information see: *LIMC* II.1 1019-20.

[44] Marx 1993, 227-8. The *gorgoneion* was used as a shield emblem as early as the seventh century (*LIMC* IV.1 300; IV.2 174 (no.156-62)), but it did not yet belong to the iconography of Athena at that time. The *gorgoneion* was represented on Athena's *aegis* in the visual arts from ca. 540.

The statue's modernity can be compared to the peripteral temple of Athena in the *Erechtheus* (see above). Both have contemporary characteristics but do not necessarily indicate specific structures in fifth-century Athens.

According to some scholars, a statue of Athena is referred to in the *Erechtheus*. When Eumolpus, the son of Poseidon, attacks Athens to claim the land for his father, Praxithea urges the citizens to defend the city (fr. 360 Nauck). She says that Athena must not be dishonoured and that the golden Gorgon (46 χρυσέας … Γοργόνος) and olive (46 ἐλαίας) must not be replaced by the trident (47 τρίαιναν).

According to Calder and Stieber, the 'golden Gorgon' refers to the *gorgoneion* on the shield of the statue of Athena Parthenos made by Phidias.[45] The Gorgon blazon on this shield was made of gilded silver (*IG* II² 1388.52-3). In my opinion, Praxithea is not necessarily referring to this statue. The golden Gorgon was not a specific (unique) element of Phidias' Athena Parthenos. For instance, it was also presented on the *aegis* of the statue of Athena Polias (*IG* II² 1424a.365 γοργονεῖον χρυσοῦν). In other words, it was part of the standard iconography in sculptures of Athena.

What is more, Praxithea does not have to be understood as referring to any statue, since the golden Gorgon was a traditional symbol of Athena. Earlier in the play, Praxithea instructs a band of women to raise a cry so that Athena may come to the city 'with her golden Gorgon' (fr. 351.2 χρυσῆν ἔχουσα Γοργόν' Nauck). The queen here uses the golden Gorgon as a symbol of the goddess Athena. I think that this is also the case in the passage in question. Praxithea prefers the Gorgon and olive tree, the symbols of Athena, to the trident, the symbol of Poseidon. She urges the citizens to defend the city so that the city-goddess and her attributes will not be replaced by another god with his attribute.

Precinct of Erechtheus

A precinct created in honour of king Erechtheus features in his name play. When he dies on the battlefield, Athena instructs Praxithea to lay out a precinct where he will be worshipped with sacrifices of oxen:

πόσει δὲ τῷ σηκὸν ἐμ μέσῃ πόλει   I command you to lay out for your husband
τεῦξαι κελεύω περιβόλοισι λαίνοις. a precinct with a stone enclosure in the city centre.
(E. fr. 65.90-1 Austin)

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[45] Calder 1969, 152-3; Stieber 2011, 141.

Some scholars regard this passage as a reference to the classical Erechtheum.[46] At the time of the performance of the *Erechtheus* (ca. 422) the construction of the Erechtheum was either planned or had just begun.[47] Other scholars argue that this passage refers to an earlier shrine of Erechtheus, one of the predecessors of the classical Erechtheum.[48]

Not much is known about these earlier shrines. It is nonetheless clear that the site of the classical Erechtheum had been sacred even in the archaic period. It may have contained graves of local heroes (such as Cecrops and Erechtheus), some small shrines, and the olive tree of Athena. After the Persian Wars these separate cult places were probably combined in a composite precinct, which archaeologists call the 'pre-Erechtheum'. This shrine probably consisted of an L-shaped Ionic stoa (defining the precinct of Pandrosus, which also contained the tomb of Cecrops and the olive tree), a small rectangular stoa, and a *naiskos* dedicated to Athena Polias (where her ancient, olive wood cult statue stood). This precinct was replaced by the 'classical' Erechtheum at the end of the fifth century.[49]

Does Euripides refer to one of these sanctuaries in the *Erechtheus*? To answer to this question, it must be determined what kind of sanctuary he envisages in his play.

(1) The sanctuary is called σηκός by Athena. This word can refer to any place of a certain extent that is reserved for a particular purpose.[50] For example, it indicates a pen for rearing animals in epic (e.g. *Od.* 9.219) but a 'crèche' where infants of aristocratic parents are brought up together in Plato's *Republic* (460c). It often

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[46] E.g. Parker 1987, 202. Clairmont (1971, 490) claims that σηκός points to the separate room in the Erechtheum in which Erechtheus was worshipped. Treu (1971, 125 n41) asserts that the 'stone enclosure' (91) refers to the unfinished, half-erected walls of this room at the time of the performance of the *Erechtheus*. However, it is not clear which part of the Erechtheum was being built or already finished at that time.

[47] Hurwit 1999, 206. The start of the construction of the Erechtheum in the late 420s follows from the fact that the building is not mentioned in the Callias Decrees of 434/3 (*IG* I³ 52). These regulations brought the construction of buildings on the acropolis to a halt due to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. It was only from the end of the 420s (when peace was restored) that these projects were resumed and new projects were started (such as presumably the Erechtheum). The construction of the Erechtheum was interrupted by the Sicilian expedition of 415 and was finally completed between 409 and 406.

[48] E.g. Calder 1969, 156.

[49] Hurwit 1999, 144-5. When Herodotus refers to the acropolis in 480, he mentions a sanctuary of Erechtheus containing the olive tree of Athena and the salt spring of Poseidon (8.55 νηὸς Ἐρέχθεος). It is unclear whether Herodotus correctly describes a late archaic shrine of the hero or imagines its construction on the basis of the Pre-Erechtheum, which stood in its place in his own time.

[50] Jeppesen 1987, 36. Cf. *EDG* / *DELG* s.v. σηκός.

refers to a sacred area, such as an open-air precinct (S. *Ph.* 1327-8 τὸν ἀκαλυφῆ σηκόν) or a temple domain (E. *Supp.* 2, 30). In the *Erechtheus* σηκός also indicates a sacred area, since the Athenians have to worship their king with sacrifices there (93 φοναῖσι βουθύτοις). Yet, the word itself does not provide any clue as to the lay-out and components of this sacred area.

(2) The elements that the sacred zone has to contain (according to Athena's in-structions), are a stone enclosure (91 περιβόλοισι λαΐνοις) and an altar.[51] The altar is not mentioned explicitly, but is implied by the sacrifices of oxen that the Atheni-ans have to make there (93).[52] A sacred area consisting of an altar and stone en-closure probably indicates an open-air precinct. Such sanctuaries were common in Greece. The agora of Athens, for example, contained a precinct dedicated to the Twelve Gods that consisted only of an altar and an enclosing wall of stone.[53]

If the sanctuary that Euripides envisages is an open-air precinct, it differs from the classical Erechtheum, which was a temple building. The sanctuaries, moreover, differ in another respect. The classical Erechtheum was a composite temple and accommodated cult places of several gods and Attic heroes. The west-ern rooms of the building were probably dedicated to Hephaestus, Erechtheus, and his brother Butes; the eastern part was reserved for the cult of Athena Polias; the Pandroseum, the adjoining precinct, was dedicated to Cecrops and his daugh-ter Pandrosus.[54] These gods and heroes do not share the sanctuary with Erech-theus in his play. On the contrary, the cult of Athena, whose establishment the goddess herself instructs, seems to be separated from the precinct of Erechtheus. Athena appoints Praxithea as her priestess by granting her the right to make

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[51] The word περίβολος often indicates an enclosing wall. For example, in Herodotus (1.181), it indicates the wall around the palace in Babylon; in Thucydides (1.89), it stands for the wall around Athens.

[52] Athena says that the king shall be called Poseidon-Erechtheus in the sacrifices on account of his killer (92-4). This is in contrast with the *Iliad*, where the Athenians make sacrifices to the king under his own name. The fusion of Poseidon and Erechtheus may have occurred in the fifth century, when the phrase 'Poseidon-Erechtheus' first appears on classical inscriptions (e.g. *IG* I³ 873). However, according to Lacore (1983, 217-22), this turn has to be interpreted as Posei-don <and> Erechtheus. She claims that the Athenian king and sea-god were fused only in the Roman period. In her view, Euripides invented the name for thematic reasons. By implicating Poseidon in the sacrifices for Erechtheus, Athena can appease his wrath and restore serenity in Athens. If Lacore is right, this would be an instance of a so-called fictive aetiology (**2.1** note 33).

[53] Altar and boundary (*peribolos*) were the basic elements of a Greek sanctuary. An altar was necessary for the sacrifice, which was the most important act of worship, and the boundary marked the space as sacred and as property of the god. The boundary consisted of natural ele-ments (such as an outer row of trees indicating the entrance to a sacred grove) or man-made elements, such as boundary stones or a wall (Emerson 2007, 4-5).

[54] Hurwit 1999, 202-4.

burnt sacrifices (96 ἔμπυρα) on her altars (βωμοῖς), but she does not give any hint at incorporating her cult in the precinct of Erechtheus.

Thus, in all probability, Euripides does not refer to the classical Erechtheum. Does he refer to one of its predecessors? This question is difficult to answer. If the archaic acropolis contained an open-air precinct of Erechtheus, which is not certain (see above), and if Euripides had knowledge of this sanctuary (for example, from hearsay), then it is possible that he modelled the precinct in the play after it. On the other hand, it is also possible that Euripides gives the tragic precinct the generic design of an open-air precinct without bearing in mind the design of a specific historical shrine of Erechtheus.

The founding of a precinct for Erechtheus has a thematic function, as it contributes to the patriotic character of the play. The play repeatedly shows how the royal family devote themselves entirely to the survival of the city and put the communal interest above their private concerns. Praxithea persuades her husband to sacrifice their daughter, and Erechtheus fights himself to death on the battlefield. These patriotic deeds are in the end rewarded by the city-goddess Athena, who appoints Praxithea as her priestess (a very prestigious office) and grants Erechtheus a sanctuary and sacrifices. The royals' patriotism also has a drawback: in the end Praxithea is overcome by grief about the death of her husband and the ruin of her whole family.

Conclusion

The absence of references to specific, unique features of fifth-century buildings and objects suggests that they are not adopted in the heroic world. Thus, buildings in tragedy that scholars have identified as those of the classical acropolis, must instead be regarded as generic buildings with a contemporary design. It is only natural elements (**4.1.1**) and ancient objects (such as the statue of Athena Polias and the royal palace, whose ruins were visible) that are adopted from the real acropolis. Their antiquity made them fit for the heroic world, whereas fifth-century buildings were too suggestive of the present world. The inclusion of ancient spaces and the exclusion of new spaces (e.g. the Parthenon and Erechtheum) gives tragic Athens an archaic patina. Generic heroic buildings and objects nonetheless have a contemporary design, which is a general tendency in tragedy (see chapter **3**).

4.2 Areopagus

The Areopagus was the hill in Athens where an influential political and judicial council gathered in the archaic and early classical period. This council was called Areopagus after the hill. In 462 the reforms of Ephialtes deprived the council of all its powers except for the judging of murder cases (Philochor. *FGrH* 328F64).

In heroic myth, too, the Areopagus has jurisdiction only in homicide. The hill is the canonical setting of four heroic trials (e.g. Hellanic. *FGrH* 4F169): that of Ares, who killed the rapist of his daughter Alcippe, called Halirrhothius; that of the Athenian hero Cephalus, who accidentally killed his wife Procris during a hunt; that of Daedalus, who murdered his cousin Talus in envy of his outstanding craftsmanship; that of Orestes, who killed his mother Clytaemnestra in revenge for the murder of his father Agamemnon. It is difficult to determine the date of origin of these heroic stories. Since the council had judged murder cases since before 462, this date need not be taken as a *terminus post quem* for the origin of the myths.[55]

The tragedians present two of the heroic trials as *aitia* for the homicide court on the hill: (1) Aeschylus portrays Orestes' case as the founding trial of the Areopagus court and (2) Euripides presents Ares' case as such.

Foundation of the homicide court
(1) Orestes' case is used as *aition* of the court in the *Eumenides*. Although the story of Orestes' trial itself was traditional,[56] it was not presented as *aition* of the court before Aeschylus: it was Ares' case that was portrayed as such.[57] Thus, the presentation of Orestes' case as the *first* trial is an invention of Aeschylus. What is the function of this deviation from the precedent?

It serves the demands of the plot of the *Oresteia*, the trilogy to which *Eumenides* belongs. The *Oresteia* depicts the transition of a society where individuals exact justice by private acts of vengeance – Clytaemnestra, for example, kills Agamemnon out of anger over the sacrifice of Iphigenia (*Ag.* 1577-1611) – to a society in which justice is restored via legal proceedings and punishments are imposed by

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[55] For this debate see: Gagarin 1981, 125-37; Wallace [1985] 1989, 3-93; Braun 1998 13-80.

[56] Although the trial of Orestes is first attested in the *Eumenides*, Sommerstein (1989, 5) has plausibly shown that the story was already traditional in Aeschylus' time. He bases his argument on a later variant of the story (e.g. E. *Or.* 1650-2, D. 23.66) in which Orestes is summoned before a divine tribunal instead of a human court, as is the case in Aeschylus. Sommerstein thinks that the 'divine' version existed *before* Aeschylus and that the tragedian changed it to a version that better corresponded to the contemporary situation (i.e. he changed the divine Areopagus to a court of human jurors). According to Sommerstein, the opposite is unlikely. Had Aeschylus invented the story of Orestes' trial with a human court, later authors would not have changed it to a version with a divine tribunal, which would differ more from the contemporary situation. *Contra* Podlecki (1989, 18), who argues that the story of Orestes' trial was invented by Aeschylus.

[57] This is suggested by the facts that Ares' case is persistently portrayed as *aition* in literary sources after Aeschylus (e.g. Philoch. *FGrH* 328F3, cf. Apollod. 3.180) and that his name is connected to the hill. Cf. Sommerstein 1989, 2-3.

courts. Had Aeschylus presented other trials (such as that of Ares) as precedents for that of Orestes, this transition would already have taken place.[58]

(2) In the *Electra* Euripides presents Ares' case as the founding trial of the Areopagus court (1258-61),[59] in accordance with most authors (e.g. Hellanic. *FGrH* 4F169; Philoch. *FGrH* 328F3). Why does Euripides choose this *aition* rather than that of Aeschylus?

This relates to the plot of the *Electra*. Castor instructs Orestes to go to the Areopagus to be tried for the murder of his mother Clytaemnestra. He selects this specific court because of its reputation for righteousness and steadfastness (1262-3 εὐσεβεστάτη ψήφου βεβαία τ’ ἐστὶν ἐκ τούτου θέσις).[60] Euripides can only present the Areopagus as having such a reputation already in Orestes' time if he does not present Orestes' case as founding trial of the court. He therefore uses the trial of Ares as *aition*.

The reputation of the Areopagus in the *Electra* has a thematic function. The play questions the justification of the murder of Clytaemnestra. For example, after the killing Orestes states that the 'justice' of Apollo, who commanded the homicide, is 'obscure' (1190-1 δίκαι’ ἄφαντα). Similarly, Castor says that Apollo's

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[58] Wallace [1985] 1989, 88. Scholarly debates about the relation of the *Eumenides* to the political circumstances of Aeschylus' time hinge on the specific functions that the council has in the play. The *Eumenides* was performed in 458, four years after the reforms of Ephialtes, who had deprived the Areopagus of its political powers. The only role that was left intact was jurisdiction in homicide cases.
(1) Macleod (1982, 127-9) argues that the council in the play is given only the responsibility of judging murder cases: Athena establishes the council simply to try Orestes' homicide. Macleod claims that Aeschylus in this way supports the recent reforms, as the tragedian makes the city-goddess herself establish the council in the form to which it had been reduced a few years before the performance of the play.
(2) Braun (1998, 138-43) suggests that the council is also given political functions in the play, such as *nomophulakia* (supervision over state affairs), which he bases on descriptions of the Areopagus as 'bulwark of the country' (701 ἔρυμα χώρας) and 'guardian of the land' (706 φρούρημα γῆς). Braun asserts that Aeschylus opposes Ephialtes' reforms because Athena establishes the council as it had been before the reforms.
(3) Sommerstein (1996, 400), with whom I agree, thinks that the descriptions of the Areopagus are so vague that Aeschylus did not want to be seen partisan on this issue of current politics.
[59] Cf. E. *IT* 945-6.
[60] In the *Eumenides* Apollo sends Orestes to Athens not only to be tried by the Areopagus, but also to establish an alliance between Athens and Argos, which is Orestes' city of residence (667-73). Orestes promises the goddess Athena that she will have the Argive people as faithful allies if she acquits him (289-91). This motif relates to the contemporary situation. At the end of the 460s Athens had entered into an alliance with the city of Argos. Aeschylus thus seems to give a mythical equivalent of this alliance in the *Eumenides*. In this way he may support the course of the current politics in Athens (Sommerstein 1996, 392-8).

oracles are unwise, although he is a wise god (1246 σοφὸς δ' ὢν οὐκ ἔχρησέ ... σοφά). The justness of the murder becomes all the more questionable when Castor predicts that the jurors of the Areopagus will be divided on the case. Their voting will end in a tie (1265-8), which shows that this otherwise so steadfast court is all but united on the justification of the murder.

The above analysis shows that the tragedians connect various, even contradicting stories to a *lieu de mémoire*, a heroic landmark physically present in the world of the audience (cf. **2.1**). On the one hand they adopt existing traditions about *lieux de mémoire* (i.e. Ares' trial as *aition* for the court); on the other they connect new stories to *lieux de mémoire* (i.e. Orestes' case as the founding trial). Both traditional and new stories are used in accordance with the needs of the plot.

Etymology

The story of Ares' trial not only explains the foundation of the court on the Areopagus, but also clarifies the origin of the hill's name: the hill (*pagos*) is called 'Areopagus' since Ares was the first to be tried there.[61] Since Aeschylus presents Orestes' case as the first trial, he has to give a different aetiology for the name of the hill. He connects the name 'Areopagus' to the mythical tradition of the Amazon invasion of Athens,[62] stating that the hill's name derives from a sacrifice that the Amazons made there to Ares (*Eum.* 689-90 Ἄρει δ' ἔθυον, ἔνθεν ἔστ' ἐπώνυμος πέτρα).

The Amazons pitch their camp on the Areopagus to attack the acropolis of Theseus from there (*Eum.* 685-8). In this respect they resemble the Persians who besieged the acropolis from the Areopagus in 480 (Hdt. 8.52). Aeschylus thus models the mythical Amazon War after the recent Persian Wars.[63] It was a general tendency in fifth-century Athens to present the Amazon War and the Trojan War

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[61] Cf. Paus. 1.28.5: ἔστι δὲ Ἄρειος πάγος καλούμενος, ὅτι πρῶτος Ἄρης ἐνταῦθα ἐκρίθη ... '[The hill] is called Areopagus, since Ares was the first to be tried there.' Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4F38) gives a slightly different etymology for the name of the hill. He states that Ares fixed his spear in the hill during the trial (ἔπηξε τὸ δόρυ ἐκεῖ ὁ Ἄρης) from which the hill takes its name (πήγνυμι ~ πάγος).

[62] Several traditions to explain the Amazons' attack on Athens existed (Gantz 1993, 282-4). According to Pherecydes, the Amazons came to Athens to liberate the Amazon princess Antiope, who had been abducted by Theseus (*FGrH* 3F151). According to the sixth-century epic *Theseid* (referred to by Plutarch in his *Life of Theseus* (28)), the Amazons attacked Athens due to Antiope's envy of Theseus, who had chosen Phaedra as his bride. This tradition may be referred to in *Eumenides*, where Athena says that the Amazons besieged the city 'in jealousy of Theseus' (686 Θησέως κατὰ φθόνον). *Contra* Sommerstein (1989, 214-5), who explains φθόνος as 'base jealousy of the glory of Theseus'. Lysias (2.6) presents the Amazonomachy as an unprovoked act of barbarian aggression. He states that the Amazons attacked the city out of greed for others' land. For the development of the Amazon myth see: Blok 1995, 145-442.

[63] Podlecki 1989, 180.

as mythical equivalents to the Persian Wars. The Athenians credited themselves with a prominent position in these mythical wars in order to emphasise their power and to portray themselves as protectors of Greece in all times.[64] The Athenians used this constructed identity for several purposes, for example to justify their leading role in the Delian League.

Trial of Orestes

Aeschylus' *Eumenides* elaborately presents the trial of Orestes before the Areopagus court. This trial contains many aspects of a fifth-century law court session, which I will list here.[65] When the judges arrive onstage, Athena uses the technical term πληροῦν (570), which in its judicial sense indicates the convening of a law court session (D. 25.20). The goddess begins the trial by using the term εἰσάγω (582), which was also used by the *archōn basileus*, who chaired the trials of the Areopagus court (Antiph. 6.42). The jurors do not discuss or voice their opinion during the trial but only cast ballot stones in urns to pass their judgement in the end (708-10).[66] This resembles the passing of a verdict in a classical law court (D. 57.61). The voting in the *Eumenides* ends in a tie, whereupon Athena announces that Orestes will be acquitted (741, 752-3). A split vote was also considered in favour of the defendant in classical Athens (Arist. *Ath.* 69.1).[67] The trial of Orestes is also referred to in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris*, in which Orestes mounts a platform during his defence (962 βάθρον). It resembles the practice in classical Athenian law courts, since the prosecutor and defendant both stood on platforms when delivering a speech (e.g. Lys. 10.15).[68]

The trial of Orestes reflects a generic law court session in classical Athens.[69] In other words, the proceedings at Orestes' trial in the *Eumenides* (such as the

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[64] E.g. Hdt. 9.27: ἐν τοῖσι Τρωικοῖσι πόνοισι οὐδαμῶν ἐλειπόμεθα. 'In the toils of the Trojan War we were second to none.' For the paradigmatic use of the Trojan and Amazon Wars see e.g. Boedecker 1998.

[65] I base the observations in this section on: Sommerstein 1989, 16-7; Braun 1998, 101; Rehm 2002, 94-5.

[66] Cf. A. *Ag.* 810-7, where the gods who have gathered in assembly decide on the fate of Troy. They unanimously cast their ballot stones in the urn that declares Troy guilty.

[67] In the *Electra* Euripides presents the tied vote at Orestes' trial even as the *aition* for this rule: καὶ τοῖσι λοιποῖς ὅδε νόμος τεθήσεται | νικᾶν ἴσαις ψήφοισι τὸν φεύγοντ' ἄει (1268-9). 'And for posterity this law shall be established, that the defendant always wins the case if the votes are equally divided.'

[68] De Bakker 2012, 380-1. The Areopagus contained two protruding rocks that were used as platforms. These rocks were called the Stone of Outrage (ὕβρεως) and the Stone of Ruthlessness (ἀναιδείας) (Paus. 1.28.5).

[69] Some elements in the trial of Orestes differ from classical judicial practice. For example, the Erinyes interrupt Apollo's defendant speech (640), whereas in the fifth century speeches were

casting of ballots) resemble the procedures not only on the Areopagus, but also in every court in Athens. Virtually every Athenian citizen could serve as a judge in these courts. Sommerstein argues that the behaviour of Athena and the jurors in the *Eumenides* provides a model for all Athenians who would ever be selected to sit on a jury, either on the Areopagus or in another law court.[70]

The trial of Orestes in the *Eumenides* differs from law court sessions in Homeric epic. An example of a Homeric trial is found on the shield of Achilles. At this trial two men disagree about the payment of a blood price. They are encircled by elderly men who sit on polished stones. In contrast to tragedy, these elders openly voice their opinion on the case. They accept a herald's staff in turn and thereupon give their individual judgement (*Il.* 18.505-6). Two talents of gold are laid in their midst for the man who 'has given judgement most righteously' (508 δίκην ἰθύντατα εἴποι). It is presumably the *histōr* (501 ἵστορι) who chooses this man. According to Van Wees, the role of *histōr* probably belonged to the privileges of the monarch.[71] These Homeric customs are all absent in tragedy. Conversely, law court sessions in tragedy resemble those of the fifth century.

Cave of the Semnae

At the foot of the real, actual Areopagus lies a cave. This spot is perhaps referred to in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* as the residence of the Erinyes. After the acquittal of Orestes the goddesses become furious and threaten to make the land of Attica infertile (778-93). Athena softens their anger by offering them an underground abode in Athens (805 ἕδρας τε καὶ κευθμῶνας) where they will be worshipped by the Athenian people (794-807).[72] Aeschylus syncretically identifies the Erinyes with the Semnae goddesses,[73] to whom the Areopagus cave was dedicated in Athenian cultic practice (Th. 1.126, Paus. 1.28.6).[74] For example, when the Erinyes

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spoken without the interruption of the opposition. Furthermore, Athena takes part in the voting (734-5), although the *archōn basileus* was excluded from this privilege.

[70] Sommerstein 1989, 17. This is an instance of the so-called 'didactic function' of tragedy. For this function in general see: Gregory 1991; Croally 2005, 55-70.

[71] Van Wees 1992, 34; 328 n24.

[72] For the underground abode cf. 1023 (τοὺς ἔνερθε καὶ κατὼ χθονὸς τόπους) and 1036 (γᾶς ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν ὠγυγίοισιν).

[73] For the concept of syncretism see **3.2.3**. The identification of Erinyes and Semnae is first attested in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. Sommerstein (1989, 11) and Lardinois (1992, 316) argue that it is an invention of Aeschylus. Conversely, Lloyd-Jones (1990, 208-9) and Henrichs (1994, 51-2) claim that the identification had already become traditional in Aeschylus' time, but that earlier attestations have not been passed down to us.

[74] The cave had probably been dedicated to the Semnae in the seventh century. Archaeologists found a *pinax* from this period with a possible representation of one of the Semnae, although it might also be Athena (*LIMC* II.1 960; II.2 706 (no. 27)).

are accompanied to their underground abode, they are addressed as Semnae (1041 Σεμναί).

Brown and Sommerstein suggest that Aeschylus locates the cave of the Semnae-Erinyes under the acropolis instead of the Areopagus and thus takes liberties with the geography of classical Athens.[75] They give two arguments for their view:

(1) Athena states that the sanctuary is located 'near the palace of Erechtheus' (855 πρὸς δόμοις Ἐρεχθέως), which is located on the acropolis, so the cave must also be situated there.

(2) Athena says that the Erinyes will arrive at the 'apple of the eye' (1025 ὄμμα) of Athens, which most likely refers to the acropolis.

In my opinion, Aeschylus does not have to be understood as taking liberties with geography: it is possible that the sanctuary of the Semnae-Erinyes has the same location in the play as in classical Athens.

(ad 1) The location of the cave 'near the palace of Erechtheus' befits a place below the Areopagus, since this hill lay in the neighbourhood of the palace on the acropolis. The cave was located at the northeast slope of the Areopagus, which lies in the direction of the acropolis.

(ad 2) The claim that the 'apple of the eye' of Athens most likely refers to the acropolis is a *petitio principi*. The word ὄμμα serves a rhetorical aim in Athena's speech. She attempts to mollify the Erinyes by glorifying them and their future residence (1032-47). She may describe the cave under the Areopagus as the 'apple of the eye' for this laudatory purpose.

Why does Aeschylus attribute the cave of the Semnae to the Erinyes in his play? This has a symbolic function. The Erinyes were the traditional goddesses of justice (e.g. Heracl. fr. 94 DK Δίκης ἐπίκουροι). They were supposed to punish perjurers and avenge those whose rights had been violated (e.g. *Il.* 19.259-60; A. *Ag.* 464).[76] The cave that Aeschylus attributes to the Erinyes is located under the seat of a judicial council. Thus, he connects the powers of the goddesses in the cave and those of the council (i.e. the punishment of the unrighteous). The abode of the goddesses, then, becomes a symbol of the judicial powers of the council.[77]

Conclusion

The places of fifth-century Athens that Aeschylus includes in his evocation of the heroic world are all of a natural origin (e.g. the hill of the Areopagus and cave of

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[75] Brown 1984, 274; Sommerstein 1989, 251.

[76] The Semnae were invoked in oaths sworn before the Areopagus and associated with the veracity of the council (Din. 1.47). For an elaborate analysis of the functions of the Semnae see: Brown 1984, 262-3; Henrichs 1994, 39-45.

[77] For the political implications of this symbolism see: Lardinois 1992, 321. We may compare statues of Lady Justice, which personify the judicial powers of the court, in modern courtrooms.

the Semnae). He probably regarded them as fit for the heroic past due to their antiquity. Conversely, objects presented in the heroic world, such as those used at the law court (e.g. urns, ballot stones, and platforms), are all relatively modern. These objects are projections of general Athenian judicial practice. They were not specific to the Areopagus but also used in other Athenian law courts.

The presentation of the Areopagus can be compared to the image of the acropolis (**4.1**). The tragedians only include natural places of the real acropolis in their evocation of the heroic world (e.g. the Long Rocks and olive tree). They do not adopt elements of the built environment or visual culture from the fifth century (i.e. specific contemporary structures). Nonetheless, the buildings and objects that they evoke have a generic contemporary design (e.g. the *peripteros* temple of Athena), which is a general tendency in tragedy.

4.3 Demes

This paragraph analyses the layout of two Athenian demes, Eleusis and Colonus, in tragedy. I will determine what traditions influenced their presentation and how their described layout relates to that in the real, actual world.

4.3.1 Eleusis

Eleusis is the setting of Euripides' *Suppliants* and Aeschylus' fragmentary *Eleusinians*. These plays dramatise how the Athenians, led by Theseus, recover the bodies of Argive warriors who fell in the Theban War at the request of the Argive king Adrastus.[78] The Thebans refuse to release these bodies because the Argives attacked their city. The story of the recovery is a canonical episode in the tradition of early Athens (e.g. Hdt. 9.27).[79] It also expresses an important concept of Athe-

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[78] Scholars debate the relation between Euripides' *Suppliants* (probably performed in 423) and the contemporary situation.

(1) Jouan (1997, 216) argues that the play is a reaction to the battle of Delium in 424. The Thebans, who were victorious in this battle, refused to release the bodies of the fallen Athenian warriors for seventeen days (Th. 4.89-101). Jouan thinks that the *Suppliants* is an 'indignant protestation' against this act of the Thebans, since Euripides shows how much misery is caused by the refusal to release the war dead.

(2) Grethlein (2003, 194) suggests that the play need not react to the battle of Delium. He points at differences between the *Suppliants* and this battle. For example, whereas the Thebans released the bodies voluntarily in 424, they have to be compelled by force in the play. He argues, moreover, that the motif of releasing corpses is traditional and thus need not have been motivated by current events.

[79] Cf. *LIMC* III.1 805; III.2 587 (no.3). Grethlein (2003, 110) asserts that although this episode is first attested in the fifth century, the paramount role of Theseus suggests that it had perhaps already become part of the sixth-century *Theseid*.

nian civic ideology. The Athenians prided themselves on supporting those who are oppressed (e.g. Lys. 2.8-14).[80]

Natural elements
Tragic Eleusis contains two natural elements, which are also found in actual Eleusis: (1) the Spring of Callichorus and (2) the cliffs of the acropolis.
(1) The chorus in the *Suppliants* state that they want to leave 'the water of Callichorus' (619 Καλλίχορον ... ὕδωρ) to see the battle for the Argive bodies at Thebes. The spring is used here as a *metonym* for Eleusis. In actual Eleusis the Spring of Callichorus lies east of the sanctuary of Demeter, just outside the archaic-classical *temenos* wall.[81]
(2) The cliffs of the acropolis are the place where Evadne, the wife of the fallen Argive warrior Capaneus, commits suicide out of misery (E. *Supp.* 987-8). When the Argive bodies have been recovered, they are cremated in Eleusis. Evadne leaps from the acropolis cliffs into Capaneus' pyre to be united with him in death (1017-24). This episode is probably Euripides' invention for increasing the grief of Evadne's father Iphis in the play.[82] He comes to Eleusis to cremate his fallen son Eteoclus, but also loses his daughter upon arrival.

Graves of the Argive warriors
When the bodies of the Argives have been recovered, they receive an elaborate funeral in Eleusis. In Aeschylus' *Eleusinians* the Argive warriors are buried in the soil of Eleusis (Plu. *Thes.* 29.4-5). Conversely, in Euripides' *Suppliants* they are cremated in Eleusis, whereupon their ashes are taken to Argos. Cenotaphs are erected in Eleusis on the place of the pyres (935-8; 1211 ἵν' αὐτῶν σώμαθ' ἡγνίσθη πυρί).[83]

Graves of the Argive warriors were identified in actual Eleusis in the fifth century and possibly earlier (Hdt. 9.27; cf. Paus. 1.39.2). Aeschylus and Euripides seem to account for the presence of these graves, although in different ways (real graves vs. cenotaphs). The archaeologist Mylonas assumes that it was a cluster of

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[80] Mills 1997, 110; Grethlein (2003, 195) suggests that Athenian civic ideology is also questioned in the *Suppliants*. For example, although dying for the country is considered glorious (e.g. Th. 2.42), Euripides shows that it causes intense misery to the bereaved.

[81] For a discussion about the location of the spring see: Mylonas [1964] 1971, 44-7.

[82] Collard 1975, 7; Grethlein 2003, 111. This is the only suicide in extant Greek tragedy that is presented on stage. Evadne must have appeared on the roof of the scene building, as the chorus see her appear 'high on the cliffs' (987 αἰθερίαν ... πέτραν). When Evadne leaps from the cliffs, she probably disappears behind the scene building. Collard (1975, 15) supposes that a smoking brazier was placed behind the building to represent the pyre of Capaneus.

[83] Cf. Sommerstein 2008b, 57 n1. For an analysis of the funeral in Euripides' *Suppliants* see e.g. Whitehorn 1986, 59-72; Jouan 1997, 215-32.

Bronze Age graves in Eleusis, discovered and surrounded by a wall in the Geometric Period, that the Athenians identified as burial spot of the Argives. Mylonas thinks that it was the antiquity of these graves that enabled this connection with the heroic past.[84] We may compare the tombs in the actual Troad, some of which were ascribed by the archaic-classical Greeks to the heroes of the Trojan War, due to their antiquity (**3.2.2**).

Why were graves of the Argives identified in actual Eleusis in the fifth century?

(1) The graves provided physical proof for the story of the recovery of the Argive bodies. In other words, the Athenians could claim the 'validity' of this story by pointing at the graves of the Argives in actual Eleusis. The Thebans for their part constructed a counter-version according to which they themselves had buried the Argive warriors (Pi. *O.* 6.12-7; *N.* 9.21-7). They did not recount the episode of the withheld burial and their subsequent defeat by the Athenians. This boosted their own reputation in the past. Moreover, the Thebans ascribed graves in the Theban plain to the Argive warriors to 'validate' their version of the past (e.g. Paus. 9.18.1-3).[85] Since Aeschylus and Euripides support the version of the Athenian recovery in their plays, they do not mention these graves.

(2) The graves not only provided proof for the story of the recovery, but also supported the memory of it. The graves may also have reminded the Athenians of the ideal of protecting the oppressed, since this notion was inherent in the story (see above). Thus, the graves were probably *lieux de mémoire* for the myth of the recovery and its ideological connotations.

Temple of Demeter

The action of the *Suppliants* takes place in front of the temple of Demeter, which is represented by the scene building in the theatre.[86] Mylonas argues that this temple refers to the classical Telesterion, the temple of Demeter built in the second half of the fifth century.[87] In my view, this need not be the case. The only features of the temple that are mentioned are its doors (104 πύλαις) and the altar in front of it (93 βωμίαν). These are not specific features of the classical Telesterion but belong to the generic design of a Greek temple. Moreover, the classical

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[84] Mylonas [1964] 1971, 62-3. Cf. Pariente 1992, 208. If so, it is possible that the graves were identified as those of the Argives upon their discovery (i.e. in the Geometric Period). It is also possible that they had a different meaning at that time and were later re-identified as Argive sepulchres (Hubbard 1992, 97 n53).

[85] Hubbard 1992, 92-100.

[86] The scene building represents the temple of Demeter and the cliffs of the acropolis at the same time (cf. note 82). This may relate to the layout of actual Eleusis, where the cliffs stood directly behind the temple.

[87] Mylonas [1961] 1974, 91.

Telesterion had an unusual design, comprising a hypostyle hall whose walls were lined with tiers of steps from where the initiates could watch the ceremonies of the Mysteries. The hall contained a small, closed room where the cult objects were kept. Since none of these specific features are mentioned in the play, it is more likely that Euripides envisages a generic temple. Presumably, he considered the classical Telesterion not suitable to be connected to the heroic age because it was built shortly before the performance of the *Suppliants*.[88]

We may compare Demeter's temple in the *Suppliants* with the *peripteros* temple of Athena in the *Erechtheus* (**4.1.2**). Although scholars identified the latter temple as the Parthenon, it is more likely that it is also a generic temple, since it does not contain specific features of the Parthenon.

The presence of Demeter's temple in tragic Eleusis is motivated by tradition, which probably has a historical origin. The temple is, for example, mentioned in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (270-2). Eleusis was a major sanctuary of the goddess from at least the Late Geometric Period. It was probably in the eighth century that the first temple of Demeter was built.[89] Traces of early Demeter worship were still visible in the fifth century. For example, parts of the archaic temple were re-used in the construction of the classical sanctuary. Stones of this temple were employed in the *peribolos* of the sanctuary and in the bridge over a lake that interrupted the processional way (*IG* I² 81.5-9).[90] These traces were a physical reminder of the long-established worship of Demeter in Eleusis.

Thus, the temple of Demeter is presented in the *Suppliants* because it is characteristic of Eleusis. At the same time, it has a function in the plot. When Adrastus comes to Eleusis, he brings with him the mothers of the fallen Argive warriors. As reflected by their presence before the temple of Demeter, they resemble the goddess in several respects:

(1) They have lost their warrior sons, as Demeter her daughter Persephone. The mothers are wearing dark clothes as sign of mourning, as is Demeter when grieving for Persephone (*Supp.* 35, 97, *h.Cer.* 183).

(2) When they arrive in Eleusis, the women are aided by queen Aethra who persuades her son Theseus to recover the corpses (297-331). Demeter is assisted by queen Metaneira who receives her in the palace (*h.Cer.* 206-18).

(3) The women receive the corpses of their sons in front of the temple in Eleusis (*Supp.* 794-7). Demeter recovers her daughter alive there (*h.Cer.* 384-5).

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[88] The *Suppliants* was probably performed in 423. For a discussion about the dating of the play see: Collard 1975, 10-4.

[89] For an overview of the temples of Demeter in Eleusis see: Mylonas [1961] 1974, 23-129. Mylonas thinks that the *megaron* building of the Bronze Age already had a cult function.

[90] Shear 1982, 128-40.

Hence, the mothers find themselves in the sanctuary of a goddess whose vicissitudes resemble their own.[91] The temple thus has a characterising function.

4.3.2 Colonus

Colonus is the setting of Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*. When the blind Oedipus arrives in Colonus, he asks king Theseus for protection against his enemy Creon, who attempts to abduct him to Thebes. An oracle revealed that Oedipus would exercise power after his death and that he would favour the land in which he would be buried. The Athenians frustrate Creon's attempt and obtain the grave of the hero themselves.

The story of Oedipus' arrival and burial in Colonus had probably become traditional in Sophocles' time.[92] It is referred to by Euripides in his *Phoenician Women* (1705-7) and possibly in his *Oedipus* (ὦ πόλισμα Κεκροπίας χθονός).[93] These plays were performed before the *OC*. The story expresses an important concept of Athenian ideology, as the Athenians set great store by offering protection to suppliants and support to the oppressed (e.g. Th. 2.40). Oedipus is presented as a very threatening suppliant in the *OC*. His shameful deeds caused pollution that might threaten Athens if he is admitted inside the city (226-38, 254-7). Theseus nonetheless unquestioningly admits Oedipus and promises him protection against his enemies (631-41, 657-67). This is thus an example of great Athenian loyalty.[94]

Grove of the Eumenides
The setting of the play is the grove of the Eumenides in Colonus (42, 98). It is possible that Sophocles invented the grove to meet the demands of the plot. Historical sources, such as Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, do not mention the grove, but two pieces of evidence suggest that it existed in actual Colonus:
(1) Birge asserts that the region of Colonus was rich in vegetation. Colonus lay outside the walls of Athens in an area with shrines and graves which, Birge argues, were often surrounded by trees that indicated the boundaries of the sacred territory. Furthermore, Colonus was the location of the gymnasium of the Academy,

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[91] Kuntz 1993, 80-2; Goff 1995, 69; Grethlein 2003, 147-9.

[92] Cf. Lardinois 1992, 323.

[93] Kearns (1989, 208) claims that the passage in the *Phoenician Women* is an interpolation, based on Sophocles' *OC*. I agree with Craik (1988, 267) and Mastronarde (1994, 626-7), who defend its authenticity. Craik reasons: 'It is in Euripidean manner to add an allusive detail in outlining the eventual fate of his characters [e.g. *Hec.* 1265-73; *Ba.* 1331-9]; and the tangential reference to local Attic cult is also in character (cf. *IT* 1449-67).' For the fragment of Euripides' *Oedipus* see: Collard and Cropp 2008b, 25.

[94] Mills 1997, 160-71.

whose location was probably chosen due to the presence of trees that would have provided shade for athletes.[95]

(2) The Eumenides in *Oedipus at Colonus* are equated (syncretised) with the Semnae goddesses (89-90 θεῶν σεμνῶν),[96] who were venerated in actual Colonus. This is suggested by the discovery of a terracotta roof tile in this area containing the stamp ΣΕΜΝΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ. This roof tile must have been part of a shrine of the Semnae goddesses.[97]

In sum, the probable presence of trees in the region and the roof tile of the Semnae make the existence of a sacred grove of these goddesses in actual Colonus plausible. This grove may find its tragic equivalent in the grove of the Eumenides, whom Sophocles equates with the Semnae.

The grove has a characterising function in the play. It is dedicated to goddesses whose powers reflect those of Oedipus after his death. The Eumenides are benevolent deities who protect the country and its inhabitants. For example, when the Thebans attack the country, they are asked to appear as 'protectors and allies' of Athens (1012 ἀρωγοὺς ξυμμάχους θ'). This competence will also belong to Oedipus when he is buried in the grove (576-82).[98]

An idyllic place

Colonus is presented as an idyllic place. Antigone mentions the presence of the laurel, olive, and vine on the spot (17); the chorus, in a song praising the region, speak of 'green glens', 'wine-coloured ivy', and 'branches with countless fruit' (673-6). The chorus also state that the landscape is 'shady', 'windless' and nurtured by dew from heaven (676-81). The idyllic landscape of Colonus stands in contrast with the landscape that Oedipus traversed during his wanderings. He roamed 'wild forests' (348-9 ἀγρίαν ὕλην) on bare feet without food and was tormented by showers of rain and the burning sun (349-50). The two landscapes have a symbolic function. The wild forests reflect Oedipus' misery during his wanderings, whereas the idyllic landscape expresses the end of his sorrows. Upon arriving in Colonus, Oedipus says that he will find 'respite' there (88 παῦλαν).[99]

The idyllic character of Colonus is undercut by the presence of the nightingale (18, 672-3). This bird is associated with sadness and death in Greek literature

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[95] Birge 1982, 208-12. Pausanias, moreover, mentions the presence of a sacred grove dedicated to Poseidon in Colonus (1.30.4).

[96] For the concept of syncretism in general see: **3.2.3**. For the syncretism of the Semnae and Eumenides in the *OC* see: Kearns 1989, 209; Lloyd-Jones 1990, 210.

[97] Lardinois 1992, 317; Henrichs 1994, 49.

[98] Edmunds 1996, 138-41; Segal 1981, 371-5.

[99] Birge 1982, 118. In the third stasimon the chorus again present Oedipus' misery in terms of an inhospitable landscape. They compare Oedipus with a 'cape facing north' (1240 βόρειος ἀκτά) struck by wind and waves (cf. Grethlein 2003, 280-1).

(e.g. S. *Tr.* 966, *El.* 106-9). Its presence in Colonus may prefigure the death of Oedipus there and the resulting misery of Antigone and Ismene (1706-14).[100]

Grave of Oedipus

The Athenians obtain Oedipus' grave in the *OC*. Oedipus takes Theseus into the grove to show him his place of burial. When they arrive on the spot, lightning strikes whereupon Oedipus mysteriously disappears.

Three cities in Greece claimed possession of Oedipus' grave: Athens, Thebes, and Eteonos (a village in Boeotia) all claimed that the Theban king lay buried in their soil.[101] Lardinois suggests that this debate is reflected in the *OC* by the battle between Athens and Thebes for Oedipus' grave. The Thebans attempt to abduct Oedipus from Colonus to bury him in their own soil, but this attempt is frustrated by the Athenians, who obtain the grave for themselves.[102] Sophocles thus supports the Athenian claim in his play.

The supposed presence of Oedipus' grave in Colonus enabled the Athenians to claim Oedipus' protecting powers. Heroes were supposed to protect the soil in which they lay buried. The Athenians, for example, asserted that Oedipus had supported them in the Decelean War (410 or 407). They said that the hero had appeared in battle and inspired them to dispel the Thebans (scholion in Aristid. *Tett.* 172.1).[103] The belief that Oedipus supported the Athenian army adds to the ideological notion of Athens as a city favoured by the gods (cf. **4.1.1**).

Although the Athenians claimed to possess Oedipus' grave, there is no archaeological evidence for its existence in Colonus. This can point in three directions:
(1) There was a grave, but no remains of it have been found by archaeologists.
(2) There was no grave, but the Athenians nevertheless claimed to possess it.
(3) There was a grave, but its location was kept secret by the state and not marked by physical structures. Heroic graves in Greece were sometimes concealed in fear that enemies would bring sacrifices there or transfer the bones of the hero to their own land. It was believed that these acts would bestow the power of the hero on them.[104] Secret graves were tended by privileged state officials. For example, Plu-

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[100] Segal 1981, 373-4; Grethlein 2003, 303. For the nightingale's association with sadness see further: A. *Ag.* 1142-6; S. *Ai.* 629-31; *El.* 145-50; E. *Hel.* 1110. *Contra* Mills (1997, 185) and Markantonatos (2003, 92), who argue that the nightingale adds to the idyllic nature of the region. They claim that life and fertility prevail over possible connotations of death in this passage.

[101] Athens: *FGrH* 324F62 (Androtion). Thebes: Paus. 1.28.7. Eteonos: *FGrH* 382F2 (Lysimachus).

[102] Lardinois 1992, 325-6.

[103] Edmunds 1996, 96.

[104] Kearns 1989, 51-2. For example, the Spartans brought the bones of Orestes from Tegea to Sparta, since this would offer them victory over the Tegeans, according to the Delphic oracle (Hdt. 1.67).

tarch says that the hipparch of Thebes sacrificed at the secret grave of Dirce and afterwards erased all his tracks (Plut. *Mor.* 578b).

The third option seems to be supported by the *OC*. Oedipus says that the location of his grave must be 'unknown to all' (1520-4) except for Theseus. The king must pass on this knowledge to his successor, who on his turn must reveal the location to his successor, and so on (1530-2). According to Kearns, this passage suggests that Athens had a state official who tended Oedipus' grave in the fifth century.[105]

A mysterious place
Before Oedipus shows Theseus the location of his grave, he pauses at a mysterious place. This place is described as follows:

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφῖκτο τὸν καταρράκτην ὁδὸν χαλκοῖς βάθροισι γῆθεν ἐρριζωμένον, ἔστη κελεύθων ἐν πολυσχίστων μιᾷ, κοίλου πέλας κρατῆρος, οὗ τὰ Θησέως Περίθου τε κεῖται πίστ' ἀεὶ ξυνθήματα· ἀφ' οὗ μέσος στὰς τοῦ τε Θορικίου πέτρου κοίλης τ' ἀχέρδου κἀπὶ λαΐνου τάφου καθέζετ'· (S. *OC* 1590-7)	After he had arrived at (1) the steep threshold that is fixed in the earth with bronze steps, he paused in one of the branching paths near (2) the hollow crater where the ever-faithful tokens of Theseus and Perithus lie. Between this and (3) the Thorician rock he stayed and sat down near (4) the hollow pear tree and (5) the marble tomb.

The landmarks on this spot have a symbolic function. Although some of them are difficult to interpret, on the whole they seem to symbolise the dichotomy between life and death.
(1) The threshold 'fixed with bronze steps' is a symbol for the entrance to the underworld and thus relates to death. Extant Greek literature presents the boundary between the upper and nether world as marked by a bronze threshold (e.g. *Il.* 8.15, Hes. *Th.* 8.11).
(2) The hollow crater with the tokens of Theseus and Perithous (here written as 'Perithus') may also relate to the underworld. The tokens of the heroes may be written, or in any case visible, marks of a covenant between them. This is suggested by the double meaning of ξύνθημα (token/covenant)[106] and its qualification as 'faithful' (πίστ[α]). A story in which the two heroes feature together and perhaps also made a covenant is their *katabasis* to the underworld. Theseus promised to support Perithous in abducting Persephone, whom the Lapith king wanted to marry, from the underworld (Hes. fr. 280 Merkelbach-West, Apollod. *Epit.* 1.23-4).

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[105] Kearns 1989, 98.
[106] Token: S. *Tr.* 158. Covenant: X. *An.* 4.5.20 (for example).

(3) The Thorician rock is perhaps the most difficult landmark to interpret. It may have connotations of life and birth. Nagy argues that the name θορίκιος relates to θορός, 'seed'. The combination of a rock and seed appears in a story of Poseidon. According to a scholiast (in Lyc. 766), the sea-god fell asleep on a rock in Colonus and had an emission of semen there, which gave birth to the first horse.[107] If this story was already current in Sophocles' time, the 'Thorician' rock, mentioned by the tragedian, may indicate the place where this was supposed to have happened. Since Poseidon is associated with horses in the play (e.g. 709-16), it is possible that the detail of the god having engendered a horse is hinted at here.

(4) The hollow pear tree may represent lost fertility. Pears were sometimes used as a symbol of fecundity. In a poem of the *Anthologia Graeca*, for example, pears are listed among the gifts presented to the god Priapus, who presides over the fertility of animals and vegetation (6.232.5); in a fragment of Praxilla, pears may be a symbol of the female genitals (fr. 1.3 *PMG*).[108] The pear tree in the *OC* lost its fertility when it became hollow.

(5) The tomb of stone is suggestive of death.

Thus, the landmarks between which Oedipus sits down, symbolise life, birth, and fertility on the one hand, and death on the other. This symbolism is perhaps expressive of Oedipus' end, which is not an 'ordinary' death but heroisation. Although Oedipus will disappear from the earth, he will continue to exercise power and in that sense remain 'alive'.[109] His heroisation seems to have already begun by this point in the play. Although Oedipus is blind, he is able to place himself between the complex sanctities of the grove all by himself (1588 ἡγητῆρος οὐδενός).[110]

Scholars have debated the historicity of this place, i.e. whether these landmarks existed in actual Colonus. I think that it is impossible to settle this debate with certainty due to the lack of historical and archaeological sources.

(1) Some scholars think that the bronze threshold refers to a visible cave or cleft in actual Colonus that was regarded as entrance to the underworld.[111] Jebb even thinks that this cave was provided with bronze steps by the inhabitants so that its function was visualised.[112] Although these suggestions are possible, we have no evidence for them. Conversely, a bronze threshold need not have existed in actual Colonus, since it is commonly used as a symbol of the underworld (see above). Moreover, Colonus need not even have had a cave that was regarded as entrance to the underworld. The Greeks might only have said that there was such an en-

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[107] Nagy 1990, 231-2. For a different interpretation of the Thorician rock see: Jebb [1885] 1963, 247.
[108] De Vos 2011, 11.
[109] Cf. Segal 1981, 369-70.
[110] Jebb [1885] 1963, 247.
[111] Gruppe 1912, 362; Mills 1997, 162.
[112] Jebb [1885] 1963, 247.

trance somewhere in Colonus without identifying the specific place. This is suggested by the fact that the designation 'bronze threshold' is often used for the general area of Colonus as a whole (S. *OC* 57, Apollod. *FGrH* 244F144).

(2) The κρατήρ with the tokens of the covenant of Theseus and Pirithous caused disagreement, too. The text does not make clear what kind of memorial is meant. Jebb argues that the κρατήρ is a hollow in a rock. He bases this suggestion on Aristotle, who calls the openings in Mount Etna κρατῆρες (*Mu.* 400a.33 τῶν Αἴτνῃ κρατήρων ἀναρραγέντων).[113] Kamerbeek claims that it refers to a vessel. He compares this passage to Euripides' *Suppliants*, where a covenant between Theseus and Adrastus is inscribed on a vessel (1202 τρίποδος).[114] However, we have no historical or archaeological evidence for the existence of either a rock or vessel with a heroic covenant. Therefore, we cannot determine whether the κρατήρ is a real element from actual Colonus or a fictive element crafted by Sophocles to meet the demands of the plot.

(3) The same holds true for the Thorician rock. The only evidence that we have for the story of Poseidon's ejaculation is the scholion on Lycophron (see above), if this is really the story that is implied. The scholion does not specify the location of the rock on which Poseidon ejaculated. If this story was connected to a rock in the grove of the Semnae/Eumenides, then Sophocles adopted this element from the real world. If not, Sophocles invented the presence of the rock in the grove.

(4-5) The hollow pear tree and the stone tomb do not provide a solution for the historicity of the landmarks. It is possible that the grove of the Semnae in actual Colonus contained these two elements. I have stated above that the area of Colonus contained many trees and graves. However, we have no evidence whether a hollow pear tree and a stone tomb existed in the actual grove together with the other landmarks mentioned in this passage.

All in all, it seems impossible to determine whether the landmarks in this passage are historical or fictive. This is due to a lack of sources, both archaeological and historical. If Sophocles invented the landmarks, they may have added to the secrecy of Oedipus' grave, which is presented as lying in their vicinity.

Conclusion

What elements of actual Eleusis and Colonus are included in the tragic evocation of the heroic past? Only elements that were very old by the time of the tragedians: nature (the Spring of Callichorus and the grove of the Semnae) and graves (the sepulchres of the Argive warriors). Some landmarks had been connected to heroic stories before tragedy (the grave of the Argives); others were linked to the heroic world by the tragedians themselves (the cliffs of Eleusis). The tragedians do not

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[113] Jebb [1885] 1963, 245-6.
[114] Kamerbeek 1984, 216-7.

refer to fifth-century buildings (the Telesterion) but present generic buildings with contemporary features, which is a general tendency in tragedy.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the presentation of Athens in tragedy. It has determined what traditions influenced the layout of the heroic city and in what manner it relates to the contemporary world. The analysis leads to the following conclusions.

Lieux de mémoire
Tragic Athens has many points in common with real, actual Athens. The classical city contained places to which heroic stories were connected, here called *lieux de mémoire*. When the tragedians adopt these places in their evocation of heroic Athens, they either adopt traditional stories connected to them (e.g. the contest between Athena and Poseidon, which was connected to the olive tree on the acropolis, and the fall of the Cecropids, which was linked to the Long Rocks) or invent new stories (e.g. the suicide of the Erechthids, located at the Long Rocks, and the murder of Orestes, which is presented as the first trial on the Areopagus). Tragedians invent new stories about existing *lieux de mémoire* in response to the needs of the plot. In some cases the invented stories contradict tradition, for example in the case of the first trial on the Areopagus. Thus, a *lieu de mémoire* does not necessarily support the memory of one fixed story but may support the memory of multiple, even contradictory, stories at the same time.

What is more, the tragedians invent stories about places that were not yet related to the heroic past. Examples of such places include the cave of Ion, which is presented as the location of his abandonment, and the cliffs of the Eleusinian acropolis, which are presented as the place of Evadne's suicide. By connecting new stories to places that were not yet conceived of as 'heroic', the tragedians themselves make them *lieux de mémoire* for their invented stories.

Places to which heroic stories, whether invented or traditional, are connected are always of ancient origin: on the one hand they are natural places, such as caves, hills, and trees; on the other hand they include graves erected in the past, such those dating from the Bronze Age. It was presumably the antiquity of these places that made them suitable to be connected to the heroic (distant) past. By adopting them in tragedy, the tragedians archaise tragic Athens. In other words, they make the city in tragedy 'look' old.

Lieux de mémoire have the same location in tragic Athens as in the actual city. For example, the tragedians locate the olive tree on the acropolis and the cave of Ion at the Long Rocks, where they were also situated in real, actual Athens. One exception may be the chasm of Erechtheus in his name play, which Euripides

locates on the battlefield instead of on the acropolis. In this case the demands of the plot may prevail over geographical accuracy.

Buildings and objects

Buildings in tragic Athens have a contemporary design. They include the *peripteros* temple of Athena and the walled precinct of Erechtheus. Commentators have linked them to their equivalents in classical Athens, namely the Parthenon and the Erechtheum. I have shown that these identifications are unlikely. The absence of references to specific, unique elements of fifth-century buildings, such as the Panathenaic frieze of the Parthenon, suggests that they are not adopted in tragedy. These buildings were presumably considered too modern and therefore unfit for the heroic past. Since only common features of fifth-century buildings are mentioned, it is more likely that the buildings have a generic contemporary design. This was also the case for tragic Troy (see chapter 3).

Objects in tragic Athens do not refer to specific equivalents in classical Athens either. Like the buildings, they are generic projections of the contemporary world. Examples include the statue of Athena with Gorgon shield and the requisites used at the law court (urns and ballot stones). The only exception is the 'ancient' statue of Athena in the *Eumenides*, which may specifically refer to that of Athena Polias in actual Athens. The reason why this statue is adopted in tragedy is easy to explain: it was of ancient origin and regarded as a relic of the heroic past.

5. Heroic space in tragedy: conclusion

This book examined the physical presentation of the heroic world in tragedy, in particular that of Troy and Athens. Its main aim was to evaluate the supposed 'Homeric character' of the tragic world, a view accepted among classical scholars. The investigation, using the theory of Memory Studies, has shown that this view must be considerably modified. The heroic world of the tragedians turns out to contain many innovative and contemporary elements (places, buildings, and objects), which demonstrates that the influence of Homer is limited.

In my conclusion I will compare the presentation of Troy and Athens, explain their similarities and differences, and show the limited influence of Homer by means of two questions. What spaces do tragic Troy and Athens contain? And what do spaces in tragedy look like?

What spaces do tragic Troy and Athens contain?

Tradition
The depictions of Troy and Athens are strongly influenced by tradition. For the presentation of both cities the tragedians make use of canonical spaces – places and objects that already figured in stories of earlier poets. Although the epics of Homer are part of this tradition, they appear to be of limited influence: only a small number of canonical spaces is also found in Homer.

Canonical spaces can be divided into two categories:
(1) Some spaces are intrinsically connected to Troy or Athens and continuously return in the tradition (Homer included). They are, in other words, characteristic of these cities. Examples of such spaces are the Scamander and Simois for Troy and the palace of Erechtheus for Athens. By conforming the image of Troy and Athens to the tradition, the tragedians legitimise their constructions of the past. Their predecessors had already created an image of these cities, which had become authoritative within the Greek community. Had the tragedians not taken account of this tradition, their constructions would differ too much from what the community believed about the past (**2.1**). That some canonical spaces are present in Homer as well as in tragedy need not imply that the tragedians have imitated Homer; it is also possible that Homer and the tragedians each followed the same canonical traditions.
(2) Some canonical spaces are connected to canonical events. When the tragedians refer to such events, they also present the related setting. Examples include the tomb of Achilles, where the sacrifice of Polyxena takes place, and the olive tree, which is the location of the contest between Athena and Poseidon. The

presentation of canonical events adds to the legitimacy of a poet's construction. Thus, events that have received authority repeatedly return in constructions of the past (**2.1**). Many canonical events presented in tragedy, such as the sacrifice of Polyxena, derive not from Homer but from other poetic traditions.

Canonical spaces are not only presented in tragedy to legitimise the construction of the past, but also have a dramatic function in the plot. This function can be thematic, symbolic, characterising, or psychologising. For example, the olive tree is a canonical element of the Athenian acropolis and, at the same time, symbolises the divine favour that Athens receives.

Some canonical spaces are present in the actual landscape as *lieux de mémoire*: the tomb of Achilles was pointed out in the Troad and the olive tree of Athena was present on the Athenian acropolis. These places supported the memory of the heroic traditions connected to them. The tragedians more frequently refer to Athenian than to Trojan *lieux de mémoire*. This does not imply that Athens contained more *lieux de mémoire* than Troy (for Trojan *lieux de mémoire* see e.g. Strab. 13.1.33-7), but instead is due to the Athenian context of tragedy. The tragedians and their audience were better acquainted with places that were deemed heroic in Athens than in Troy.

Innovation

The tragic construction of Troy and Athens also contains innovative spaces – spaces that were not yet part of the tradition. Examples of such spaces are the gymnasium and sacred groves in Troy (E. *Tr.*), as well as the cave of Ion and the Eleusinian cliffs in Athens/Eleusis (E. *Ion*, *Supp.*). Like canonical spaces these innovative ones have a dramatic function in the plot (thematic, characterising etc).

The presentation of Troy shows a higher degree of spatial invention than that of Athens. In other words, tragic Troy is filled with spaces that are sprung from the tragedians' imagination (e.g. gymnasium and sacred groves), while tragic Athens is filled with innovative elements that are adopted from the real, actual landscape (e.g. the cave of Ion and the Eleusinian cliffs). Thus, the actual landscape has a greater influence on the construction of the past in the case of Athens than in the case of Troy. This may relate again to the Athenian context of tragedy: the tragedians and their audience were more familiar with the Athenian than the Trojan landscape. Had the tragedians modelled heroic Athens more according to their own imagination, as in the case of heroic Troy, the tragic city would contrast too much with the real city that the audience knew.

By using places of actual Athens for heroic stories, the tragedians themselves make these places *lieux de mémoire* for their stories. The tragedians have thus contributed to the creation of a 'landscape of memory' in Athens. This landscape not only supported the memory of the heroic stories but also the ideological connotations inherent in them (**4.1**, **4.3**). For example, the cave where Euripides lo-

cated the exposure of Ion may have reminded the Athenians of their autochthonous and divine origins.

What do spaces in tragedy look like?

Projection
The process of projection, modelling the past on the present, is of paramount influence on the construction of Athens and Troy. In chapter **3** I demonstrated that buildings and objects in tragedy do not resemble those in Homer but those of the fifth century. Buildings and objects that in themselves are adopted from the tradition are given a contemporary design, the result being a stone temple of Athena in Troy (E. *Tr.*) and a *peripteros* temple of Athena in Athens (E. *Erech.*). The design of these temples stands in contrast with that of Homeric temples, which have only a stone foundation (but no stone walls or columns) and a thatched roof. Innovative buildings and objects, such as the gymnasium and the *agyieus* altar in Troy, are also projections of the fifth century.

In chapter **1.2** I set out that modern scholars generally call contemporary elements 'anachronisms' (e.g. Stricker, Easterling). In chapter **2.1** I demonstrated that the Greek heroic world is dynamic and subject to constant revision, using the example of the changing characterisation of the heroic king Theseus. Since anachronism presupposes a fixed (static) world to which later inaccurate elements are added, I argued that this concept should not be used of the Greek heroic world. Moreover, scholars show little understanding of the function of contemporary elements, qualifying them as 'incongruous' or 'dramatically inappropriate' (e.g. Stevens, Lee). Throughout this book I have demonstrated that contemporary spaces, just as much as traditional ones, contribute to the construction of the tragic world and that both have a function in the plot.

A look of antiquity
The presence of contemporary buildings and objects does not mean that tragic Troy and Athens are simple 'copies' of their actual, fifth-century counterparts. The tragedians also give their heroic cities an archaic patina, a 'look of antiquity'. This archaic patina is created in two ways:
(1) The landmarks adopted from the real, actual landscape, such as natural places and graves erected in the past, are always of ancient origin. Examples include the Long Rocks and the olive tree of the Athenian acropolis as well as the Bronze Age graves in the Troad, which were ascribed to the Trojan heroes.
(2) Specific modern buildings from fifth-century Troy and Athens are not adopted in the evocation of the heroic past. For example, the tragedians do not refer to the sanctuary of Cybele, which was present in Troia VIII (archaic-classical Troy), or to the Parthenon in classical Athens. They never refer to specific, unique elements,

but only to common features of fifth-century buildings. Thus, buildings in tragedy have a generic contemporary design. In chapter **4** I argued that identifications of tragic buildings with specific equivalents in classical Athens do not hold (*contra* e.g. Collard, Cropp). We might thus conclude that the fifth-century Greeks considered that buildings in the heroic past had the same general design as those in the present, but that the specific buildings of their own time were too modern for it.

In chapter **1.2** I summarised Grethlein's view that the Greeks saw no qualitative differences between past and present. I would like to refine this view to a small degree. Although buildings and objects in tragedy have a contemporary design, which corresponds to Grethlein's view, the above analysis also shows that the tragedians attempt to create an archaic patina for the heroic world. For example, the Athenian acropolis in tragedy qualitatively differs from its fifth-century counterpart in the sense that it contains only the natural elements of the actual acropolis, not specific fifth-century buildings, such as the Parthenon and the Erechtheum. The tragic acropolis also accommodates a palace of which only the ruins were visible in the fifth century.

I began this book with a discussion of Walt Disney's movie *Hercules*, released in 1997. I stated that the contemporary elements in this movie, such as the Walk of Fame, billboards, and energy drinks, were probably added to amuse the modern (adult) spectator. This comic effect is enabled by his knowledge of the modernity of these elements: it is their incongruity in the past that raises amusement. Contemporary elements in tragedy arguably did not have a comic effect on the original Greek audience, not only because tragedy did not intend such an effect, but also because fifth-century Greeks did not regard these elements as incongruous at all, but rather as a *real* part of the past.

Summary

This book examines the physical presentation of the heroic world in tragedy, in short the 'tragic world'. This presentation includes the landscape, buildings, and objects of this world.

1. Heroic space in tragedy: the state of the art

The heroic world belongs to the distant past of the Greeks and is presented by them in literature and visual arts. Ancient and modern scholars have examined the heroic past in tragedy and have primarily identified 'faults' in its presentation (e.g. scholiasts, Stricker). They regard the Homeric epics as the model for the tragic world and deviations from Homer as incorrect. This view is probably based on Homer's paramount position in classical Greek society and his dominant influence on Greek literature. Non-Homeric elements are ascribed by interpreters to the time of the tragedians themselves, called 'anachronisms', and treated in terms of an artistic failure; 'incongruous' and 'dramatically inappropriate' are commonly used phrases for them (e.g. Stevens, Lee). Easterling, who has analysed the language of anachronism, states that its conspicuousness is toned down by the use of vague and poetic words. For this convention she introduces the term 'heroic vagueness'. Some scholars distance themselves from the idea of a Homeric world and regard the tragic world as by and large a reflection of the present.

This study analyses the supposed Homeric character of the tragic world and the literary function of contemporary elements. Are they really 'dramatically inappropriate' or do they have a function in the plot?

2. Remembering heroic space: a framework of analysis

The analysis of the form of the tragic world makes use of the interdisciplinary theory of Memory Studies, which analyses the processes that influence a representation of the past. The heroic representations of the tragedians are dependent on three factors:

(1) Tradition: the tragedians have to follow predecessors (poets, artists) whose representations had already become authoritative in the community. Every tradition, as the sum of earlier representations of the past, contains elements, such as events, people, and spaces, that cannot be omitted in a new representation. These elements are called the 'canon' of the past and lend the new representation authority.

(2) Innovation: the tradition also contains elements that can change. Representations of the past must remain meaningful for the community, even when the social and cultural situations are changing. The tradition is therefore continuously

adjusted to the beliefs, needs, and values of the community in the present. This means that traditional elements that no longer support present conditions are 'forgotten' and that contemporary elements are projected onto the past. This process is partly conscious and partly unconscious. Traditional elements that no longer support the context are sometimes nonetheless preserved in a new representation as archaisations, if they are considered 'genuine' or 'typical' elements of the past. Using the example of the changing characterisation of the heroic king Theseus, I demonstrate that the Greek heroic world is dynamic and that the concept of anachronism, which presupposes a fixed (static) world, cannot be applied to it.

(3) *Lieux de mémoire*: places in the real, actual landscape can be associated with the past. On the one hand, the archaic and classical Greeks related physical landmarks to existing traditions; on the other, elements of the landscape could inspire new stories about the past. A single landmark is sometimes connected to various, even mutually contradictory, stories.

The analysis of the function of spatial elements in the plot makes use of literary theory on space. Space has one of the following roles in a story: (1) setting: space that creates a location for the events; (2) thematic function: space that supports or reflects a theme of the plot; (3) symbolic function: space that contains cultural or ideological connotations; (4) characterising function: space that relates to the traits or disposition of a character; (5) psychologising function: space that bears on the feelings or emotions of a character.

3. Troy

This chapter investigates the presentation of Troy in tragedy. Comparisons between tragic and Homeric Troy evaluate the supposed Homeric character of the tragic world.

The presentation of tragic Troy contains canonical spaces adopted from the tradition. On the one hand, they are characteristic spaces intrinsically connected to Troy, such as the river Scamander and Mount Ida. On the other hand, they are linked to canonical events, such as the tomb of Achilles where the sacrifice of Polyxena takes place. Canonical spaces legitimise the representation of the past and at the same time have a dramatic function in the plot (characterising, thematic). Some canonical spaces of tragic Troy are also present in Homeric Troy. This need not imply imitation of Homer, as Homer and the tragedians could have followed the same canonical traditions, independently. Several canonical spaces, such as the tomb of Achilles, are present in the real, contemporary landscape of Troy as *lieux de mémoire*. These places support the memory of the stories connected to them.

The tragedians also fill Troy with non-canonical spaces, such as the temple of Artemis and the sacred groves in the Trojan plain. These spaces are invented by

the tragedians themselves and are therefore absent in Homeric Troy. Like canonical spaces, invented ones have a dramatic function in the plot. They are not 'dramatically inappropriate' or 'incongruous', as scholars have claimed.

As for construction, buildings and objects in tragedy (both traditional and innovative) do not resemble those in Homer but those of the fifth century. In other words, they are projections of the contemporary time of the tragedian. For example, temples in Homer are built with a stone foundation and a thatched roof, but those in tragedy are provided with colonnades, triglyphs, and golden sculptures that are characteristic of fifth-century temples. Other examples of projection in tragic Troy include the gymnasium, the *agyieus* altar, and the inscription on Astyanax' grave. Since contemporary buildings and objects are generally described in contemporary language, Easterling's concept of 'heroic vagueness' must be rejected.

The tragedians do not refer to specific buildings of archaic-classical Troy (Troia VIII), such as the sanctuary of Cybele. These buildings were probably regarded as too modern for the heroic past. Thus, buildings in tragic Troy have a generic contemporary design. Conversely, the tragedians refer to tombs of the real, classical Troad. Since some of these dated from the Bronze Age, references to these tombs archaise tragic Troy.

4. Athens

This chapter examines the presentation of Athens in tragedy. Since Athens plays only a marginal role in Homer, the tragedians use local traditions for the presentation of the city. The presentation of Athens shows similarities as well as differences from that of Troy.

A first similarity is the dominant influence of tradition. The tragedians use canonical spaces for the presentation of Athens: both characteristic spaces, such as the palace of Erechtheus, and spaces connected to canonical events, such as the Long Rocks where the Cecropids fall. Several canonical spaces are present in the real, actual landscape of Athens as *lieux de mémoire*. The fact that the tragedians more frequently refer to Athenian than to Trojan *lieux de mémoire* does not imply that Athens contained more *lieux de mémoire* than Troy, but that the tragedians and their audience were better acquainted with heroic spaces in Athens than in Troy.

Like tragic Troy the tragedians fill tragic Athens with innovative (non-canonical) spaces. They invented these spaces in the case of Troy but adopted them from the real, actual landscape in the case of Athens. An example of an innovative (non-canonical) space adopted from the real landscape is the cave in the Long Rocks, which Euripides presents as the place where Ion is exposed. Had the tragedians modelled heroic Athens according to their own imagination, as in the

case of heroic Troy, the tragic city would presumably contrast too much with the real city, which was known to the audience.

Buildings and objects in tragic Athens resemble equivalents of the fifth century, as do those in Troy. Examples include the *peripteros* temple of Athena, her statue with a Gorgon shield, and the ballot stones of the Areopagites. Scholars have identified buildings and objects of tragic Athens with specific equivalents in the classical city, such as the Parthenon and the statue of Athena Parthenos. Nevertheless, since tragedy does not contain references to specific (unique) elements of classical buildings and objects, it is in my view more likely that the tragedians present structures with a generic contemporary design, as in the case of tragic Troy.

By referring to specific old elements of actual Athens, such as the olive tree and the Long Rocks, but not to specific modern buildings, such as the Parthenon, the tragedians archaise the image of Athens in their plays. This is also the case for tragic Troy, in which case the tragedians refer to old tombs on the actual plain but not to modern buildings of contemporary Troy.

Samenvatting

Dit boek onderzoekt de fysieke presentatie van de heroïsche wereld in de tragedie, kort gezegd de 'tragische wereld'. Deze presentatie omvat het landschap, de gebouwen en objecten van deze wereld.

1. Heroic space in tragedy: the state of the art

De heroïsche wereld behoort tot het verleden van de Grieken en wordt door hen gepresenteerd in zowel literatuur als visuele kunst. Antieke en moderne wetenschappers hebben het heroïsch verleden in de tragedie onderzocht en met name 'fouten' in de presentatie ervan aangewezen (e.g. scholiasten, Stricker). Deze wetenschappers verheffen het Homerisch epos tot model voor de tragische wereld en beschouwen afwijkingen daarvan als 'incorrect'. Deze visie is waarschijnlijk gebaseerd op de dominante invloed van Homerus op de klassieke Griekse literatuur. Niet-Homerische elementen worden door interpreten toegeschreven aan de tijd van de tragicus zelf, 'anachronismen' genoemd en behandeld in termen van artistiek falen: 'incongruent' en 'dramatisch ongepast' zijn veelgebruikte termen (e.g. Stevens, Lee). Easterling heeft de taal van anachronismen onderzocht en stelt dat hun zichtbaarheid wordt afgezwakt door het gebruik van vage en poëtische woorden. Voor deze conventie introduceert ze de term *heroic vagueness*. Sommige wetenschappers nemen echter afstand van het idee van een Homerische wereld en beschouwen de tragische wereld min of meer als reflectie van het heden (e.g. Knox, Grethlein).

Deze studie analyseert het vermeende Homerische karakter van de tragische wereld en de literaire functie van contemporaine elementen. Zijn ze werkelijk 'dramatisch ongepast' of hebben ze een functie in de plot?

2. Remembering heroic space: a framework of analysis

Voor de analyse van de vorm van de tragische wereld gebruikt het boek de interdisciplinaire theorie *Memory Studies*. Deze theorie bestudeert de factoren die een representatie van het verleden beïnvloeden. De heroïsche representaties van de tragici zijn van drie factoren afhankelijk:

(1) *traditie*: de tragici moeten zich conformeren aan voorgangers, bijvoorbeeld dichters en kunstenaars, wier representaties al gezag hebben verworven binnen de Griekse gemeenschap. Iedere traditie, dat wil zeggen de som van voorgaande representaties van het verleden, bevat elementen, zoals gebeurtenissen, personen en ruimte, die in een nieuwe representatie niet mogen ontbreken. Deze elementen vormen de *canon* van het verleden en verlenen de nieuwe representatie autoriteit.

(2) *innovatie*: de traditie bevat ook elementen die kunnen veranderen. Representaties van het verleden moeten betekenis houden voor de gemeenschap in veranderende omstandigheden. Daarom wordt de traditie aangepast op basis van de behoeften, opvattingen en waarden van de gemeenschap in het heden. Dit gebeurt deels bewust, deels onbewust. Enerzijds worden traditionele elementen die de context niet meer ondersteunen 'vergeten'; anderzijds worden contemporaine elementen in het verleden geprojecteerd. Soms worden traditionele elementen die niet meer aansluiten bij de huidige context als archaïseringen behouden, omdat ze als karakteristieke elementen van het verleden worden beschouwd. Met een voorbeeld over de veranderende karakterisering van de heroïsche koning Theseus toon ik aan dat de Griekse heroïsche wereld dynamisch is en dat het begrip anachronisme, dat een statische (vaststaande) wereld veronderstelt, hierop niet van toepassing is.

(3) *lieux de mémoire*: plaatsen in het reële, fysiek aanwezige landschap kunnen met het verleden worden geassocieerd. Aan de ene kant relateerden de archaïsche en klassieke Grieken bestaande tradities aan het fysieke landschap; aan de andere kant konden landschappelijke elementen nieuwe verhalen inspireren. Soms is een specifiek landschappelijk element aan meerdere, zelfs onderling tegenstrijdige verhalen verbonden.

Voor het onderzoek naar de dramatische functie van ruimtelijke elementen gebruikt het onderzoek literaire theorie over ruimte. Ruimte heeft een van de volgende functies binnen een verhaal: (1) setting: ruimte die een locatie voor de gebeurtenissen creëert; (2) thematische functie: ruimte die een thema van de plot ondersteunt of reflecteert; (3) symbolische functie: ruimte die cultureel of ideologisch getinte connotaties bevat; (4) karakteriserende functie: ruimte die betrekking heeft op de eigenschappen of dispositie van een personage; (5) psychologiserende functie: ruimte die gerelateerd is aan de gevoelens of emoties van een personage.

3. Troy

Dit hoofdstuk bestudeert de presentatie van Troje in de tragedie. Vergelijkingen tussen het Homerische en tragische Troje evalueren het veronderstelde Homerische karakter van de tragische wereld.

De presentatie van het tragische Troje bevat canonieke elementen die aan de traditie zijn ontleend: dit zijn enerzijds karakteristieke elementen die intrinsiek aan Troje zijn verbonden, zoals de rivier Scamander en de berg Ida, anderzijds elementen die aan canonieke gebeurtenissen zijn gekoppeld, zoals het graf van Achilles waar het offer van Polyxena plaatsvindt. Canonieke elementen legitimeren de representatie van het verleden en hebben tegelijkertijd een dramatische functie in de plot (karakteriserend, thematisch etc.). Sommige van deze canonieke elementen zijn ook aanwezig in het Homerische Troje. Dit hoeft geen

imitatie van Homerus te impliceren, maar kan ook betekenen dat de tragici en Homerus dezelfde canonieke tradities hebben gevolgd. Sommige canonieke ruimtes, zoals het graf van Achilles, zijn ook aanwezig in het reële, contemporaine landschap van Troje als *lieux de mémoire*. Deze plaatsen ondersteunen de herinnering aan de verhalen waarmee ze zijn verbonden.

De tragici vullen het tragische Troje ook met niet-canonieke ruimtes, zoals de tempel van Artemis en de heilige bossen in de vlakte. Deze ruimtes zijn innovaties van de tragici en zijn dus afwezig in het Homerische Troje. Evenals canonieke ruimtes hebben innovatieve ruimtes een dramatische functie in de plot. Ze zijn dus niet 'dramatisch ongepast' of 'incongruent', zoals wetenschappers hebben beweerd.

Gebouwen en voorwerpen in de tragedie (zowel traditioneel als innovatief) lijken qua design niet op equivalenten uit Homerus, maar op die uit de vijfde eeuw. Ze zijn in andere woorden projecties uit de tijd van de tragicus. Tempels in Homerus hebben bijvoorbeeld een stenen fundering en een rieten dak, terwijl die in de tragedie beschikken over zuilengangen, trigliefen en gouden sculpturen, wat kenmerkend is voor tempels uit de vijfde eeuw. Andere voorbeelden van projectie in het tragische Troje zijn het gymnasium, het *agyieus*-altaar en de inscriptie op Astyanax' graf. Omdat contemporaine gebouwen en objecten doorgaans met contemporaine woorden worden beschreven, moet Easterlings concept *heroic vagueness* worden verworpen.

De tragici refereren niet aan specifieke gebouwen van het archaïsch-klassieke Troje (Troje VIII), zoals de tempel van Cybele. Deze werden waarschijnlijk als te modern voor het heroïsch verleden beschouwd. Gebouwen in het tragische Troje hebben dus een generiek contemporain design. De tragici verwijzen mogelijk wel naar tomben van de reële, klassieke Troade. Aangezien sommige dateren uit de Bronstijd, voorzien referenties aan deze tomben het tragische Troje van een archaïsch patina.

4. Athens

Dit hoofdstuk analyseert de presentatie van Athene in de tragedie. Omdat Athene maar een kleine rol speelt in Homerus, gebruiken de tragici lokale tradities voor de presentatie van deze stad. De presentatie van Athene vertoont overeenkomsten en verschillen met die van Troje.

Een eerste overeenkomst is de dominante invloed van de traditie. De tragici gebruiken canonieke ruimtes voor de representatie van Athene: enerzijds karakteristieke ruimtes, zoals het paleis van Erechtheus, anderzijds ruimtes die verbonden zijn aan canonieke gebeurtenissen, zoals de Lange Rotsen waar de val van de Cecropiden plaatsvindt. Een aantal canonieke ruimtes is aanwezig in het reële, fysieke landschap van Athene als *lieux de mémoire*. Het feit dat de tragici meer naar Atheense dan naar Trojaanse *lieux de mémoire* verwijzen, impliceert niet dat

Athene over meer van deze plaatsen beschikt, maar dat de tragici en hun publiek bekender zijn met heroïsche plekken in Athene dan in Troje.

Evenals het heroïsche Troje vullen de tragici het heroïsche Athene ook met innovatieve (niet-canonieke) ruimtes. In het geval van Troje worden innovatieve ruimtes door hen zelf bedacht, maar bij de presentatie van Athene ontlenen ze deze aan de reële wereld. Een voorbeeld van zo'n ruimte is de grot in de Lange Rotsen, die door Euripides wordt gepresenteerd als de plek waar Ion te vondeling wordt gelegd. Als de tragici het heroïsche Athene evenals het heroïsche Troje naar eigen inzicht hadden weergegeven, zou de tragische stad waarschijnlijk te veel met de reële stad van het publiek contrasteren.

Gebouwen en voorwerpen in het tragische Athene lijken evenals die in het tragische Troje op equivalenten uit de vijfde eeuw. Voorbeelden hiervan zijn de *peripteros*-tempel van Athena, haar standbeeld met Gorgon-schild en de stemsteentjes van de Areopagiten. Wetenschappers hebben de gebouwen en voorwerpen in het tragische Athene geïdentificeerd met specifieke equivalenten van de klassieke stad, zoals de Parthenon en het beeld van Athena Parthenos. Deze identificaties moeten naar mijn mening worden verworpen. Aangezien in de tragedie niet aan specifieke (unieke) elementen van klassieke gebouwen en voorwerpen wordt gerefereerd, is het waarschijnlijker dat de tragici structuren presenteren met een generiek contemporain design, evenals in het geval van Troje.

Door wel naar specifieke oude elementen van de reële stad te verwijzen, zoals de olijfboom en de Lange Rotsen, maar niet naar specifieke moderne gebouwen, zoals de Parthenon, archaïseren de tragici het beeld van Athene. Dit is ook het geval bij Troje, waarbij mogelijk wel aan oude tomben, maar niet aan moderne gebouwen van het klassieke Troje wordt gerefereerd.

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* Abbreviations according to Marouzeau.

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