Mousikē and *Mythos*: The Role of Choral Performance in

Later Euripidean Tragedy

by

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation takes a new approach to the study of Greek theater by examining the dramatic function of *mousikē* (music, song, dance) in the plays of Euripides. Previous scholarship has tended to see the many references to *mousikē* in his later work only in connection with the "New Music" (the changes in musical style, language, and instruments in fifth-century Athens), and to disregard their place within the plays themselves, often deeming especially meta-musical choral odes to be irrelevant to the surrounding drama. In contrast, I explore the dynamics of *choreia* (choral song and dance) and the sociocultural meanings of different musical images in four plays to show how *mousikē* plays a vital role in directing and complementing the movement of the plot. I demonstrate how Euripides uses traditional as well as new images of *mousikē*, and argue that this combination of musical motifs is essential to an understanding of each play's dramatic structure.

The dissertation is divided into four studies of individual plays, which span roughly the last fifteen years of Euripides' career. The first chapter focuses on *Electra*, the earliest extant tragedy to include multiple, extended descriptions of *mousikē*. I argue that *choreia* both frames our understanding of Electra and has a generative power, anticipating and even enacting pivotal moments of the plot. In Chapter Two I examine how Hecuba and the chorus in *Troades* create the illusion of an absence of *choreia*, even while they sing and dance on stage, and liken this to the concept of "embodied absence" within Performance Studies. I also argue that the chorus' proclamation in the first stasimon that they will sing "new songs" refers not only to Euripides' experimentation at this point in his career, but to musical change within the drama itself. Chapter Three explores patterns of *mousikē* and *choreia* in *Helen*, showing how the dominance of such imagery in the play's choral odes shapes the audience's understanding of Helen's relationship with the chorus. I suggest that the play's *mousikē* creates an aetiology not only of Helen's cult in Sparta, but also of the Dionysiac performance of the chorus of Athenian citizens in the theater. Chapter Four examines the dynamics of chorality and monody in *Iphigenia in Aulis*, showing how, through the performance of *mousikē*, the audience's attention is directed away from the panhellenic *choreia* of the parodos and toward the sacrifice of

Iphigenia. I also explore how representations of instrumental mimesis provide a poignantly vivid impression of pastoral calm before the beginning of the Trojan War, and argue for the authenticity of contested lines at the end of the tragedy on the basis of their style of musical performance. Throughout the dissertation, my methodology centers on the idea that a complex interaction between described and performed *mousikē* encourages the audience to see and hear a performance in a particular way—a form of aesthetic suggestion through *choreia*.

For my parents, Nigel and Judy Weiss

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Introduction

What role does *mousikē* (music, song, and dance) play in a Greek tragedy? Left with silent texts, it is all too easy to neglect tragedy's musicality, particularly as we lack a comparable, contemporary dramatic tradition in which *mousikē* plays a regular part.[1] We also lack, at least in contemporary Western European and Northern American society, a "song culture" comparable to that of fifth-century Athens, where *choreia* (choral song and dance) frequently occurred both within and outside of the theater, and most citizens within the audience had previously been choral performers.[2] It is therefore difficult for us to appreciate the musical resonance and impact of the *choreia* that punctuates every tragedy, even though such song and dance—as well as the accompaniment of the *aulos* (double pipe)—would for the Athenian audience have been one of the most memorable aspects of the live performance.

Whereas fifth-century writers—notably Aristophanes—seem to regard the chorus and its music and dance as absolutely central to a tragic performance and its impact on the audience,[3] subsequent critics of tragedy tend to focus elsewhere. The foremost ancient scholar of tragedy, Aristotle, writing in the mid-fourth century BCE at a time when the preeminence of actors in the theater had reached its height, sheds frustratingly little light on what *mousikē* does within a play. Though he only briefly refers to lyric in the *Poetics*, he does seem to view it as an essential element of the genre: he defines tragedy as "the mimesis of an action which is serious, complete, and has magnitude, in language seasoned in distinct forms in its sections" (μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας μέγεθος ἐχούσης, ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ χωρὶς ἑκάστῳ τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις, 1449b24-26); he then explains that "seasoned" (ἡδυσμένος) refers to "language which has rhythm and melody" (λόγον τὸν ἔχοντα ῥυθμὸν καὶ ἁρμονίαν, 28). On the other hand, in his ranking of the constituent parts of tragedy, he lists its musical aspect, *melopoiia*, only after plot structure (*mythos*) or "arrangement of the actions" (σύστασις

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[1] Although opera might seem to be the most obvious modern parallel to tragedy, it is still a rather different genre: the libretto is often secondary to the music; actors tend to be the primary singers rather than the chorus; and the audience does not typically have experience of performing such music themselves. This is not to say, however, that all operas are equally dissimilar to tragedy: some, such as Glück's *Iphigénie en Tauride*, include ballet, and modern productions often involve contemporary dance; earlier forms of opera (up to and including Mozart and Verdi) more clearly distinguish between actors' arias and recitative. On dance in opera, see esp. Albright 2006; Connery forthcoming.

[2] On ancient Greek "song culture" and its connection with the Athenian audience's experience of tragedy, see Herington 1985: 3-5; Bacon 1994; Revermann 2006. Peponi 2012: 5-6 also emphasizes the "cultural inclusiveness" of *mousikē* in archaic and classical Greece. On the likelihood that many of the citizens in the audience would themselves have performed in a Dionysiac chorus (dithyrambic or dramatic), see Gagné and Hopman 2013: 26.

[3] See esp. Ar. *Ran.* 1249-1363. It is striking that there are almost no representations of actors clearly dressed as actors performing a tragedy from the fifth century BCE, while satyr-play paintings of dancing choruses, such as that on the Pronomos Vase, are fairly numerous.

τῶν πραγμάτων), character, diction, and thought (1450a8-b20); spectacle (*opsis*) comes last.[4] Given that elsewhere, in the last book of the *Politics*, Aristotle devotes considerable attention to the potent, soul-changing effects of *mousikē* within education and leisure in general,[5] the relegation of *melopoiia* to fifth place here may seem surprising, but his focus in the *Poetics* is clearly on the more cerebral aspects of tragedy rather than its performance (perhaps as a result of his equal admiration for Homeric epic as a form of *poiesis*, which of course lacks *melopoiia* and *opsis*).[6] Later in this work he implies that *melopoiia* is an embellishment of these other elements by again referring to it as one of tragedy's "seasonings" (ἡδύσματα, 1450b15-16). This metaphor suggests that the musical part is important to the overall effect of a performance (just as spices are for a Middle Eastern meal), but Aristotle provides no other insight into how it might work with the other elements of tragedy or what function it might have within a drama as a whole.[7] As Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi writes, "the gap between the *Politics* and the *Poetics*, then, as far as the dramatic force of *melopoiia*…is concerned, could have been bridged by a discussion of the way in which song and music affect the audience's cognitive and emotional experience of dramatic structure."[8]

The chorus is absent from Aristotle's references to *melopoiia*, and indeed hardly appears at all in the surviving text of the *Poetics*.[9] Given this general avoidance of the chorus' role in tragedy, it therefore comes as a surprise when, in the 18th chapter, he prescribes that it should be actively involved in the drama:

> καὶ τὸν χορὸν δὲ ἕνα δεῖ ὑπολαμβάνειν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ μόριον εἶναι τοῦ ὅλου καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι μὴ ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδη ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Σοφοκλεῖ.

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[4] The term *melopoiia* presumably includes dance, which Aristotle primarily sees in terms of rhythm: earlier in the *Poetics* he states that dancers represent character, emotions, and actions through "rhythms put into postures" (τῶν σχηματιζομένων ῥυθμῶν, 1447a26-28). Though he does not seem concerned with its visual aspect, we might also view dance within the category of *opsis*, which he ranks in sixth place.

[5] Ar. *Pol*. 1339a11-1342b35, esp. 1339e43-1340b19.

[6] Indeed he sees the power of tragedy as being independent from its performance and actors (1450b17-18), and states that the *mythos* should be structured in such a way that someone who merely hears the play, without actually seeing it performed, can still experience horror and pity (1453b3-6).

[7] Sifakis 2001: 56-70 argues that Aristotle uses the metaphor of ἡδύσματα to refer to essential ingredients of tragedy, since music is a form of ethical characterization. He does not, however, explain why the lyric element comes so late in the list of tragedy's constituent parts.

[8] Peponi 2013: 25. It is possible that Aristotle expanded on this subject elsewhere, since in the *Politics* he refers to "[the work] on the art of poetry" (τὰ περὶ ποιητικῆς) for a discussion of *catharsis* as one of the functions of *mousikē* (1341b40). This may have been part of the second book of the *Poetics* or a lost portion of the *Politics*: see Halliwell 1986: 190-191; Kraut 1997: 209; Sifakis 2001: 54, 166 n. 1.

[9] As Peponi 2013: 24 notes, the fact that at 1452b13-24 Aristotle divides tragedy's quantitative elements (prologue, episode, exodus, *chorikon*) in terms of choral presence could be read as an acknowledgment of the chorus' key role within tragedy, or alternatively as a relegation of the chorus to "a mere punctuation device in the sequence of dramatic action." Some editors, however, regard this section of the *Poetics* to be non-Aristotelian, or at least as representing a strand of thinking altogether different from the rest of the treatise: see Halliwell 1987: 121.

τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὰ ἀδόμενα οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τοῦ μύθου ἢ ἄλλης τραγῳδίας ἐστίν· διὸ ἐμβόλιμα ᾄδουσιν πρώτου ἄρξαντος Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ τοιούτου. καίτοι τί διαφέρει ἢ ἐμβόλιμα ᾄδειν ἢ εἰ ῥῆσιν ἐξ ἄλλου εἰς ἄλλο ἁρμόττοι ἢ ἐπεισόδιον ὅλον;

And the chorus should be understood as one of the actors, and should be part of the whole and participate in the action [of the play] along with [the actors], not as in Euripides but as in Sophocles. In the other poets the sung parts no more belong to the plot (*mythos*) than to another tragedy—hence they sing interlude odes (*embolima*), a practice which Agathon first started. And yet what is the difference between singing interlude odes and if one were to attach a speech or whole episode from one [work] to another? (Ar. *Poet*. 1456a25-31)

Though he seems here to wish for the chorus to have an integral role, Aristotle does not, however, elaborate on the extent or nature of its lyrics' contribution to the *mythos*, not even within the Sophoclean scheme that he recommends.[10] This silence regarding the chorus' role in the *Poetics*, along with the description of the chorus as an "inactive attendant" (κηδευτὴς ἄπρακτος) in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problemata*, has led to the common view of the chorus as marginal to a tragedy's action.[11] Moreover, as Aristotle makes no reference back to his earlier comments on *melopoiia*, we are left wondering what his prescription here regarding the chorus' role within the drama might mean for its *mousikē*: if the chorus were "part of the whole," how would its *mousikē* be related to the *mythos*?

Aristotle's preference for the chorus to be integrated within the tragedy as a whole apparently comes as a reaction against the recent trend of *embolima*—choral songs that are just "thrown in" without any particular relevance to the dramatic context. Although he attributes this practice to the younger poets, he nevertheless suggests with the phrase "not as in Euripides but as in Sophocles" (μὴ ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδη ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Σοφοκλεῖ) that Euripides' choruses, unlike those of Sophocles, do not tend to be immediately engaged in the action of a play, or at least not in the right way.[12] Following this passage of the *Poetics*, it was often argued in nineteenth and twentieth century scholarship on tragedy that the chorus becomes increasingly irrelevant in Euripides' plays, and that several of the choral odes in his later work are representative of the *embolima* criticized by Aristotle.[13] As Donald Mastronarde has shown, Euripides' tendency to compose choral songs that begin with only an indirect connection to the previous episode and often include

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[10] Cf. Halliwell 1986: 242: "the *Poetics* taken as a whole supplies no compelling reason for preferring a Sophoclean chorus to no chorus at all, and the passage at the end of ch. 18 is left suspended in something of a theoretical vacuum."

[11] [Ps.-] Ar. *Prob*. 922b26. On this view of the chorus' marginality, see Foley 2003: 15-19.

[12] Cf. Neitzel 1967: 3: "Was der Philosoph kritisiert, ist nicht, daß der Chor nicht an der Handlung teilnehme, sondern wie er es tut" (emphasis original).

[13] On increasing choral irrelevance in Euripides and his "self-contained" choral odes, see e.g. Schlegel 1802/1964: 299; Kranz 1933: 228-262, esp. 251-254; Helg 1950: 53-57; Pohlenz 1954: 440; Lesky 1971: 454; Panagl 1971; Rode 1971: 111-113. For a discussion of this tradition of scholarship, see Neitzel 1967: 5-7; Csapo 1999-2000: Battezzato 2008: 161, 164.

extensive mythic and narrative sections also causes his choruses to seem more withdrawn from the dramatic action.[14]

This impression can be viewed as part of a gradual decline in the chorus' role and significance towards the end of the fifth century BCE and into the fourth: from the mid-420s onwards, fewer lines seem to be assigned to the chorus, the stasima tend to be shorter, and actors' song begins to be more prominent instead as they become more professional and specialized.[15] This trend becomes particularly clear if we compare, for example, Aeschylus' *Supplices*, in which the chorus are the protagonists and sing over half of the tragedy's lines, with Euripides' *Hecabe*, in which *choreia* and actors' song each take up a tenth of the entire play.[16] The absurd parodies of Euripidean monody in Aristophanes' *Frogs* also demonstrate that by 405 BCE elaborate solo songs were a well-known feature of his tragedies.[17] Yet the standard narrative of choral song steadily giving way to that of the actors is somewhat misleading, in part because, compared to a play like Aeschylus' *Supplices* (which almost all scholars up until the 1960s regarded as an extremely early work of Aeschylus), the surviving work of both Euripides and Sophocles shows a much lower percentage of lyric overall, whether choral or solo. Although there is an uneven but nevertheless steady rise in the amount of actors' song in Euripides' tragedies from the late 420s onwards, these plays also show a slight increase in the total number of sung lines, so that the percentage of choral song does not significantly decrease as a result. Moreover, the sharp increase in the amount of *choreia* in *Bacchae* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*, which were produced a year after Euripides' death, cannot be explained away simply as part of his archaizing in Macedonia, particularly as the extraordinary focus on musicality in these plays (especially *Bacchae*) suggests a continuance of his newer, more experimental tendencies rather than simply a return to traditionalism. It is also unlikely that Euripides was forced to rely less on highly skilled actors in Macedon and therefore focus more on the chorus: though professional choruses were probably available, Archelaus must have drawn to his city the great actors of the day too as he transformed it into a cultural center.[18] Finally, it is worth remembering the fact that, when Plato in the fourth century writes about tragedy in his *Laws*, he still sees it in terms of *choreia*. So however much limelight actors gained during this period, tragedy could still be viewed as an essentially choral genre.[19]

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[14] Mastronarde 1998: 70-72; 1999: 98-99; cf. Rode 1971: 112. See also Mastronarde's discussion of different types of non-immediate connections between stasima and the surrounding drama (2010: 126-145). Euripides' preference for choruses of weak or dependent status (especially women) can also add to the sense of their marginality in terms of the action of the drama: see Castellani 1989: 4, 9-11; Mastronarde 1998: 61-66; 1999: 93-98. See also Gould 1996 on the otherness of the tragic chorus in general (and, for criticisms of this argument, Goldhill 1996). The gender of choruses does not always correlate with inactivity: see Foley 2003: 17.

[15] On these changes see Csapo 1999-2000: 409-412; Hall 1999, 2002. An increase in lyrics assigned to actors is evident in Sophocles' work too, though his plays contain very little unmixed actors' song and recitative (as opposed to *amoibaion*-style delivery with the chorus).

[16] For percentages of chorus' and actors' song in Euripides' plays, see Csapo 1999-2000: 410. The percentage of choral song in *Hecabe* increases to 15% if we include recitative verse.

[17] Cf. Griffith 2013: 140.

[18] Cf. Csapo 1999-2000: 414-415. On tragic performances in Macedon, see Revermann 1999-2000, esp. 254-256; Duncan 2011.

[19] On tragedy as a largely choral event, see Bacon 1994; Gagné and Hopman 2013: 19-22.

Nevertheless, those scholars who have looked at the *mousikē* of Euripides' tragedies have tended to continue the narrative of increasing choral irrelevance and decline towards the end of the fifth century. Although the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles contain various references to song and dance, it is in the tragedies from the last fifteen years or so of Euripides' career that there seems to be a sudden explosion of self-referential, musical passages, above all in the choral odes. Particularly since Eric Csapo published his two seminal articles on tragic *mousikē*, "Later Euripidean Music" and "The Politics of the New Music," such musicality has tended to be viewed in terms of the so-called "New Music"—the umbrella term adopted by modern scholars to encompass the changes in musical style, language, and performance through the fifth century and into the fourth. The "New Music" is usually linked above all to the dithyramb and kitharodic *nomos*, and the famous fragment from Pherecrates' comedy *Chiron* makes clear that some of the figures most associated with these musical changes were indeed composers of these genres: the character Music lists the musicians who have ruined her with their excessive number of strings and increased modulation, starting with the dithyrambists Melanippides and Cinesias, and then complaining about the kitharodes Phrynis and (worst of all) Timotheus.[20] This musical movement also, however, flourished in other dramatic genres besides the dithyramb—in tragedy, satyr-drama, and comedy. And, as Csapo shows, the many references to *mousikē* in Euripides' later tragedies (along with the jibes at his new styles in Aristophanes' plays) suggest that he was at the forefront of this cultural movement towards the end of the fifth century.[21] But while Csapo's work has been a welcome prompt in directing us toward the performative aspects of Euripidean plays, it nevertheless perpetuates a sense of the disengagement of tragic *mousikē* from its dramatic context by linking it primarily to extradramatic trends within Athens' broader sociocultural landscape. The question of its *intra*dramatic significance thus continues to be neglected.[22]

Although the dithyramb was not the only site of musical experimentation and novelty in the fifth century, certain types of performance and language associated with this genre seem to have been especially prominent features of the "New Music." The choral odes in Euripides' later tragedies have in particular been linked to the dithyramb, ever since Walter Kranz in 1933 labeled ten of them "dithyrambic," largely on account of them seeming to be self-contained, independent narratives ("völlig absolut stehende balladeske Erzählung"), as dithyrambs apparently were.[23] Csapo has shown that, like dithyrambs, these odes often include vivid descriptions of musical performance with a distinctly Dionysian flavor, emphasizing in particular the *aulos*, circular dancing with vocabulary like ἑλίσσειν and δινεύειν (both meaning "to whirl"), and archetypal choral

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[20] Pherecrates fr. 155 *PCG*, quoted in ps.-Plut. 1141d-1142a. On "New Music" in the dithyramb and kitharodic *nomos*, see esp. D'Angour 1997, 2006, 2011: 195-206; Csapo 2004; Csapo and Wilson 2009; Power 2010: 500-516; LeVen 2011; Franklin 2013.

[21] Esp. Csapo 1999-2000: 405-407. Following Kranz 1933, older scholarship has tended to date the beginning of Euripides' new musical experimentation to 415 as a result of the chorus' declaration in *Troades* that they are singing "new songs" (513): on problems with this dating, see Ch. 1, p. 17, Ch. 2, p. 67.

[22] A notable exception is Peter Wilson's discussion of *mousikē* in Euripides' *Heracles* 1999-2000.

[23] Kranz 1933: 254. On the dithyrambic character of these odes, see esp. Panagl 1971, Csapo 1999-2000, 2003, 2008, Steiner 2011.

performers like dolphins and Nereids; the latter tend to be fifty in number, just like a dithyrambic chorus.[24]

But, like the focus on the "New Music," the tendency to connect musical discourse and performance in Euripides' plays to the dithyramb has similarly resulted in a disregard for the dramatic relevance of his *mousikē*. The Dionysian, dithyrambic character of some of his self-referential choral passages can once again bear witness to his experimentation with new musical trends, and at the same time point to a metatheatrical engagement with his tragedies' performance context within the City Dionysia. If considered in isolation, however, this feature cannot in itself shed much light on how *mousikē* functions within a play as a whole—except perhaps in the case of *Bacchae*, in which Dionysian *choreia* constitutes the chorus' primary activity and identity.[25] The labeling of certain Euripidean stasima as "dithyrambic" on account of their apparently free-standing character more explicitly continues the idea that his choral odes become increasingly divorced from the *mythos* in his later plays—"dithyrambic" becomes virtually a synonym for "*embolimon*-like." Csapo himself has warned us against characterizing Euripides' *choreia* in this way, complaining that "the criterion of self-contained narration perpetuates the notion that drama's participation in the "New Music" consisted largely in the insertion of extractable, irrelevant, and often meaningless, musical interludes which performed a purely aesthetic function at the cost of the drama's integrity."[26] Yet even in Csapo's own work, the focus on both the "New Musical" and "dithyrambic" character of Euripides' choral odes continues to separate the plays' musicality from their dramatic context, and so strengthens the idea that the lyric element is at most a "seasoning" with little connection to the dramatic structure.

The recent surge of interest in the "New Music" has also overshadowed the more traditional aspects of Euripides' *mousikē*. By tracing the influence of choral genres like *partheneia* (maiden's song), *hymenaios* (wedding song), and epinician in a selection of tragedies, Laura Swift has rightly drawn our attention to the influence of established lyric traditions on Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.[27] She is not, however, concerned with the musical performance of such lyric within the tragedians' work, nor does she discuss how allusions to these genres function on a dramatic level as opposed to an exclusively thematic one. Like those who exclusively focus on the new elements of Euripidean *mousikē*, her study of the vestiges of more traditional types of song in his work can lead us to underappreciate the *mix* of old and new—and of different lyric genres in general—in his choral odes. One of the purposes of my analysis here is to show that this combination is crucial to the dramatic impact of much of his *mousikē*, and indeed can be seen as an important part of his musical innovation in general.

In arguing for the dramatic relevance of *mousikē* in Euripides' later tragedies, I do not, however, mean to overlook the undeniably aloof and often bizarrely detached character of many of these songs. When the chorus sing of Achilles traveling to Troy just as Electra and Orestes are about to be reunited in *Electra*, or of the Great Mother's search for her daughter just as Helen and Menelaus are about to escape from Egypt in *Helen*,

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[24] Csapo 1999-2000; 2003. On the circular formation of the dithyramb, see D'Angour 1997.

[25] On the convergence of the chorus' ritual and fictional identity in *Bacchae*, made clear through their frequent references to *mousikē*, see Bierl 2013; also Epilogue, p. 175.

[26] Csapo 1999-2000: 408.

[27] Swift 2010.

their song and dance do seem to be operating on a different plane from that of the rest of the play.[28] Through such performances the chorus create a breach in the action, in part by looking far beyond it both temporally and geographically. Yet such seemingly disconnected *choreia* can simultaneously be closely tied to the *mythos*, and it is the combination of separateness and embeddedness that makes these choral odes so remarkable compared with earlier tragic *mousikē*. My aim here is to show how Euripides was experimenting not just with *mousikē* itself, for its own sake, but with the ways in which it could be integrated within the dramatic fabric of his plays.

Any study of the *mousikē* of Greek tragedy, however, faces the basic problem of absence: we lack not only recordings of melody or choreography, but even any detailed, first-hand accounts of the original performances. The two surviving scraps of papyri that show musically notated lyrics from plays by Euripides (*Iphigenia in Aulis* and *Orestes*) are too small to give us any sense of the overall musical composition of these tragedies, though they do confirm that he experimented with melisma (the practice of extending a syllable over several different notes), which Aristophanes' parody in *Frogs* suggests was a particularly Euripidean trait.[29] Vase paintings can provide a valuable insight into the performance, representation, and perception of different types of nondramatic *mousikē*, such as the dithyramb, but very few possible images survive of the musical performances within Athenian tragedy.[30] The most famous of these is an Attic red-figure column-krater dated to 500-490 BCE that shows three pairs of choreuts in choreographed formation with raised arms and bent legs before a tomb or altar, and with illegible letters issuing from their mouths to show that they are singing (fig. 1). This used to be linked to the scene in Aeschylus' *Persians* in which the chorus summon the ghost of Darius,[31] though the vase predates the play by at least 20 years. It is possible that the bearded figure emerging from the structure on the left is instead meant to be Dionysus, witnessing a dramatic (not necessarily tragic) performance in his honor or even seeming to appear as a result of the epiphanic effect of *choreia*.[32] Another vase, an Attic calyx-krater from the

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[28] Eur. *El*. 431-486, *Hel*. 1301-1368.

[29] For a transcription and description of these two papyri, see West 1992: 284-287, Pöhlmann and West 2001: 12-21. On Aristophanes' parody of Euripidean melismas, see Ch. 1, pp. 36-37 on *Ran*. 1314. The *Orestes* papyrus also demonstrates that melody could be divorced from the words' pitch accent in Euripidean strophic lyric. D'Angour 2006: 276-283 hypothesizes that this practice was the result of new musical experimentation in the late fifth century BCE, culminating in Euripides "breaking free of the traditional principles of matching word pitch with musical pitch in the responsional choruses of tragic drama" (282), though it is unclear whether such "traditional principles" existed for earlier choral lyric.

[30] Numerous representations of scenes from tragedies survive on Apulian vases from the fourth century, but none includes a performance of *mousikē*: for an overview of these images, see Hart 2010: 62-83. We do, however, have numerous vases with scenes that seem to be from satyr-plays, with an aulete and dancing chorus, from the early to mid-fifth century BCE.

[31] Aesch. *Pers*. 623-680.

[32] On this scene as an image of or inspired by a tragic performance, see Csapo and Slater 1995: 57; Miller 2004; Taplin 2007: 29; Hart 2010: 29; Csapo 2010: 6-8. Since the vase predates the play's production by at least 20 years, Green 1994: 17-18 argues that it represents a traditional motif commonly used in Athenian theater of the first quarter of the fifth century. A chorus of Persians is also depicted on a fragmentary Attic hydria that also dates to the first half of the fifth

mid-fifth century BCE, shows a group of women in a row, each in a different pose, dancing to the accompaniment of an *aulos* player (fig. 2).[33] If this is a representation of a tragic chorus, it is valuable in demonstrating that the choreuts in a tragedy did not necessarily all strike the same pose at once (as they do on the column-krater), just as representations of dancing satyrs demonstrate that those choruses were likewise not usually in unison formation.[34] A fragment of an Attic bell-krater from Olbia, which shows members of a chorus wearing masks and dancing to the *aulos*, likewise demonstrates variety in their movements (fig. 3).[35] It is also notable that the way the dancers curve around the shape of the calyx-krater is more suggestive of a circular formation than of the rectangular one that late sources claim was the standard for tragic choruses.[36] But these images tell us little about how the movements of the chorus and the sound of the *aulos* accompanying them may have corresponded with the words of their song, or about the musical shape or dramatic relevance of an entire ode.

Fig. 1. Attic red-figure column-krater showing a chorus approaching a tomb or altar, ca. 500-490 BCE. Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, inv. BS 415.

century: see Miller 2004; Csapo 2010: 6. On the epiphanic effect of *choreia*, see esp. Ch. 3, pp. 128-133.

[33] On this image's possible association with choral performance in tragedy, see Foley 2003: 10.

[34] On dancing in satyr plays, see Seidensticker 2010.

[35] On this fragment see Taplin 2007: 29-30; Csapo 2010: 8.

[36] See Poll. 2. 161; Aelius Aristides, *On Behalf of the Four* 154; Sch. Aristides, *On Behalf of the Four* 154; Phot. *Lex.*, s.v. *tritos aristerou, aristerostates, laurostatai*; Hesychius, s. v. *aristerostates, laurostatai*. On the question of whether the chorus danced in rectangular or circular formation (or a mixture of both), see Winkler 1990; Wiles 1997: 96, 2000: 134; Foley 2003: 9-10; Lech 2009.

Fig. 2. Attic red-figure calyx-krater showing two friezes: a chorus of women and an aulete above, and a group of satyrs playing below. ca. 460-450 BCE. British Museum, London.

Fig. 3. Fragment of an Attic bell-krater showing choreuts and an aulete, ca. 420s BCE. Kiev, Museum of the Academy of Sciences.

We are able to gain some sense of the sort of musical effects achieved in the work of Euripides and other innovative composers from Plato's conservative criticisms of these new styles in his *Laws*: as we shall see in the case of *Helen* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*, his comments on the tendency of contemporary musicians to mix together different genres and to imitate absolutely anything seem particularly illuminating for some of Euripides'

late choral lyric.[37] Such complaints, however, give us little idea of the use of music and dance in the individual plays of Euripides, nor can they be treated as representative of the more mainstream reception of tragic *mousikē* in Athens. Likewise Aristotle's restrictions in his *Politics* on the types of *harmoniai*, melodies, rhythms, and instruments to be used in "theatrical *mousikē*," while they indicate quite how powerfully an audience could be affected by the musical performance on stage, do not provide us with much insight into how tragedies were actually performed in the fifth and fourth centuries.

More specific indications of particularly Euripidean styles of performance can be found in Aristophanes' comedies, especially in the competition between Aeschylus and Euripides in *Frogs*. When the two poets attack each other's lyrics in this play, Aeschylus' criticisms (however distorted and extreme they may be) give us a sense of which musical aspects seemed most characteristic of the younger tragedian's style to his contemporary audience: when he complains, for example, that Euripides "gets [his honey] from everywhere—porn songs, Meletus' drinking songs, Carian pipe tunes, laments and choral dances" (οὗτος δ᾽ ἀπὸ πάντων μὲν φέρει, πορνῳδιῶν, / σκολίων Μελήτου, Καρικῶν αὐλημάτων, / θρήνων, χορειῶν, 1301-1303), he implies that Euripidean lyric typically mixes together many different kinds of song and often appears foreign as a result; "porn songs" allude to the performance of his monodies by professionals rather than citizen amateurs.[38] Aeschylus' parodies in *Frogs* point to certain details of particular tragedies by Euripides as well as more general trends: as we shall see in Chapter One, his pastiche of choral lyric from *Electra*, *Hypsipyle*, and *Meleager* (1309-1323) reveals the tragedian's penchant both for melodic tricks like melisma, and for particular verbal styles, such as the hanging apostrophe with which the song begins, its paratactic structure, and the image of dolphins dancing to the tune of the *aulos*. Aristophanes' comedies also provide the occasional commentary on styles of choreography in the plays of Euripides and other tragedians: in the parody of Euripidean *mousikē* in *Frogs*, Aeschylus refers to dance-steps, playing on the double meaning of πούς ("foot") and μέλη ("limbs/songs"); earlier in the comedy Dionysus mentions that he had enjoyed the movements as well as the words of Aeschylus' chorus in *Persians*; at the end of *Wasps* the chorus direct the sons of the tragedian Carcinus to dance crazily, whirling and kicking like his predecessor Phrynichus.[39] But, precious though these indications of tragic performances are, they allude only to particular moments of a few pieces rather than to the musical shape of an entire play.

Lacking such accounts of the musical performances in Euripides' tragedies, then, we must in large part rely on clues within plays themselves. Fortunately this avenue for the reconstruction of the music and dance of his plays can be far more fruitful, since his later work (especially the choral odes) contains so many self-referential descriptions of *mousikē*—moments when the chorus verbally allude to their singing, dancing, and instrumental accompaniment at the same time as they are performing such *choreia* on stage. Choral self-referentiality has been recognized as a common feature of tragic choral lyric, particularly that of Euripides, since the publication of two articles on this

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[37] Pl. *Leg.* 669cd, 700d; cf. *Rep.* 397a. See Ch. 3, pp. 117-118; Ch. 4, pp. 151-152, 170.

[38] On Aeschylus' characterization of Euripides' *mousikē* here, see Griffith 2013: 142-143.

[39] Ar. *Ran.* 1329-1333; 1028-1029; *Vesp.* 1512-1537. Three generations of tragedians are documented within the family of Carcinus: see *TrGF* 21, 33, 70.

phenomenon by Albert Henrichs in the mid-1990s.[40] Henrichs links choral self-referentiality to what he calls "choral projection," which is when "choruses locate their own dancing in the past or the future, in contrast to the here and now of their immediate performance, or when choruses project their collective identity onto groups of dancers distant from the concrete space of the orchestra and dancing in the allusive realm of the dramatic imagination."[41] Though Henrichs concentrates on allusions to dancing, these are often combined with descriptions of other forms of *mousikē* too, all of which can form part of a "projection." While vivid moments of self-referentiality occur in Aeschylean choral lyrics, such as in the "Binding Song" of the Erinyes in *Eumenides* or the scenes of mourning in *Persai*, *Supplices*, and *Choephoroi*, "choral projection" tends to be found more in the work of the younger tragedians, and above all in the later plays of Euripides.[42]

Through the chorus' references to their own song and dance, then, we can tentatively reconstruct some aspects of their performance. When they describe the *mousikē* of others with vividly performative language, we can also assume some level of interaction or merging between the performance they imagine and the one the audience see them doing in the *orchestra*. This is not to say, however, that verbal allusions to *choreia* should be treated at face value as stage directions: descriptions of *mousikē* need not have always corresponded with the chorus' actual performance, and of course the majority of their gestures and modes of singing would not have been simultaneously referred to in the text of the play.[43] But often there seems to be some sort of mimetic process at work through the combination of described and performed *mousikē*, and the audience's reception of the *choreia* on stage can as a result be a synthesis of what they imagine and what they actually perceive. Choral self-referentiality and projection may therefore not only allow us to conjecture as to the live performance in the theater, but also give us a sense of the intended impact of this musical experience on the audience.

This idea of different registers of *mousikē* is fundamental to my approach to the performance of Euripides' tragedies. It derives in large part from work within Sound Studies on auditory semiotics—in the words of Don Ihde, the notion that there are "possibilities of co-present polyphony of auditory experiences of the perceptual and imaginative modalities."[44] Drawing from Stephen Handel's theory that sound is perceived at three distinct levels, Bruce Smith has applied this idea of polyphony to the sounds of Elizabethan theater.[45] When, for example, trumpets, hautboys, and drums are played at the same time as the messenger describes these sounds in one of the crowd scenes in *Coriolanus*, the audience would hear not only the physical properties of certain instrumental noises (pitch, rhythm, etc.), but the "perceptual" phenomena such as "brightness" in the trumpet or "dryness" in the drums, and, through the messenger's

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[40] Henrichs 1994, 1996. Cf. Heikkila 1991.
[41] Henrichs 1996: 48.
[42] Aesch. *Eum*. 307-396, *Pers*. 918-1076, *Supp*. 58-133, *Cho*. 423-429. On the performative language (and rhythm) of the "Binding Song," see Prins 1991; Henrichs 1994: 61-65. On self-referential descriptions of lament in *Persai* and the *kommos* scene in *Choephoroi*, see Ch. 1, pp. 19-20; Ch. 2, p. 84.
[43] On the attempt to find stage directions in the words of a tragedy, see esp. Taplin 1978: 15-19. On the challenges of approaching Greek drama in this way, see Wiles 1997: 5; Bassi 2005.
[44] Ihde 2003: 62.
[45] Handel 1989: 181-182; Smith 1999: 242-245. Cf. Johnson 2005.

speech, also the imaginative aspect of these sounds. This latter register includes "trumpet-ness" or "drum-ness"—Smith calls this the "essence" of these auditory objects, by which he means what they represent both individually and together ("danger, anarchy, chaos").[46] I extend this concept of different levels of auditory reception to the visual aspect of performance as well, since both music and dance were inseparable parts of *choreia*. My approach, however, uses a basic division into just two levels of *mousikē*: what would have actually been performed on stage (a combination of the "physical" and "perceptual" phenomena) and what is imagined through the words of the play.

"Choral self-referentiality" and "choral projection" belong to the imaginative aspect of *mousikē* in tragedy, but neither phenomenon encapsulates it entirely. Both are forms of aesthetic suggestion for the audience to see and hear a performance in a particular way; to imagine that the choreuts are dolphins dancing around Helen's ship as she leaves Egypt for Sparta, or that the sound of *aulos* accompanying them in the theater is that of Paris' syrinx as he herds cattle on Mount Ida.[47] As the latter example indicates, the tragic chorus need not merge their performances with exclusively choral *mousikē*: on the contrary, their own singing and dancing can interact with their descriptions of solo performers too, such as that of the nightingale in the first stasimon of *Helen*.[48] They can even bring to life musical objects that are otherwise typically inanimate: in the third stasimon of *Heracles*, for example, they call upon various Theban landmarks, including the river Ismenus and the Pythian rock, to sing and dance, and in doing so they invite the audience to experience this performance through their own exuberant one on stage.[49] This process of merging—the simultaneity of the live performance and the imagined one—is more interactive and involves more mimetic interplay between the two registers of *mousikē* than the term "projection" implies. For the sort of imaginative *choreia* that I explore in this dissertation, then, "choral projection" seems too restrictive a concept. I prefer to see such references by the chorus to their own and others' *mousikē* more generally as part of the imaginary of *choreia* at work in performance.

Though this phenomenon of aesthetic suggestion through *choreia* occurs particularly frequently in the later work of Euripides, perhaps as a result of his engagement with the "New Music," it is by no means exclusive to his plays, nor even to fifth-century Greek tragedy. When Aeschylean choruses refer to *mousikē* it is usually their own, but in the parodos of *Supplices* they compare their own song to that of the mourning nightingale, thus explicitly encouraging a similar sort of identification to be made between performed and imagined music.[50] There are a few more examples of aesthetic suggestion through *choreia* in Sophocles' tragedies, though self-reference is more common: in their kletic hymn to Dionysus in *Antigone*, for example, the chorus connect their own performance to others associated with the god by calling on him as a

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[46] Smith 1999: 248 on Shakespeare, *Coriolanus* V. 4. 49-52.
[47] Eur. *Hel*. 1454-1455, *IA* 573-581. I owe the term "aesthetic suggestion" to Anastasia-Erasmia Peponi's discussion of choral projection in her seminar on ancient Greek aesthetics and dance at Stanford University in Spring 2012.
[48] See Ch. 3, pp. 104-112, on *Hel*. 1107-1121.
[49] Eur. *Her*. 781-797. Cf. *Hyp*. fr. 752f, 25-28.
[50] Aesch. *Supp*. 58-71. On nightingale imagery in *Supplices* , see Ch. 3, pp. 106-107.

chorēgos of stars and referring to the dancing of both Bacchic Nymphs and the Thyiads;[51] in *Ajax* they more explicitly link the two registers of performance by expressing their own desire to dance (νῦν γὰρ ἐμοὶ μέλει χορεῦσαι, 701) in their address to Pan as the "one who sets up choral dances of gods" (θεῶν χοροποί', 698).[52] Peponi has shown that a similar process is at work in Alcman's first *Partheneion*, in which a network of deictics relating to sight "invites the addressee not to "see" *what is really present* but instead, while looking at what *is* present, to imaginatively transform the actually visible agents and their actions into a virtual and imaginary spectacle," so that Agido and Hagesichora become race horses, flying doves, and even the rising Sirius.[53] This overlap of vision and visualization is effected not just through deictics but through the choral dancing of the *parthenoi*, whose movements turn into those of horses, doves, and stars. The epinician odes of both Pindar and Bacchylides refer to musical performances that would merge with the chorus' own song and dance, such as the archetypal *choreia* of the Muses in *Pythian* 1 and *Nemean* 5.[54] Such imaginative *mousikē* seems to have been a particularly prominent feature of the dithyramb at least from the late sixth century, as we can see in Pindar fr. 70b: there the chorus vividly describe the gods' ecstatic singing, dancing, and instrumental music for Dionysus, the very god their own choral performance is honoring.[55] As we shall see in Chapter 1, black-figure vases from the mid-late sixth century showing dancing dolphin-men also suggest that this genre especially encouraged the viewer to see the choreuts as the imaginary dancers they describe in their song.[56] Euripides' increased use of dithyrambic language and imagery, including dancing dolphins, from the mid-420s corresponds with the higher number of allusions to *mousikē* in general in his later plays. His experimentation with the choral imaginary is not, however, confined to the dithyramb, since he also draws on traditional images of *mousikē* from other archaic and classical lyric genres.

   But what purpose do these moments of imagined *mousikē* have within a tragedy? Henrichs sees choral self-referentiality and choral projection as devices primarily used to integrate the world of the drama with the ritual, Dionysiac context of its performance.[57]

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[51] Soph. *Ant*. 1115-1154. On choral self-reference and "projection" in *Antigone*, see Henrichs 1994: 75-79; Kowalzig 2007a: 237-239.

[52] On choral self-referentiality in *Ajax*, see Henrichs 1994: 73-75; Kowalzig 2007a: 235-238. Henrichs also discusses this phenomenon in *Trachiniae* (ibid, 79-85). It seems likely that Sophocles' *Thamyras* contained a large degree of meta-musical language, given the famed musicality of its protagonist; fr. 240 certainly refers vividly to the chorus' own movements with a powerfully mimetic trochaic rhythm (πρόποδα μέλεα τάδε σε κλέομεν / τρόχιμα βάσιμα χέρεσι πόδεσι): see Wilson 2009: 64-65.

[53] Peponi 2004: 301 (emphasis original). See also Kurke 2012, 2013 on the transformative effect of presencing through *choreia*, whereby the choreuts both fuse with the spectators and are assimilated to divinities, or at least products of divine crafting.

[54] Pind. *Pyth*. 1. 1-4, *Nem*. 5. 22-26 (see Ch. 4, pp. 155-156); cf. *Pyth*. 10. 38-39, *Ol*. 4. 2-4; Bacc. 11.112, 13. 77-99. On "choral projection" in Bacc. 13, see Power 2001.

[55] Pind. fr. 70b (Dith. 2), esp. 1-14. See D'Angour 1997 on how the opening lines of the dithyramb refer to the chorus' choreographic formation.

[56] See Ch. 1, pp. 37-40.

[57] Barbara Kowalzig also discusses the merging of myth and ritual, play and polis, in tragic *choreia*: see Kowalzig 2007a, esp. 232-242; cf. Kowalzig 2007b: 27-55. On the ritual identity of the tragic chorus, see also Winkler 1990; Nagy 1994-1995; Calame 1999, 2013.

Anton Bierl in his work on Old Comedy similarly traces choral self-reference back to ritual, arguing that the chorus acts as intermediary for the audience between the "there and then" of the myth being enacted on stage and the "here and now" of their own cultic performance.[58] For him, these moments of described *mousikē* have a purely ritual significance, which seems to be divorced from the plot of the surrounding drama: he claims that "[t]he ritual framework…prevails over any narrative elements."[59] This approach tends to view such moments of pronounced musicality as independent not only of the *mythos*, but even of the immediate performance context within the play. When "Dionysiac" descriptions of *mousikē* occur within a song with a different generic frame, such as a *partheneion*, *hymenaios*, or epinician, can we explain this mix simply as a merging of myth and ritual, or might it play a more integrated dramatic role? In the hymenaeal ode that the chorus sing for Iphigenia and Achilles in *Iphigenia in Aulis*, for example, they describe the *choreia* at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis with language that incorporates imagery and vocabulary often associated with Dionysiac performance. As my analysis of this song in Chapter Four demonstrates, the resulting focus on the chorus' own performance underscores with devastating irony the lack of any such wedding celebrations for Iphigenia, just at the moment when Achilles has promised that he will prevent her from being sacrificed.[60] The combination of imagined and performed *choreia* here can be viewed as helping to link the story being performed on stage with the ritual context of the City Dionysia, but it is also closely connected to the dramatic fabric of the tragedy.

Henrichs does, however, link the ritual aspect of choral self-referentiality to a play's *mythos* through the phenomenon of "joy-before-disaster odes," whereby the chorus show particularly exuberant ritual self-awareness just before a tragic reversal.[61] This pattern is similar to what Ian Rutherford observes in the tragic performances of joyful paians, which are often followed by a terrible change of fortune—as, for example, when Iris and Lyssa enter following the chorus' paianic second stasimon in Euripides' *Heracles*.[62] But only a relatively small proportion of self-referential *choreia* in Euripidean tragedy occurs just before this sort of reversal: in fact, in the four plays I discuss here, only the hymenaeal ode in *Iphigenia Aulis* mentioned above comes close to following this pattern, and this song, with its increasingly ominous images, is far from purely joyful. In this dissertation I show that descriptions of song and dance, combined with the chorus' actual performance, can play a much more varied and nuanced dramatic role than simply that of heralding a disastrous turn of fortune: they can drive a plot forward, shape an audience's anticipation of the central events of the *mythos* (or the lack thereof), enact off-stage scenes and events that provide a crucial backdrop to the tragedy's action, and help to articulate the character of the protagonist(s).

This discussion of Euripides' dramatic use of *mousikē* is divided into four studies of individual plays, which span roughly the last fifteen years of Euripides' career. I begin with *Electra*, which is the first extant play to include multiple, extended descriptions of

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[58] Bierl 2009, esp. 24-47.
[59] Bierl 2009: 31.
[60] Ch. 4, pp. 152-165.
[61] Henrichs 1994: 73-85.
[62] Rutherford 1994, esp. 124-127; Eur. *Her*. 636-700. On the enactment of reversal through *choreia* in Euripides' *Heracles*, see Henrichs 1996: 54-62; Wilson 1999-2000: 433-449.

mousikē. I argue that *choreia* both works to frame our understanding of Electra and has a generative power, seeming to anticipate and even enact pivotal moments of the *mythos*. The revised dating of this tragedy to 420/419 BCE demonstrates that Euripides was experimenting with self-conscious displays of musicality several years before the 415 production of *Troades*, in which the chorus declare that they are singing "new songs" (καινοὶ ὕμνοι, 513). Chapter Two is dedicated to this later play, in which descriptions of *choreia*, instead of generating action, underscore an overwhelming sense of loss and absence throughout the drama. Towards the end of the play, however, the chorus' musical performance also has a presencing effect, producing for the audience an auditory and visual enactment of the fall of Troy. In Chapter Three I move on to *Helen*, produced three years later in 412 BCE, in which all allusions to *mousikē* revolve around the figure of Helen herself. This tragedy is remarkable for the series of musical figures addressed in each ode, from the Sirens in the parodos to the ship leading choral dances of dolphins in the third stasimon. I show how all these images of *mousikē* reflect Helen's own role as a choral performer at each point in the play, ultimately marking her separation from the dramatic chorus as she leaves Egypt to lead *choreia* back in Sparta. Finally, in Chapter Four, I explore the dynamics of both *choreia* and monody in *Iphigenia in Aulis*, which was produced posthumously, probably in 405 BCE. As in *Troades*, we see the presencing power of *choreia* in this play too: in the parodos the chorus bring to life a scene that is otherwise offstage—the Greek army camped at Aulis— through the merging of their own dance with the orchestic images they describe. I also explore how representations of instrumental mimesis provide a poignantly vivid impression of pastoral calm before the beginning of the Trojan War, and how the hymenaeal *mousikē* in the third stasimon ironically directs us towards Iphigenia's sacrifice.

All four of these tragedies, like many Euripidean dramas, have a female protagonist and female chorus. In all of these plays, Euripides draws on the dynamics of traditional female chorality in order to present their relationship as one between a (potential) *chorēgos* and her chorus. The extent to which they fulfill these roles helps to define the character of the protagonist, as well as to reflect a critical point or overarching theme of the *mythos*, such as Helen's separation from the chorus as she forms her escape plan with Menelaus in *Helen*, or the complete breakdown of any civic institutions following the destruction of Troy in *Troades*. The use of female choruses also means that the images of female *choreia* (Nereids, Sirens, Muses, Graces) that Euripides frequently uses in his later work create a particularly effective interaction between the chorus' own performance and the *mousikē* they describe. When, as in the first two stasima of *Electra*, he subverts these typically celebratory figures of female chorality, transforming them (and consequently the chorus) into more ominous images of *mousikē*, this shift tends to mark an analogous turning point in the plot of the tragedy as a whole.

My aim here is therefore to show how closely both performed and imagined *choreia*—and *mousikē* more generally—can be tied to the *mythos*, as well as to the *pathos*, both pleasurable and instructive, that Aristotle identified as being characteristic of the best "arrangement of the actions" (σύστασις τῶν πραγμάτων). The "actions" of the chorus—and so of the play as a whole—include singing and dancing, the "seasonings" that are so vital to a tragedy's performance and impact. The chronology of the plays I analyze here demonstrates that there was not a steady decline in the dramatic involvement of the chorus in Euripides' plays from the 420s onwards: on the contrary, in

the posthumously produced *Iphigenia in Aulis*, the chorus not only sing for a high proportion of the play but become increasingly involved in Iphigenia's drama, finally singing with her as she leaves for her sacrifice.[63] Though the emphasis on the chorus' musicality in these tragedies can seem to add to an impression of distance from the dramatic action, it also helps to integrate them within the plot. This study of four plays demonstrates how, towards the end of the fifth century, Euripides was increasingly experimenting with the language and performance of *choreia*, and finding new roles for it to play within a tragedy as a whole.

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[63] See Ch. 4, pp. 165-172.

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Electra

Euripides' *Electra* is his earliest extant tragedy to display a strikingly self-conscious engagement with *mousikē*, particularly in its choral songs. It was previously dated by modern scholars to as late as 413 BCE—a date which supported Kranz's argument that Euripides' flirtation with the "New Music" only began with the production of *Troades* in 415.[1] Now, however, in view of the rate of resolutions in the iambic trimeters of the play and its lack of trochaic tetrameters, it seems far more likely that it was first performed some years earlier, perhaps in 420/419.[2] Beyond Kranz's labeling of two of the tragedy's choral odes as "dithyrambic," only Eric Csapo has thus far drawn attention to its *mousikē* in his discussions of the "New Musical" character of these songs, especially the first stasimon.[3] Much instead has been written on Euripides' innovation in terms of the anti-heroic "realism" of the play, with the appearance of Electra in rags, as the wife of a peasant living in a hut outside Argos, and her logical dismissal of the various tokens of recognition by means of which she and her brother are successfully reunited in Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*.[4] The apparent musical novelty and self-referentiality of the choral odes might indicate that here too Euripides is pointedly demonstrating innovation in reaction to the "old-fashioned" tendencies of his predecessors.

But such a focus on the musical innovation showcased in these songs, which have in the past been deemed too remote from the play's action to have any dramatic relevance at all, can lead us to neglect the ways in which such *mousikē* can actually reflect and even seem to direct the movement of the plot:[5] as we shall see, the series of musical images in the first stasimon, for example, augments the audience's anticipation and discomfort as they draw closer to the murders of Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra. Moreover, the chorus' musicality extends beyond the vivid allusions to *mousikē* in the first two stasima, to encompass and define their character and role in the play as women on their way to join the *choreia* at the Argive festival of Hera. In doing so, it helps both to define and to

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[1] Kranz 1933: 228. See Ch. 2, pp. 56, 67 on his interpretation of καινοὶ ὕμνοι in *Troades* (513). On the dating of the play to 413 (based on a possible reference in lines 1347-1348 to the relief expedition that sailed from Athens to Sicily in the Spring of that year), see Denniston 1939: xxxiii-xxxiv.

[2] On the dating of *Electra*, see Cropp and Fick 1985: 23, 60-61; Cropp 1988: l-li.

[3] Kranz 1933: 238, 241-242, 254; Csapo 2003: 71-73, 2008: 277-280, 2009.

[4] On Euripides' innovations in his staging of the Electra story, see esp. Arnott 1973; Michelini 1987: 181-206; Cropp 1988: xlvii; Papadimitropoulos 2008.

[5] On the "irrelevance" of the first and second stasima of *Electra* (particularly the first), see e.g. Kitto 1939: 341; Barlow 1971: 1971; Gellie 1981: 7-8.

demarcate socially Electra's own character, through the sharp and repeated contrast between the chorus' enthusiastic performance and her refusal to join their song and dance. The play's *mousikē* is thus more than simply a display of innovation: like Euripides' transformation of the setting and characters, it is closely embedded within the dramatic fabric of the tragedy as a whole.

In the first part of this chapter I explore how the chorus' references to their own *choreia* highlight the social isolation of Electra, even as they become increasingly invested in the outcome of her and Orestes' plot. The role of *choreia* in such social demarcation contrasts with the communality expressed through the shared performances of the female protagonists and sympathetic female choruses in other Euripidean tragedies. I concentrate on the parodos, which the chorus sing with Electra, and on her response to their invitation to participate in the festivities for Hera, which underscores the ambiguity of her status as a married virgin who is neither a *parthenos* nor a *gunē*. I then turn to the chorus' victory song following Aegisthus' murder, and to their emphatic characterization of themselves as a chorus in contrast to Electra's resistance to lyric performance.

In the second part of the chapter I look at the role of the three choral stasima in both anticipating and enacting pivotal moments in the dramatic structure of *Electra*. I begin by examining the series of images described in the first stasimon (the so-called "Achilles Ode"), which have often been seen merely as static pictures at a remove from the play's action. I argue instead that they allude to and would be reflected by the choreographic movement of the chorus in the *orchestra*, and that this convergence of described and performed *mousikē* contributes to the song's increasingly disturbing connection to the surrounding *mythos*. The following two odes are also carefully integrated within the tragedy's dramatic structure; the references to music and dance in the second stasimon in particular help to lead the audience both to the tyrannicide that Orestes has just gone to commit and to the matricide, which becomes the focus of all three stasima—and indeed of the play as a whole.

ELECTRA'S CHORAL EXCLUSION

Even before the chorus enter the *orchestra*, Electra marks herself apart from their *choreia* in her opening monody, establishing a disconnect between her performance and theirs. Euripides had already experimented with an actor singing in advance of the parodos in both *Andromache* and *Hecuba*. As we shall see in the next two chapters, variations of this pattern occur in several later plays too, particularly those with female leads who, like Electra, begin by singing a lament: in *Troades*, Hecuba mourns her troubles by singing increasingly lyrical anapaests before being joined by the chorus, who then sing antiphonally with her; in *Helen* the title character unusually begins the parodos herself with a song she characterizes as a γόος, and the chorus then respond in the antistrophe; *Andromeda* unusually opens with the heroine's mournful monody followed by a lyric dialogue with the chorus.[6] In Sophocles' *Electra*, perhaps influenced by Euripides'

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[6] *Andr*. 103-116; *Hec*. 59-89; *Andromeda* frr. 114-122 Kannicht. See Ch. 2, pp. 59-64 on *Tro*. 98-234; Ch. 3, p.p. 91-102 on *Hel*. 167-251. Cf. also *Med*. 96-167, where Medea delivers short, exclamatory anapaests from behind the *skēnē* in a lyric dialogue first with the nurse, who is

version (or vice-versa), the princess enters singing astrophically one of her "songs of lament" (θρήνων ῷδάς, 88); the chorus soon come into the *orchestra* and start singing too, sharing each strophe and antistrophe with her (86-250).[7] Euripides' version is unusual, however, in having an actor perform an extended, strophic song that is longer than the shared parodos that follows. The only other character in Euripides' surviving work who performs such a long initial monody with at least a partially strophic structure is Ion, singing as he tends Apollo's temple before the entrance of the chorus.[8] It is possible that Andromeda's opening song was also strophic and of similar length, but certainly Electra's is likely to have been the earliest—or one of the earliest—instances of this particular dramatic structure. As a result, it would be particularly arresting for the audience, who would be expecting such a song from the chorus, not an actor. Electra's initial takeover of their opening performance establishes her as musically self-sufficient, a soloist who can sing without the presence of a chorus.

Electra's solo lament in Euripides' play is also distinctive for its extraordinarily self-referential focus on her *mousikē*, and in this respect too it seems to replace the expected lyrics of the entering chorus and present its singer as one who does not need a chorus to perform with her. She begins the first strophe and antistrophe by directing her own choreography: "Hasten on (it is time) the spring of the foot: O, / step on, step on, weeping aloud" σύντειν' (ὥρα) ποδὸς ὁρμάν· ὥ, / ἔμβα ἔμβα κατακλαίουσα (112-113 = 127-128). In the mesode between these two stanzas, she bids herself to "raise the same lament, / raise up the pleasure full of tears" (ἴθι τὸν αὐτὸν ἔγειρε γόον, / ἄναγε πολύδακρυν ἁδονάν, 125-126); the second mesode similarly starts with the order "*Eh eh*, tear the face!" (ἒ ἔ, δρύπτε κάρα, 150). Though hers is a solo song of mourning, which she describes as a γόος, these repeated directions also resemble those which the leader of a communal lament might give to the accompanying mourners. Xerxes in the closing scene of antiphonal lamentation in Aeschylus' *Persians*, for example, leads the chorus by giving them a series of orders for their performance:

{Ξε.} ἔρεσσ' ἔρεσσε καὶ στέναζ' ἐμὰν χάριν.　　　　*[6ᵗʰ Antistrophe]*
{Χο.} διαίνομαι γοεδνὸς ὤν.
{Ξε.} βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι.
{Χο.} μέλειν πάρεστι, δέσποτα.
{Ξε.} ἐπορθίαζέ νυν γόοις.　　　　　　　　　　　(1050)
{Χο.} ὀτοτοτοτοῖ·
μέλαινα δ' αὖ μεμείξεται

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onstage, and then with the chorus as they begin their parodos. In *Hypsipyle* the chorus enter as Hypsipyle is singing to the baby Opheltes and then perform responsively with her (frr. 752f, 752h Kannicht). Occasionally a male protagonist begins singing before the chorus in Euripidean tragedy, as in *Ion* 82-183; Amphion may enter singing before the parodos in the fragmentary *Antiope* (fr. 182a; see Collard and Cropp 2008: 7. 172). Prometheus sings an astrophic monody just before the chorus' entrance in [Aesch.] *PV* 88-127.

[7] The similarities between Euripides' *Electra* and Sophocles' version strongly suggest that one is responding to the other, but it is impossible to determine with any certainty which was produced first. On the different arguments about priority, see esp. Denniston 1939: xxxiv-xxxix; Michelini 1987:199-206; Cropp 1988: xlviii-xlx.

[8] Eur. *Ion* 82-183.

οἲ στονόεσσα πλαγά.

{Ξε.} καὶ στέρν’ ἄρασσε κἀπιβόα τὸ Μύσιον.   *[7ʰ Strophe]*
{Χο.} ἀνία ἀνία.   (1055)
{Ξε.} καί μοι γενείου πέρθε λευκήρη τρίχα.
{Χο.} ἄπριγδ’ ἄπριγδα μάλα γοεδνά.
{Ξε.} αὔτει δ’ ὀξύ. {Χο.} καὶ τάδ’ ἔρξω.

Xerxes: Ply, ply [your strokes] and groan for my sake!
Chorus: I weep, being full of mourning.
Xerxes: Cry out now, sounding in response to me!
Chorus: It is my concern, my lord.
Xerxes: Lift up [your voice] now in lamentation!
Chorus: *Otototototoi*! And mixed in again—*oi*!—will be black, groaning beating.

Xerxes: And strike your breast and cry out the Mysian shout. *[7ʰ Strophe]*
Chorus: Painful, painful!
Xerxes: And tear the white hair from your beard!
Chorus: With [hands] clenched tight, clenched tight, very mournfully!
Xerxes: And call out shrilly! Chorus: This too I will do. (Aesch. *Pers*. 1046-1058)

The Persian king not only specifies the particular gestures of mourning here (the striking of the head, the tearing of hair), but explicitly bids the chorus to sing in alternation with himself (βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι, 1048), thereby drawing attention to the shared, antiphonal nature of their performance. Hecuba and the chorus of Trojan women perform similarly directed, antiphonal laments in *Troades*, particularly in the final scene of extended mourning with which the play ends.[9] As Xerxes’ reference to γόοι (1050) suggests, and as Laura Swift has well demonstrated, the distinction in terminology between the individual performances of the dead man’s female relatives and the professionally performed group lament (θρῆνος) tends to be blurred by the fifth century BCE—so much so that Helen in her eponymous tragedy asks if she should perform her γόος *with* θρῆνοι before embarking on the parodos.[10] In the last book of the *Iliad* the description of Andromache, Hecuba, and Helen “leading” ((ἐξ)άρχειν) the γόος indicates that even in the archaic period this sort of performance was not a solo, but instead involved the participation of a wider group.[11] Electra’s γόος, however, is exclusively her own: she herself responds to her directions for the gestures and sounds of ritual mourning, acting as her own *exarchos* rather than taking on this role with the chorus.[12]

Electra’s *mousikē* thus constitutes a crucial part of her self-presentation, demonstrating her exaggerated preoccupation with solitary mourning. Her emphatic

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[9] See Ch. 2, pp. 84-86 on *Tro*. 1226-1237, 1287-1332.
[10] Swift 2010: 301-303. See Ch. 3, pp. 92-93 on *Hel*. 165-166.
[11] *Il*. 24. 723, 747, 761: see Swift *ibid*.
[12] Cf. Cropp 1988: 107 (“Electra is alone but acts like an *exarchos*, dictating movement, gesture and song to herself”).

declamation of her name and lineage in the opening strophe of her lament makes the link between her dramatic identity and her mourning especially clear:

> ἐγενόμαν Ἀγαμέμνονος
> καί μ' ἔτικτε Κλυταιμήστρα
> στυγνὰ Τυνδάρεω κόρα,
> κικλήσκουσι δέ μ' ἀθλίαν
> Ἠλέκτραν πολιῆται.

> I am Agamemnon's [child], and Clytaemnestra, the hated daughter of Tyndareus, bore me, and the citizens call me wretched Electra. (115-119)

Lament, at least at this point in the play, therefore seems to be Electra's main and defining activity, just as it is in Sophocles' tragedy, in which the princess explicitly presents herself as a perpetual mourner (ἀλλ' οὐ μὲν δὴ / λήξω θρήνων στυγερῶν τε γόων, Soph. *El*. 103-105) and repeatedly rejects the pleas of the chorus and her sister Chrysothemis that she cease lamenting. In Euripides' version too Electra's mourning is presented as a repetitive activity, as she directs herself to sing "the same lament" (ἴθι τὸν αὐτὸν ἔγειρε γόον, 125);[13] this impression is heightened by the metrical monotony of her song and repetition of language between the first strophe and antistrophe.[14]

Electra makes her self-presentation as a perpetual mourner particularly vivid in the second mesode by comparing her crying song to that of a swan calling out to its captured father:

> οἷα δέ τις κύκνος ἀχέτας
> ποταμίοις παρὰ χεύμασιν
> πατέρα φίλτατον καλεῖ,
> ὀλόμενον δολίοις βρόχων
> ἔρκεσιν, ὣς σὲ ἄθλιον,
> πάτερ, ἐγὼ κατακλαίομαι

> Just as a shrill swan by the river streams calls out to her dearest father, as he dies in the treacherous snares of nets, so I lament you, my wretched father. (151-156)

Although the swan elsewhere appears in connection with death and mourning, it usually laments its own impending death, not another's.[15] The distortion of this musical model here, whereby the swan mourns the loss of its father instead, reflects Electra's own obsession with the murder of Agamemnon. Along with the echo of μ' ἀθλίαν (118) in σὲ

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[13] Cf. Raeburn 2000 ("the implication in 125 is that Electra's lament is being constantly renewed").
[14] On the song's metrical uniformity, see Dale 1969: 3; Cropp 1988: 108.
[15] Cf. *Ag*. 1444-46, Pl. *Phaedo* 84e-85a, Ar. *HA* 615b2-5; Aesop 247. The swan's association with mourning may add a note of unease to the chorus' celebratory mix of paianic and epinician song at the arrival of Heracles in Eur. *HF* 692ff. too. On the bird's link with self-lament see Cropp 1988: 106-107; Arnott 1977; 2007: 123; Harris 2012.

ἄθλιον (155), this swan simile also suggests that she equates her father's death with her own demise, thus augmenting the self-preoccupied nature of her song.

The parodos, which immediately follows Electra's monody, heightens our impression of her isolation in her mourning, as the Argive women, instead of sharing her lament, enter singing excitedly of a completely different event altogether:

> Ἀγαμέμνονος ὦ κόρα, ἤλυθον, Ἠλέκτρα,
> ποτὶ σὰν ἀγρότειραν αὐλάν.
> ἔμολέ τις ἔμολεν γαλακτοπότας ἀνὴρ
> Μυκηναῖος οὐριβάτας·   (170)
> ἀγγέλλει δ' ὅτι νῦν τριταί-
>   αν καρύσσουσιν θυσίαν
> Ἀργεῖοι, πᾶσαι δὲ παρ' Ἥ-
>   ραν μέλλουσιν παρθενικαὶ στείχειν.

> O daughter of Agamemnon, I have come, Electra, to your rather rustic courtyard. A milk-drinking man has come, has come, a Mycenaean mountain walker. He reports that the Argives are now proclaiming a sacrifice in two days, and all the maidens are about to process to Hera's temple. (168-173)

This chorus is far from that of Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*, whose primary role is to perform lament, and who display their solidarity with both Electra and Orestes by singing the long *kommos* with them.[16] In both Sophocles' and Euripides' versions, Electra takes on the Aeschylean chorus' role, while the Argive women refrain from mourning with her, thus highlighting her stubbornly solitary preoccupation. Whereas in Sophocles' play the chorus nevertheless respond to her lament by advising her against it, Euripides' chorus do not even acknowledge her mourning in their opening lyrics, instead describing the celebrations at the *Heraia* festival that is about to be held in Argos, so that their performance seems completely disconnected from hers. Kim Chong-Gossard notes that the *amoibaion* that follows is an "anti-dialogue" similar to the longer version that occurs in the parodos of Sophocles' play: instead of having the chorus sing the strophe and Electra the antistrophe (or vice-versa), both Euripides and Sophocles divide each stanza between them, so that they musically respond only to themselves in their singing, not to each other.[17] The resulting disconnect between the lyrics of Electra and those of the chorus presents a striking contrast with the kind of close, musical relationship displayed by the chorus and female protagonist in the parodos of *Helen* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*;[18] the surviving fragments of lyric dialogue between the chorus and Andromeda in her title

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[16] Aesch. *Cho*. 306-478.

[17] Chong-Gossard 2003: 217. Cf. Carson 2001: 48 on the parodos of Sophocles' *Electra*: "They are each talking to themselves. Musically, it is an anti-dialogue."

[18] See Ch. 4, pp. 93-94 on how the responsive singing of lament by Helen and the chorus in *Hel*. 167-252 underscores their intimacy at this initial point of the tragedy, presenting Helen as the women's *chorēgos*. In the parodos of *Iphigenia in Tauris* (126-235) the chorus draw attention to their responsive antiphony with Iphigenia by describing their mournful songs as "twanging in response" to hers (ἀντιψάλμους, 179).

play indicate a similar intimacy through their shared mourning.[19] While the chorus in *Electra* can be seen as another example of the trend in Euripides' work (and perhaps in tragedy in general in the late fifth century BCE) towards matching a sympathetic female chorus to a female protagonist, their lack of *mousikē* shared with Electra creates a divide between them that is unparalleled in Euripidean tragedy.[20]

Not only do the chorus refuse to engage in Electra's song of lament, but she rejects their invitation to the festival, refusing in particular to join the sort of parthenaic *choreia* that they propose. In doing so, as Froma Zeitlin points out, she marks her "isolation from the civic life of the *polis*";[21] in refusing to dance both at the festival and within the play itself, she simultaneously *enacts* such isolation, making it visually clear to the audience. Though they focus on the participation of *parthenoi* (παρθενικαί, 173) at the festival, the chorus do not specifically mention *choreia* in their invitation. Electra, however, sees choral participation as the primary activity that would be required of her there, and in response makes it clear that she is to perform continuous lament rather than dance in a chorus:

οὐκ ἐπ᾽ ἀγλαΐαις, φίλαι,   (175)
θυμὸν οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ χρυσέοις
   ὅρμοις ἐκπεπόταμαι
τάλαιν᾽, οὐδ᾽ ἱστᾶσα χοροὺς
Ἀργείαις ἅμα νύμφαις
εἱλικτὸν κρούσω πόδ᾽ ἐμόν.   (180)
δάκρυσι νυχεύω, δακρύων δέ μοι μέλει
δειλαίαι τὸ κατ᾽ ἦμαρ.
σκέψαι μου πιναρὰν κόμαν
καὶ τρύχη τάδ᾽ ἐμῶν πέπλων,   (185)
εἰ πρέποντ᾽ Ἀγαμέμνονος
κούραι τᾶι βασιλείαι
τᾶι Τροίαι θ᾽, ἃ ᾽μοῦ πατέρος
μέμναταί ποθ᾽ ἀλοῦσα.

Not at [the prospect of] festive splendor, friends, nor at golden chains have I, wretched one, flown forth in my heart, nor, setting up choruses alongside the Argive brides, will I beat my whirling foot. In tears I spend the night, and tears are my concern, unhappy one, throughout the day. Look at my dirty hair and these rags of my robes, [see] if they are seemly for Agamemnon's royal daughter and for Troy, which, taken once, remembers my father. (175-189)

Her focus on aspects of *choreia* here suggests that this is not just a general refusal to attend the *Heraia*, but a specific rejection of any choral participation. Her mention of the splendor (ἀγλαΐαι, 175) of the festival and "golden chains" (χρύσεοι ὅρμοι, 176) may

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[19] Andromeda repeatedly refers to the chorus as her sympathetic friends who share her lament (*Androm.* frr. 117-120, 122).
[20] On the sympathetic female chorus, especially in Euripidean tragedy, see Castellani 1989; Hose 1990-1991: 17-20; Mastronarde 1999: 94-95, 2010: 104; Foley 2003: 19-20.
[21] Zeitlin 1970: 648.

specifically allude to the brightness and gold traditionally associated with parthenaic choruses. In Alcman's first *Partheneion*, for example, the chorus stress the radiance of their chorus leaders, likening Agido to the shining sun and Hagesichora's hair to pure gold (fr. 1 *PMG*, lines 40-43, 51-54); they also point to their fine attire when singing of their purple clothes, golden jewelry, and Lydian headbands (64-69).[22] It is also possible that "golden chains" could refer not just to jewelry, like "the intricate snake, / all-golden" seems to in Alcman's *partheneion* (ποικίλος δράκων / παγχρύσιος, 64-65), but also to a particular type of dance.[23] Lucian, writing in the second century CE, describes ὁ ὅρμος as "a dance shared by ephebes and *parthenoi*, dancing side by side and thus truly resembling a chain" (ὁ δὲ ὅρμος ὄρχησίς ἐστιν κοινὴ ἐφήβων τε καὶ παρθένων, παρ' ἕνα χορευόντων καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὅρμῳ ἐοικότων, *De Salt.* 12), and then interprets the dance's name metaphorically, as a reflection of the mix of male courage and female self-restraint that the young men and maidens display through their movements. Drawing on Iris' promise to Eileithyia of a dedication at Delos of "a great *hormos*, strung with golden threads, seven cubits long" in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (μέγαν ὅρμον / χρυσείοισι λίνοισιν ἐερμένον ἐννεάπηχυν, 103-104), Lillian Lawler has suggested that ὁ ὅρμος might have a more literal origin, originally denoting "a cult dance in which a large garland, *hormos*, was carried in solemn procession by youths and maidens, alternating in a line."[24] As Nicholas Richardson points out, there is no evidence in the Delian inventories that garlands called ὅρμοι were in fact dedicated to Eileithyia; he suggests instead that the nine-cubit *hormos* "is mentioned as an *aition* for an actual necklace dedicated to Eileithyia in her sanctuary before the hymn was composed."[25] Whether it originally referred to the offering of a garland or a necklace, the ὅρμος described by Lucian could nonetheless derive from the sort of processional dance that Lawler envisages. What is important for our interpretation of χρύσεοι ὅρμοι in Euripides' *Electra* is that it could signify to a fifth-century audience some sort of *choreia*, as well as actual adornments and even offerings to Hera. This connection is made all the stronger when Electra claims she has not "flown forth" (ἐκπεπόταμαι, 177) in response to the "festive splendor" and "golden chains", since such imagery of flight tends to be an especially choral motif, becoming particularly popular in contemporary dithyrambic choral lyric.[26] Her rejection of such aerial elevation, both in spirit and in terms of the aesthetic suggestion of *choreia* (whereby the chorus can appear through their movements to fly like birds), is thus part of her total rejection of any choral participation.[27]

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[22] Prototypical, divine choruses of *parthenoi* like the Nereids and Muses are also frequently described as golden: see Ch. 4, pp. 139-141 on the description of the golden Nereids on the sterns of the Myrmidons' ships at *IA* 239-241, where their traditional association with gold merges with the statues' actual material; also p. 155 on the "golden-sandalled" Muses at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (*IA* 1042).

[23] Cf. also Alc. fr. 91 *PMG* (χρύσιον ὅρμον ἔχων ῥαδινᾶν πετάλοισι καλχᾶν).

[24] Lawler 1947: 4. Cf. Hedreen 2011: 500.

[25] Richardson 2010: 97.

[26] Cf. e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 732-751, *IT* 1138, *Hel.* 1478-1494; Soph. *Trach.* 953-959, *OC* 1081-1083; Ar. *Aves* 1389-1390 (a parody of the dithyrambist Cinesias), *Nub.* 333, *Pax* 830-831. See also Ch. 3, pp. 128-131 on Eur. *Hel.* 1478-1494.

[27] On aesthetic suggestion through *choreia*, see Introduction, pp. 12-13.

Electra goes on to refuse specifically to dance as a *chorēgos*, making it clear that she will not take on in this play the role that other Euripidean female protagonists (Helen above all) assume in theirs. In doing so, she underscores the extraordinary disconnect between her singing and that of the chorus in the play so far, as well as her unwillingness to join them in the near future. Her claim in line 178 that she will not "set up" (ἱστᾶσα) choruses refers to the role of the choral leader that she would typically undertake as a young female member of the royal house.[28] By then using the verb εἱλίσσω in her refusal to "beat my whirling foot" (εἱλικτὸν κρούσω πόδ' ἐμόν, 180), she appropriates language typical of choral choreography within her own uncompromising rejection of any such movement associated with *choreia*.[29] Despite such performative language, then, we can assume that the actor would remain motionless during this song. The resulting disconnect between choreographic referentiality and Electra's lack of movement onstage would visually emphasize her stubborn refusal to dance—as would the contrast in this respect between her and the chorus, who, as they come on stage singing the opening of the parodos, would at the very least be performing a sort of processional dance. By drawing attention to her filthy hair and rags, Electra further undermines any possibility of assuming the role of the *chorēgos*, who is traditionally distinguished from the rest of a chorus by means of her beauty (as, for example, Nausicaa is in the *Odyssey* and Helen is at the end of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*).[30] Of course the irony is that she is in fact singing with the chorus here, splitting a strophe of their parodos with them, yet her repeated claims not to join them in their dancing simultaneously prevent any sense of her participation in their *choreia*.

The chorus interpret Electra's refusal to accompany them to the festival in terms of her stubborn insistence on mourning, and therefore advise her to honor the gods with prayers rather than groans of lamentation (οὔτοι στοναχαῖς / ἀλλ' εὐχαῖσι θεοὺς σεβί-/ ζουσ' ἕξεις εὐαμερίαν, 196-197). Her response to their invitation also, however, highlights the ambiguity not only of her royalty—can this woman in rags fulfill the role of *chorēgos*, to which, as Agamemnon's daughter, she should be entitled?—but also of her virginal status.[31] In his opening prologue her husband has told the audience that she is still a *parthenos* (43-44), while Orestes says he has heard she "lives yoked in marriage and no longer remains a virgin" (ἐν γάμοις / ζευχθεῖσαν οἰκεῖν οὐδὲ παρθένον μένειν, 98-99). Both the chorus and Electra underscore this ambiguity in their lyric dialogue, they by inviting her to a festival where "all the maidens are about to process to Hera's temple" (173-174), and she by describing such choral dancers as νύμφαι (179)— young (or at least prospective) brides, who would naturally dance at the festival of a

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[28] On the verb ἵστημι referring to the assembling of a chorus by its leader, see Calame 1997: 45-46; cf. Cropp 1988: 113. On the link between choral leadership and royalty, see Nagy 1990: 345-349 on Hagesichora and Agido in Alc. fr. 1. Cf. Halporn 1983: 110 ("[the] Chorus has called on Electra to take up the role of Hagesichora and she refuses").

[29] On the verb εἱλίσσω in later Euripidean choral lyric, see esp. Introduction, p. 5; below, p. 36-37 on *El*. 437.

[30] *Od*. 6.99-109; Ar. *Lys*. 1315. See Calame 1997: 42-43.

[31] On Electra's reasons for avoiding such a festival, see esp. Michelini 1987: 192.

goddess associated with marriage and family.[32] So while the chorus see her as a potential member of a maiden chorus, Electra through her refusal to join the dancing excludes herself from either category and simultaneously underscores her lack of choral participation within the actual drama.[33]

　　She reiterates her unclear position toward the end of the tragedy too, when she wonders into what chorus or marriage she might enter:

> ἰὼ ἰώ μοι. ποῖ δ' ἐγώ, τίν' ἐς χορόν,
> τίνα γάμον εἶμι; τίς πόσις με δέξεται
> νυμφικὰς ἐς εὐνάς;

> *Io io*! Where shall I go, into what chorus, into what marriage? What husband will receive me into his marriage bed? (1198-1200)

Electra's questions here demonstrate how she sees *choreia* as a parthenaic celebration linked to the preparation of young women for marriage, as it often is in mythology (as in the case of Nausicaa, who sees a potential bridegroom in Odysseus) and also seems to be in the surviving fragments of Alcman: as Sheila Murnaghan writes, "the female chorus participates in a dynamic scenario, in which one member of the group is separated out and embarks on an often-complicated course toward the settled state of marriage."[34] In *Helen* Euripides draws on these parthenaic associations of female *choreia* by presenting Helen as the *chorēgos par excellence*, who leaves her chorus in Egypt to be (re)united with Menelaus and to lead choral dances in Sparta instead.[35] Electra, whose virginal status is no more ambiguous than Helen's, rejects this choral role for herself. And even though the play ends with a resolution to her transitional state between *parthenos* and *gunē*, as Castor proclaims her betrothal to Pylades (1249, 1342),[36] she remains focused on lament for the loss of her city and brother rather than on her marriage (1321-1337).

　　The chorus never actually leave for the festivities of the *Heraia* that they so excitedly announce in the parodos, at least not during the dramatic action of the play. Instead they become enmeshed in Electra's crisis, looking in their next two odes both back toward Agamemnon's murder and forward to his children's revenge (431-486, 699-746), and performing a short, astrophic victory song in celebration of Orestes' arrival (585-595) and, later, a burst of exuberant *choreia* in response to the news of Aegisthus' death (860-865, 874-879). Ironically, however, despite their increased involvement in the dramatic plot revolving around Electra, her refusal to join their *choreia* perpetuates the sense of a distance between them. Even after her reunion with her brother, her isolation is

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[32] On the ritual celebrations at the *Heraia*, see Zeitlin 1970; Calame 1997: 114-120. On the meaning of νύμφη as either a betrothed *parthenos* or a married woman before her first childbirth, see Calame 1997: 26; Larson 2001: 3.

[33] Cf. Zeitlin 1970: 650: by creating a married Electra who is still a virgin, Euripides makes her an even greater "social misfit".

[34] Murnaghan 2005: 186. There is very little evidence of female choruses in archaic and classical Greece that were composed of married women, as opposed to *parthenoi*.

[35] See Ch. 3, esp. pp. 126-133.

[36] Cf. 1340-1341, when Orestes bids Pylades farewell (Πυλάδη, χαίρων ἴθι, νυμφεύου / δέμας Ἠλέκτρας, 1340-1341).

made visually manifest through the contrast between her performance and that of the chorus.

Such distance is particularly clear following Orestes' murder of Aegisthus, when the chorus perform a strophic victory song. As in the parodos, here Electra responds to their opening verses, but this time she does so with iambic trimeters rather than song (860-879). This is the only instance of such an interruption of choral strophic song by an actor in all Greek tragedy, and the stark contrast between the chorus' lyrics and Electra's speech emphasizes her continued refusal to participate in their *choreia*. Even as their mutually elated reaction to the messenger's news suggests a closer relationship than that displayed in the parodos, Electra remains steadfastly separate from the chorus' song and dance, displaying her isolation even at this moment of shared joy through their different styles of performance. This contrast is all the more striking as a result of the chorus' emphatic directions to Electra to join their *choreia*:

θὲς ἐς χορόν, ὦ φίλα, ἴχνος, ὡς νεβρὸς οὐράνιον   *[Strophe]*
πήδημα κουφίζουσα σὺν ἀγλαΐαι.
νικᾶι στεφαναφόρα κρείσσω τῶν παρ' Ἀλφειοῦ
  ῥεέθροις τελέσας
κασίγνητος σέθεν· ἀλλ' ὑπάειδε
καλλίνικον ὠιδὰν ἐμῶι χορῶι.   (865)

Set your foot to the choral dance, dear friend, like a fawn lightly leaping up to heaven with festive splendor. Your brother has completed and won a crown-contest, greater than those by the streams of Alpheus. But sing in accompaniment to my choral dance the *kallinikos* song! (860-865)

As Zeitlin and Swift have noted, this song is essentially an epinician, since the chorus sing in dactylo-epitrite meter and present Aegisthus' murder as a victory in a "crown-contest" (στεφαναφόρα, 863) superior even to the games at Olympia; their direction to Electra to leap like a fawn (860-861) may also be epinician in tone, as we find a similar simile in Bacchylides 13.84-90.[37] Their framing of the murder in this way contributes to what Arnott calls the play's "double vision", whereby Electra's view is consistently at odds with that of other characters: whereas in the messenger's account Orestes' attack on Aegisthus seems to be a cowardly and brutal stab in the back that mars the cult sacrifice being performed to the Nymphs, Electra presents it as an Olympic victory by repeatedly depicting Orestes as a heroic athlete.[38]

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[37] Zeitlin 1970: 656; Swift 2010: 159-160. Cf. Arnott 1981: 188; Cropp 1988: 158; Henrichs 1994: 87. The fawn imagery may also introduce a Dionysiac flavor to the victory song: see Henrichs 1994: 88.

[38] Arnott 1981: 182-183, 186-189. References to Orestes as an athlete: 528, 781-782, 880-890, 953-956; the messenger also contributes to this image by comparing Orestes' speed in stripping the bull's hide to that of a runner in a race course (824-825), and by describing how Aegisthus' servants garlanded Orestes' head after the murder (854-855). Epinician imagery is developed in nearly all the plays that deal with the Orestes myth, particularly in Aeschylus' *Oresteia* trilogy: see Swift 2010: 166-169; on Euripides' *Electra* in particular, see *ibid* 156-166, 169-170.

On the one hand, then, the fact that the chorus view the murder as Electra does marks the closeness of their relationship. Their shared focus here comes in particularly marked contrast to their different preoccupations in the parodos: now the chorus' reference to "festive splendor" (ἀγλαΐα, 861, cf. 175, 192) refers to choral celebration for Orestes' victory as an athlete rather than that at the *Heraia*, in which Electra previously refused to participate. She responds to their epinician song with equal enthusiasm, announcing that she will crown her brother's head:

> ὦ φέγγος, ὦ τέθριππον ἡλίου σέλας,
> ὦ γαῖα καὶ νὺξ ἣν ἐδερκόμην πάρος,
> νῦν ὄμμα τοὐμὸν ἀμπτυχαί τ' ἐλεύθεροι,
> ἐπεὶ πατρὸς πέπτωκεν Αἴγισθος φονεύς.
> φέρ', οἷα δὴ 'χω καὶ δόμοι κεύθουσί μου   (870)
> κόμης ἀγάλματ' ἐξενέγκωμεν, φίλαι,
> στέψω τ' ἀδελφοῦ κρᾶτα τοῦ νικηφόρου.

O light, O chariot-mounted blaze of the sun, O Earth and Night, whom I previously looked upon, now I am free to open my eyes, since Aegisthus, my father's murderer, has fallen! Come, friends, let us bring out such adornments for hair as I possess and are lying hidden away in my home, and I will crown the head of my victory-bearing brother! (866-872)

On the other hand, however, Electra marks the disconnect between her and the chorus through her lack of response to their vivid directions that she dance and leap in the choral dance and perform a *kallinikos* song—a *kōmos* associated with Heracles that was sung for Olympic victors—to the accompaniment of their *choreia*.[39] Instead of sharing their strophe as she does in the parodos, she replies with speech, producing a kind of spoken version of a *kallinikos* song instead, which she continues after their antistrophe by addressing Orestes as ὦ καλλίνικε in line 880, thereby performing in iambics part of the refrain typically addressed to the victor within such a song.[40] Even though their address to her as ὦ φίλα makes it clear that their directions are for her, it is the chorus who sing and dance instead, presumably making energetic movements similar to those they describe in lines 860-861 and thus creating a clear visual contrast with Electra's obstinately stationary pose.

The chorus explicitly comment on their different types of performance in their following antistrophe:

> σὺ μέν νυν ἀγάλματ' ἄειρε κρατί· τὸ δ' ἀμέτερον

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[39] Pindar makes this performance context of the *kallinikos* clear in the opening of his ninth Olympian ode (τὸ μὲν Ἀρχιλόχου μέλος / φωνᾶεν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, / καλλίνικος ὁ τριπλόος κεχλαδώς…, *Ol.* 9.1-4); cf. Arch. fr. 324 W. The *kallinikos* is frequently alluded to in Euripides' *Heracles* in reference to the hero's defeat of Lycus; in the second stasimon the chorus insist they will perform this song, old as they are (673-686; cf. 180, 570, 582, 785-789, 961, 1046): see Swift 2010: 145-147. On the nature of the *kallinikos* song, see Lawler 1948; Swift 2010: 132-133.

[40] Cf. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 3; Arch. fr. 324 W (τήνελλα καλλίνικε / χαῖρε ἄναξ Ἡράκλεις…, 1-2).

χωρήσεται Μούσαισι χόρευμα φίλον.   (875)
νῦν οἱ πάρος ἁμετέρας γαίας τυραννεύσουσι φίλοι βασιλῆς
δικαίως, τοὺς ἀδίκους καθελόντες.
ἀλλ᾽ ἴτω ξύναυλος βοὰ χαρᾶι.

You then raise adornments upon his head; but our dancing, dear to the Muses, will
go on. Now those dear ones who were previously kings of our land will rule it
justly, having destroyed the unjust. But let the shout along with the *aulos* go out
with joy! (874-878)

The μέν…δέ construction in line 874 makes clear for the first time the splitting of their
role from Electra's: she can crown Orestes, while their job is to dance. These lines are
particularly striking due to the fact that the chorus so emphatically characterize
themselves here *as a chorus*, drawing further attention to their choral dancing as their
sole preoccupation through the alliterative word-play of χωρήσεται and χόρευμα in line
875.[41] Such explicit choral self-characterization is surprisingly rare in extant tragedy—
more often they refer indirectly to their own singing and dancing through so-called
"choral projection", as they do in the first and second stasima of this play.[42] Here the
chorus accentuate the disconnect between Electra and themselves by drawing attention to
the here and now of their performance, including the sound of the *aulos* accompanying
them (ξύναυλος βοά, 878).

Electra and the chorus do, however, come together in performance toward the end
of the tragedy, when they lament along with Orestes following the murder of
Clytemnestra (1177-1237). Yet they still do not show quite the sort of togetherness in
mourning that we see in, for example, *Troades*, in which, despite Hecuba's claim to have
abandoned her role as *chorēgos* (*Tro.* 146-152), she and the chorus display an
increasingly close relationship through their shared performances of lament. As these turn
into full antiphonal mourning, the women's bond in suffering is presented even more
strongly, with the result that Hecuba's separation from them as she departs for Odysseus'
ship brings about a particularly painful end to the play, symbolizing once again the
breakdown of any form of social cohesion in the aftermath of Troy's destruction.[43] In
Electra, in contrast with their disregard for the princess' στοναχαί in the parodos, the
chorus finally share in her and Orestes' song of mourning, though this is no longer a

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[41] Cf. Henrichs 1996: 87, 89, who links the "performative future" (χωρήσεται) here with the
chorus' reassertion of their choral identity.

[42] See pp. 31-52 below on *El.* 431-486 and 699-746. Another notable instance of the dramatic
chorus directly presenting themselves as a chorus within a tragedy is when the Furies perform
their "binding song" in Aeschylus' *Eumenides* (ἄγε δὴ καὶ χορὸν ἅψωμεν…, 307-396). In
Euripides' *Phoenissae* the Phoenician women's wish to become a whirling chorus for Apollo (εἱ-
/ λίσσων ἀθανάτας θεοῦ / χορὸς γενοίμαν ἄφοβος, 234-236) is as much an enactment of their
actual chorus-character as it is an instance of choral escapism, since they are in fact going to
Delphi to serve Apollo there as (choral) offerings (ἀκροθίνια Λοξίᾳ, 203): this point was made
by Enrico Emanuele Prodi in a presentation at the American Philological Association, Seattle,
January 5, 2013; on *choreia* as akin to a sacrificial offering, see Kowalzig 2004: 49-55, 2007: 70-
72; Kurke 2012: 220-222. See also Epilogue, p. 175 on the chorus in Euripides' *Bacchae*.

[43] See Ch. 2, esp. pp. 84-86.

lament over the dead Agamemnon, like the lengthy *kommos* in Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* is, but instead an outburst of despair for the siblings' fate and a reliving of Clytemnestra's murder.[44] The chorus join their lyric iambics, but still seem rather detached from Electra's suffering, as they express critical judgment on the deed more than full sympathy for their plight: they accuse Electra of making her brother commit a terrible crime, even though he did not want to (δεινὰ δ' εἰργάσω, / φίλα, κασίγνητον οὐ θέλοντα, 1204-1205).[45] Admittedly, she does end up seeming to share their condemnation of her action when she admits "I have committed the most terrible of sufferings" (δεινότατον παθέων ἔρεξα, 1226), yet the oxymoron here of enacting sufferings implies that she is referring to her role in her and Orestes' own misfortunes rather than to the crime itself.[46] As in the parodos, the lack of strophic responsion between the chorus, Electra, and Orestes during this performance (they each metrically reply only to their own lyrics) may also heighten the isolation of each character, even at this moment of shared lament. Certainly it comes in marked contrast to the elaborate strophic structure of the *kommos* in *Choephoroi*, which intensifies the sense of their collectivity and shared purpose.[47]

We can see, then, that the degree of a protagonist's choral participation can be an important form of characterization in tragedy, and Euripides especially makes use of it as such in *Electra*. A comparison with Hecuba in *Troades* can help to elucidate the way in which Electra is presented through her interactions with the chorus. As we shall see in Chapter Two, Hecuba, like Electra, not only denies her role as chorus leader, but also similarly appropriates aspects of choral lyric within her monodic performance at the start of the play.[48] Hecuba's rejection of her choral role, however, comes as a result of the lack of *choreia* altogether after the devastation of Troy: even though the Trojan women do sing and dance on stage, they simultaneously emphasize the absence of choral performance now that their city has been destroyed. At the same time she and the chorus display an increasing degree of solidarity through their performances of antiphonal lament, especially toward the end of the tragedy. The apparent absence of *choreia* in

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[44] Aesch. *Cho.* 306-478.

[45] On this reversal of the chorus' perspective on the punishment inflicted on Clytemnestra, see Mastronarde 1999: 97, 2010: 121.

[46] MS L attributes line 1226 with the second person ἔρεξας ("you committed") to the chorus rather than Electra, in which case they would also need to sing line 1232, but it seems far more likely that both strophe and antistrophe would be evenly split between Orestes and Electra, she singing the last three lines just as the chorus does in the previous strophic pair: see Cropp 1988: 178, following Diggle 1981. The first person ἔρεξα is an emendation by Seidler, but it is possible, as Cropp 1988: 181 notes, to retain the second person, in which case Electra would be addressing Orestes here: "now she laments the horror of the deed which *her* urging…forced *him* to enact" (emphasis original). If so, there would be a continued disconnect between her words and those of the chorus: whereas they tell her that she did "terrible things" (1204), she transfers primary responsibility onto her brother.

[47] This sense of collaboration and shared purpose between the chorus, Electra, and Orestes in Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* breaks down, however, later in the play: Electra does not reappear after she enters the palace (579ff.), while the chorus' reaction to the events at Argos are presented as distinct from Orestes'. This separation is marked by the contrast between his iambic trimeters and their lyrics (1007-1020) and final anapaests (1065-1076); it is possible that he even begins to see the chorus as the Erinyes at 1048-1050 (ὅμοιαὶ γυναῖκες αἵδε....).

[48] See Ch. 2, esp. pp. 59-63 on *Tro.* 98-157.

Troades is very different from the chorus' repeated emphasis in *Electra* on its presence, which underscores the ambiguous nature of Electra's position. Her lack of choral participation, as well as the continued sense of distance between her and the chorus, signifies both her actual social isolation and the sense of exclusion that she constructs for herself—a combination that has led to lengthy scholarly discussions of the extent to which we should accept Electra's self-presentation in the drama and sympathize with her as a character.[49] Euripides' play with myth and innovation, heroism and realism, deliberately prevents a straightforwardly positive or negative response to Electra or Orestes in this tragedy; to adopt either as a critic is to underappreciate the complexity of Euripides' character portrayals.

At the end of the tragedy, Electra detaches herself from the chorus entirely as she makes the transition away from Argos toward her new life with Pylades. Unlike Hecuba, whose extended, antiphonal lament with the chorus brings *Troades* to a close, Electra hardly interacts with the chorus at all in the final scene of the earlier play. After the chorus signal a new dimension of action with the coming of the gods through the sky (1233-1237) and Castor delivers a long *rhesis*, Orestes and Electra join together in dialogue with him (1292-1356). As she assumes her new social role as Pylades' bride, no longer in Argos and apart from her brother, Electra's previous refusal to participate in celebratory *choreia* or to think of herself as a marriageable *parthenos* is superseded. Now, responding to Orestes' request that she utter a *thrēnos* for him, "as if I were dead, at my tomb" (θανόντος δ' / ὡς ἐπὶ τύμβωι καταθρήνησον, 1325-1326), she utters quasi-funerary laments for the loss of her brother and city, as if resuming her mourning at the start of the play. Her dialogue with Orestes and Castor, performed in recitative anapaests, is neither fully sung nor spoken, and does not involve the chorus at all (except for their final few lines of farewell with which the play ends); instead, it seems to be directed upward and outward, to the gods in the *machina* and the world beyond Argos. In this final closing scene, then, the question of Electra's choral role (or lack thereof) no longer seems significant, as she becomes completely disconnected from her social and communal ties at Argos and heads toward her new life as Pylades' wife in Phocis.[50] Like Helen in her eponymous play, who abandons her chorus in Egypt as she is reunited with Menelaus and departs with him to Sparta, Electra leaves the chorus of Argive women behind, but without ever having assumed the role of their leader in the first place.

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[49] See e.g. Conacher 1967: 199-212; Arnott 1981; Lloyd 1986; Raeburn 2000; Chong-Gossard 2003: 193-197; Papadimitropoulos 2008.

[50] Griffith 2011 argues that this marriage arrangement (like those of many Greek tragedies) serves to provide an uncomfortable and undemocratic but predictable and effective resolution, whereby super-elite families regroup after a series of catastrophes and begin to rebuild (often with Olympian support). So Electra, though she ends up being completely disconnected from her previous local support-systems and community obligations (the city of Argos, her Mycenaean husband, and the chorus of Argive women), is able to start up again in another location as the high-status wife of her prosperous cousin, Pylades: see esp. *ibid* 199-200.

PERFORMED ECPHRASIS

The chorus in this play perform three odes separately from Electra, each one at a pivotal point in the play: the first stasimon just before Electra recognizes Orestes with the help of the Old Man (431-486); the second and third as the murders of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra respectively are taking place offstage (699-746, 1147-1164). Despite occurring at such critical moments, however, the first two stasima begin by dwelling on scenes that are apparently far from the immediate situation in Argos, transporting the audience instead initially to the ships carrying Achilles to Troy, and then in the second stasimon to the celebrations in Argos at the discovery of the golden fleece. Both songs thus heighten the dramatic tension by seeming to delay the action to which each third of the play is leading—the reunion of Electra and Orestes, and the murder of Aegisthus. But more than devices for such heightened suspense, these two odes have often in the past been seen as entirely irrelevant to the plot, as mere escapist fantasies that contrast with the realism with which Electra has thus far been depicted. George Gellie, writing on the first stasimon, represents this view particularly forcefully:

> "…it is not connection that the ode seeks; it is disconnection. We are being reminded, for the sake of argument, of a special world, a wide-screen technicolor world that is crowded, fast and brilliant. It is the world the play rejects. There are no ideas or feelings in the ode, just images and tableaux."[51]

Shirley Barlow likewise deems this ode "a classic case of pictorial irrelevance" as a result of its lack of any dramatic integration.[52] In part because of the supposed remoteness of these stasima as self-contained narratives at a remove from the dramatic action, scholars have tended to characterize them as "dithyrambic", following Kranz's categorization in 1933.[53] As we shall see, they both also display the sort of self-referential musicality that was particularly associated with the "New Music" and dithyramb.[54]

Complete choral detachment from the *mythos* in these odes would seem especially surprising, however, given how the chorus has otherwise become increasingly concerned with the dramatic action through the course of the play, as becomes clear when they sing their first victory song in celebration of Orestes' return (585-595). Countering the idea that the first two stasima are irrelevant moments of escapism, several scholars have tracked the ominous change in tone in both songs, which shift from an idealized world in

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[51] Gellie 1981: 7. Cf. esp. Kitto 1939: 360, 363; Barlow 1971: 20-21. Rode (1971: 111) notes the link to the surrounding drama through the address to Clytemnestra at the end of the ode, but states that otherwise the mythological content "mit dem Thema des Dramas nur in sehr lockerem Zusammenhang steht und dadurch dem Lied einen gewissen Eigenwert gibt." In contrast, Walsh 1977 explores the apparent contradiction of "thematic relevance to the dramatic situation, and contrast with it," stating that "it is the combination of the two that determines the ode's dramatic function" (278).

[52] Barlow 1971: 20.

[53] Kranz 1933: 238, 241-242, 254; Kubo 1967: 15; Cropp 1988: 128, 149. Cf. Csapo 2003: 71-73, 2009.

[54] On the "New Music," particularly the adoption of dithyrambic styles within other genres of Greek lyric, see Introduction, pp. 5-6.

the opening stanza to the realities of the events in Argos by the end.[55] In the second half of the first stasimon the chorus turn away from what James Morwood describes as "a delightful dream of heroic mythology" towards the unsettling emblems displayed on Achilles' armor, and finally in the epode move from his sword on to Clytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon and her impending punishment (476-486).[56] Csapo suggests that this turning point begins with the mention of the sons of Atreus in the closing line of the first strophic pair, creating an emphatic end to the preceding enjambment (Ἀτρείδαις, 451).[57] Likewise in the second stasimon images of pastoral celebration at the start shift into a description of Thyestes' treachery and its cosmic repercussions; the chorus eventually turn to Clytemnestra with a direct address, just as they do in the first stasimon (745-746).

What has not thus far been appreciated, however, is the way in which *mousikē*, both in language and in performance, contributes to this pattern; if noted at all, the marked musicality of both odes tends just to be attributed to their dithyrambic character.[58] Yet the first stasimon in particular is full of allusions to choral dance that help both to transport the audience chronologically and geographically away from the present dramatic action, and then to bring them back to disturbing events at Argos. Whether they deem it dramatically relevant or not, scholars have been struck by the "pictorial" quality of this ode—in Gellie's words, its series of "images and tableaux"—from the Nereids dancing around the Greek ships to the Gorgon, sphinxes and Chimaera depicted on Achilles' armor. These ecphrastic scenes do not, however, merely form a static verbal frieze, since their choreographic focus suggests that they would also be enacted through the chorus' own performance. That is, the chorus would not only describe such scenes in the words of their song, but would simultaneously suggest them through their choreographed movements on stage.[59]

The first strophic pair takes us away from Argos to Agamemnon's ships en route to Troy, then to the Nereids bringing Achilles' armor from Euboia to Cheiron's cave on Mount Pelion. The ode's performative aspects, particularly the abundance of musical images in the initial strophe, enhance this spatial and temporal movement away from the present action in Argos, and back to a time before the bloodshed of and following the Trojan War:

κλειναὶ νᾶες, αἵ ποτ' ἔβατε Τροίαν   *[1ˢᵗ Strophe]*
τοῖς ἀμετρήτοις ἐρετμοῖς
πέμπουσαι χορεύματα Νηρήιδων,
ἵν' ὁ φίλαυλος ἔπαλλε δελ-   (435)

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[55] See esp. O'Brien 1964; Morwood 1981; Cropp 1988: 128-129, 149; Csapo 2009. Cf. Mastronarde 2010: 139-140.

[56] Morwood 1981: 363.

[57] Csapo 2009: 97.

[58] As in Csapo 2003: 71-73. In his 2009 article he links the ode's paratactic sequence of images to the "New Music," but does not discuss any of its performative aspects. In his 2008 piece he only indirectly links the references to star choruses in the first two stasima to circular dancing in the orchestra (277-280).

[59] Cf. Walsh 1977: 280: "All of this may be vividly evoked by the dancing of the dramatic chorus itself."

φὶς πρῴραις κυανεμβόλοι-
  σιν εἰλισσόμενος,
πορεύων τὸν τᾶς Θέτιδος
κοῦφον ἅλμα ποδῶν Ἀχιλῆ
σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι Τρωΐας   (440)
ἐπὶ Σιμουντίδας ἀκτάς.

Νηρῇδες δ’ Εὐβοῖδας ἄκρας λιποῦσαι   *[1ˢᵗ Antistrophe]*
μόχθους ἀσπιστὰς ἀκμόνων
Ἡφαίστου χρυσέων ἔφερον τευχέων,
ἀνά τε Πήλιον ἀνά τ’ ἐρυ-   (445)
  μνᾶς Ὄσσας ἱερὰς νάπας
  Νυμφαίας σκοπιὰς
†κόρας μάτευσ’† ἔνθα πατὴρ
ἱππότας τρέφεν Ἑλλάδι φῶς
Θέτιδος εἰναλίας γόνον   (450)
ταχύπορον πόδ’ Ἀτρείδαις.

Glorious ships, which once went to Troy with countless oars, escorting the choral dances of the Nereids, where the *aulos*-loving dolphin would leap, whirling by the dark-blue prows, carrying Thetis' son, Achilles, swift in the leap of his feet, with Agamemnon to the banks of the Simois, Troy's river.

The Nereids, leaving Euboea's headlands, were carrying the shield-labors of Hephaestus' anvils, golden armor, up to Pelion and the holy dells of steep Ossa, the Nymphs' watch-tower, †seeking maidens† where his father, the horseman, was bringing up as a light for Greece the son of sea-dwelling Thetis, fast-moving on his feet for the sons of Atreus. (432-451)

The stasimon begins with an address to the "glorious ships" that is left without any predicate, thereby becoming the sort of hanging apostrophe that seems to have been a typical feature of new Euripidean choral lyric and perhaps "New Music" in general—at least this is what Aristophanes would have us believe in *Frogs*, when Aeschylus, parodying Euripidean verse, invokes halycons and spiders that are then overtaken by a series of relative clauses.[60] The spotlighting of the ships through this address here sets the focus on maritime travel that continues through the rest of the strophe and seems to be strongly connected with dance. Other Euripidean choral lyric suggests the choreographic associations of seafaring too: the first and second stasima of *Iphigenia in Tauris* combine descriptions of travel by sea (and horses) with imagery of choral dancing;[61] the chorus in the third stasimon of *Helen* initially focus on the Phoenician ship carrying Helen to Sparta, picturing it as the *chorēgos* of dancing dolphins (χοραγὲ τῶν καλλιχόρων /

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[60] See Dover 1993: 352; Csapo 2003: 72 on this feature in *El.* 434-441 and Ar. *Frogs*. 1309-1319. See also Ch. 3, pp. 124-125 on the hanging apostrophe to the Phoenician ship that opens the third stasimon of Euripides' *Helen* (1451-1452).
[61] Eur. *IT* 393-466, 1089-1152.

δελφίνων, 1454-1455).[62] The link between seafaring and *choreia* may result in particular from the association of the dithyramb and Dionysus more generally with maritime travel, which is evident in Herodotus' story of Arion, the "founder" of the dithyramb, as well as in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*: in both accounts the trader-pirates are transformed into a sort of dolphin chorus.[63] Depictions of dolphin choruses also appear on a series of archaic and early classical vases, further indicating, as Csapo has shown, a nexus of associations between seafaring, dolphins, *choreia*, and Dionysiac cult that seems to be an essential part of the dithyrambic imaginary.[64]

In the *Electra* first stasimon the musical connotations of the opening theme become clear as the chorus sing of how the ships escorted the "choral dances of the Nereids" (χορεύματα Νηρήιδων, 434), with the "*aulos*-loving dolphin" whirling and leaping alongside (ὁ φίλαυλος ἔπαλλε δελ- / φὶς…/…εἰλισσόμενος, 435-437).[65] Nereids almost always appear in connection with dancing in Greek literature, and their number (usually fifty) can in particular link them to the chorus of the dithyramb. The chorus' mention of them here is the first instance in Euripides' extant work of a trend in several of his later tragedies that forms part of his experimentation with increasingly self-referential and performative musical language;[66] as a result of Csapo's exploration of this trend, Nereids have tended to be associated with the choral imaginary typical of the "New Music." It is important to remember, however, that Aeschylus produced the tragedy *Nereides* at least fifty years before Euripides wrote *Electra*, and in this play a chorus of Nereids entered in the parodos carrying Achilles' arms and singing of the dolphins that accompanied them: in fr. 150 Radt they describe how they crossed "the dolphin-bearing plane of the sea" (δελφινοφόρον πεδίον πόντου).[67] The description of the Nereids' choral dances and the dancing dolphin in the *Electra* ode, which goes on to recount how the maidens brought Achilles his armor, must refer back to Aeschylus' older tragedy as

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[62] See Ch. 3, p. 124 on *Hel*. 1454-1455.

[63] Hdt. 1.23-24; *Hom. Hymn Dion*. 48-53. See also the pseudo-Arion hymn (probably a dithyramb), quoted in Aelian, *NA* 12.45. Cf. Kowalzig 2013: 31-34.

[64] Csapo 2003. Kowalzig 2013 argues that the link between the dithyramb and maritime travel reflects and even enacts increased economic connectivity across the Greek Mediterranean in the archaic period.

[65] Rather than follow Diggle's emendation, Willink 2009: 206-207 (cf. 1999: 175) proposes that we retain the MS L reading πέμπουσαι χοροὺς μετὰ Νηρήιδων in line 434, arguing that this phrase has the meaning of "processing in association with", since, "if escorting were the point, the Nereids should be escorting the ships rather than the ships escorting the Nereids." The more standard meaning of πέμπειν does not, however, seem particularly jarring here, since the idea instead seems to be that the Nereids and dolphin are dancing around the ships (and so being carried along with them), while the image of the ships carrying the maiden choruses contributes to the simultaneous merging of the dramatic chorus with the soldiers, Nereids, and dolphin that I discuss below.

[66] Cf. Eur. *Ion* 1081-1086; *IT* 263-264, 427-429; *IA* 239-240, 1055-1057, 1078-1079 (see Ch. 4, pp. 139-140, 156). References to the Nereids' choral dancing outside of choral lyric: *Andr*. 1267, *Tro*. 2. On Nereids' association with dancing, the dithyramb and the "New Music," see Csapo 1999-2000: 422, 2003: esp. 73-78.

[67] On the Aeschylean chorus, see Miller 1986: 162; Michelakis 2002: 53-54; Csapo 2003: 73. On the dating of the *Achilleis* trilogy to the second decade of the fifth century, see Snell 1971: 3, n. 5; Taplin 1977: 62, n. 4 and 456, n. 2.

much as it also points to a new departure in Euripides' own use of *mousikē*.[68] This chorus is not actually made up of Nereids as Aeschylus' is, but through its reference to the χορεύματα Νηρήιδων they seem to merge with those archetypal performers of *choreia*. This sense of merging or doubling, whereby the dramatic chorus temporarily appear to embody the one they describe, would presumably have been especially effective for those members of the Athenian audience who knew Aeschylus' play and remembered its chorus of Nereids performing like the ones pictured here.[69] By not only describing the ships' voyage but also enacting some of it through their own choral performance, the chorus make this scene especially vivid for the audience, thereby drawing them away from the Argos of the dramatic present towards Troy of the heroic past.

With the "*aulos*-loving dolphin" the chorus' performance on stage similarly merges with the one they describe in their song. The unusual adjective φίλαυλος (435) immediately establishes a link between the sea creature and the chorus, who are similarly dancing to the accompaniment of the *aulos*.[70] It also alludes to the playing of the *aulos* on the Greek ships to provide a rhythm for the men rowing with "countless oars" (τοῖς ἀμετρήτοις ἐρετμοῖς, 433), so that the choral performance further seems to enact the sea journey that it describes.[71] We have already seen that dolphins are frequently associated with choral dance (especially the dithyramb) in archaic and classical Greek literature and art.[72] Depictions of dolphin choruses on vases often follow the shape of the vessels in such a way as to suggest that they were imagined to dance in circular formation, just as Nereids often are in Euripidean choral lyric; a particularly clear example of the latter is in the third stasimon of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, when they are imagined as "whirling in circles" (εἱλισσόμεναι κύκλια, 1055).[73] The combination of the "whirling" (εἱλισσόμενος) dolphin in the *Electra* ode and the dancing Nereids also strongly suggests circular movement, in terms of the choral formation as a whole and perhaps also of the individual turns of the choreuts, so that the chorus would again be enacting in their dance what they describe in their song. Aristophanes' parody of this passage (combined with parts of *Hypsipyle* and *Meleager*) in *Frogs* highlights this aspect of the performance:[74]

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[68] Cf. Miller 1986: 162-163; Csapo 2003: 73. Csapo notes Euripides' allusion to Aeschylus' tragedy but still emphasizes the "New Musical" and dithyrambic associations of Nereids.

[69] On the question of the extent to which the Athenian audiences of the late fifth century could be expected to appreciate the interconnectivity of different plays, see Revermann 2006, esp. 115-120.

[70] φίλαυλος appears only two other times in extant tragedy: Soph. *Ant.* 965 and Ar. *Ran.* 1317 (in a parody of this *Electra* passage).

[71] On the use of *auloi* on triremes, see Wilson 1999: 81. Lawler 1964: 45 suggests that, while singing of the ships' "countless oars", the chorus may have performed mimetic gestures suggesting the rowing itself. Our only evidence for rowing dance gestures comes from Athenaeus, a very late source, who mentions the dance-figure of the κελευστής that was accompanied by the *aulos* (14.629f): see Lawler 1944: 30-31, 1950.

[72] There may even have been certain mimetic movements performed by choruses that, for an audience accustomed to the appearance of dolphins in cultic dances for Dionysus, would be immediately associated with this creature. Cf. Lonsdale 1993: 98: "The mimetic nature of Greek dance and the projection of dance-like movements onto the dolphin make it extremely likely that the playful creature was the subject of imitative dances".

[73] See Ch. 4, p. 156.

[74] Cf. Eur. *Hyp.* fr. 752f, lines 9-10, *Mel.* fr. 528a Kannicht.

αἵ θ᾽ ὑπωρόφιοι κατὰ γωνίας
εἰειειειειλίσσετε δακτύλοις φάλαγγες
ἱστότονα πηνίσματα,
κερκίδος ἀοιδοῦ μελέτας,
ἵν᾽ ὁ φίλαυλος ἔπαλλε δελ-
    φὶς πρῴραις κυανεμβόλοις
μαντεῖα καὶ σταδίους.

And you spiders who beneath the roof, in the crannies, whi-i-i-i-irl with your fingers the loom-stretched threads, the works of the singing shuttle, where the *aulos*-loving dolphin would leap by the dark-blue prows for oracles and race tracks. (Ar. *Ran*. 1314-1322)

The deliberate showcasing of melisma here, when Aeschylus' character stretches the initial syllable of the second person indicative form out over several notes (εἰειειειλίσσετε, 1314), indicates that both the vocabulary of "whirling" and its enactment were especially striking aspects of the performance of Euripidean choral lyric, and of the *Electra* ode in particular.[75] Euripides may have highlighted the verb's meaning similarly, perhaps matching the mimetic acoustic effect of melisma with the simultaneous twirling of each choreut. The chorus also imagine the dolphin as leaping (ἔπαλλε, 435), using another verb that is choreographically resonant and could therefore apply to their own movements in the *orchestra* too.[76]

The appearance of dolphin-human hybrids on archaic and early classical vases further indicates that Greek audiences were accustomed to conflate choral (especially dithyrambic) performers with these dancing creatures.[77] An unattributed Attic black-figure krater of ca. 550 BCE (fig. 1) that shows a chorus of men on the outside and dolphins on the inside of the rim suggests a similar aesthetic crossover through *choreia*: as Barbara Kowalzig points out, "[w]hen looked at from the most usual angle, that is to say, slightly from above, the two lines of choral dancers blur into one and the same, the 'real' and the 'imagined' choros become almost indistinguishable."[78] The mere

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[75] As Csapo 1999-2000: 422 demonstrates, the verb εἰλίσσω becomes a particular favorite in Euripidean lyric from *Electra* onwards. On this and other aspects of Aristophanes' parody, see Griffith 2013: 137, 146-147. Melism is used to characterize Euripides' lyrics two further times in *Frogs* too: the chorus call him the "smooth, unrolling tongue" (λίσπη / γλῶσσ᾽ ἀνελισσομένη, 836-837) in their prelude to the tragedians' *agōn*; it occurs again, with the initial syllable repeated as before, in Aeschylus' parody of Euripidean monody (εἰειειλίσσουσα, 1349). On melisma at *El*. 437, see Csapo 2003: 72-73.

[76] Cf. Ar. *Lys*.1304-1313, where the verb πάλλω is used twice, first as part of an exhortation to dance (εἶα μάλ᾽ ἔμβη, / ὣ εἶα κοῦφα <u>πᾶλον</u>…) and then in a compound form to describe the movement of horses and maidens (ἅ τε πῶλοι ταὶ κόραι / πὰρ τὸν Εὐρώταν / <u>ἀμπάλλοντι</u> πυκνὰ ποδοῖν). On πάλλω referring to dance, see Naerebout 1997: 281-282.

[77] On vase depictions of dancing dolphin-men see Csapo 2003: 79-86. He rightly stresses that such images should not merely be read as illustrations of the pirates who metamorphize into dolphins in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*.

[78] Kowalzig 2013: 35.

suggestion of dancing dolphins in choral lyric, as in the *Electra* first stasimon, could therefore prompt the Athenian audience to see the choreuts as dolphins.
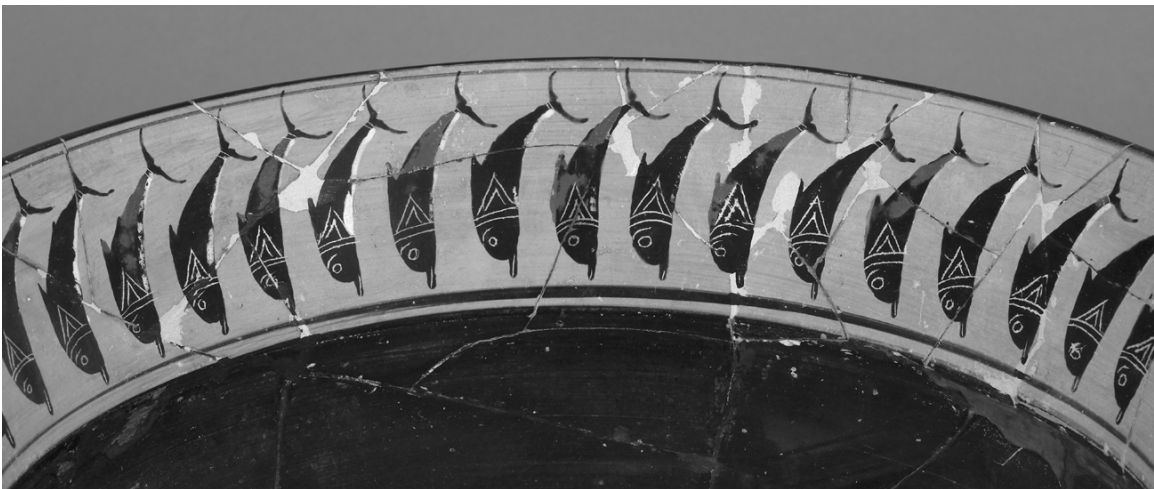

Fig. 1. Attic black-figure cup-krater, ca. 550 BCE, with dolphins depicted along the inside rim and a processional dance of men on the outside. Paris, Louvre, CA 2988.

By assimilating themselves to the dancing dolphin as well as to the Nereids, the chorus could simultaneously represent through their performance the Greek soldiers on their way to Troy. A series of the dolphin vases show armed men riding on these animals, following the circular shape of the vessel, often with an *aulos*-player standing between them; a particularly clear example is the Oltos psykter, on which each rider is in full hoplite armor (fig. 2) and appears to be singing, with the words ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ("upon a dolphin") coming out of his mouth, perhaps suggesting the opening words of a choral song.[79] Kowalzig argues that such riders represent a hoplite phalanx, which, by winding around the walls of the vase like a chorus, seems to enclose its contents rather as this military formation would. She suggests that the association of the dithyrambic choral imaginary with that of the hoplite phalanx lies in their shared significance as images of civic solidarity and community integration.[80] At the same time, the fact that these men are also riders suggests "the contemporary military change from knight to hoplite and the integration of exchange by sea and traditional modes of elite display in a new visual reference system."[81] By the time of Euripides' *Electra*, the specific identification of choral dolphin riders as knights-turned-hoplites may have been less resonant, but the first stasimon suggests that the more general association between dolphins and traveling soldiers remained within the choral imaginary. Moreover, the dolphin in this ode is not merely accompanying the Greek army on their way to Troy, but is *carrying* Achilles (πορεύων, 438), just as the creatures on the vases are shown carrying soldiers.[82] If this image evoked for the late fifth-century Athenian audience a sense of community cohesion similar to that which Kowalzig sees in the dolphin-rider vases of a century earlier, the effect of escapism in the ode's initial strophe would be particularly pronounced, coming in sharp contrast with the past and impending civic turmoil at Argos.

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[79] Sifakis 1967 suggests that this is an image of a comic chorus, and that the inscription ἐπὶ δελφῖνος could come from a song in which they describe themselves. Cf. Green 1994: 32-33, who further conjectures that these words are from a chorus' anapaestic parodos. The idea that the vase depicts a chorus of a particular comedy is based on the assumption that it shows a chorus actually coming onstage as dolphin riders, but it could instead reflect a more widespread choral imaginary by which choruses were associated with dolphins.

[80] Kowalzig 2013: 37-47.

[81] Kowalzig 2013: 46.

[82] I therefore see no reason to follow Willink's proposed emendation of πορεύοντας τὸν Θέτιδος in line 438. Since Achilles is clearly the direct object of πορεύων in line 439, these lines do not seem to depict the Nereids as dolphin-riders instead, as Miller 1986: 162 suggests the strophe and antistrophe do. The surviving relevant fragment of Aeschylus' *Nereides* does not necessarily indicate that the Nereids ride on dolphins either, unless δελφινοφόρον in fr. 150 Radt is translated rather awkwardly as "bearing by means of dolphins" rather than "dolphin-bearing".

Fig. 2. Attic red-figure psykter, attributed to Oltos, 520-510 BCE. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

For an audience familiar with this cultural nexus of the (dithyrambic) chorus, dolphins, maritime travel, and hoplite soldiers, the chorus of *Electra* would therefore appear to merge through their *choreia* not only with the Nereids and the dancing dolphin, but also with Achilles himself, as he rides on its back to Troy. The focus in the subsequent lines on Achilles' own famously swift movement, with the description of him as "swift in the leap of his foot" (κοῦφον ἅλμα ποδῶν, 439) adds to this impression: by describing the actual movement of the leaping feet, the elaboration of the standard Homeric epithet πόδας ὠκὺς draws attention to the chorus' own energetic movement, not just Achilles' "youthfulness, athletic physique and readiness for action."[83] A similar effect results from the pleonasm of "fast-moving on his feet" (ταχύπορον πόδ') at 451, which achieves particular emphasis through its position at the very end of the antistrophe.

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[83] Cropp 1988: 130. Csapo 2003: 73 suggests the choreuts might themselves leap at this point.

Other than this reference to Achilles' speed, however, the antistrophe contains markedly less choreographic language and fewer verbs of movement than the preceding strophe. The dramatic chorus can fuse once again with the stanza's main subject, as now the focus shifts further back in time to the Nereids bringing arms fashioned by Hephaestus from Euboia to Achilles on Pelion. Just like the strophe, the first six lines of the antistrophe are concerned not only with the Nereids but also with travel, so that any repeated dance movements in the chorus' performance of this verse could similarly match the content of their song.[84] The chorus can thus continue to enact the scene they describe, even without the sorts of verbal allusions to performance that we find in the strophe.

In the second strophic pair the chorus sing of Achilles' armor, and in doing so begin an ominous shift in the ode back towards the bloodiness at Argos. In contrast to the strong sense of movement and travel in the first strophe and antistrophe, now the song's focus seems more static and pictorial. Yet the chorus once again enact what they describe through their own song and dance, thereby vivifying the armor in a kind of performed ecphrasis. By embodying through their choreographed performance the images they describe in words, the chorus help to redirect the audience towards the dramatic present, to which the epode finally turns:

  Ἰλιόθεν δ᾽ ἔκλυόν τινος ἐν λιμέσιν   *[2nd Strophe]*
  Ναυπλίοις βεβῶτος
  τᾶς σᾶς, ὦ Θέτιδος παῖ,
  κλεινᾶς ἀσπίδος ἐν κύκλωι   (455)
  τοιάδε σήματα †δείματα
  Φρύγια† τετύχθαι·
  περιδρόμωι μὲν ἴτυος ἕδραι
  Περσέα λαιμοτόμαν ὑπὲρ ἁλὸς
  ποτανοῖσι πεδίλοις κορυφὰν Γοργόνος ἴσχειν, (460)
   Διὸς ἀγγέλωι σὺν Ἑρμᾶι,
  τῶι Μαίας ἀγροτῆρι κούρωι.

  ἐν δὲ μέσωι κατέλαμπε σάκει φαέθων   *[2nd Antistrophe]*
  κύκλος ἁλίοιο   (465)
  ἵπποις ἂμ πτεροέσσαις
  ἄστρων τ᾽ αἰθέριοι χοροί,
  Πλειάδες Ὑάδες, †Ἕκτορος
  ὄμμασι† τροπαῖοι·
  ἐπὶ δὲ χρυσοτύπωι κράνει   (470)
  Σφίγγες ὄνυξιν ἀοίδιμον ἄγραν
  φέρουσαι· περιπλεύρωι δὲ κύτει πύρπνοος ἔσπευ-
   δε δρόμωι λέαινα χαλαῖς
  Πειρηναῖον ὁρῶσα πῶλον.   (475)

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[84] Wiles 1997: 96-103 strongly argues for strict choreographic symmetry between strophe and antistrophe in tragic choral odes by schematically examining the same examples that Dale 1968: 212-14 used to claim otherwise (*Bacc.* 977-1017, *Hec.* 923-42, *Ion* 205-37). Although he thus shows that such choreographic identity was possible in these cases, he does not thereby prove that it was an absolute rule.

ἄορι δ' ἐν φονίωι τετραβάμονες ἵπποι ἔπαλλον, *[Epode]*
κελαινὰ δ' ἀμφὶ νῶθ' ἵετο κόνις.
τοιῶνδ' ἄνακτα δοριπόνων
ἔκανεν ἀνδρῶν, Τυνδαρί,   (480)
σὰ λέχεα, κακόφρον κόρα.
τοιγάρ σοί ποτ' οὐρανίδαι
πέμψουσιν θανάτου δίκαν.
ἔτ' ἔτι φόνιον ὑπὸ δέραν   (485)
ὄψομαι αἷμα χυθὲν σιδάρωι.

I used to hear, from someone who came from Ilium to the harbor of Nauplia, that on the circle of your famous shield, O son of Thetis, were wrought these emblems, †terrors for the Phrygians†: on the surrounding base of the shield's rim, Perseus the throat-cutter, over the sea with winged sandals, was holding the Gorgon's head, with Hermes, Zeus' messenger, the rustic son of Maia.

In the center of the shield the gleaming circle of the sun was shining on winged horses, and the heavenly choruses of stars, Pleiades, Hyades, turning back †the eyes of Hector†; and upon his gold-beaten helmet were sphinxes, carrying in their talons song-caught prey. On the rib-encircling hollow a fire-breathing lioness sped at a run with her claws, seeing Peirene's colt.

On the bloody sword four-footed horses were leaping, and about their backs black dust was thrown up. The lord of such spear-toiling men, your [adulterous] bed killed, evil-minded daughter of Tyndareus! For this the heavenly gods will one day [soon] send to you the punishment of death. Still, still beneath your bloody throat I shall see blood pouring forth at the sword. (452-486)

After the escapism of the initial strophic pair, now the chorus describe a series of increasingly ominous "emblems" (σήματα, 456) depicted on Achilles' shield, dominated by threatening, man-killing, female monsters (the Gorgon, sphinxes, Chimaera) that help to bring us back in the epode to Clytemnestra, who elsewhere in the play is likened to the gorgon and lioness.[85] By pointing towards Clytemnestra's act of murder as well as her own death, these symbols contribute to a conflation of Troy and Argos, then and now, thereby moving us back towards the dramatic present.

The chorus' choreography could add to such a conflation by making the otherwise static images they describe come to life on stage before the audience's eyes. The

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[85] Eur. *El.* 1221-1223, 1163 (cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 716-736, 1258-1259): see O'Brien 1964, Cropp 1988: 129, Csapo 2009: 100. These female monsters could appear as apotropaic symbols on real weaponry: see Csapo 2009: 99-100. It is possible, as Csapo suggests (*ibid* 101-102), that the images of the dolphin and Nereids in the opening strophe could already hint at a more ominous theme, since both had apotropaic and funerary associations, appearing frequently on weaponry and in funereal art. When these creatures appear in dithyrambic and tragic choral lyric, however, such associations generally seem to be absent, and here they could only become resonant in retrospect, as the ode turns more explicitly to more disturbing subjects.

emphasis on circularity in the second strophe and antistrophe suggests that the shield could be visualized through the chorus' own circular performance—a formation in which they likely would already be moving, given the dithyrambic character of the ode's opening and the description of the whirling dolphin in the initial strophe.[86] The emphatically placed ἐν κύκλωι ("in a circle") at the end of line 455 could reflect their choreography as well as the shape of the shield itself; this correspondence between the description in song and the dance formation would be particularly clear to those spectators higher up in the *theatron*, looking down upon the chorus' circle. Such interplay would continue when the chorus sing of the face of the shield's rim, describing it as περιδρόμωι in line 458. Although this adjective tends to be translated as "surrounding" or "encircling", its literal meaning is "running around", which is reflected by the line's highly resolved glyconic meter, with the resolution of the first two syllables of περιδρόμωι followed by the short anceps coming at the very start (◡◡ ◡– ◡◡ ◡◡ ◡–). We can imagine some sort of quickened dance movement to match the meter (perhaps a turning around on the spot), but the interaction between what the chorus describe in their song and what they perform on stage need not be strictly mimetic: rather, this is a process of visualization, whereby the existing and even conventional choreography involving circular movements suggests the images pictured in the chorus' lyrics.

The correspondence between ecphrastic description and choral choreography is more explicit in the antistrophe, with the initial image of the circle of the sun (κύκλος ἁλίοιο, 465) shining in the middle of the shield, along with its "winged horses" and the "heavenly choruses of stars" (ἵπποις ἂμ πτεροέσσαις / ἄστρων τ' αἰθέριοι χοροί, 466-467). The combination of the adjective φαέθων ("gleaming") and the reference to horses may allude to the myth of Phaethon, who fell from the sun's chariot.[87] If so, as Csapo demonstrates, a third star chorus, the Heliades, may be suggested here, in addition to the Pleiades and Hyades; all three result from maidens being catasterized while mourning dead male relatives (the Heliades were Phaethon's sisters).[88] These lines can also, however, help to merge the scene depicted on the shield with the chorus dancing in the theater. References to both horses and flying often appear in passages of highly self-referential choral lyric: so in Alcman's first *Partheneion*, for example, Agido and Hagesichora are likened to different breeds of horses in their dancing and beauty, while in Euripides' *Helen* the chorus sing of their wish to fly as birds through the air from Egypt to Sparta, following their syrinx-playing chorus leader;[89] in *Iphigenia in Tauris* equine imagery is combined with that of flying in the chorus' frequent singing of travel across the sea, which they imagine with vividly choreographic and musical language.[90] The choral associations of such imagery would therefore encourage the audience to see the chorus as the heavenly bodies they describe. The "gleaming" circle of the sun could also direct attention to the inner of two concentric circles of choreuts, with the outer one

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[86] On the circular formation of the dithyrambic chorus, see esp. D'Angour 1997. On circular and rectangular formations of the tragic chorus, see Introduction, p. 8, n. 36.

[87] As suggested by Denniston 1939 107; Mulryne 1977: 42; Csapo 2008: 278, 2009: 101.

[88] Csapo 2009: 100-101.

[89] Alc. fr. 1. 58-59 (ἁ δὲ δευτέρα πεδ' Ἀγιδὼ τὸ Ϝεῖδος / ἵππος Ἰβηνῷ Κολαξαῖος δραμήται); on this horse race imagery and its enactment in performance, see Peponi 2004: 301-307. On Eur. *Hel.* 1478-1494 see Ch. 3, pp. 128-130.

[90] Eur. *IT* 192, 408-438, 1138-1152.

representing the choruses of stars, though it bears repeating that *choreia* can achieve such aesthetic suggestion without a precisely mimetic correspondence between the described and performed images. As we have already seen, brightness is often associated with *choreia*, especially *partheneia*, and here it could also allude to aspects of the chorus' actual costume. Alternatively, the astral images on the shield could be represented by means of the aulete playing in the center (ἐν δὲ μέσωι, 464) of the circular chorus, shining like the sun in his elaborate robes.[91]

While the depiction on Achilles' shield of the sun, stars (particularly the Pleiades and Hyades) and other heavenly bodies goes back to the ecphrasis in the *Iliad* (which may in turn derive from an early Greek tradition of star shields),[92] the idea of their choral formation may derive both from Dionysiac cult and from the sort of Pythagorean eschatology that Plato draws on in the visions of cosmic *choreia* and harmony in the *Timaeus* and *Republic*. In fifth-century tragedy star choruses twice appear in connection with Dionysian cult and the Eleusinian Mysteries: in Sophocles' *Antigone* the god is addressed as "chorus leader of stars breathing fire and overseer of night-time utterances" (πῦρ πνειόντων / χοράγ' ἄστρων, νυχίων / φθεγμάτων ἐπίσκοπε, 1146-1148); in Euripides' *Ion* the chorus imagine Ion as an uninitiated foreigner witnessing "Zeus' starry-faced aether" starting up the choral dance (Διὸς ἀστερωπὸς/ ἀνεχόρευσεν αἰθήρ, 1078-1079), as well as the dancing of the moon and Nereids for Demeter and Kore (1080-1086).[93] The image of the sun and star choruses on Achilles' shield therefore picks up on the Dionysian/dithyrambic imagery of the opening strophe, creating a natural movement from choruses of Nereids to those of stars, but at the same time it suggests the sort of cosmic harmony that the revolving circles of heavenly bodies in Plato's dialogues represent: in *Timaeus* the demiurge is said to have created two concentric circles of stars and planets, which perform *choreia* around the earth; in Book Ten of the *Republic* Socrates describes eight concentric whorls revolving around the spindle of Necessity, like the stars and planets around the earth, with a Siren on each one, together producing a single *harmonia*.[94] The description of Hephaestus fashioning the heavens on the Iliadic shield gives a similar impression by resembling a cosmogony, while the following depictions of the two cities (one at peace and one at war), agricultural fertility, and *choreia* suggest a link between cosmic and social order among men.[95] Within the context of *Electra*, however, such an image of cosmic regularity, simultaneously enacted on stage by means of the chorus' own dancing, is an ironic one, undermined by the description of the star choruses as τροπαῖοι in line 469, causing the rout of Hector, and then by the images of the Sphinxes carved on Achilles' helmet and the Chimaera on his breastplate—creatures who lead us back to the murder at Argos.

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[91] On the aulete's conspicuous attire, see Wilson 2002: 51.

[92] *Il*. 483-489. On the link between the Iliadic ecphrasis and early Greek star shields, see Hardie 1985: 12-13.

[93] Cf. Zarifi 2007: 227-228; Csapo 2008: 267-272. The Pleiades may also appear as a chorus in Alc. fr. 1, lines 60-63: see Ch. 3, p. 97. Also cf. Eur. *Phaethon* fr. 773, lines 19-21: see Ch. 3, p. 108.

[94] Pl. *Tim*. 40b4-d1, *Rep*. 616c4-617d1. On the choral associations of the latter passage, see Peponi 2013: 18-20. On the meaning of *harmonia* in the latter passage, see Ch. 3, p. 100, n. 58.

[95] *Il*. 18.490-606.

Such irony is particularly pronounced as the chorus shift to these more ominous images not only in the words of their song but in their *mousikē* too, as they describe them with language that, again, allusively suggests their own performance. The Sphinxes' "song-caught prey" (ἀοίδιμον ἄγραν, 471) positions the singing chorus as these monsters who catch men through their song, while the depiction of the Chimaera that "sped at a run" (ἔσπευ- / δε δρόμωι, 473-474) along Achilles' corselet, the "rib-encircling hollow" (περιπλεύρωι, 472; cf. περιδρόμωι, 458), continues the emphasis on movement and circularity from the rest of the strophic pair. This effect of interaction between the images described and the chorus' own performance extends into the opening image of the epode—the horses galloping along Achilles' bloody sword (ἄορι δ' ἐν φονίωι τετραβάμονες ἵπποι ἔπαλλον, 476). The reference to horses, following that in the preceding antistrophe, prompts us to link them to the dancing choreuts, yet these beasts are now far more terrifying than the flying ones on the shield. Similarly, the verb πάλλω reminds us of the movement of the dancing dolphin at the start of the ode (ἔπαλλε, 435), but now any mimetic movement in terms of the chorus' leaping suggests a much more disturbing image than the *aulos*-loving dolphin.[96] By then describing the dust, dark with blood, kicked up around the horses (477), they make us recall Hector's body being dragged through the dust around Troy,[97] and this association then leads into Clytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon, another hero of the war, and the chorus' wish for her own bloody (φόνιον) death.

With their address to Clytemnestra in lines 480-481,[98] the chorus move directly to the present situation, and all self-reflexive allusions to their own choreography cease now that they are no longer bringing to life scenes and images of the world beyond the play itself (we might therefore imagine that the chorus would be stationary for these final lines of the ode to make this transition particularly forceful).[99] These lines pull the whole ode into the immediate dramatic present, replacing the image of the gorgon with her severed throat with that of Clytemnestra's own "bloody neck" (φόνιον...δέραν, 485) and the blood on Achilles' sword with that on the iron used to kill her (486). By vividly taking us away from the present in the initial strophic pair and then leading us back to it through their own *choreia*, until they finally address Clytemnestra herself and look forward to her death, the chorus thus generate a sense of dark foreboding that was previously absent from the play, while also adding to its suspense, as we too become increasingly expectant of the siblings' revenge.

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[96] Cf. Csapo 2009: 103 ("The symmetry…creates a strong opposition between the joyful dance of innocent dolphins and the charge of warhorses"). Cf. King 1980: 207-208.

[97] Cf. Csapo 2009: 103-104.

[98] Some have argued that the vocative Τυνδαρί (480) refers to Helen instead, though most now agree on Clytemnestra as the addressee: see the discussion by O'Brien 1964: 16-17, n. 7; also Cropp 1988: 133; Csapo 2009: 104-105; Gagné and Hopman 2013: 12. There may, as Csapo argues, be some deliberate ambiguity here, but the following wish for revenge and vision of murder (483-486) clearly refer to Clytemnestra, and these lines are thus mirrored by the second-person address to the queen at the end of the second stasimon (745-746).

[99] On the stationary performance of a choral epode, cf. Mullen 1982: 90-142 on Pindar's epinician odes; also see Ch. 4, p. 164 on *IA* 1080-1097. On the shift through the ode from the remote to the immediate, cf. Eisner 1979: 164; King 1980: 198.

This ode does not therefore remain at a remove from the surrounding drama, as a series of pictorial images situated in a heroic-mythical world far from that of the play itself. The escapist opening of the song enables the return to the dramatic present to be particularly forceful, and indeed the change of tone away from the dithyrambic opening achieves a kind of chilling potency, as it leads us to Clytemnestra's bloody murder. [100] The chorus' own transformation through their *choreia* reflects and vivifies this change of tone, as they shift from appearing as the unthreatening Nereids and dolphin in their dance to visualizing the δείματα (456) on Achilles' shield; like the choruses of stars, they themselves seem to become τροπαῖοι (469), bringing about Hector's defeat. As a result, they increasingly appear as part of a killing machine, so that when they finally turn their full focus to the queen's imminent death, they seem already to be effecting it.[101] With the entry of the old man immediately after the epode, it really does seem as if the chorus' song has played a part in pushing the plot along towards Clytemnestra's death, since he becomes the crucial agent for facilitating the recognition of Orestes by Electra and so also their joint revenge.[102] Following the chorus' claim that "the heavenly gods will one day [soon] send to you the punishment of death" (ποτ' οὐρανίδαι / πέμψουσιν θανάτου δίκαν, 483-484), his arrival confirms the efficacy of the their song.

CHORAL ANTICIPATION AND ENACTMENT

The dramatically generative effect of *choreia* that we see in the first stasimon becomes even more potent in the following two choral odes, which are performed at the same time as Aegisthus and then Clytemnestra are killed offstage. The second stasimon in particular both anticipates and virtually enacts the murder of both Aegisthus and Clytemnestra, leading the audience to these bloody events rather in the same way as the first stasimon encouraged us to anticipate Clytemnestra's death through a shift from an escapist beginning to much more ominous images and predictions in the second half of the ode. Unlike the previous stasimon, however, the shift in this song is an integral element of the narrative the chorus relate concerning the golden fleece, and the chorus make Thyestes' reversal of fortune especially vivid through their own *mousikē*. Their depiction of this reversal not only parallels what they envisage for Aegisthus and in particular Clytemnestra, but marks a pivotal moment in the play, as Electra and Orestes begin to carry out their long-anticipated revenge on Thyestes' son and the queen.

Rather like the first stasimon, the second begins with a past scene of seemingly carefree *mousikē* that is brought to life through the chorus' own singing and dancing:

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[100] Cf. King 1980 on the turn towards violence in the ode's final stanzas.

[101] Such a transformation is not too far from that of Electra herself, who first appears as a completely defenseless outcast, only to become the joint murderer of her mother, grasping the sword alongside Orestes (1224-25).

[102] Walsh (1977: 283-288) argues that the ode's evocation of heroic times also looks forward to the recognition scene and following events of the play, since the images of monster-killing represent the sort of morally unambiguous heroism that Electra hopes she and Orestes will achieve through the murders of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus.

ἀταλᾶς ὑπὸ †ματέρος Ἀργείων†   *[1ˢᵗ Strophe]*
ὀρέων ποτὲ κληδὼν   (700)
ἐν πολιαῖσι μένει φήμαις
εὐαρμόστοις ἐν καλάμοις
Πᾶνα μοῦσαν ἡδύθροον
πνέοντ᾽, ἀγρῶν ταμίαν,
χρυσέαν ἄρνα καλλίπλοκον   (705)
πορεῦσαι. πετρίνοις δ᾽ ἐπι-
  στὰς κᾶρυξ ἰαχεῖ βάθροις·
Ἀγορὰν ἀγοράν, Μυκη-
  ναῖοι, στείχετε μακαρίων
ὀψόμενοι τυράννων   (710)
φάσματα †δείματα.
χοροὶ δ᾽† Ἀτρειδῶν ἐγέραιρον οἴκους.

θυμέλαι δ᾽ ἐπίτναντο χρυσήλατοι,   *[1ˢᵗ Antistrophe]*
σελαγεῖτο δ᾽ ἀν᾽ ἄστυ
πῦρ ἐπιβώμιον Ἀργείων·   (715)
λωτὸς δὲ φθόγγον κελάδει
κάλλιστον, Μουσᾶν θεράπων,
μολπαὶ δ᾽ ηὔξοντ᾽ ἐραταὶ
χρυσέας ἀρνὸς †ἐπίλογοι†
Θυέστου· κρυφίαις γὰρ εὐ-   (720)
  ναῖς πείσας ἄλοχον φίλαν
Ἀτρέως, τέρας ἐκκομί-
  ζει πρὸς δώματα· νεόμενος δ᾽
εἰς ἀγόρους αὐτεῖ
τὰν κερόεσσαν ἔχειν   (725)
χρυσεόμαλλον κατὰ δῶμα ποίμναν.

From beneath its tender †mother in the Argive† mountains, as the rumor remains among grey-haired tales, once Pan, guardian of fields, blowing on well-fitted reeds sweet-strained music, brought forth the golden-fleeced lamb. And standing on a stone platform, the herald cries out: "Make your way to the agora, to the agora, Myceneans, to see the blessed royals' prodigies, †terrors†." †And choruses† began to honor the house of the Atreidae.

Altars of beaten gold were spread, and through the Argives' city the fire on the altar was gleaming. And the sound of the *lōtos* pipe was resounding, most beautiful, the Muses' servant, and lovely songs were swelling forth, †in praise† of the golden fleece of Thyestes:[103] for having persuaded the dear wife of Atreus in secret union, he carries the portent out to his house. And coming into the agora he shouts that he has the horned, golden-woolled sheep at his home. (699-726)

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[103] "†in praise†" is a translation of Wecklein's emendation of εὐλογίαι for the meaningless ἐπίλογοι: see Cropp 1988: 150.

The initial depiction of pastoral simplicity, as Pan carries the golden fleece to Argos from the mountains, is made particularly vivid through the description of the god's *mousikē*, along with its simultaneous enactment in the theater. As they sing of him playing his syrinx (panpipes), which is the characteristic instrument of herdsmen, the *aulos* is what the audience would be hearing in the theater. As we shall see in Chapters Three and Four, Euripides elsewhere suggests a mimetic merging of the *aulos* in the theater with the syrinx described in choral lyric, above all in the first stasimon of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, when the chorus picture Paris "piping foreign tunes on the syrinx, blowing on the reeds renditions of the Phrygian *auloi* of Olympus" (βάρβαρα συρίζων, Φρυγίων / αὐλῶν Ὀλύμπου καλάμοις / μιμήματα †πνέων†, *IA* 576-578).[104] Timothy Power suggests that Sophocles too may have exploited the "mimetic intimacy" of the two instruments in his *Inachus*, in which the actor impersonating Hermes could mime playing the syrinx while the aulete would supply its sound.[105] A similar merging of *aulos* and syrinx is suggested in *Prometheus Bound*, when Io in her monody sings of Hermes' pipe-playing: "And the clear-sounding, wax-moulded reed booms forth a tune that brings sleep" ὑπὸ δὲ κηρόπλαστος ὀτοβεῖ δόναξ / ἀχέτας ὑπνοδόταν νόμον, 575-576). In *Electra* the chorus' description of the syrinx with its "sweet-strained music" (μοῦσαν ἡδύθροον, 703) similarly shapes the audience's reception of the sound of the *aulos*, so that it can momentarily represent for them Pan's piping. The metonym of "well-fitted reeds" (εὐαρμόστοις…καλάμοις, 702) aids such merging of described and performed *mousikē*, since reeds were associated with the *aulos* as well as with the syrinx:[106] though the syrinx was traditionally Pan's instrument, its depiction here is deliberately ambiguous, encouraging the audience to conflate it with the *aulos*. This effect of merging helps to transport us to a peaceful, bucolic scene, far from the imminent bloodshed of the dramatic present.

The ode continues to focus on this past scene of seemingly untroubled celebration, but moves away from the pastoral simplicity with which it began, into the city of Argos. Just as the aulete imitates Pan playing his syrinx, so the chorus impersonate the herald, as they reperform in direct speech his summoning of the Argives to the agora. With the mention of the χοροί honoring the Atreidae (712), the dramatic chorus through their own singing and dancing then represent the *choreia* they describe, similarly performing a song in celebration of the golden fleece. This crossover between the *mousikē* described and that performed continues into the antistrophe, with its vivid, synaesthetic focus on both the brightness of gold and fire, and the sound of the *aulos* and singing. As in the preceding strophe, the chorus place particular emphasis on the instrumental noise—now that of the *lōtos* pipe, a name often given to the *aulos* in

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[104] See Ch. 3, p. 130 on Eur. *Hel.* 1483; Ch. 4, pp. 146-152 on *IA* 576-578, p. 154 on *IA* 1038-1039. Cf. Wilson 1999-2000: 434: "the acoustic flexibility and imitative powers of the *aulos* and its music were such as to make it very well suited to mimic the wide variety of music, *and quite possibly the various types of instrument*, that are evoked in Euripidean tragedy" (my emphasis).
[105] Power 2012: 297.
[106] Syrinx associated with κάλαμοι: Eur. *IA* 577, 1038, *El.* 702, *IT* 1125-1127; Ar. fr. 719 (καλαμίνην σύριγγα). The syrinx was also linked with δόνακες: Eur. *Or.* 146; Long. 2.34.2-3; Nonn. *Dion.* 11.105-106, 19.294. Aulos and κάλαμοι: Theophrastus 4.6; Ar. fr. 144; Theoc. *Id.* 5.6-7; Ath. 4.78, 4.80.5-6.

Euripidean tragedy;[107] they present the music of this instrument, like that of syrinx, in very positive terms, describing how "the sound of the *lōtos* pipe was resounding, most beautiful, the Muses' servant" (λωτὸς δὲ φθόγγον κελάδει / κάλλιστον, Μουσᾶν θεράπων, 716-717). The description of the *aulos* comes in exact response with the lines in the strophe describing the syrinx, thus further encouraging a sense of merging between the two instruments—and now the described sound actually matches that being performed by the aulete in the theater.[108] The mention of the *aulos* is followed by that of "lovely songs" (μολπαὶ…ἐραταί, 718) sung about the golden fleece—songs which therefore coincide with what the dramatic chorus are singing on stage, so that they again seem to be reperforming the celebrations they so vividly describe.[109]

The abrupt mention, however, of Thyestes, not Atreus, as the possessor of the golden fleece at the start of line 720, emphasized through enjambement, interrupts the mood of carefree festivity, heralding a sudden transition towards a much more ominous tone as the chorus explain how Thyestes stole the fleece after luring Atreus' wife to bed.[110] Not only do the last few lines of the antistrophe thus shift from celebration to conflict, but they prompt us to remember Atreus' gruesome revenge on his brother, even though this is not explicitly mentioned here.[111] The focus on Thyestes' affair with Aerope also encourages us to see this older crime as a mirror for Clytemnestra's infidelity with Thyestes's son, Aegisthus, who stole the throne from Agamemnon, Atreus' son, just as his father had taken the golden fleece.[112] And as Thyestes suffered a terrible punishment for his crime, so Aegisthus at this very moment in the play is being punished for his.

With this disturbing shift in tone, the chorus' self-reflexive references to celebratory *mousikē* cease, and, in contrast with the first strophic pair, they make no clear allusions to their own singing and dancing in the following strophe. Now they describe not Atreus' revenge but that of Zeus, who is said to have reversed the movement of the sun and stars, thus also changing the climates so that the north became wet and the south dry:[113]

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

τότε δὴ τότε <δὴ> φαεν-   *[2nd Strophe]*
  νὰς ἄστρων μετέβασ' ὁδοὺς
Ζεὺς καὶ φέγγος ἀελίου
λευκόν τε πρόσωπον ἀοῦς,   (730)

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[107] Cf. Eur. *Heracl.* 892, *Tro.* 544, *Hel.* 170-71, *Phoen.* 787, *Bacc.* 160, *IA* 438, 1036; *Erechtheus* fr. 370, line 8; also Pind. 104d; [Aesch.] *PV* 574-575. See also Theoph. *Hist. Plant* 4.3.3-4 on the Libyan *lōtos* as an apt material for *auloi*; also Athen. 618b-c on why the *aulos* is called Libyan. On the *lōtos* denoting the *aulos*, see Barker 1984: 67, n.34; 268 n.38; West 1994: 113 n.145.
[108] Cf. Gagné and Hopman 2013: 8: "As the scene changes from the wild mountains of Pan to the public space of the city, the wind instrument continues to be heard, and both reeds of song are embodied by the *aulos* of performance."
[109] Cf. Gagné and Hopman 2013: 9.
[110] On this shift in mood as a result of the mention of Thyestes, see Morwood 1981: 365, Csapo 2009: 97-98.
[111] Cropp (1988: 149) suggests that the suppression of the horrific culmination of the story "[matches] the suppression of thought about the horror of matricide within the play."
[112] On this parallel see Cropp *ibid*; Gagné and Hopman 2013: 14.
[113] Cf. Eur. *Or.* 1001-1006.

τὰ δ' ἕσπερα νῶτ' ἐλαύνει
θερμᾷ φλογὶ θεοπύρωι,
νεφέλαι δ' ἔνυδροι πρὸς ἄρκτον,
ξηραί τ' Ἀμμωνίδες ἕδραι
φθίνουσ' ἀπειρόδροσοι,   (735)
καλλίστων ὄμβρων Διόθεν στερεῖσαι.

Then indeed, then did Zeus turn around the gleaming courses of the stars and the light of the sun and the white face of dawn, and drives the western skies with warm, divinely kindled flame, and the clouds [become] heavy with rain towards the north, and the dry seats of Ammon wither, not tasting the dew, deprived of the most beautiful rains from Zeus. (727-736)

This movement away from the carefree *mousikē* of the past, which was so vividly reenacted in the chorus' own performance on stage, highlights the terrible consequences of Thyestes' theft and a more general sense of the complete reversal of fortune. The chorus' description of Zeus' punishment also continues the parallel set up in the previous stanza between the two generations, suggesting that Orestes' retribution on Aegisthus is also a form of cosmic justice.

The chorus' choreography could, however, still emphasize the reversal they describe, even though there are no more explicit references to *mousikē*. As a result of the cosmic dance in the first stasimon (464-469), the audience is already primed to see in the *choreia* on stage a representation of a star chorus, and indeed of the circle of the sun itself. When they sing here of how Zeus turned around (μετέβασ', 728) the courses of the stars, sun, and dawn, they could likewise reverse the direction of their circular dance, thereby enacting the astral change as if they themselves are a chorus of stars again.[114] Of course we can only speculate regarding such a choreographic direction, yet it seems a very natural one given the language of change and reversal here. This opening image of cosmic reversal recurs in the following antistrophe, even as the chorus claim not to have much trust in such tales:

λέγεται <τάδε>, τὰν δὲ πί-   *[2ⁿᵈ Antistrophe]*
  στιν σμικρὰν παρ' ἔμοιγ' ἔχει,
στρέψαι θερμὰν ἀέλιον
χρυσωπὸν ἕδραν ἀλλάξαν-   (740)
  τα δυστυχίαι βροτείωι
θνατᾶς ἕνεκεν δίκας.
φοβεροὶ δὲ βροτοῖσι μῦθοι
κέρδος πρὸς θεῶν θεραπείαν.
ὧν οὐ μνασθεῖσα πόσιν   (745)
κτείνεις, κλεινῶν συγγενέτειρ' ἀδελφῶν.

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[114] Gagné and Hopman (2013: 9-10) also suggest that the chorus' circular dance would reverse direction as they sing of stars' new "roads" (ὁδούς, 728).

> These things are said, but they hold little trustworthiness for me, that the golden-faced sun changed its warm seat for human misfortune, for the sake of mortal punishment. Fearful tales are a benefit for men for their service to the gods. Unmindful of them you kill your husband, sister of glorious brothers.

The verbs of turning and changing in lines 740-741 (the emphatically placed infinitive στρέψαι and the participle ἀλλάξαντα) could again draw attention to and be reflected by the chorus' own choreography, particularly if their movements here were to correspond with those in the preceding strophe.

It is possible that this image of change and reversal could be represented not only choreographically, but also acoustically, through melodic modulation. Vocabulary of turning and twisting, especially of the roots στρεφ- (which we find here) and καμπ-, often seems to refer to modulation in fifth-century critiques and commentaries on new musical practice: in the famous fragment from Pherecrates' *Chiron*, for example, Music complains how Phrynis, a kitharode from Mytilene who was active in Athens in the mid-400s, "ruined me completely through his bending and twisting, having twelve tunings on his seven strings" (κάμπτων με καὶ στρέφων ὅλην διέφθορεν, / ἐν ἑπτὰ χορδαῖς δώδεχ' ἁρμονίας ἔχων, fr. 155, lines 15-16 *PCG*).[115] Of course we can only speculate about the *melos* of the *Electra* second stasimon, but certainly any such modulation here would, along with the choreography, give further, vivid force to the image of cosmic reversal that the chorus describe in their song. Not only the verbal account, then, but perhaps also the *enactment* of this cosmic shift in response to Thyestes' crime mirror the simultaneous killing of Aegisthus offstage, as Orestes punishes him for Agamemnon's murder.

The chorus end this stasimon, like the previous one, with a direct address to Clytemnestra (745-756), thus explicitly linking her imminent death, not just that of Aegisthus, with the celestial reversal they have just described. The apostrophe in the final two lines mirrors that at the end of the first stasimon, adding to the similarities between the two odes' structure: in both a mythic narrative initially draws us into a more carefree scene, but then the chorus bring us back with increasingly ominous images towards the dramatic present, finally making an explicit connection with the events of the play through an invocation of Clytemnestra.[116] As a result of this final focus on the queen, the second stasimon looks forward to her punishment even as it mirrors and symbolically enacts that of Aegisthus. As in the first stasimon, then, *choreia* here thus seems both anticipatory and dramatically generative. Indeed it appears even more efficacious than it was in the previous ode, since this one is immediately followed by the sounds of Aegisthus' murder: the chorus cease their singing with a cry of ἔα ἔα and shift into iambic trimeter in reaction to the shouts they can hear offstage (747-750); there follows an urgent exchange with Electra concerning the nature and source of the sounds they are

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[115] Quoted in ps.-Plut. 1141d-1142a; cf. esp. Ar. *Nub*. 333, 969-970, *Thesm*. 100. On the complaint against modulation in the Pherecrates fragment, see Barker 1984: 94, 237 n. 201; Power 2010: 507; Franklin 2013: 229-230. On καμπαί as practiced by the "New Musicians," see Franklin 2013: 229-231.

[116] On this structure see Kranz 1933: 197-198; Csapo 2009: 98; Mastronarde 2010: 139-141. On the similarity between the mention of Clytemnestra in the second stasimon and the chorus' address to her at the end of the first, see Gagné and Hopman 2013: 11-12.

hearing (751-760). Even while it both represents and leads up to the death of Aegisthus, however, the ode keeps us focused on the imminent murder of Clytemnestra, pushing the plot forward to that climactic event of the play.

The third stasimon (1147-1164), though it lacks the sort of musical focus displayed in the previous two odes, is also performed at a crucial moment in the plot, just as Orestes and Electra have entered the hut to kill Clytemnestra. In this brief song, which consists of just one strophic pair, the chorus apply the imagery of change and reversal from the previous stasimon to the immediate situation: they begin by singing "Repayments for evils [are being made]: turning about, the winds of the house blow" (ἀμοιβαὶ κακῶν· μετάτροποι πνέου- / σιν αὖραι δόμων, 1147-1148); they draw on such imagery at the start of the antistrophe too, singing of how justice is "flowing back" (παλίρρους, 1155). The parallel positioning of these metaphors of reversal (the winds switching direction; the streams of justice changing their flow) at the start of each stanza may suggest similar choreography too, as the chorus could represent such change in their dance, perhaps as they did in the previous stasimon.

This final choral ode, partly in virtue of its placement at the moment of Clytemnestra's death, also shares with the first and second stasima a sense of dramatic efficacy. Following the images of reversal at the start of each stanza, the chorus focus on the queen's murder of Agamemnon, which mirrors and coincides with that of Clytemnestra at the hands of Electra and Orestes, Agamemnon's avengers. Like the second stasimon, this song is immediately followed by the sounds of the very event that the chorus have envisaged through their images of reversal: their singing is interrupted by Clytemnestra's offstage cries, which parallel those of Agamemnon that the chorus have just reenacted (1165-1167; cf. 1151-1154).[117] Yet it also soon becomes clear that the theme of reversal in this ode not only anticipates Clytemnestra's death, but points to a change in the mood of the play as a whole. Upon hearing her cries, the chorus express pity for the first time, lamenting the form of her punishment, even if it is just (1168-1170). Then, as Orestes and Electra enter, they begin their *amoibaion* of lament over the matricide, which contrasts markedly with the chorus' exuberant song of victory following the death of Aegisthus earlier in the play. The imagery in the third stasimon of winds and water changing direction as retribution is carried out therefore seems to mark a point of transition in the drama from celebration to lament and regret—a shift which is also made clear through its *mousikē*.

All three stasima, then, each of which occurs just prior to the culmination of one of the play's three "movements"—the recognition scene between Electra and Orestes, the killing of Aegisthus, and, finally, the matricide—are closely integrated within the dramatic structure of *Electra*, working to push the *mythos* forward by anticipating and even enacting these pivotal acts.[118] The odes work together to achieve this effect: the shape of the first and second stasima, whereby the audience is led away from the immediate dramatic context so as to be brought back with a hard-hitting jolt, increases their anticipation of the murders about to be committed; in the second and third stasima the imagery of reversal, which could become particularly vivid through the chorus' own performance in the *orchestra*, similarly both generates suspense for and reflects these

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[117] Cf. Michelini 1987: 223.
[118] On the division of the play into these three "movements", see Cropp 1988: xxxviii.

pivotal moments in the *mythos*; in all three songs the chorus make vivid through their own performance images and scenes that both remind us of the death of Agamemnon and at the same time look towards the revenge taken by his children. The escapist character of the first and second stasima that some critics have seen as part of these odes' disconnection from the surrounding *mythos* is in fact what makes their ultimate relevance so powerful and dramatically effective.

In addition to seeming to generate the action of the play, the chorus' musical performances also help to define the character of its protagonist. As we have seen, the lack of any singing or dancing on Electra's part following her exchange with the chorus in the parodos, when she rejects their invitation to participate in *choreia* at the *Heraia*, underscores her exclusion from the communal rites of the *polis*—a form of social exclusion that she in part constructs for herself. The musically self-referential character of the first and second stasima, both of which are replete with images that coincide with the chorus' performance in the theater, also contributes to the picture of Electra's isolation, since the chorus thereby draw repeated attention to their own song and dance, which she refuses to perform. The first stasimon may in particular draw out this contrast between the chorus' engagement with communal ritual and Electra's lack of social integration, since the description of Achilles' armor could recall the shield contest (ἀγὼν χαλκεῖος) that was apparently a significant aspect of the *Heraia* festival.[119] The celebrations at Argos that the chorus describe and reperform in the second stasimon, as they remember the festivities surrounding the introduction of the golden fleece into the city, could also parallel the *Heraia* in the dramatic present.[120] In both odes, then, the chorus would appear to be enacting the very form of ritual celebration that Electra has refused to attend.

Choreia can therefore frame the audience's understanding of a central character, and it especially seems to work in this way in plays with a female protagonist and female chorus—certainly we shall see in the following chapters how it shapes our reception of Hecuba in *Troades*, Iphigenia in *Iphigenia in Aulis* and, in particular, Helen in *Helen*. In the next chapter it will become clear that *choreia* can have a presencing power too, bringing on stage through the chorus' song and dance a crucial event that is otherwise unseen, rather as the three stasima in *Electra* (especially the last two) enact the offstage deaths of Aegisthus and Clytemnestra.[121] In Chapter Three I explore how *choreia* may also have an almost epiphanic effect, which can be likened to the sort of anticipatory potency it displays in *Electra*.[122] Its dramatic power demonstrates the close relationship between *choreia* and *mythos* in this play, and suggests that, contrary to the common view that actors' song becomes dominant in his later tragedies at the expense of *choreia*, Euripides continues to emphasize the role of the chorus—even in a play in which an actor not only sings prior to the chorus' entrance but shares their parodos with them.[123]

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[119] Zeitlin 1970: 659-60. See also Mulryne 1977: 41 on the Nereids' dances in the first stasimon ("The glorious ships…are honoured by the Nereids and their dances (434), a situation that may recall the dances of the Argive maidens from which Electra is by evil and misfortune excluded").

[120] Cf. Zeitlin 1970: 653.

[121] Ch. 2, pp. 79-87.

[122] Ch. 3, esp. pp. 130-133.

[123] On this view of the relative importance of actor and chorus in later Euripidean tragedy, see Introduction, p. 4.

2

Troades

Euripides' *Troades* was produced in 415 BCE, the third play in an unusually cohesive trilogy that focused on events before, during, and immediately after the Trojan War.[1] In the first tragedy, *Alexander*, Paris, who was abandoned as a baby because it was portended that he would bring destruction on Troy, returns to the city to participate in games, and is finally recognized as the son of Hecuba and Priam and received in the royal palace.[2] The second play, *Palamedes*, dramatized the death of the famous Greek inventor as a result of Odysseus' false accusation of treason.[3] The only surviving play of the tetraology is *Troades*, which is set in the immediate aftermath of the war, as the Trojan women wait to be divided up among their Greek captors. Structured around Hecuba's interactions with the Greek herald, Talthybius, and with a series of three women of Troy, Cassandra, Andromache, and Helen, this tragedy is remarkable for its lack of action, offering instead a relentlessly bleak and immobile picture of the captive women's misery.[4] As such, it has often been regarded as constituting a thinly veiled criticism of the Athenians' actions at Melos a few months earlier, when they enslaved the women and children on the island and slaughtered all the men who were able to bear arms.[5]

The stagnancy of the dramatic action is enhanced by the fact that so much of the play consists in the lament of Hecuba and the Trojan women. Although lament is often performed in tragedy, it does not tend to be sustained throughout a drama: for example, as we shall see in Chapter Three, in *Helen* (and likewise in *Iphigenia in Tauris*) mourning dominates the songs of the chorus and female protagonist for the first part of the drama, but other types of *mousikē* take over as the possibility of escape becomes more real. In the case of *Troades*, however, the antiphonal lament of Hecuba and the chorus both opens

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[1] For a reconstruction of the trilogy, see Scodel 1980, who argues (*contra* Koniaris 1973) for strong thematic correspondences between the three tragedies; cf. Barlow 1986: 27-30; also Collard et al 2004: 48; Collard and Cropp 2008: 37-38. The plot of *Sisyphus*, the satyr play that followed *Troades*, cannot be reconstructed with any certainty, though it may have concerned Sisyphus' theft of Lycurgus' horses from Heracles: see Scodel 1980: 122-124.

[2] A fairly large number of fragments and testimonia survive from *Alexander* (frr. 41a-62i Kannicht).

[3] Unfortunately only a few fragments survive from *Palamedes* (frr. 578-589 Kannicht).

[4] Cf. Mastronarde 2010: 78-79: he looks at the play's action in terms of Hecuba's "immobility and powerlessness."

[5] See e.g. Conacher 1967: 136; Lee 1976: ix-xx; Barlow 1986: 26-27; Croally 1994: 232-234; Goff 2009: 27-34. For a contrary view, see Erp Taalman Kip 1987; Kovacs 1997: 161-166; Mastronarde 2010: 77, n. 27.

and closes the tragedy, and sung lament repeatedly interrupts spoken dialogue throughout. When the chorus are not performing formal mourning, their songs still contain elements of lament: their first stasimon, for example, is framed as a "funereal song" (ᾠδὰν ἐπικήδειον, 513), while in the third stasimon they reenact within their own song the mourning cries of the Trojan children at the gates (1089-1099). Even in their closing lines the chorus continue to sing a lament for the city (ἰὼ τάλαινα πόλις…, 1331) without reverting to a recitative meter as they usually do at the end of Euripidean plays: by continuing in lyric iambics, they finish the play without ever seeming to cease their mourning song. In this respect Euripides' play is very similar to Aeschylus' *Persians*, which closes with an extended, antiphonal performance of non-Greek lament sung by Xerxes and the chorus, and includes briefer songs of mourning throughout.

Mourning song thus becomes the defining activity both of the play and of Hecuba, the chorus, and Andromache, emphasizing not only their helplessness but also their gender, since it tends only to be women who sing or lament in Euripidean and Aeschylean tragedy.[6] Given the restrictions on public mourning in fifth-century Athens, such song may also underscore the women's foreignness, just as the extended performances of responsive lament do in Aeschylus' *Persians*.[7] In contrast with the Trojan women, the two male characters in the play, Talthybius and Menelaus, speak almost exclusively in iambic trimeter, marking through their lack of song both their gender and their Greekness, as well as their status as victors rather than mourning captives.[8] When Talthybius addresses Astyanax, Hecuba's grandson, in anapaests (782-789), this single brief slippage by a male character out of iambic trimeter emphasizes the emotional intensity of the moment, as the messenger bids the child to go to the battlements, from which he will be thrown down to his death. The contrast between the song of Trojan women and the speech of Greek men is particularly marked by the entrance of Menelaus immediately following the second stasimon: from this point until his exit 200 lines later, all characters (including the women) speak in iambic trimeter. This interlude from lament and song is dominated by the *agōn* of Helen and Hecuba, who, with their opposing speeches concerning culpability for the war, engage in a particularly male form of oratory (though the debate also comes as the culmination of previous *rheseis* by female characters, including Cassandra and Andromache).[9]

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[6] On lament as the primary mode of expression in *Troades*, see Suter 2003. When men do sing (and lament) in the tragedies of Aeschylus and Euripides, either they tend to be non-Greek (like Xerxes in Aeschylus' *Persians*, the Phrygian slave in Euripides' *Orestes*, or Polymestor in *Hecuba*) and portrayed effeminately, or their speech devolves into song at a moment of extreme emotion (as when Orestes joins in the *kommos* with Electra and the chorus in Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*, and Amphitryon sings antiphonally with the chorus in Euripides' *Heracles*): see Hall 1999: 112-118. On the other hand, Sophoclean heroic protagonists, like Ajax and Heracles, often sing lyrics when in physical or emotional pain: *ibid* 112.

[7] On the regulations on mourning instituted by Solon, see Plut. *Sol*. 21.4-5; Dillon 2002: 271-272. See also Thucydides' account of public burial rites in Athens (Thuc. 2.34), through which the Greek city takes over the act of mourning from the women of the deceased's family.

[8] Cf. Suter 2003: 11.

[9] On the formal elements of this *agōn*, see esp. Lloyd 1992: 99-112. Following her frenzied singing, Cassandra delivers her *rhesis* at *Tro*. 353-443; Andromache speaks about her relationship with Hector at 634-683 and then bids farewell to her son Astyanax with another speech at 740-779.

Previous scholarship concerning *mousikē* in *Troades* has tended to focus on the first stasimon, ever since Walter Kranz in 1933 interpreted the chorus' proclamation of "new songs" (καινοὶ ὕμνοι, 512) at the start of this ode as programmatic for Euripides' new musical experimentation in the latter half of his career.[10] Yet we can only fully appreciate the implications of this claim as well as the dramatic impact of the song if we take into account the *mousikē* of the play as a whole, and situate this remarkable ode within the context of the lament that dominates the rest of the drama. As we shall see, both Hecuba and the chorus frequently refer to song and dance throughout *Troades*, but often with the paradoxical function of highlighting the lack of any *mousikē* other than lament—and above all the lack of *choreia*. I begin this chapter by exploring the motif of absent *choreia* in the tragedy, especially in Hecuba's opening monody, the parodos, and Cassandra's solo performance of her *hymenaios*. I then look at the representation of past performances in the first stasimon, and discuss the various implications of the chorus' very self-consciously performative claim, not only in terms of Euripides' musical style at this point in his career but also within the drama itself. Finally, I examine how, particularly in the closing sequence of antiphonal lament, the chorus and Hecuba reproduce scenes of Troy's destruction through their own singing and dancing, bringing on stage these otherwise inaccessible sights and sounds for the audience to experience in the theater.

PERFORMING ABSENT *CHOREIA*

Troades is a play of loss, negation, and absence. As Adrian Poole has shown, the repetition throughout the tragedy of the words φροῦδος ("gone, vanished") and ἐρῆμος ("desolate, void"), as well as other expressions of privation, such as ἄπολις ("cityless") and ἄφιλος ("friendless"), underscores the sense of total loss experienced by the Trojan women—loss of their husbands, children, homes, city, freedom; even loss of their traditional worship to the gods.[11] Their loss is also articulated through the motif of absent *choreia*, which is emphasized even while the chorus paradoxically sing and dance on stage: in the third stasimon, for example, after their opening address to Zeus, they exclaim "Gone are your sacrifices and the cheerful cries of choruses" (φροῦδαί σοι θυσίαι χορῶν τ' / εὔφημοι κέλαδοι, 1071-1072). As we shall see, the trope of absent or lost *choreia* is particularly evident in the first stasimon, when the chorus remember their past performances at Troy, emphasizing their absence while also in part reviving them through their own song and dance. It is possible that this focus on the lack of *choreia* may form a thematic link with the sense of lost *mousikē* that Euripides seems to have emphasized in *Palamedes*, the second tragedy of the trilogy. In a surviving fragment of

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[10] Kranz 1933: 228. For discussions of Kranz's claim and the meaning of "new songs" in the first stasimon, see Neitzel 1967: 42-50; Biehl 1989: 223-224; Hose 1990: 2.303-304; Quijada 2006; Sansone 2009. An exception to the tendency to focus only on the first stasimon in discussions concerning *mousikē* in *Troades* is Battezzato 2005: he argues that the descriptions of music in the play enact the Greek appropriation of Phrygian song.
[11] Poole 1976.

this play the chorus (or possibly Oeax) represent the death of the Greek hero as that of the Muses' songbird:[12]

> …ἐκάνετ᾽ ἐκάνετε τὰν
> πάνσοφον, ὦ Δαναοί,
> τὰν οὐδέν᾽ ἀλγύνουσαν ἀηδόνα Μουσᾶν.

> …you killed, you killed, O Greeks, the all-wise songbird of the Muses that harmed no one. (Eur. *Pal*. fr. 588 Kannicht)[13]

Unlike the loss of one man's music in *Palamedes*, however, the devastation depicted in *Troades* is much more far-reaching, as what is destroyed is the *mousikē* of the whole city—its *choreia*.[14]

The emphasis on the absence of *choreia* in the play is in part explained by the departure of the gods in the prologue. Poseidon declares that he is leaving the city and his altars there, since such desolation causes divine worship to cease:

> λείπω τὸ κλεινὸν Ἴλιον βωμούς τ᾽ ἐμούς·
> ἐρημία γὰρ πόλιν ὅταν λάβηι κακή,
> νοσεῖ τὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐδὲ τιμᾶσθαι θέλει.

> I am leaving the famous Ilium and my altars: for whenever evil desolation takes hold of a city, the rites of the gods grow ill and do not tend to be honored. (*Tro*. 25-27)

The lack of any divine presence in the rest of the play reinforces this statement of the collapse of cult worship—a collapse which entails the abandonment of *choreia* too, since, as Barbara Kowalzig has shown, sacrifices and choruses together constitute an essential unit in divine worship (as we can see too from the way in which they form a minimal pair in lines 1071-1072 of *Troades*).[15] It is in this godless environment, devoid of traditional divine worship, that Hecuba must utter her famous, "new" prayers to Zeus, addressing him as "necessity of nature or mind of mortals" at 884-888.

In addition to symbolizing divine absence both at Troy and in the play itself, the lack of *choreia* points to the complete breakdown not only of culture and religion but also

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[12] Cf. fr. 580 Kannicht, in which "friends of *mousikē*" (οἵ…μουσικῆς φίλοι) seems to be a reference to Palamedes: see Scodel 1980: 51. On the possibility that fr. 580 is from Oeax's song rather than that of the chorus, see Scodel 1980: 59. It is usually assumed that the chorus were Greek soldiers, but it has also been suggested that they were instead Trojan women, for whom a lament like this one would be more suitable: see Kannicht 2004: 597-598.

[13] On the translation of ἀηδών as "songbird" rather than "nightingale", see Ch. 3, p. 105, n. 74 on *Hel*. 1109-1110. This is the only extant reference to Palamedes' Muse-derived skills as a singer: he is more usually associated with writing, counting, currency, and board games.

[14] The killing of Palamedes also seems to be part of the theme of the murder of the innocent that runs throughout the trilogy (in the attempt to kill Paris in *Alexander* and the slaying of Astyanax in *Troades*): see Scodel 1980: 73-76.

[15] Kowalzig 2004: 49-55, 2007b: 70-72. See also Kurke 2012: 221-222.

of social cohesion. As Peter Wilson has shown, the idea that choral performances (such as the dithyramb) are crucial for reflecting and maintaining a well-ordered community was prevalent throughout ancient Greece—its most obvious manifestation is in the long discussion of *choreia* in Plato's *Laws*, demonstrating the essential role of choral culture in the creation and running of the city.[16] *Troades* illustrates by the contrary this same idea: the loss of *choreia* comes hand in hand with ἐρημία (26), the complete loss of the Trojan community. Since choral performances—paeans above all—also seem to have been closely tied to the construction of a city's built environment (especially its temples), the apparent absence of *choreia* in the play may highlight the physical destruction of Troy too.[17] Far from representing the sorts of performances associated with the founding and ordering of civic structures, *Troades* is instead an extended lament for the whole city.[18]

　　　The motif of lost *choreia* produces a paradox of performed absence, whereby the chorus' performance in the theater enacts the lack of that performance for the characters in the play. This paradox resembles the trope of negated or unmusical song that is often used to characterize lament in tragedy: depictions of lament tend to emphasize the lack of *mousikē*; mourning songs and/or music associated with death can be described as "lyreless" (ἄλυρος), emphasizing lament's lack of musicality in general, as well as pointing metatheatrically to the actual absence of the lyre on stage; the adjective "chorus-less" (ἄχορος) and noun "unmusic" (ἀμουσία) are used similarly.[19] As Charles Segal has shown, Euripides is especially fond of this trope, and he in particular exploits the paradox of the "unmusical song" being performed on the stage:[20] Iphigenia in *Iphigenia in Tauris* describes her song as ἄλυρος even as she performs what must have been an

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[16] Wilson 2003. Cf. Peponi 2013: 23: "The chorus, envisioned by Plato…, emerges as a most effective vehicle of communal discipline, solidity, and stability, promoting and reproducing established ideological doctrines from and for the entire dancing and singing community." On *choreia* as a medium of social cohesion in archaic and classical Greece, see also Bacon 1994: esp. 11-20; Murnaghan 2011: 248.

[17] It seems likely that Pindar's *Paean* 8, for example, was commissioned to celebrate the new Alcmaeonid temple at Delphi in the early fifth century, particularly given its emphasis on the physical construction of the series of four mythological temples there, which presumably shifted to the historical one in the section that is missing: see Rutherford 2001: 214-231, esp. 230-231. The fourth-century paean of Philodamus of Scarpheia included an announcement that construction of the sixth Delphic temple was to be resumed, suggesting that it was composed for the temple's inauguration: *ibid* 131-132, 230. *Mousikē* in general could play a role in the founding of cities: the mythic construction of Thebes in particular was said to occur through Amphion's lyre-playing, as Hermes predicts at the end of Euripides' *Antiope* (fr. 223 Kannicht, lines 90-95).

[18] On laments for cities in the Greek tradition, see Alexiou 1974: 83-101.

[19] ἄλυρος in contexts of lament: Soph. *OC* 1222; Eur. *Phoen.* 1028, *IT* 146, *Hel.* 185. ἄχορος: Aesch. *Supp.* 681; Soph. *OC* 1222; cf. discussion of ἀχόρευτος at *Tro.* 122 below, esp. pp. 59-60. ἀμουσία: Eur. *Ino* fr. 407 (cf. *Her.* 676). Cf. παράμουσος, Aesch. *Cho* 468; νόμος ἄνομος, Aesch. *Ag.* 1142 (see Fleming 1977: 230). On negated song in tragedy see Segal 1993: 16-20; also Wilson 1999-2000: 433, who suggests that the description of song as "lyreless" both stresses the absence of the lyre and hints at the presence of the *aulos* instead. See too Barker 1984: 69-70 on sorrow as the negation of music.

[20] Segal 1993: 16-20. Cf. Murnaghan 2011: 251.

impressive lyrical showpiece; as we shall see in the next chapter, the chorus in *Helen* represent the protagonist's opening song similarly, even as the audience have a contrary aesthetic experience.[21] In *Troades*, however, Euripides develops the motif not of negated song *per se* but of negated or absent *choreia* in particular. The emphasis on the lack of *choreia* is used not merely to denote lament, but to produce the paradoxical impression of its absence even while the chorus sing and dance in the theater.[22] Such performed absence has the dramatic function of emphasizing how much the women have lost now that Troy has been destroyed. It also, as we shall see, is closely tied to their memory of their previous lives, and plays an important part in their rememberings of different moments in Troy's history. Even when the chorus repeat through their singing and dancing in the first stasimon the celebratory *choreia* that they have now left behind, their performance can only be an incomplete subsitition—a reenactment rather than the original event that they are trying to represent. In this respect Euripides' use of performed absence resembles the much-discussed idea in Performance Studies that performance itself is an embodiment and reenactment of absence, particularly when it presents acts of the past.[23]

The motif of the absence of *choreia* is already introduced in the opening lines of the prologue, when Poseidon's vivid description of the Nereid choruses dancing at his home in the Aegean sea sets up a contrast between such celebratory *mousikē* and the reality of the dramatic present. He has come from where "choruses of Nereids whirl about the most beautiful trace of the foot" (Νηρήιδων χοροὶ / κάλλιστον ἴχνος ἐξελίσσουσιν ποδός, 2-3) to the ruins of Troy, where instead of singing the only sounds are the cries of the captive women, echoed by the river Scamander: πολλοῖς δὲ κωκυτοῖσιν αἰχμαλωτίδων / βοᾶι Σκάμανδρος δεσπότας κληρουμένων ("Scamander cries out with the many wailings of the captive women as they are assigned by lot to their masters," 28-29). It is Hecuba, however, who explicitly emphasizes the lack of choral performance in these desolate surroundings. She enters immediately following the divine prologue, mourning her troubles and expressing the wish to perform a lament:

> οἴμοι κεφαλῆς, οἴμοι κροτάφων   (115)
> πλευρῶν θ’ ὥς μοι πόθος εἰλίξαι
> καὶ διαδοῦναι νῶτον ἄκανθάν τ’
> εἰς ἀμφοτέρους τοίχους μελέων,
> ἐπιοῦσ’ αἰεὶ δακρύων ἐλέγους.   (120)
> μοῦσα δὲ χαὔτη τοῖς δυστήνοις
> ἄτας κελαδεῖν ἀχορεύτους.

> O my head, my temples, my side! How I long to whirl about and to turn my back and spine now to this, now to that side of my limbs, always to the accompaniment

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[21] *IT* 146; Ch. 3, p. 95 on *Hel*. 185.

[22] Cf. Segal 1993: 29-32 on "the paradox of embodied absence," a concept taken from Cole 1985: 9.

[23] On performance as disappearance, embodied absence, and/or substitution, see esp. Phelan 1993: 146-166; Gilpin 1996; Roach 1996 (esp. 2-3); Franko and Richards 2000; Lepecki 2004: 4-6; Batson 2005.

of my tears' dirges. Even this is music to the wretched, to cry out chorus-less woes. (115-122)

Her description of her music as the cries of woes that are "chorus-less" (ἀχορεύτους, 122) or, more literally, "without *choreia*," seems programmatic, suggesting that the *mousa* of this play lacks choral song and dance. The focus on the prospect of Hecuba's own distorted dance movements intensifies the absence of the chorus, particularly since, as we have seen, the act of "whirling" (εἰλίξαι, 116) is often included in depictions of choral choreography in Euripides' later work, and has already appeared in Poseidon's description of the Nereids in the opening lines of the play.[24] The characterization of her song as "chorus-less" therefore not only suggests a contrast between her past role as a chorus leader and her current, isolated lament, but also has a more metatheatrical function, prompting the audience to wonder whether this singing actor really has replaced the tragic chorus.[25]

As her anapaests then become less regular and more lyrical, Hecuba fulfills the characterization of her *mousikē* as ἀχόρευτος by performing a monody before the entrance of the chorus.[26] Her astrophic song also emphasizes their absence by drawing on typically choral motifs within this monodic performance, beginning with an address to the "prows of ships" (πρῷραι ναῶν, 122) that went to Troy. References to ships and sailing pervade the whole play, as Hecuba and the chorus frequently mention the Greek vessels that are about to take them away. The invocation of πρῷραι ναῶν here, however, does not have a merely thematic significance: it is also striking on account of its similarity to the hanging apostrophe of κλειναὶ νᾶες traveling to Troy in the first stasimon of *Electra*; a similar invocation, this time to the Phoenician ship carrying Helen back to Sparta, opens the third stasimon of *Helen*.[27] As we saw in the previous chapter, naval language in choral lyric often seems to have a self-referential relationship to the chorus' own *mousikē*, especially their dancing and the music of the *aulos*. Hecuba's monody thus seems to appropriate the performative language and imagery that usually appears in choral odes instead. Like the chorus of *Electra*, Hecuba describes how the ships made their way to an instrumental accompaniment:

> πρῷραι ναῶν, ὠκείαις
> Ἴλιον ἱερὰν αἳ κώπαις
> δι' ἅλα πορφυροειδῆ καὶ
> λιμένας Ἑλλάδος εὐόρμους   (125)
> αὐλῶν παιᾶνι στυγνῶι
> συρίγγων τ' εὐφθόγγων φωνᾶι
> βαίνουσαι †πλεκτὰν Αἰγύπτου
> παιδείαν ἐξηρτήσασθ'†,

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[24] Cf. Introduction, p. 5 on ἑλίσσω and other language that evokes circular movement.

[25] Battezzato 2005: 9 emphasizes how "chorus-less woes" point to the change from Hecuba's past *mousikē* to her "the monotonous music of sorrow."

[26] On the metrical changes here, see Dale 1968: 57-59; Lee 1976: 80; Hose 1991: 2.287. On the (sometimes blurry) distinctions between "recitative" anapaests and "lyric" or "melic" anapaests, see Dale 1968: 47-54; Hall 1999: 106-107.

[27] See Ch. 1, pp. 34-35 on *El.* 432-441; Ch. 3, p. 124-125 on *Hel.* 1451-1464.

αἰαῖ, Τροίας ἐν κόλποις   (130)
τὰν Μενελάου μετανισόμεναι
στυγνὰν ἄλοχον, Κάστορι λώβαν
τῶι τ' Εὐρώται δύσκλειαν,
ἃ σφάζει μὲν
τὸν πεντήκοντ' ἀροτῆρα τέκνων   (135)
†Πρίαμον, ἐμέ τε μελέαν Ἑκάβαν†
ἐς τάνδ' ἐξώκειλ' ἄταν.

Prows of ships, which with swift oars to holy Ilium over the dark purple sea and the fair harbors of Hellas, to the hateful paean of *auloi* and the voice of fine-sounding syrinxes, traveling, you hung the twisted handiwork of Egypt—alas!—in the bays of Troy, pursuing the hateful wife of Menelaus, disgrace to Castor and ill repute for Eurotas, who is the murderer of Priam, the father of fifty children, and brought me, wretched Hecuba, to this shore of misery. (122-137)

This description is the first of several references to past scenes of *mousikē* that contrast with the present one of lament, and recall musically different stages of the Trojan War. As we shall see, this contrast between past and present *mousikē* is particularly developed by the chorus in the first stasimon, when they describe the Trojans' celebrations around the Greek horse on the night of Troy's fall. Whereas the later depiction is of the women's Trojan *mousikē*, emphatically characterized as such by the Libyan *lōtos* pipe and the "Phrygian tunes" (Φρύγιά…μέλεα, 545), here Hecuba describes the battle paean, the song of Greek men, and in doing so she marks the moment of the Greeks' invasion in terms of their ominous music. The aulete, even if not yet present on stage, could at this point already be playing in accompaniment to Hecuba's anapaests.[28] If so, the sound picture of the Greeks' arrival in Troy would be particularly vivid, with "the hateful paean of *auloi*" merging with the actual tune of the *aulos* in performance.

The scene of an invading Greek army in Phrygia performing a paean is inherited from Aeschylus' *Persians*, in which the description of this type of song in the messenger's account of the King's defeat at Salamis also emphasizes the ethnic distinction between the Greeks and the Persians:

πρῶτον μὲν ἠχῆι κέλαδος Ἑλλήνων πάρα
μολπηδὸν εὐφήμησεν, ὄρθιον δ' ἅμα
ἀντηλάλαξε νησιώτιδος πέτρας   (390)
ἠχώ, φόβος δὲ πᾶσι βαρβάροις παρῆν
γνώμης ἀποσφαλεῖσιν· οὐ γὰρ ὡς φυγῆι
παιᾶν' ἐφύμνουν σεμνὸν Ἕλληνες τότε,
ἀλλ' ἐς μάχην ὁρμῶντες εὐψύχωι θράσει.

First resonantly a sound from the Greeks sounded triumphantly, in full song, and at the same time clear from the island rock echo shouted in response. But there

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[28] On the *aulos* as an accompaniment to actors' anapaests in tragedy, see Hall 1999: 106-107.

was fear among all the barbarians, balked of their purpose: for not as if in flight were the Greeks singing the solemn paean at that time, but advancing eagerly into battle with good-hearted courage. (Aesch. *Pers*. 388-394)

In Aeschylus' tragedy a Persian describes this distinctively Greek song, rather as the Phrygian Hecuba does in *Troades*, although the depiction of this "holy song" is far more positive than the "hateful paean" (παιᾶνι στυγνῶι, 126) that she remembers. In his rendition of the battle at Salamis Timotheus, possibly writing within only a few years of the production of *Troades*, similarly stresses the contrast between the Greeks and the Persians through the performance of a paean:[29]

> οἱ δὲ τροπαῖα στησάμενοι Διὸς
> ἁγνότατον τέμενος, Παιᾶν'
>   ἐκελάδησαν ἰήϊον
> ἄνακτα, σύμμετροι δ' ἐπε-
>   κτύπεον ποδῶν   (200)
> ὑψικρότοις χορείαις.

> But they, after setting up trophies to establish a most holy sanctuary for Zeus, celebrated loudly Paean, the healer lord, and in simultaneous measure they stamped in high-beating choral dances of feet. (Tim. fr. 791 *PMG*, lines 196-201)

In *Troades*, Hecuba's description of the Greeks' paean accentuates the disconnect between the *mousikē* she describes and her own performance not only as a defenseless foreigner, but also as a woman.[30]

After her initial emphasis on the lack of a chorus, Hecuba then calls on the chorus of Trojan women to lament with her:

> ἀλλ' ὦ τῶν χαλκεγχέων Τρώων
> ἄλοχοι μέλεαι
> †καὶ κόραι δύσνυμφαι†,
> τύφεται Ἴλιον, αἰάζωμεν.   (145)
> μάτηρ δ' ὡσεὶ πτανοῖς κλαγγὰν
> †ὄρνισιν ὅπως ἐξάρξω 'γὼ
> μολπὰν οὐ τὰν αὐτὰν†
> οἵαν ποτὲ δὴ
> σκήπτρωι Πριάμου διερειδομένα   (150)
> ποδὸς ἀρχεχόρου πλαγαῖς Φρυγίαις
> εὐκόμποις ἐξῆρχον θεούς.[31]

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[29] On the date of *Persians*, see Hordern 2002: 15-17.

[30] Cf. Battezzato 2005: 9, who argues that the Greek *auloi* invade by disrupting the old songs of Troy. Since no previous *mousikē* has yet been mentioned, I am not convinced that such a musical displacement would be evident at this point in the play.

[31] I see no reason to replace the manuscripts' διερειδομένα in line 150 with Herwerden's emendation of the genitive διερειδομένου. In line 151 I agree with Lee 1976: 90 in keeping Φρυγίαις, rather than following Wilamowitz's emendation of Φρυγίους (which would then

But, O wretched wives of bronze-speared Trojans, †and ill-betrothed maidens†, Ilium is smouldering, let us wail *aiai*! And I, just as a mother <raises> her cry for her winged birds, †so I will start up the song, not the same† as the one which I once started up for the gods, leaning on Priam's scepter, with the fine-sounding Phrygian beats of my chorus-leading foot. (143-152)

Even as the chorus enter, however, Hecuba stresses the absence of *choreia* through this negative contrast with the *mousikē* of the past. The vivid description of her role as *chorēgos* in Troy, setting the rhythm with the beat of her feet and asserting her royal authority through Priam's scepter, works in sharp juxtaposition with her current performance, as she summons the chorus to join her, not in celebratory *choreia* for the gods (whose former presence is stressed by the emphatic placement of θεούς at the end of line 152), but in an antiphonal lament in a land that the gods have now abandoned. The repetition of the verb ἐξάρχω ("start up, lead") stresses that she is still a musical leader, but now refers not to a choral performance but to mourning, just as it does at the end of the *Iliad*, when she, Andromache, and Helen each take up the lament by Hector's body (τῆσιν δ'αὖθ' Ἑκάβη ἁδινοῦ ἐξῆρχε γόοιο, *Il.* 24.747).[32] The image of the mourning mother bird is typically used in tragedy to intensify the musicality of a sung lament, as in the address to the "most songful bird, melodious songbird full of tears" (τὰν ἀοιδοτάταν / ὄρνιθα μελωιδὸν ἀηδόνα δακρυόεσσαν, 1109-1110) in the first stasimon of Euripides' *Helen*.[33] Here, however, Hecuba employs the image so as to undermine any such euphony by comparing her song to the screeching sound of the bird's cry (κλαγγή, 146), thereby accentuating the sense of a disconnect between her portrayal of past *mousikē* and her present performance. Through this simile Hecuba also links the loss of her role as chorus leader to her inability to produce a melodious voice, rather as the chorus in Alcman's first *Partheneion* describe themselves as an owl powerlessly screeching from the rafters now that they have lost their leader, Hagesichora ([ἐ]γὼν μὲν αὐτὰ / παρσένος μάταν ἀπὸ θράνω λέλακα / γραῦξ, fr. 1 *PMGF*, lines 85-87).[34]

By the time the chorus finally do start singing, then, their song has been paradoxically framed as a non-choral performance. The impression of the absence of *choreia* is furthered both by the continuation of regular anapaests rather than a fully lyric meter and by the splitting of the first strophic pair between two semi-choruses that

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agree with the gods, not the beats). The characterization of aspects of the Trojan queen's *mousikē* as Phrygian is not surprising: cf. Φρύγια…μέλεα in line 545.

[32] On the use of ἐξάρχω in lament, see Alexiou 1971: 131-132. This verb frequently refers to the leading of choral song and dance: see e.g. *Hom. Hymn* 27.18; Archil. frr, 76b, 77; Arist. *Poet.* 1449a10. Gregory 1991: 162 suggests that, by leading the lament here, Hecuba is able to "sustain social bonds and uphold her former authority." Her role as leader in lament certainly reflects her (former) status as queen, but it also constitutes a deliberate contrast with her earlier role as leader of *choreia*, and the social ties and positions once held by the Trojans seem to have little significance now that they are captives.

[33] See Ch. 3, pp. 104-112 on *Hel.* 1107-1121 and the association of songbirds with lament. On the translation of ἀηδών as "songbird" rather than "nightingale", see *ibid*, p. 105, n. 74.

[34] On the owl image in Alc. fr. 1 *PMG* see esp. Stehle 1997: 76-77.

emerge separately from the *skēnē*, each singing its own antiphonal lament with Hecuba.[35] It is also possible that the chorus and Hecuba do not in fact dance at all in this whole ode, singing (or wailing) the anapaests and producing a performance that is indeed ἀχόρευτος (that is, without choral dance). In the first antistrophe and second strophic pair they resume the motif of sea travel begun by Hecuba in her monody, but instead of describing the naval voyage of others through choral projection as the choruses of *Electra* and *Helen* do, they instead express their anxious uncertainty about their own impending sea journey and the different parts of Greece in which they might arrive as slaves (176-234). The lack of any musical self-reference in this parodos intensifies the sense that full *choreia* has not yet been performed, and that the *mousikē* of this play is ἀχόρευτος even when the chorus are in fact present.[36]

      Following the parodos, after a brief exchange between Hecuba and Talthybius, who tells her that she will be Odysseus' slave, the motif of absent *choreia* continues through another monody, this time performed by Cassandra, who breaks the musical stagnancy of lament by rushing onstage, singing her own *hymenaios*—a much more energetic and lyrical song with a highly resolved dochmiac-iambic meter. The fact that this is sung without the chorus is particularly striking given that *hymenaioi* tended to be choral performances.[37] That it should be a chorus singing this wedding song, not Cassandra herself as the supposed bride, is made explicit through the typically choral refrain of ὦ Ὑμέναιε (ἄναξ), which is similar to the repeated cry of ὑμήναον that we find in Sappho fr. 111. Of course the silence of the chorus here not only underscores the apparent lack of *choreia* so far in the play, but also poignantly undermines Cassandra's crazed performance, reminding us quite how far such a marriage celebration is from the reality of her fate.[38] The characterization of the maiden immediately before and after her song as a raving maenad (307, 341; also 169-173), in addition to her own Dionysiac cultic cry of εὐὰν εὐοῖ in line 326, further undermines her self-presentation as a bride, since, as Richard Seaford has shown, in tragedy the subversion of wedding ritual and corresponding destruction of the household is often expressed in terms of maenadism.[39]

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[35] Though not indicated in the manuscripts, the division of the chorus here seems very likely based on the content of lines 166 and 176: see Lee 1976: 90-91, Hose 1991: 2.288.

[36] Cf. Croally 1994: 244: he sees Hecuba's statement that Troy's troubles are "undanceable" as "both self-referential and inappropriate in a medium which was dominated formally by the presence and songs of the chorus…it declares its self-consciousness by questioning its ability to represent what it is in fact representing."

[37] On *hymenaioi* as typically choral songs, see Lardinois 1996: 151, n.4; Swift 2010: 241-249. Also see Ch. 4, pp. 152-164 on *IA* 1036-1097. On Cassandra's solo performance of her *hymenaios*, see Rehm 1994: 129-130: she utters the *makarisomos* herself (313-313) and carries her own bridal torches (320-321).

[38] On the ominously ironic nature of Cassandra's song, see esp. Barlow 1986: 173-174; Rehm 1994: 129-130.

[39] Seaford 1994: 330-362, esp. 356. Cf. Papadopoulou 2000: 515-521, who points out that the hymenaeal nature of the song is also undermined by Cassandra's addresses to Hecate (323) and Apollo (329). When Andromache is described as a maenad in the *Iliad*, it is at the moment when, upon seeing her husband's dead body, she flings from her head the *krēdemnon* that Aphrodite gave to her on her wedding day (22.468-472). In doing so, she not only symbolically reverses that marriage ritual but also represents her own rape in the future, since the loss of this veil often acts as an analogy for the loss of chastity: see Nagler 1974: 44-58; Seaford 1994: 333-334.

The idea that the distortion or absence of a proper *hymenaios* signals both the hopelessness of the union and the bride's own destruction may have been a common one in archaic and classical Greek thought. As we shall see in Chapter Four, the performance of a marriage song in the third stasimon of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis* ironically highlights the lack of any such celebratory *choreia* for Iphigenia, who is to be led to her sacrifice, not to her wedding.[40] In Pindar's *Pythian* 3 the account of Coronis' adultery against Apollo and consequent death begins with the observation that she waited neither for the marriage feast nor for the *hymenaioi*:

> οὐκ ἔμειν' ἐλθεῖν τράπεζαν νυμφίαν,
> οὐδὲ παμφώνων ἰαχὰν ὑμεναίων, ἅλικες
> οἷα παρθένοι φιλέοισιν ἑταῖραι
> ἑσπερίαις ὑποκουρίζεσθ' ἀοιδαῖς….

> She waited neither for the marriage feast to come, nor for the cry of full-voiced *hymenaioi*, the sorts of things with which maiden companions of the same age love to murmur in evening songs. (Pind. *Pyth*. 3. 16-19)

 As David Young has pointed out, Pindar places a particular emphasis here on the importance of *hymenaioi* in this marriage, and so "establishes the absence of song as the primary motif in the disastrous nature of Coronis' new union."[41] In *Troades* the lack of *hymenaioi* sung by a chorus of *parthenoi* (rather than by the bride herself) similarly heralds Cassandra's doom.

The unsettling disconnect between the intended performance context for this song and the actual one on stage is particularly heightened in the antistrophe, when Cassandra calls on the chorus and her mother as their leader to dance:

> πάλλε πόδ' αἰθέριον, ⟨ἄναγ'⟩ ἄναγε χορόν—   (325)
> εὐὰν εὐοῖ—
> ὡς ἐπὶ πατρὸς ἐμοῦ μακαριωτάταις
> τύχαις. ὁ χορὸς ὅσιος.
> ἄγε σὺ Φοῖβέ νῦν· κατὰ σὸν ἐν δάφναις
> ἀνάκτορον θυηπολῶ.   (330)
> Ὑμὴν ὦ Ὑμέναι' Ὑμήν.
> χόρευε, μᾶτερ, χόρευμ' ἄναγε, πόδα σὸν
> ἕλισσε τᾷδ' ἐκεῖσε μετ' ἐμέθεν ποδῶν
> φέρουσα φιλτάταν βάσιν.
> βόασον ὑμέναιον ὦ   (335)
> μακαρίαις ἀοιδαῖς
> ἰαχαῖς τε νύμφαν.
> ἴτ' ὦ καλλίπεπλοι Φρυγῶν
> κόραι, μέλπετ' ἐμῶν γάμων
> τὸν πεπρωμένον εὐνᾶι   (340)

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[40] See Ch. 4, pp. 152-164, on *IA* 1036-1097.
[41] Young 1968: 35.

πόσιν ἐμέθεν.[42]

> Shake the foot high in the air, <lead>, lead the dance—*euan euoi!*—as if for my father's most blessed fortunes. The dance is holy. Come, Phoebus, now: it is in your temple, among your bay-trees, that I make a sacrifice. *Hymen O Hymenaios O Hymen*! Dance, mother, lead the choral dancing, whirl along with my feet here and there along with me, bringing the dearest step of your feet. Shout out the *hymenaios*, O, with blessed songs and cries, for the bride. Go, O Phrygian maidens in your beautiful robes, sing of my husband, the one who is destined to share my marriage bed. (325-341)

Despite the vivid intensity of these choreographic directions, which picture the chorus leaping (πάλλε, 325) in the air and Hecuba whirling (ἔλισσε, 333) her feet, using vocabulary that, as we have seen, tends to correspond with the actual dancing of the chorus in Euripides' later tragedies, here they go unanswered.[43] Cassandra's song comes to an end with a "mundane and almost banal" couplet from the chorus leader, encouraging Hecuba to stop her daughter's frantic dancing:[44]

> βασίλεια, βακχεύουσαν οὐ λήψηι κόρην,
> μὴ κοῦφον ἄρηι βῆμ' ἐς Ἀργείων στρατόν;

> Queen, won't you check the maiden who is frenzied as a Bacchant, lest she take her light step to the Argives' army? (341-342)

Hecuba then tells the chorus to take away Cassandra's torches and to replace her wedding songs with tears (δάκρυά…ἀνταλλάσσετε / τοῖς τῆσδε μέλεσι…γαμηλίοις, 351-352), and so the *mousikē* of the play must revert to the lamentation with which it began.[45] Yet the immediate effect of these orders seems to be an absence of song altogether, for, in striking contrast with Cassandra's highly lyrical performance, all characters speak predominately in iambic trimeters for the next 170 lines (with the exception of Cassandra's trochaic tetrameters at 444-461), as Cassandra talks of Trojan and Greek sufferings before she leaves to join Agamemnon (353-443), and Hecuba then mourns the loss of her children (466-510). The sudden contrast of wild song and coherent speech is presumably modeled on Cassandra's similar transition in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, when she abandons her riddling, prophetic singing and speaks clearly with the chorus (1178-1330). In the context of *Troades*, however, this speech is all the more striking given the predominance of song in the play as a whole. Moreover, whereas in *Agamemnon* the chorus end up sharing Cassandra's lyric performance, shifting from iambic trimeter to singing in response with her (1130-1177),[46] in *Troades* the silencing of her song

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[42] I follow Lee 1976 here in keeping the manuscripts' νῦν in line 329 rather than Musgrave's emendation of νιν.

[43] On the choreographic import of the verb πάλλω, see esp. Ch. 1, p. 37, n. 76. On εἰλίσσω, see esp. Introduction, p. 5; Ch. 1, pp. 36-37.

[44] Lee 1976: 132.

[45] Cf. Papadopoulou 2000: 518 ("[f]or Hecuba, only infinite lamentation may be heard").

[46] On this transition from speech to song in *Agamemnon*, see Scott 1984: 7-8.

stresses the failure of her attempt to make the chorus and Hecuba sing and dance with her, and may lead the audience to wonder whether this tragedy will contain any *choreia* at all.

NEW SONGS AND PAST PERFORMANCES

The chorus do finally sing and dance, however, breaking this extended section of speech after Cassandra's departure by performing their first "proper" choral ode, shifting from their earlier anapaests to a more lyrical mix of dactylo-epitrite and iambic rhythms. Most discussions of this first stasimon stem from Walter Kranz's argument that it heralds the beginning of Euripides' "dithyrambic" style and engagement with the "New Music," though few now accept that the reference to "new songs" (καινῶν ὕμνων) in line 513 has the sort of programmatic force that he saw in it.[47] The likely dating of both *Electra* and *Heracles* demonstrates that Euripides was in fact displaying an increasingly self-conscious, Dionysiac musical style before the production of *Troades* in 415 BCE.[48] Furthermore, as we shall see, the integration of this song within the musical fabric of the play as a whole must prompt us to question Kranz's claim that it is a typical example of the sort of free-standing, dithyrambic-style odes found in the later work of Euripides.[49]

Like many of the other songs that Kranz saw as "dithyrambic" and that Csapo deems representative of the "New Music," this ode has an intensely musical focus, since in the antistrophe and epode the chorus describe their singing and dancing on the night the Greeks' horse was brought into Troy. We do not, however, find the sort of choral projection here that frequently occurs in other musical odes in the later plays of Euripides and seems to have been a common element of the dithyramb.[50] The *mousikē* described in this first stasimon does not refer to that of Nereids, dolphins, Muses, or any other divine and/or archetypal chorus, nor is it far removed in time and place from the dramatic chorus' current situation. Instead the Trojan women sing of their own *mousikē* of the recent past, which they performed within the city that is now the backdrop to their song, with the result that the overlap between their current performance and the one they describe brings to life a moment of their personal history. The song's novelty therefore in part lies in Euripides' use of the first person perspective in this description of *mousikē*,

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[47] Kranz 1933: 228: "[d]as ist wie das Programm einer anderen Zeit, denn nicht nur von dem einen Stasimon gilt dieses Wort, sondern ein unerhörtes Aufblühen der chorischen Kunst zeigt das Chorlied des ganzen letzten euripidideischen Jahrzehnts; es ist das Zeitalter des Alkibiades und des Agathon, das Zeitalter einer neuen Musik." Wilamowitz had previously remarked on the song's "dithyrambic" elements, namely the description of the horse as τετραβάμονος…ἀπήνας at 516 ("per ambages sane διθυραμβώδεις") and the opening of the antistrophe (1921: 174). For arguments against Kranz's interpretation, see esp. Neitzel 1967: 44-49; Csapo 1999-2000: 406-407, 2009: 95-96; Battezzato 2005: 17; Sansone 2009: 193-194.

[48] On *mousikē* in *Heracles*, see Wilson 1999-2000. On Euripides' "dithyrambic" style in *Electra*, see Ch. 1, esp. pp. 37-40.

[49] Kranz 1933: 254 ("völlig absolut stehende balladeske Erzählung").

[50] On "choral projection" in Euripides and the dithyramb, see Introduction, pp. 11-14.

replacing "choral projection" with choral memory.[51] Nowhere in *Troades* do the chorus offer either themselves or the audience an opportunity to escape (however temporarily) into any *mousikē* other than that of their own devastating past.[52]

The chorus begin the first stasimon with an address to the Muse, before going on to sing of the night of Troy's fall, when they brought the horse into the city:

ἀμφί μοι Ἴλιον, ὦ   [Strophe]
Μοῦσα, καινῶν ὕμνων
ἆισον σὺν δακρύοις ὠιδὰν ἐπικήδειον·
νῦν γὰρ μέλος ἐς Τροίαν ἰαχήσω,   (515)
τετραβάμονος ὡς ὑπ' ἀπήνας
Ἀργείων ὀλόμαν τάλαινα δοριάλωτος,
ὅτ' ἔλιπον ἵππον οὐράνια
βρέμοντα χρυσεοφάλαρον ἔνο-   (520)
   πλον ἐν πύλαις Ἀχαιοί·
ἀνὰ δ' ἐβόασεν λεὼς
Τρωϊάδος ἀπὸ πέτρας σταθείς·
Ἴτ', ὦ πεπαυμένοι πόνων,
τόδ' ἱερὸν ἀνάγετε ξόανον   (525)
Ἰλιάδι Διογενεῖ κόραι.
τίς οὐκ ἔβα νεανίδων,
τίς οὐ γεραιὸς ἐκ δόμων;
κεχαρμένοι δ' ἀοιδαῖς
δόλιον ἔσχον ἄταν.   (530)

πᾶσα δὲ γέννα Φρυγῶν   [Antistrophe]
πρὸς πύλας ὡρμάθη,
πεύκαν οὐρείαν, ξεστὸν λόχον Ἀργείων,
καὶ Δαρδανίας ἄταν θεᾶι δώσων,   (535)
χάριν ἄζυγος ἀμβροτοπώλου·
κλωστοῦ δ' ἀμφιβόλοις λίνοιο ναὸς ὡσεὶ
σκάφος κελαινὸν εἰς ἕδρανα
λάϊνα δάπεδά τε, φονέα πατρί-   (540)
   δι, Παλλάδος θέσαν θεᾶς.
ἐπὶ δὲ πόνωι καὶ χαρᾶι
νύχιον ἐπεὶ κνέφας παρῆν,
Λίβυς τε λωτὸς ἐκτύπει
Φρύγιά τε μέλεα, παρθένοι δ'   (545)
ἄειρον ἅμα κρότον ποδῶν
βοάν τ' ἔμελπον εὔφρον', ἐν
δόμοις δὲ παμφαὲς σέλας

πυρὸς μέλαιναν αἴγλαν
†ἔδωκεν ὕπνωι†.   (550)

ἐγὼ δὲ τὰν ὀρεστέραν   *[Epode]*
τότ’ ἀμφὶ μέλαθρα παρθένον
Διὸς κόραν ἐμελπόμαν
χοροῖσι· φοινία δ’ ἀνὰ   (555)
πτόλιν βοὰ κατέσχε Περ-
  γάμων ἕδρας· βρέφη δὲ φίλι-
  α περὶ πέπλους ἔβαλλε μα-
  τρὶ χεῖρας ἐπτοημένας.
λόχου δ’ ἐξέβαιν’ Ἄρης,   (560)
κόρας ἔργα Παλλάδος.
σφαγαὶ δ’ ἀμφιβώμιοι
Φρυγῶν ἔν τε δεμνίοις
καράτομος ἐρημία
νεανίδων στέφανον ἔφερεν   (565)
Ἑλλάδι κουροτρόφον,
Φρυγῶν δὲ πατρίδι πένθος.

About Troy, O Muse, sing me a funeral ode of new songs, with tears: for now I will cry out a song to Troy, telling how as a result of a four-footed vehicle I was ruined, [becoming] the Argives' wretched captive, when the Achaeans left at our gates the horse, making a rumbling noise up to the sky, with its trappings of gold and armed [within]; and the people shouted out from the Trojan rock, standing there, "Go, you who have ceased from toils, bring this holy image to [the shrine of] the Zeus-born maiden of Troy!" Who of the young women didn't come, what old man didn't [come] from his house? Rejoicing with songs they received treacherous ruin.

And the whole race of Phrygians hastened to the gates, to give to the goddess this pinewood from the mountain, this polished hiding-place of Argives, and Dardania's ruin, a gift for the unwedded [goddess] with her immortal steeds; and with encircling ropes of spun flax [they dragged it] like the dark hull of a ship to the stone temple of the goddess Pallas and set it on the floor, [to be the] murderer of their country. And nighttime darkness came upon their toil and joy, and when the Libyan *lōtos* pipe was sounding as well as Phrygian songs, and maidens raised together the beat of their feet and sang and danced a cheerful cry, and in the halls an all-blazing gleam of fire †shed a dark glow on sleep.†

And I to the mountain maiden, the daughter of Zeus, around the halls I was singing and dancing then in choruses; but a bloody cry through the town took hold of the seat of Pergamon; and dear babies threw their frightened arms about their mothers' skirts. And out from his ambush-place came Ares, the handiwork of maiden Pallas. And slaughters of Trojans around the altars and desolation through

> beheadings in the bedclothes brought a victory crown of young women, to bear sons for Greece, but [a source of] grief for the Phrygians' fatherland. (512-567)

The Trojans' premature elation in response to the horse is characterized musically, as the chorus remember their own celebratory singing and dancing. As in Hecuba's monody, the *aulos* is again particularly emphasized in this sound picture, but now it is referred to as the "Libyan *lōtos* pipe" (Λίβυς…λωτὸς, 544). The *lōtos* pipe often denotes the *aulos* in the later plays of Euripides, but here, as in the parodos of *Bacchae*, when the chorus stress the Phrygian location of Dionysus' music (135-169), its non-Greek associations are particularly relevant, emphasizing the ethnic difference between this instrument and the one that accompanied the Greeks' paeans.[53] Like the "Phrygian beats" of Hecuba's dancing feet (151-152), as well as the "Phrygian shouts and cries" that join the *lōtos* pipe in *Bacchae* (ἐν Φρυγίαισι βοαῖς ἐνοπαῖσί τε, 159), the "Phrygian songs" (Φρύγιά…μέλεα, 545) in the following line of the first stasimon further stress the foreignness of such *mousikē*. Since Phrygian music tended in particular to be associated with Dionysiac revelry, the focus on the ethnicity of the *mousikē* here might support Kranz's classification of the ode as dithyrambic. However, unlike the explicitly Dionysiac context of the Phrygian performances described (and enacted) in *Bacchae*, such musical characterization in *Troades* reflects the actual identity of the Trojan (Phrygian) performers and so the reality of the dramatic situation.[54]

It is possible that the aulete in the theater would at this point have exchanged his previous instrument for a Phrygian *aulos*, which not only seems to have had a deeper pitch than the Greek one but also would have been visually distinct, since one of its two pipes is said to have ended in a bell made of horn.[55] It is just as likely, however, that the same *aulos* would be used throughout the play, but that through its characterization in the singing of Hecuba and the chorus it could assume different ethnic characteristics—it was, after all, considered to be the most mimetic of all instruments.[56] In either case, the chorus' depiction of the *mousikē* performed after the horse had been brought into Troy is made particularly vivid through the crossover of the sound of the *aulos* and "Phrygian songs" that they describe with what the audience would actually be hearing in the theater, through the accompaniment of the *aulos* to the singing of this "Trojan" chorus.

The chorus continue to merge *mousikē* of the (described) past and (performed) present by focusing on the *choreia* of *parthenoi*, with the synaesthetic image of them raising the beat of their feet in the air and singing their "cheerful cry" (ἄειρον ἅμα κρότον ποδῶν / βοάν τ' ἔμελπον εὔφρον', 546-547). There would be a particularly

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[53] On the "Libyan *lōtos*" see Barker 1984: 67, n.34; 268 n.38; Biehl 1989: 234-235; West 1994: 113 n.145. Cf. Eur. *Hel*. 170-71, *IA* 1036. For just *lōtos* as a designation for the *aulos*, cf. Eur. *Heracl*. 892, *El*. 716, *Phoen*. 787, *Bacc*. 160, *IA* 438, *Erechtheus* fr. 370, line 8; also Pind. fr. 94b, line 14. See also Theoph. *Hist*. *Plant* 4.3.3-4 on the Libyan *lōtos* as an apt material for *auloi*; also Athen. 618b-c on why the *aulos* is called Libyan.

[54] Cf. Barker 1984: 82, n. 132.

[55] For ancient sources on the Phrygian *aulos*, see West 1994: 91. Battezzatto 2005: 15 suggests that the Phrygian *harmonia* may have been used in the performance of the first stasimon, though this might not make a specifically audible point here, since this *harmonia* was apparently used for most tragic music (see Aristoxenus fr. 79 Wehrli; Psellus, *De Trag*. 5).

[56] On the *aulos* and mimesis, see esp. ch. 4, pp. 151-152.

powerful sense of reenactment of their former performance if the resolved rhythm of these lines were to correspond with especially energetic dancing at this moment on the part of the chorus in the theater, beating the floor of the *orchestra* with their feet. The resulting association of the Trojan women of the chorus with *partheneia* continues into the epode, when the chorus shift from the third to the first person (ἐγὼ δὲ…, 551), strengthening the merging of described and performed *choreia* by explicitly referring to their own choral singing and dancing in honor of the *parthenos* Artemis (551-555). The repetition of the verb ἐμελπόμαν here (cf. ἔμελπον, 547) reinforces the inclusion of the chorus' own performance in this scene of choral celebration. As Laura Swift has shown, the self-characterization of these women, whom Hecuba previously addressed as the "wretched wives of bronze-speared Trojans" (143), as *parthenoi* here frames their enslavement by the Greeks in terms of ritual transition, as the parthenaic imagery does in the choral songs of *Hecuba*: "these women when raped and abducted are envisaged as though they were *parthenoi* once more, and are described in imagistic terms as girls whose transition to maturity becomes perverted into violence rather than legitimate marriage."[57] Andromache later similarly pictures herself now as a *parthenos* entering marriage when she says with bitter irony "I am going to a fine wedding, having lost my own child" (ἐπὶ καλὸν γὰρ ἔρχομαι / ὑμέναιον, ἀπολέσασα τοὐμαυτῆς τέκνον, 779).[58] Now that they are the Greeks' child-bearing trophies (στέφανον… κουροτρόφον, 565-566), the women retrospectively seem to lose their former status as Trojan wives.[59]

The fact that they now picture themselves as maidens can be seen as an instance of faulty or distorted remembrance through the performance of something that is now absent. Performance in itself is both a "present absence" and an "absent presence," in part through memory: as Charles Batson writes of theatrical performance (with particular reference to Ballet Suédois' 1924 production, *Relâche*), "[t]he thing that was once present has become absent to be re-rendered present in its remembrance," but, since such remembrance is inevitably faulty, "it is therefore the absence that is again pointed to, that is re-presented, in the repeated misrememberings."[60] In *Troades* both the chorus' description of their past *choreia* and their actual performance on stage "re-present" such absence. The disconnect between the Trojan women's current identity and their depiction of their former selves as *parthenoi*, as they "reperform" through their present song and dance the *choreia* that they, as mature women, would most likely not have performed in Troy, intensifies the sense of loss and absence, since their act of remembering in this song does not reproduce their original performance.

The reperformance of these musical celebrations through the chorus' own song and dance repeats not only the end of Troy, but also the end of Trojan *choreia*, providing an aetiology for the apparent absence of choral song and dance in the dramatic present. The "bloody cry" (φοινία…βοὰ, 555-556) that interrupts the women's choral song and

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[57] Swift 2010: 192. Cf. Eur. *Hec*. 462-469, 923-925, 933-935.

[58] Cf. 569-594; Eur. *Andr*. 100-110. On the representation of Andromache's abduction from Troy as a perverted marriage ritual, see Seaford 1987: 129-130, 1994: 335.

[59] This loss of former status may explain the metrically problematic †καὶ κόραι δύσνυμφαι† in Hecuba's address (144): as soon-to-be concubines to their Greek captors, the Trojan wives are also "ill-betrothed maidens."

[60] Batson 2005: 241. Cf. Gilpin 1995; Diamond 1996: 1-2.

dance, replacing their "cheerful cry" (βοάν…εὔφρον', 547) with a much more sinister sound, marks the beginning of the Greeks' attack on the city, after which there is no further reference to *choreia* either in the song or in the play as a whole (except for the chorus' lament that it is φροῦδος at 1071-1072). Luigi Battezzato sees the first stasimon as "the first occasion the women have for *singing* after the interruption during the fall of Troy" (emphasis original), and argues that they now resume their previous song with a distinctively "Greek tone" that replaces their earlier Phrygian music.[61] The merging of that past *mousikē* with the present performance, however, causes this "new" song still to seem Phrygian, with the *aulos* in the theater representing the "Libyan *lōtos*" and their song the Φρύγιά…μέλεα. No *mousikē* other than lament has replaced this Phrygian *choreia*, which has been destroyed along with the city itself. Yet the absence of *choreia* can paradoxically be made more emphatic through its presence in the performance on stage, as the chorus poignantly reenact the *mousikē* of the past amid the desolation of the present.

The disappearance of Troy's past musical performances would have been particularly emphatic if the first stasimon continued the topos of Trojan *mousikē* from *Palamedes*, the tragedy that preceded *Troades*, and perhaps also *Alexander*, the trilogy's opening play.[62] One of the surviving fragments of *Palamedes* suggests that the Greek chorus of this drama evokes Dionysiac music that, even if it is not explicitly imagined as being performed by the Trojans themselves, was at least strongly linked to the Trojan setting:[63]

> †οὐ σὰν† Διονύσου
> †κομᾶν† ὃς ἄν' Ἴδαν
> τέρπεται σὺν ματρὶ φίλα
> τυμπάνων ἰάκχοις.

> †…not your hair† of Dionysus, who over Mount Ida delights with the dear mother in the Iacchus-songs of the drums. (Eur. *Pal*. fr. 586 Kannicht)

While allusions to the cultic *mousikē* performed for Dionysus and the Great Mother (here the μάτηρ φίλα) occur in plays set in Greek cities too (and, in the case of *Helen*, in Egypt), nevertheless its Phrygian associations are particularly topical in a tragedy set outside Troy, and the reference to Ida, the mountain above Troy, strengthens the relevance of this musical depiction to the Trojan environment. None of the surviving fragments of *Alexander* refers to *mousikē* of any sort, but given the many representations of Paris playing the chelys lyre on archaic and classical vases, as well as the mention of his kithara in the *Iliad* (3.54), it would not be surprising if the chorus of this play referred to his music-making too.[64] If *Palamedes* and *Alexander* did already develop a picture of Trojan *mousikē* for the audience, the cessation of such music-making as (re)enacted in

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[61] Battezzatto 2005: 16.

[62] On thematic correspondences between the three tragedies, see Scodel 1980, esp. 64-121.

[63] It has been suggested that the chorus of *Palamedes* were in fact Trojan maenads rather than Greek soldiers: see Kannicht 2004: 597-598, and above, p. 57, n. 12.

[64] On depictions of Paris as a musician, see esp. Bundrick 2005: 65-66; cf. also Ch. 4, p. 146 on *IA* 573-578.

Troades would also represent a cessation of performances that the audience themselves would have witnessed earlier in the trilogy. The audience would thus be able to share the chorus' memory of such *mousikē* and experience its loss more powerfully.

Given that the first stasimon describes and accounts for musical absence and loss, what, then, are we to make of its simultaneous emphasis on musical novelty, when in the opening lines the chorus call on the Muse to sing "a funeral ode of new songs, with tears" (καινῶν ὕμνων / ἆισον σὺν δακρύοις ᾠδὰν ἐπικήδειον, 512-513)? This characterization of their own *mousikē* is strikingly self-referential, emphasizing that the song is new (καινός) as Timotheus does when boasting "I do not sing the old songs, for my new ones are better" (οὐκ ἀείδω τὰ παλαιά / καινὰ γὰρ ἀμὰ κρείσσω, fr. 796 *PMG*). In the voice of a tragic character, however, the chorus' characterization of their song as καινός is at one remove from the kitharode's first person statement as both composer and singer, and can refer both extradramatically to the novelty of Euripides' *mousikē* and intradramatically to that of the chorus' performance at this point in the play. Although the first stasimon is not necessarily "dithyrambic" in style, the chorus' request to the Muse to provide "new songs" may still point to musical novelty within both the ode and the play as a whole.

As many have noted, some of the song's novelty lies in its conflation of an epic subject and a tragic setting, above all in the opening address to the Muse (ἀμφί μοι Ἴλιον, ὦ / Μοῦσα, 511-512). This sort of invocation is typical of epic and the Homeric hymns, but unique in extant tragedy, and here transposes the Muse of hexameter poetry into tragic lyric. The inclusion of some dactylic rhythms in these first three lines creates a sense of the tragic appropriation of epic and hymnic style as well as content.[65] Moreover, although the *Iliad* ends with the mourning of Hecuba, Andromache, and Helen, the poetry itself is never framed as a lament, nor is the Muse ever called upon to inspire such a song as she is here.[66] As David Sansone has noted, Kranz did not comment on the fact that the chorus ask the Muse for "new songs" that belong to a funeral ode accompanied by tears (σὺν δακρύοις ᾠδὰν ἐπικήδειον, 514), a type of performance that is as far from the dithyramb as the association of the Muse with lament is from epic.[67] The first-person, female perspective that becomes explicit in the epode further distorts traditional epic treatments of Troy's fall, as well as distinguishing this ode from narrative-style kitharodic or dithyrambic songs.[68] Wilamowitz suggests that the opening phrase of the ode (ἀμφί μοι…) also evokes a kitharodic song type, in which case the ode becomes a "new" mix of not just epic but also kitharodic song, all performed to the accompaniment of the *aulos*, the instrument of the theater (tragedy, comedy, satyr play, and dithyramb).[69] If, as several

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[65] Cf. esp. *Hom. Hymn* 19.1, 20.1, 33.1; this use of ἀμφί with the accusative of a song's subject also occurs at *Hom. Hymn* 7.1, 22.1. On the novelty of this epic address within tragic lyric, see Neitzel 1967: 44; Lee 1976: 164; Hose 1991: 2.303; Quijada 2006: 844; D'Angour 2011: 194. On further parallels between the *Troades* first stasimon and the *Iliad*, see Sansone 2009.

[66] Cf. Neitzel 1967: 44-47; Biehl 1989: 226.

[67] Sansone 2009: 194.

[68] Cf. Barlow 1986: 184; Hose 1991: 2.303; Croally 1994: 245; Quijada 2006: 844-847.

[69] Wilamowitz 1921: 173; cf. Neitzel 1967: 44. According to Schol. Ar. *Nub*. 595c, Aristophanes' use of ἀμφί μοι αὖτε at the start of the chorus' antistrophe in the parabasis of *Clouds* imitates the prooimia of both kitharodists and dithyrambists (μιμεῖται τῶν διθυραμβοποιῶν καὶ κιθαρῳδῶν τὰ προοίμια).

scholars have argued, the rare compound adjectives (such as χρυσεοφάλερον, 520) and riddling phrases (such as τετραβάμονος…ὑπ᾽ ἀπήνας, 516) that follow have a dithyrambic flavor, then the chorus bring all three genres together in this performance of tragic lyric.[70] We can also detect a trace of the epinician genre in the final lines of the ode, when, in a horrible distortion of a victory song, the women claim that the bloodshed at Troy produced a child-bearing στέφανος for Greece (565-566). Although the first stasimon does not itself enact the sort of Greek takeover of Trojan *mousikē* that Battezzato suggests, then, the allusions to epic, hymnic, kitharodic, dithyrambic, and even epinician styles of performance do point to the beginnings of these song types in the wake of Troy's destruction. Hecuba later makes this idea more explicit when she remarks on how the women's sufferings will provide material for future song:[71]

>   …εἰ δὲ μὴ θεὸς
> ἔστρεψε τἄνω περιβαλὼν κάτω χθονός,
> ἀφανεῖς ἂν ὄντες οὐκ ἂν ὑμνηθεῖμεν ἂν
> μούσαις ἀοιδὰς δόντες ὑστέρων βροτῶν.

> But if god had not wheeled us around, casting what was above the earth beneath it, we, being invisible, would not be celebrated in song, providing songs for the music of men to come. (1242-1245)

The conflation of different types of song within the choral ode therefore suggests a departure from *all* previous *mousikē* with this performance, and in this respect the chorus seem to sing καινοὶ ὕμνοι.[72] This is the sort of mixing of genres that seems to have been a feature of the "New Music," at least according to the complaints of the Athenian stranger in Plato's *Laws*:

> προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου, ἄρχοντες μὲν τῆς ἀμούσου παρανομίας ποιηταὶ ἐγίγνοντο φύσει μὲν ποιητικοί, ἀγνώμονες δὲ περὶ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς Μούσης καὶ τὸ νόμιμον, βακχεύοντες καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος κατεχόμενοι ὑφ᾽ ἡδονῆς, κεραννύντες δὲ θρήνους τε ὕμνοις καὶ παίωνας διθυράμβοις, καὶ αὐλῳδίας δὴ ταῖς κιθαρῳδίαις μιμούμενοι, καὶ πάντα εἰς πάντα συνάγοντες….

> …but as time went on there arose leaders of unmusical unlawfulness, poets who, though by nature poetical, were ignorant about what is just and lawful in music, being full of Bacchic frenzy and possessed by pleasure more than is fitting, and they mixed both dirges with hymns and paeans with dithyrambs, and represented

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[70] On the "dithyrambic" language of the ode, see Wilamowitz 1921: 174; Neitzel 1967: 45; Battezzato 2005: 17; cf. Kranz 1933: 243.

[71] This idea is similar to the one expressed by Helen in the *Iliad* (6.357-358): see Kovacs 1997: 175-176.

[72] Sansone 2009: 194 argues that the ode asserts the role of tragedy as successor to epic poetry, but the novelty it advertises is not clearly that of an entire genre: the combination of different musical styles seems to be more representative of specifically Euripides' *mousikē* than it is of tragedy as a whole.

aulos songs with kithara songs, and brought together everything with everything…. (Plato, *Leges* 700d)

It is therefore not so much Euripides' new *dithyrambic* style that the song heralds as it is his experimentation with the mixing of various musical genres, including the dithyramb. This is not the first instance of this sort of generic conflation, nor the most explicit—in the second stasimon of *Heracles*, which was probably produced a year or two before *Troades*, the chorus sing of how they are combining the kithara and *aulos*, epinician, paean, and Dionysiac *mousikē* in their celebration of Heracles' achievements:[73]

ἔτι τὰν Ἡρακλέους   (680)
καλλίνικον ἀείδω
παρά τε Βρόμιον οἰνοδόταν
παρά τε χέλυος ἑπτατόνου
μολπὰν καὶ Λίβυν αὐλόν.
οὔπω καταπαύσομεν   (685)
Μούσας αἵ μ’ ἐχόρευσαν.

παιᾶνα μὲν Δηλιάδες
<ναῶν> ὑμνοῦσ’ ἀμφὶ πύλας
  τὸν Λατοῦς εὔπαιδα γόνον,
εἰλίσσουσαι καλλίχοροι·
παιᾶνας δ’ ἐπὶ σοῖς μελάθροις   (690)
κύκνος ὣς γέρων ἀοιδὸς
πολιᾶν ἐκ γενύων
κελαδήσω….

Still I sing the *kallinikos* <song> of Heracles, both in the company of Bromios the wine-giver and in the company of the music of the seven-stringed tortoise-shell and the Libyan *aulos*. Not yet will we put an end to the Muses, who set us dancing.

The Delian Maidens sing a paean around the gates <of the temples> for the noble child of Leto, whirling, beautiful choruses; so paeans upon your halls I shall cry out like a swan, aged singer, from my grey cheeks…. (Eur. *Her*. 680-694)

Nevertheless, *Troades* is one of the earlier plays to exhibit such a mixing of song types, and the chorus' announcement of "new songs" in the first stasimon can therefore in part be seen as an advertisement for Euripides' new musical experimentation, even if it does not begin with this particular ode.

　　The similarities between this ode and Agathon's song in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*, which was produced probably four years later than *Troades* in 411 BCE, suggest that there may have been a new trend in late fifth-century Athens for

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[73] Cf. Wilson 1999-2000: 435, who notes the "harmonious union" of different types of *mousikē* here. Other critics have tended to focus almost exclusively on the epinician character of this ode: see Parry 1965; Rehm 1996: 53; Swift 2010: 129-131.

representing performances of female *choreia* at Troy.[74] Agathon, Euripides' young contemporary who seems to have been known as much for his gender bending as for the novelty of his tragic compositions, sings this choral ode himself, taking on the roles of both the chorus leader and chorus:

ἱερὰν χθονίαιν
δεξάμεναι λαμπάδα, κοῦραι, ξὺν ἐλευθέρᾳ
πραπίδι χορεύσασθε βοάν.
—τίνι δαιμόνων ὁ κῶμος;
λέγε νιν. εὐπείστως δὲ τοὐμὸν   (105)
δαίμονας ἔχει σεβίσαι.
—ἄγε νῦν ὄλβιζε μούσᾳ
χρυσέων ῥύτορα τόξων
Φοῖβον, ὃς ἱδρύσατο χώρας
γύαλα Σιμουντίδι γᾷ.   (110)
—χαῖρε καλλίσταις ἀοιδαῖς,
Φοῖβ᾽, ἐν εὐμούσοισι τιμαῖς
γέρας ἱερὸν προφέρων.
—τάν τ᾽ ἐν ὄρεσι δρυογόνοισιν
κόραν ἀείσατ᾽ Ἄρτεμιν ἀγροτέραν.   (115)
—ἕπομαι κλῄζουσα σεμνὰν
γόνον ὀλβίαν τε Λατοῦς,
Ἄρτεμιν ἀπειρολεχῆ.
—Λατώ τε κρούματά τ᾽ Ἀσιάδος   (120)
ποδὶ παράρυθμ᾽ εὔρυθμα Φρυγίων
διὰ νεύματα Χαρίτων.
—σέβομαι Λατώ τ᾽ ἄνασσαν
κίθαρίν τε ματέρ᾽ ὕμνων
ἄρσενι βοᾷ δόκιμον,   (125)
τᾷ φάος ἔσσυτο δαιμονίοις
ὄμμασιν, ἀμετέρας τε δι᾽ αἰφνιδίου ὀπός. ὧν χάριν
ἄνακτ᾽ ἀγάλλετε Φοῖβον.
χαῖρ᾽, ὄλβιε παῖ Λατοῦς.

[As chorus leader] Receive the holy torch of the underworld pair, maidens, with free heart dance a cry!
[As chorus] For which of the gods is our revel? Name him/her. I'm in a state that's easily persuaded to worship gods.
[As chorus leader] Come now, with song bless the drawer of golden arrows, Phoebus, who founded our country's vales in the land of the river Simois.
[As chorus] Rejoice in our most beautiful songs, Phoebus, bringing forth your holy gift amid musical honors.
[As chorus leader] And sing of the maiden in the oak-bearing mountains, wild Artemis.

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[74] On the dating of the comedy, see Henderson 2000: 444.

[As chorus] I follow, glorifying the revered offspring of Leto, blessing her, Artemis inexperienced in the bed.
[As chorus leader] Both Leto and the strummings of the Asian [kithara],[75] keeping time with the foot against the rhythm through the Phrygian Graces' noddings.
[As chorus] I revere both Queen Leto and the kithara, mother of songs that are renowned for their male cry.
[As chorus leader] At which a light darted from divine eyes, and through our quick voice. For the sake of these things glorify lord Phoebus!
[As chorus] Hail, blessed son of Leto! (Ar. *Thesm.* 101-129)

The identification of the singers impersonated by Agathon as Trojan (109-110) and the probable allusion to Troy's liberation (ἐλευθέρᾳ πραπίδι) in line 102 suggest that this song celebrating Apollo, Artemis, and Leto is also meant to be set on the night of the city's fall, when the Trojans believe the Greeks have departed and bring the horse within their walls.[76] Agathon's own performance of this choral celebration further resembles the one described by the chorus in *Troades* in its emphasis on *partheneia*: Agathon as chorus leader calls on his fellow "maidens" (κοῦραι, 102) and invokes the maiden Artemis (κόραν ἀείσατ' Ἄρτεμιν, 115), stressing her virginity—and thus also that of the chorus whom he imitates—by describing her as "inexperienced in the bed" (ἀπειρολεχῆ, 119). As in Euripides' ode, in which the chorus remember how they raised their feet and beat the ground together as they danced, Agathon's song includes an intensely rhythmical focus on choreography in lines 120-122, when in the role of the chorus he describes how the kithara's strumming (κρούματα, a word which also evokes the beating of feet)[77] keeps time with the dance, aided by the "nodding" (νεύματα) of the Graces. The fact that Aristophanes has Agathon perform his version of this choral celebration in the presence of Euripides himself, the very man who had depicted a similar scene on the same stage just a few years earlier, strengthens the connection between the two men, as Agathon replaces those "new songs" with his own.

As I have already indicated, however, the newness of the chorus' song in *Troades* does not only lie in its extradramatic implications: in addition to pointing toward *mousikē* that is "new" regardless of its context, the appeal for "a funeral ode of new songs" highlights musical change within the drama itself. This first "proper" choral ode brings to the play "new" music in its combination of hymnic, epic, kitharodic, and dithyrambic elements within a narrative-style song, and so provides a contrast to and brief respite from the chorus' previous performance of lament. This ode's interruption within the lament of the tragedy as a whole is an inverse of what is described in the song itself, but the juxtaposition of the two types of performance still underscores the poignant contrast between the Trojans' own celebratory *mousikē* before Troy's fall and the mourning

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[75] On the reading of [kithara] (κιθάριος) here, see Austin and Olson 2009: 94.
[76] Bothe suggested that this song parodies a choral passage from a play (otherwise unattested) by Agathon on the fall of Troy (1845: 111). Cf. Muecke 1982: 46. The command to dance ἐλευθέρᾳ πραπίδι resembles the call to beat the ground with "free foot" in the opening lines of Horace's famous ode celebrating the fall of Cleopatra ("nunc pede libero / pulsanda tellus," *Ode* 37.1-2), though of course in Agathon's song it is horribly ironic, since the city is about to be destroyed.
[77] Cf. p. 25 on Eur. *El.* 180.

thereafter. The fact that the ode provides an explanation for the lack of *choreia* in the present dramatic situation, however, ironizes this impression of a new musical departure, creating a disconnect between the chorus' own singing and dancing and the *mousikē* they describe, even as the two performances seem to merge with each other on stage. Although for the audience this is the first full *choreia* of the play, the ode stresses the disappearance of such *choreia* at Troy.

The type of performance that would seem "new" to these Trojan women, now that they have abandoned their *choreia*, is lament. In this respect the call for "a funeral ode of new songs" does not so much apply to the ode itself, which does not feature any traditional markers of lament, but rather to the dominant song-type of the surrounding drama.[78] The ode thus describes and simultaneously enacts through the chorus' own performance the transition from the celebratory *choreia* of the past to the mourning of the present – mourning that is immediately renewed in the scene that follows this ode, when Andromache and Hecuba sing an antiphonal lament together (577-606). The invocation of the Muse can therefore be seen as an appeal for musical inspiration for the play as a whole, a play that is, as we have seen, unlike all other extant tragedies in being so full of lament from start to finish. When the chorus then say "for now I will cry out a song to Troy" (νῦν γὰρ μέλος ἐς Τροίαν ἰαχήσω, 515), they signal a different type of song from the one that they request from the Muse. As the conjunction γὰρ signals, this song will explain why lament is now the only type of *mousikē* that can be performed, since *choreia* has been abandoned amid the ruin of their city.

The first stasimon also brings the *mousikē* of the play back to lament after Cassandra's frenzied *hymenaios*, with her distorted, solo performance of *choreia*. So the call for new music refers not only to the change from the *mousikē* performed in the past to that of the dramatic present, but also to a change within the play itself, as mourning takes over from her failed attempt to perform a wedding song with the chorus. Such a shift from specifically *hymenaios* to lament is reminiscent of the one described in the second stasimon of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*:

> Ἰλίωι δὲ κῆδος ὀρ-
> θώνυμον τελεσσίφρων   (700)
> Μῆνις ἤλασεν, τραπέζας ἀτί-
> μωσιν ὑστέρωι χρόνωι
> καὶ ξυνεστίου Διὸς
> πρασσομένα τὸ νυμφότι-   (705)
> μον μέλος ἐκφάτως τίοντας,
> ὑμέναιον ὃς τότ' ἐπέρ-
> ρεπε γαμβροῖσιν ἀείδειν.
> μεταμανθάνουσα δ' ὕμνον
> Πριάμου πόλις γεραιὰ   (710)
> πολύθρηνον μέγα που στένει, κικλήσκου-
> σα Πάριν τὸν αἰνόλεκτρον

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[78] *Contra* Neitzel 1967: 47 ("besteht die Neuartigkeit des Liedes eben darin, daß es ein "Totenlied" ist"). Suter 2003: 5, 14 sees the first stasimon as a "reduced lament" for the city of Troy based on its subject-matter, but it is not in itself a performance of lament.

†παμπρόσθη πολύθρηνον
αἰῶν᾽ ἀμφὶ πολιτᾶν†   (715)
μέλεον αἷμ᾽ ἀνατλᾶσα.

To Ilium, fulfilling its will, wrath drove a rightly-named *kēdos* [sorrow/marriage alliance], exacting at a later time payment for the dishonor done to the table of hospitality and to Zeus of the hearth from those who celebrate loudly the bridal song, the *hymenaios*, which at that time fell to the bridegroom's kin to sing. But, starting to learn a different song, one full of lamentation, Priam's old city wails it loudly, calling Paris the "terribly-wed", having endured †a life entirely destroyed, full of lamentation due to† the wretched blood of †her citizens†.[79] (Aesch. *Ag.* 699-715)

The change in Troy's *mousikē* that the Argive chorus in *Agamemnon* describe, from the wedding celebrations for Paris and Helen to the songs "full of lamentation" (πολύθρηνον, 714) for the slain, is reperformed in *Troades* through the musical transition from Cassandra's *hymenaios* to the mourning of the chorus, Hecuba, and Andromache.[80] The first stasimon, though not itself a lament, accounts for this transition, thereby also providing an aetiology for the dominant *mousikē* of the drama as a whole.

PERFORMING THE FALL OF TROY

As we have seen, Hecuba's opening monody and the chorus' first stasimon together describe and to an extent reperform the beginning and the end of the Trojan War: the Greeks' voyage to Troy accompanied by the *aulos* and syrinx; and the moment of Troy's fall, when the "bloody cry" (φοινία βοά) interrupts the Trojans' choral celebrations as the Greeks come out from the horse. In the second stasimon, which the chorus perform after Astyanax is taken away to his death and his mother to the ships, the chorus also initially rehearse a moment of Troy's history, this time looking further back to Telamon's sack of the city. They begin the ode from a very Greek point of view, addressing the hero with strongly epinician language and celebrating his connection with Athens:

μελισσοτρόφου Σαλαμῖνος ὦ βασιλεῦ Τελαμών,
νάσου περικύμονος οἰκήσας ἕδραν   (800)
τᾶς ἐπικεκλιμένας ὄχθοις ἱεροῖς, ἵν᾽ ἐλαίας
πρῶτον ἔδειξε κλάδον γλαυκᾶς Ἀθάνα,
οὐράνιον στέφανον λιπαραῖσί <τε> κόσμον Ἀθάναις,
ἔβας ἔβας τῶι τοξοφόρωι συναρι-
  στεύων ἅμ᾽ Ἀλκμήνας γόνωι   (805)
Ἴλιον Ἴλιον ἐκπέρσων πόλιν

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[79] Line 716 could instead be translated as "having endured wretched bloodshed."

[80] Cf. Battezzato 2005: 12, who likens the description of the Trojans' abandonment of Helen's *hymenaios* in this passage of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* to the way in which Hecuba and the chorus in *Troades* must unlearn their former songs and take up a new tradition of Greek *mousikē* instead.

ἀμετέραν τὸ πάροιθεν <   >
[ὅτ’ ἔβας ἀφ’ Ἑλλάδος]·

O king of bee-nourishing Salamis, Telamon, who made your home in a sea-girt island that lies near the holy hills, where Athena first revealed the shoot of grey olive, a heavenly crown and glory for gleaming Athens, you came, you came, doing great exploits together with the arrow-bearing son of Alcmene, to sack Ilium, Ilium, our city, in days gone by <...> [when you came from Hellas]. (799-808)

However, after reasserting their own Phrygian perspective with the emphatically placed "our city" (πόλιν / ἀμετέραν) in lines 806-807, the chorus then vividly describe in the first antistrophe the violent destruction wrought by Telamon at Troy, and in doing so they bring their focus forward in time by merging the two scenes of destruction, past and present:[81]

> …κανόνων δὲ τυκίσματα Φοίβου
> πυρὸς <πυρὸς> φοίνικι πνοᾶι καθελὼν   (815)
> Τροίας ἐπόρθησε χθόνα.
> δὶς δὲ δυοῖν πιτύλοιν τείχη πέρι
> Δαρδανίδας φονία κατέλυσεν αἰχμά.

…and having brought down with the crimson breath of fire, of fire, Phoebus' stonework produced by the rule, he laid waste to the land of Troy. And twice in two attacks the murderous spear has killed Dardanians around their walls. (814-819)

The rest of the ode continues to combine allusions to the past (Ganymede and Zeus in the second strophe, Eos and Tithonus in the final antistrophe) with vivid scenes of the dramatic present, marking a transition in the tragedy's song as a whole: from this moment on the chorus and Hecuba shift away from *re*performing Troy's past toward performing in real-time its present instead. Their song and dance increasingly reflect, intensify, and make present on stage the final destruction of the city burning behind them, thus producing a sort of auditory and choreographed *skēnographia* for the audience of a scene that would not otherwise be physically represented in the theater.[82]

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[81] This is made particularly clear by means of the alliterative tautology at the start of line 817 (δὶς δὲ δυοῖν πιτύλοιν, cf. Pind. *Nem*. 8. 48). For a similar merging of these two sacks of Troy, see also Pind. *Ol*. 8. 30-46.

[82] Cf. Bassi 2005: 259 on visual perception in tragedy, drawing from Bühler 1934's concept of "imagination-orientated deixis:" "the dramatic script inscribes two (or more) levels of visual absence: the play in performance as available to the bodily eye of a putative spectator, and verbal references to what is *not* seen." Cf. Ch. 4, pp. 137-141 on the parodos of *IA* (164-302), in which the chorus seem to enact through their own song and dance their view of the Greek army. On the representation of the fall of Troy in *Troades*, see Hose 1991: 2.325-329.

The chorus' performance of Troy's fall is also a lament for the city.[83] As the chorus begin to reflect directly on the present again, so their style of song shifts back to that of lament, away from the narrative and generic mixing of the first stasimon. Though it begins with epinician language and motifs, the second stasimon becomes what Ann Suter calls a "reduced lament," containing some stylistic elements of a lament without developing into a full mourning song.[84] The song's status as a partial or reduced lament becomes particularly clear through its repetitive language, particularly the doubling of words at the start of a line, such as ἔβας ἔβας (805), Ἴλιον Ἴλιον (806), πυρὸς ⟨πυρὸς⟩ (815), and Ἔρως Ἔρως (841), as well as the alliterative polyptoton of δὶς δὲ δυοῖν in line 816.[85] The language of loss, destruction, and absence that pervades the ode further enhances the impression of a lament.[86]

As the chorus focus on the present scene of destruction in the second strophe, however, their mourning becomes much more striking, as they perform not only their own lament but also that of the place itself, thus merging their own voices with those of the Trojan landscape:

> ἠϊόνες δ' ἅλιαι
> ἴακχον οἰωνὸς οἷ-
>   ον τέκνων ὕπερ βοῶσ',   (830)
> ἁι μὲν εὐνάς, ἁι δὲ παῖδας,
> ἁι δὲ ματέρας γεραιάς.

The salty shores shout out a cry, just as a bird [cries] for her children, here for marriage beds, here for sons, here for old mothers. (826-832)

Parts of the physical environment are often said to echo or resound in Greek poetry, whether in the context of battle, as when the waters and banks of the river Xanthos ring amid the confusion of drowning Trojans in the *Iliad* (βράχε δ' αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα, / ὄχθαι δ' ἀμφὶ περὶ μεγάλ' ἴαχον, 21.9-10) or in response to a character's pain, like when the rocky cave cries out in response to the groans of the blinded Polyphemus in the *Odyssey* (περὶ δ' ἴαχε πέτρη, 9.395). In the musical context of Hesiod's description of the Muses' singing in the *Theogony*, the sounds produced by the landscape suggest its participation in the performance of *choreia*: Zeus' halls laugh with joy at the goddesses' voices, while the peak of Olympus resounds (ἠχεῖ δὲ κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου, *Th.* 42); as they make their way toward Olympus, "around them the black earth cried out as they sang"

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[83] On laments for cities in ancient Greece, see Alexiou 83-85.

[84] Suter 2002: 3-4 (drawing on the unpublished work of Elinor Wright); *contra* Biehl: 1989: 303-304, who sees the content of the first half of the ode as typical of an epinician.

[85] On repetitive language as a feature of lament, both in literature and in practice, see Alexiou 1974: 97, 151; also Suter 2003: 3. The extended laments in Aeschylus' *Persians* are full of such repetition: see esp. lines 932-1076. Cf. Ch. 3, pp. 93-96 on markers of lament in Euripides' *Helen*.

[86] E.g. καθελὼν (815), ἐπόρθησε (815), κατέλυσεν (820), δαίεται (825), βεβᾶσι (835), ὤλεσ' (840), ὄλεθρον (851), φροῦδα (859).

(περὶ δ’ ἴαχε γαῖα μέλαινα / ὑμνεύσαις, 69).[87] That this sort of pathetic fallacy extends to the participation of the physical environment in a lament too is not surprising, given the intensity of emotion experienced and displayed through such a performance, and the fact that the lament is for a whole city rather than an individual. These lines of *Troades* are striking, however, on account of the comparison the chorus make between the sound produced by the shores of Troy and the cry of a mother bird for its children. As we have seen, the analogy of the songbird singing for the loss of her children appears earlier in the play too, in the monody of Hecuba (146-148). Here in the second stasimon, however, a simile that more naturally applies to the chorus’ own singing, comparing their lament to that of the bird, is attached instead to the Trojan landscape. The effect of this crossed identification is a merging of the women and their land, an assimilation of their voices.[88] The following cries of lament intensify the fusing of chorus and landscape, since they themselves perform the shores’ cries (ἇι μὲν εὐνάς, ἇι δὲ παῖδας, / ἇι δὲ ματέρας γεραιάς, 831-832).[89] Their lament *for* Troy thus seems to become the lament *of* Troy itself.

The word used for the shores’ cry, ἴακχον (829), is striking, since although commentators tend to gloss it here as a general shout of distress, elsewhere it tends to refer specifically to the *Iacchus* song for Dionysus or to the god himself.[90] There is no reason, however, to deny the Dionysiac character of this particular sound-word, particularly as it intensifies the effect of the merging of voices, with the shores emitting a cry that is usually performed by a chorus. As when the chorus later describe Hecuba’s mourning as a “*Iacchus* cry of the dead” (νεκρῶν ἴακχον, 1230), the reference to this type of song occurs not in the context of a civic cult but instead within a lament for the city. Though Dionysiac imagery is more usually associated with the destruction of the household in tragedy (as it is, for example, in *Heracles*) rather than with that of the whole city, in *Troades* it is used to emphasize the total annihilation of both.[91]

The motif of the enclosed lament, whereby the chorus perform the lament of others within their own song of mourning, is taken up again in the third stasimon, which they sing after Menelaus has left with Helen. Like the first stasimon, this one initially evokes the past history of Trojan worship and performance, from the incense burning on Zeus’ altar to the sacrifices and choruses performed in his honor (1060-1080). Like the second stasimon, however, it includes repetitions typical of lament, such as Ἰδαῖά τ’ Ἰδαῖα (1066), μέλει μέλει (1077), and βοᾶι βοᾶι (1090), and increasingly focuses on

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[87] In a seminar presentation at the University of California, Berkeley on November 19th, 2012, Sarah Olsen noted the similarity between these instances of the physical world responding to *choreia* and Orpheus’ ability to charm trees, rocks, and animals with his song: see esp. Simonides fr. 62 *PMG*; Eur. *Bacc*. 561-564, *IA* 1211-1212.

[88] Cf. Barlow 1986: 32, who points out how closely the women identify themselves with Troy itself, frequently addressing the city as if it were one of them (e.g. 173, 780, 1278, 1324).

[89] Biehl 1989: 315 also notes that the shores’ wailing represents that of the women themselves.

[90] ἴακχον is an emendation by Hartung; ms V prints ἴαχον (the third person plural imperfect form of ἰάχω), but the tense seems odd in this otherwise present context. For ἴακχος as a reference to the *Iacchus* song for Dionysus, see e.g. Eur. *Cycl*. 69, *Bacc*. 725; cf. Hdt. 8.65.9.

[91] On Dionysiac music in Euripides’ *Heracles*, see Wilson 1999-2000: 433-439. On the use of Dionysiac imagery in the portrayal of the destruction of the family in tragedy, see Seaford 1994: 328-362.

the present destruction of Troy, though the women also look to their uncertain future and in the second antistrophe wish for Menelaus to be shipwrecked on his way home (1100-1117). In the second strophe they picture their children at the city gates, crying out their own lament to their mothers:

τέκνων δὲ πλῆθος ἐν πύλαις
δάκρυσι †κατάορα στένει† βοᾶι βοᾶι   (1090)
Μᾶτερ, ὤμοι, μόναν δή μ’ Ἀχαιοὶ κομί-
   ζουσι σέθεν ἀπ’ ὀμμάτων…

But a crowd of children at the gates with tears †hanging down wails†, cries, cries, "Mother, alas!, the Achaeans are taking me, alone indeed, away from your sight…." (1089-1092)

The women thus perform the cries of the children as well as their own, and by making this imagined scene so vivid they extend the audience's view of Trojan suffering to include those who are not physically present on stage.[92]

This sort of "reduced lament" soon turns into full, antiphonal mourning, which reaches its culmination as Hecuba and the chorus hear the crashes of Troy falling in the closing lines of the play. After Talthybius brings Hecuba the corpse of Astyanax and she addresses it in grief (1123-1215), the chorus repeatedly interrupt her iambic trimeters with cries (ἒ ἒ, αἰαῖ αἰαῖ, οἴμοι, ἰώ μοί μοι) and emotional dochmiacs (1215-1238), drawing her into their lament for Astyanax by directing her to perform the ritual sounds and gestures of mourning:[93]

{Χο.} αἰαῖ αἰαῖ·
   πικρὸν ὄδυρμα γαῖά σ’, ὦ
   τέκνον, δέξεται.
   στέναζε, μᾶτερ {Εκ.} αἰαῖ.
{Χο.} νεκρῶν ἴακχον. {Εκ.} οἴμοι.   (1230)
{Χο.} οἴμοι δῆτα σῶν ἀλάστων κακῶν.
{Εκ.} τελαμῶσιν ἕλκη τὰ μὲν ἐγώ σ’ ἰάσομαι,
   τλήμων ἰατρός, ὄνομ’ ἔχουσα, τἄργα δ’ οὔ·
   τὰ δ’ ἐν νεκροῖσι φροντιεῖ πατὴρ σέθεν.
{Χο.} ἄρασσ’ ἄρασσε κρᾶτα   (1235)
   πιτύλους διδοῦσα χειρός.
   ἰώ μοί μοι.

Chorus: *Aiai aiai*! You, a cause for bitter mourning, O child, the earth will receive. Wail, mother…

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[92] Biehl 1989: 389 sees these lines as an example of "Phantasia-Darstellung", in which the mothers recall the moment they last saw their children. The chorus' depiction of the lamenting children rather seems to combine this memory with their imagination of what is happening in the present, when the children, like their mothers, are being taken as slaves to different Greek ships (1094-1099).
[93] On the contrast of iambics and dochmiacs here, see Barlow 1986: 224.

Hecuba: *Aiai*!
…the cry of the dead!
Hecuba: *Oimoi*!
Chorus: *Oimoi* indeed for your unforgettable sorrows!
Hecuba: Your wounds I shall heal with bandages, a wretched healer, having only the name and not the deeds. But your father will care for things among the dead.
Chorus: Beat, beat the head, applying your hand's attacks. *Iō moi moi*! (1226-1237)

Whereas previously Hecuba led their mourning, now the chorus direct this performance with their orders to "wail the cry of the dead" (στέναζε… νεκρῶν ἴακχον, 1230) and "beat the head" (ἄρασσε κρᾶτα, 1235), and thus seem to push Hecuba and indeed the drama itself to abandon speech altogether and devolve into lament alone—as the Trojan women themselves do for the last 120 lines of the play.[94] Battezzato sees the chorus' words at 1226-1237 as a distortion of the traditional form of ritual mourning, whereby they would follow the orders of a leader.[95] We can see from the extended lament in Aeschylus' *Persians* (935-1076) that the actor as leader tends to give directions for mourning to the chorus, who respond by confirming that they are indeed performing these sounds and gestures: so, for example, Xerxes bids them to "cry out now, sounding in response to me" (βόα νυν ἀντίδουπά μοι, 1048), and they respond by singing "this is my care, my lord (μέλειν πάρεστι, δέσποτα, 1049). Battezzato argues that the chorus' takeover of the role of leader in lament here in *Troades* emphasizes "the breakdown of family and society, a breakdown that affects even the rituals used by society to deal with mourning." If the traditional structure of song performance does seem to break down here, the effect is temporary, since Hecuba leads the mourning again in the final, extended scene of antiphonal lamentation with which the play ends. But the chorus' active role in encouraging lamentation is striking for the way in which it pushes this type of *mousikē* into the play, interrupting the rhythms of speech with these lyrical outbursts of grief. Rather as in the *kommos* scene of Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*, when the chorus' vivid description of their wailing and beating (423-429) helps to escalate the feelings of sorrow and anger expressed by Orestes and Electra, in *Troades* the chorus' self-referential focus on the sounds and ritual gestures of mourning further heightens the emotional intensity of their lament.

In the closing scene of the play the characters do finally abandon speech altogether and break down into a full, antiphonal lament that accompanies, reflects, and magnifies the complete destruction of Troy. The chorus interrupt Hecuba's iambic trimeters again at 1251-1259 with a short lament in lyric anapaests, punctuated by the cries of ἰὼ ἰώ and ἔα ἔα.[96] There follows the last scene of spoken dialogue in the play, when Talthybius tells the Greek captains to burn Troy to the ground and bids Odysseus' servants to take Hecuba away (1260-1286). Then, beginning with Hecuba's anguished

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[94] The directions for the gestures of lament here recall those of Hecuba in response to the news that she will be Odysseus' slave (ἄρασσε κρᾶτα κούριμον / ἕλκ' ὀνύχεσσι δίπτυχον παρειάν, 279-280).
[95] Battezzato 2005: 5-6.
[96] See Lee 1976: 273 on the probability that these lines are meant to be sung, despite some non-lyric features.

cry of extreme grief (ὀτοτοτοτοτοῖ, 1287), she and the chorus sing a long antiphonal, lyric iambic lament for Troy, beginning with a depiction of the fire devouring the city (1287-1301). In the second strophe they then concentrate on their own gestures of lament, before bewailing Hecuba's fate:

{Εκ.} ἰὼ γᾶ τρόφιμε τῶν ἐμῶν τέκνων.
{Χο.} ἒ ἔ.
{Εκ.} ὦ τέκνα, κλύετε, μάθετε ματρὸς αὐδάν.
{Χο.} ἰαλέμωι τοὺς θανόντας ἀπύεις.
{Εκ.} γεραιά γ' ἐς πέδον τιθεῖσα μέλε' <ἐμὰ>   (1305)
  καὶ χερσὶ γαῖαν κτυποῦσα δισσαῖς.
{Χο.} διάδοχά σοι γόνυ τίθημι γαίαι
  τοὺς ἐμοὺς καλοῦσα νέρθεν
  ἀθλίους ἀκοίτας.
{Εκ.} ἀγόμεθα φερόμεθ' {Χο.} ἄλγος ἄλγος βοᾶις.   (1310)

Hecuba: *Io*! Land, nourisher of my children!
Chorus: *Eh eh*!
Hecuba: O children, listen, note your mother's voice!
Chorus: In your lament you call on the dead.
Hecuba: Placing my old limbs on the ground and beating the earth with my two hands.
Chorus: Following you, I place my knee on the ground, summoning my wretched husband from below.
Hecuba: I am being led away, carried away! Chorus: Pain, pain you cry! (1301-1310)

Following the vivid description in the previous antistrophe of Troy falling to the ground, engulfed by flames (πτέρυγι δὲ καπνὸς ὥς τις οὐ- / ρίαι πεσοῦσα δορὶ καταφθίνει γᾶ, 1298-1299), the cries, kneeling, and beating of the ground described and (we assume) simultaneously performed by Hecuba and the chorus in this strophe seem almost to (re)produce sonically and visually the scene of Troy's sinking to ruin.

    The second antistrophe strengthens this mimetic effect of the women's performance, whereby the sounds and gestures of their lament not only express their own suffering but also seem to enact the demolition that they so vividly describe. Now, instead of calling on her children to hear her cries (ὦ τέκνα, κλύετε, μάθετε ματρὸς αὐδάν, 1303), Hecuba uses the same language (ἐμάθετ', ἐκλύετε, 1325) to refer to the sound of the citadel falling down in the final words of the play:

{Εκ.} ἐμάθετ', ἐκλύετε; {Χο.} περγάμων <γε> κτύπον.   (1325)
{Εκ.} ἔνοσις ἅπασαν ἔνοσις {Χο.} ἐπικλύζει πόλιν.
{Εκ.} ἰὼ <ἰώ>, τρομερὰ τρομερὰ
  μέλεα, φέρετ' ἐμὸν ἴχνος· ἴτ' ἐπὶ
  δούλειον ἀμέραν βίου.   (1330)
{Χο.} ἰὼ τάλαινα πόλις. ὅμως
δὲ πρόφερε πόδα σὸν ἐπὶ πλάτας Ἀχαιῶν.

> Hecuba: Do you note, do you hear? Chorus: The crash of Troy's citadel.
> Hecuba: Shaking, shaking… Chorus: …overwhelms the whole city.
> Hecuba: *Io <io>*! Trembling, trembling limbs, carry my step: go to your life's day of slavery.
> Chorus: *Io* wretched city! Nevertheless carry your foot forward to the ships of the Achaeans. (1325-1332)

The noun κτύπος ("crash, din, noise") here in line 1325 recalls Hecuba's use of the related verb κτυπέω in the previous stanza to refer to the sound of her beating the ground with her hands (χερσὶ γαῖαν κτυποῦσα δισσαῖς, 1306), and often appears in Euripidean tragedy to express the percussive element of lament.[97] The sound made by Hecuba and the chorus in their mourning is thus transformed into that of the city crashing to the ground. By following her reference to the shaking (ἔνοσις, 1326) that overwhelms the city with a description of her own quivering limbs (τρομερὰ τρομερὰ / μέλεα, 1328-1329), Hecuba augments the sense of correlation between her and the chorus' movements and those of Troy itself; the highly resolved meter of lines 1326-1329 intensifies this effect by seeming to imitate such trembling rhythmically. Hecuba's instructions to her limbs to "carry my step" (φέρετ' ἐμὸν ἴχνος, 1329), which the chorus then take up in their closing line (πρόφερε πόδα σὸν, 1332), also, however, mark the end of their lament by replacing their directions for the gestures of mourning from the previous strophe. The choreography of lament turns into the movements of Hecuba as she makes her way towards the Greek ships.

At the beginning of this chapter I noted how the fact that Hecuba and the chorus continue singing right until the end of the play gives the impression that the mourning that has dominated the whole drama, especially its closing scene, will never cease. At the same time, the departure of Hecuba, the chorus' leader, who has been on stage for almost the entire drama, also signals the end of their lament together, as well as the end of the tragedy itself. Up until this point the performance of and allusions to lament have intensified the stagnancy of the women's position: they have remained in the one place on the shore outside Troy, waiting to be assigned as slaves to their new Greek masters. Their lament cannot continue, however, now that Hecuba is finally moving from this stationary position toward the ships, leaving her chorus behind. Since their songs of and about mourning have defined the whole tragedy, this must come to a close now too.

A PLAY OF ABSENCE AND PRESENCE

A running theme of much of this chapter has been that *Troades* is about absence, and that such absence is made poignantly clear through the performance of *mousikē*. Lament so dominates the play that Hecuba's claim that her music is ἀχόρευτος appears to hold true, since although the chorus enter after this statement and remain onstage for the rest of the drama, their focus on lament seems almost to deny the audience the enjoyment of full

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[97] Cf. Eur. *Alc*. 87, *Andr*. 1211, *Supp*. 87, 605, *Phoen*. 1351, *Or*. 963, 1467; also Aesch. *Cho*. 427.

choreia being performed onstage. Yet they *do* sing and dance, and do so not just in performances of lament, but in three choral stasima, the first of which, as have seen, is a complex mix of different musical genres (dithyrambic, epic, hymnic, kitharodic). The chorus' *mousikē* thus produces the paradoxical effect of performed or present absence, as they emphasize through their own *choreia* the loss of these sorts of choral performances in the dramatic present. This performance of the abandonment of *choreia* emphasizes—even enacts—the obliteration of Troy, demonstrating quite how essential *choreia* is to the cultural, social, religious, and physical structure of the city.

At the same time as they make the *choreia* that is being performed on stage seem absent, however, the chorus and Hecuba make what is *not* on stage seem present. The merging of the ritual gestures and sounds of lament with the vivid depiction of Troy's fall in the final, antiphonal lament of Hecuba and the chorus, virtually brings this scene onto the stage for the audience to experience both visually and sonically. We saw in the previous chapter examples of performances that are not physically there on stage, but become present nonetheless by merging with the chorus' own singing and dancing: the Nereids leaping to the tune of the *aulos*-playing dolphin around the Greek ships as they made their way to Troy, and the music-making in Argos upon Thyestes' appropriation of the golden fleece.[98] In the first stasimon of *Troades* the chorus produce a similar effect when they describe their own former *mousikē*, which they reenact in their present performance. Such "presencing" is part of the aesthetic suggestion achieved by and through *choreia*, whereby the singing and dancing of a chorus encourage the audience to assimilate what they see and hear on stage to what is described in song.[99] The representation of some of the visual and sonic effects of Troy falling to the ground in the final scene of lament, as well as the chorus' enactment of the cries of the city's shores and children in the second and third stasima, is also a form of presencing through *choreia*, demonstrating that this phenomenon need not solely concern the suggestion of *mousikē* performed outside of the temporal and geographical scope of the play itself. Choral performance can thus function like a messenger's speech or herald's report, providing an alternative mode of vividly presenting offstage scenes and events to the audience. We shall see in Chapter Four a similar sort of presencing through choral performance in the parodos of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, in which the chorus describe the extraordinary sight of the various Greek troops arrayed along the shore, evoking this scene not only through words, but also by means of their own choreographed performance.[100] In *Troades* the musical representation of scenes happening concurrently with the events onstage or, like the night the horse was brought into the city, in the very recent past, underlines the inability of both Hecuba and the chorus to escape from the devastation of the present.

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[98] See Ch. 1, pp. 32-52.
[99] See Introduction, pp. 12-13.
[100] See Ch. 4, pp. 135-142.

3
Helen

Euripides' *Helen* was produced in 412 alongside *Andromeda* and perhaps also *Iphigenia in Tauris*, though the exact date of the latter play remains uncertain.[1] The plot of *Helen*, based on the premise that it was Helen's "phantom" (*eidōlon*) who went to Troy, and that she herself was whisked away by Hermes to Egypt, is very similar to the other two tragedies in the way it focuses on the central heroine's plight in an exotic, barbarian land, then begins to look towards a more positive outcome once she is reunited with a newly arrived Greek hero, in this case her husband Menelaus; the play ends with her escape to Greece with him.[2] The similarities between *Helen* and *Iphigenia in Tauris* extend to the types of musical imagery and performance in each play: both show a development from responsive lament to more celebratory *mousikē* that reflects the plot's movement toward a happy resolution; in both the chorus begin a song of lament with an unusual address to a bird (the nightingale in *Helen*; the halycon bird in *Iphigenia in Tauris*); both include choral songs focused on flight and travel that contain strongly choreographic language; and in both the heroine is a prominent singer for the first half of the play, but then, once she develops her escape plan, the chorus are left to sing without her. The surviving fragments of Andromeda's monody and the parodos in *Andromeda* also, as we shall see, suggest some musical correspondence between this play and *Helen*, but too little of it survives for us to conjecture any further. If these three tragedies were all performed together, as Matthew Wright has argued they were, they would have made a remarkably coherent "escape trilogy", with similarities not just in their themes and plots, but in their *mousikē* too.[3]

Much of the scholarship on *Helen* has tended to concentrate on the prevailing themes of doubling, illusion, and reality in the play.[4] Another much discussed issue has

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[1] Cropp and Fick dated *IT* on metrical grounds to 417-412 (1985: 23); Cropp later narrowed this window down to 414-412 (2000: 60). The argument that it was performed along with *Helen* and *Andromeda* at the end of this time frame in 412 is mostly based on the thematic and structural similarities between the three plays (though these have also been seen as proof that *IT* was not produced in the same year): see Hose 1995: 14-17, 190-197; Wright 2005: 43-55; Kyriakou 2006: 41. The dating of *Helen* and *Andromeda* to the City Dionysia of 412 is based on the scholia on Aristophanes (test. iia-c).

[2] On these sorts of similarities in the dramatic structure of *Helen* and *IT*, see Mastronarde 2010: 73-74.

[3] Wright 2005: 43-55. His argument has met with some skepticism: see Gregory 2006: 231; Foley 2006.

[4] E.g. Solmsen 1934; Burnett 1960; Zuntz 1960; Segal 1971; Downing 1990; Pucci 1997; Wright 2005: 278-337; Zeitlin 2010.

been the drama's *anodos* pattern (whereby, like Persephone, Helen returns from a world of symbolic death) and the related motif of female rites of passage, as well as Helen's ambiguous role in the play and in Spartan cult as both adolescent and adult, *parthenos* and *gunē*.[5] In the last decade the extraordinary prominence of musical imagery in *Helen* has attracted some scholarly attention, but mostly at a "local" level, exploring just one or two specific passages or songs: few have tried to examine these motifs through the play as a whole, and little attempt has been made to consider their larger dramaturgical significance. So, for example, Deborah Steiner's analysis of the musical imagery in *Helen* concentrates on just one ode: she draws on Eric Csapo's work on typically "New Musical" and "dithyrambic" images to show Euripides' own employment of such motifs in the third stasimon.[6] While this approach successfully demonstrates the ways in which Euripides seems to have been pioneering contemporary musical trends, it leads us to forget that this ode is part of a play and one of a series of choral songs that focus on related images of *mousikē*. By limiting our attention to just one of these odes, and to just its specifically musical content rather than its integration within the surrounding drama, we run the risk of supporting the idea that such songs are merely *embolima*—musical showpieces that are "thrown in" and have little meaningful connection with the *mythos*. But by looking at the larger patterns of *mousikē* and *choreia* in the drama as a whole, we can see that the dominance of such imagery in the play's choral odes, even in the "dithyrambic" second and third stasima, works both to tie these songs together and to shape the audience's understanding of the relationship between Helen and the chorus.[7]

Three recent studies of the play have come closer to this more holistic, less piecemeal approach. The first is Andrew Barker's piece on the play's musical symbolism, in which he briefly examines how the parodos, first stasimon, and second stasimon form a network of musical references in *Helen*.[8] He does not, however, consider these songs in terms of their dramatic function, and consequently furthers the impression that the musical imagery they each contain, even if interconnected, is to be understood as a separate dynamic, somehow divorced from the surrounding play. The second is Andrew Ford's exploration of the musical doubling of the songs of Helen and the chorus in the parodos, and, to a lesser extent, in the first and second stasima.[9] He argues that Euripides thereby presents a "genealogy of lament" in *Helen*, whereby the chorus and Helen in the parodos perform an archetypal form of lament as if for the first time. Ford's identification of markers of lament in the parodos and first stasimon is invaluable, but he still leaves certain questions unanswered: what function, for example, do the *paregmenon* and *anadiplosis* in the parodos and first stasimon serve in terms of the dramatic roles of Helen and the chorus? Ford does not discuss the transformation of lament in the last third of the play, when its imagined and performed *mousikē* becomes much more celebratory in tone,

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[5] E.g. Guépin 1968: 120-133; Rehm 1994:121-127; Foley 1992, 2001: 303-331; Zweig 1999; Allan 2008: 15, 178, 305-307; Swift 2009, 2010: 218-238.

[6] Steiner 2011; Csapo 1999-2000, 2003, 2004, 2008.

[7] The second stasimon has often been labeled "dithyrambic" or cited as an example of Euripidean *embolima*: see e.g. Decharme 1906: 314-15; Kranz 1933: 254; Golann 1945: 31-32; Dale 1967: xiii, 147; Kannicht 1969: 2. 334-35; Panagl 1971: 140-164; Burian 2007: 270; Mastronarde 2010: 141.

[8] Barker 2007.

[9] Ford 2010.

nor does he offer an explanation for the extraordinary gap of almost 1000 lines between the parodos and first stasimon, two songs that through their shared language of lament seem to correspond so closely to one another.

The third study is Sheila Murnaghan's nuanced discussion of the presentation of Helen as a chorus leader in the play, particularly in the third stasimon, in which the chorus imagine the heroine dancing back in Sparta.[10] Like Murnaghan, who emphasizes the ways in which the interaction between a chorus and actor can generate narrative, in this chapter I explore how the songs of Euripides' *Helen* help to generate the dramatic plot, primarily through articulating and anticipating Helen's own choral role in the play and in Spartan ritual. My focus is on the imagery and performance of *mousikē* in all four choral odes and, in particular, on the extraordinary series of different musical personalities that appear in them: the Sirens and Naiad nymph in the parodos; the nightingale in the first stasimon; the Great Mother in the second stasimon; the ship and cranes in the third. At the heart of the play's *mousikē* stands the protean figure of Helen herself, who sings prominently in the first half of the drama and is addressed as a musical performer in every choral ode.

BIRDSONG AND LAMENT

The parodos and the first stasimon of *Helen* both begin with remarkable addresses to musical figures: as the chorus come on stage (167ff.), Helen starts their responsive song by summoning them as sirens; when the chorus next sing a strophic ode, almost a thousand lines later (1107ff.), they call upon the nightingale to join their lament. Although both the sirens and the nightingale often appear as models or comparisons for *mousikē* in archaic and classical Greek lyric, neither tends to be addressed directly: the main other example of such an invocation is that of the nightingale in Aristophanes' *Birds*, from which, as we shall see, Euripides probably derived the address in the first stasimon of *Helen*.[11] These addresses can be seen as examples of the "remote" choral apostrophes that are particularly common in Euripides, like the address to Helen's ship in the third stasimon,[12] but here I will explore how we can also understand them as invocations metaphorically to characters within the play: the chorus as the Sirens; Helen as the nightingale.

The occurrence of two such unusual apostrophes to multivalent, avian figures within songs of lament encourages us to view them not only in relation to each other, but also within the broader pattern of bird imagery throughout the play. This imagery is particularly pronounced in the frequent references in the opening scenes to the myth of Helen's parentage, the union of Leda and Zeus as a swan, with a striking emphasis on the god's avian transformation: in her prologue Helen describes how he flew after her mother, "assuming the shape of a swan, fleeing the chase of an eagle" (Λήδαν κύκνου μορφώματ᾽ ὄρνιθος λαβών, / …ὑπ᾽ αἰετοῦ / δίωγμα φεύγων, 19-21); in the parodos

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[10] Murnaghan 2013.

[11] Ar. *Av.* 209-223, 676-685. Euripides' *Cresphontes* also seems to contain a second-person address to a nightingale (frr. 448a, 82-86).

[12] *Hel.* 1451-1458. On remote choral apostrophes in Euripides see Mastronarde 2010: 149-150.

the chorus relate how she was sired by Zeus, "shining through the aether on the snow-white wings of a swan" (χιονόχρως κύκνου πτερῷ / Ζεὺς πρέπων δι᾽ αἰθέρος, 215-216); later she wonders at the story that Leda bore "a white vessel of chicks" (τεῦχος νεοσσῶν λευκὸν, 258). The audience is thus encouraged to view Helen, already a highly protean and illusory figure in Greek thought,[13] as rather birdlike herself. This impression is intensified by her own use of the metaphor of "flying" (ἀνεπτέρωσα, 633) to indicate her delight at being reunited with Menelaus; by the messenger's description of her form as ὑπόπτερον (618); by Theoclymenos' question of whether she escaped on wings or feet (πτεροῖσιν ἀρθεῖσ᾽ ἢ πεδοστιβεῖ ποδί; 1516);[14] and, as I shall argue here, by the chorus' address to her as the nightingale in the first stasimon. In the parodos and third stasimon the chorus are also figured as avian performers of *mousikē*, first as Sirens, then as cranes. The motif of avian transformation is part of the focus in the play on metamorphosis in general, which in turn fits within the much-discussed theme of doubling, substitution, and illusion revolving around the figure of Helen and her *eidōlon*.[15] So when in a short monody she expresses envy of Callisto and Merops, maidens who were metamorphosized into animals, wishing her own beauty could have been similarly effaced (375-385), we are prompted to imagine her as transformed yet again.

PARODOS

By the time of the parodos 164 lines into the play, it is clear that by far the most prominent voice of the drama, at least in its initial stages, is that of its protagonist Helen: she has delivered the opening monologue herself, then entered into stichomythic dialogue with Teucer, who has told her of Menelaus' supposed death and of the terrible reputation she holds as a result of her double, the *eidōlon* that went to Troy (68-163). Helen's vocal dominance continues into the parodos, an *amoibaion* of lament which, unusually, she begins. While it is not uncommon for a female protagonist to sing a monody before the chorus enter with their strophic opening song (as in, for example, *Electra* and *Andromeda*), nowhere else in surviving tragedy does an actor sing the first strophe of the parodos itself, answered by the chorus' antistrophe.[16] Here they repeat this strophic exchange, then Helen concludes the song with the epode.[17] With this anomalous parodos, Euripides highlights the novelty of his work, as he revolutionizes the standard structure of

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[13] See Zeitlin 2010, esp. 268:"[a]s the undisputed emblem of beauty incarnate and sexual allure, she has by now become a figurative sign, even close to an abstraction, always available as a site of projection of fantasies, a receptor of the overflow of reality. There is Helen, and there is "Helen"."

[14] Podlecki 1970: 408 n.23 also notes this motif of feathers and wings.

[15] Helen herself even becomes a copy (μίμημα, 74) of the εἴδωλον, while the nature of the εἴδωλον is also multiplied, being variously referred to as a "cloud" (νεφέλη 705, 1219), "apparition" (δόκησις 36, 119), "substitute" (διάλλαγμα 586), "statue image" (ἄγαλμα 705, 1219), and "copy" (μίμημα, 875): see Zeitlin 2010: 273-274.

[16] On actors singing in advance of the parodos in Euripidean tragedy, see Ch. 1, pp. 18-19, Ch. 2, p. 60.

[17] On the unusual nature of this responsive parodos, see Kannicht 1969: 2. 59; Willink 1990: 77; Burian 2007: 200; Allan 2008: 165-166; Ford 2010: 284.

Athenian drama by having an actor begin the opening choral song.[18] At the same time, the fact that this character is Helen, a long established singer and choral leader in archaic and classical Greek myth and ritual, grounds such novelty within the traditional imaginary of *choreia*.[19] Helen's performance of the opening and closing stanzas also stresses her close identification with the chorus, blurring the line between her roles as actor and as *chorēgos*. The metrical symmetry of this lyric exchange complements the high degree of repetitive language between the strophe and antistrophe, creating an impression of antiphonal and responsive lament, shared between Helen and her chorus.[20]

The precise nature of this lament is initially open to question, as Helen deliberates in a dactylic proode on what type of song she should embark upon:

ὦ μεγάλων ἀχέων καταβαλλομένα μέγαν οἶκτον
ποῖον ἀμιλλαθῶ γόον ἢ τίνα μοῦσαν ἐπέλθω   (165)
δάκρυσιν ἢ θρήνοις ἢ πένθεσιν; αἰαῖ.

O as I begin a great lamentation for my great pains, what sort of lament should I strive for or what music should I follow, with tears or dirges or mourning? Ah! (164-166)

This sort of initial deliberation seems to have been common in formal threnody,[21] but it may serve a further, metatheatrical purpose here, as Helen expresses what the audience themselves might be wondering: in this "new *Helen*" (τὴν καινὴν Ἑλένην, as the Kinsman in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* 850 calls it) with its exotic Egyptian setting and a Helen who never went to Troy,[22] composed by a tragedian who for at least

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[18] Euripides may be similarly experimenting with the lyric structure of tragedy in *Iphigenia in Tauris*, in which Iphigenia's initial three lines of song precede the parodos (if we accept Diggle's assignment of lines 123-125 to her rather than to the chorus; *contra* Cropp 2000).

[19] On Helen's role as a *chorēgos*, see esp. Calame 1997: 191-202; Martin 2008: 119-126. In addition to her representation in Euripides' play, she appears in a similar choral role in *Il*. 24.760-776, Ar. *Lys*. 1296-1321, and Theoc. *Id*. 18. I discuss further her identification of a *chorēgos*, particularly in Spartan cult, below, pp. 127-128.

[20] On the antiphonal structure of lament in both the ancient Greek tradition and in twentieth-century rural Greece, see Alexiou 1974: 132-151, 158-160; Seremetakis 1990; Holst-Warhaft 1992: 45-53.

[21] See Alexiou 1974: 161-165; Willink 1990: 78.

[22] However unusual on the Athenian stage, neither the Egyptian setting nor the notion of Helen's phantom double may have been a complete innovation: in several sources Helen stays in Egypt, though with Menelaus (*Od*. 4; Hec. *FGH* 4 fr. 153) or on the way to Troy with Paris (Hdt. 2. 112-120, cf. Hom. *Il*. 6.289-292); Stesichorus's so-called *Palinode* apparently defended Helen, arguing that she did not go to Troy, and perhaps also proposing that her double did instead (Pl. *Phaedr*. 243ab = fr. 192 *PMGF*; cf. Apoll. *Epit*. 3.1-5). Aeschylus' *Proteus* (the satyr play that followed the *Oresteia* trilogy) was also set in Egypt, but we know little else about this lost drama (on its possible plot see Sommerstein 2010: 135-136). Nevertheless, there is no iconographic evidence for a tradition of an Egyptian Helen, indicating that even if Euripides' portrayal is rooted in a rival tradition, it would still have seemed extraordinary to his Athenian audience – and all the more so since it allowed a more positive presentation of this Spartan figure, despite being performed during the Peloponnesian War, in the immediate aftermath of the defeat of the Sicilian

the past five years had been pioneering the latest musical techniques, what indeed will the μοῦσα (music, but also Muse) be?[23] As Kannicht and Ford both observe, Helen's question here, with its dactylic meter and metaphor of καταβάλλεσθαι, resembles the proem of a kitharode, helping to focus the audience's attention on the song that follows.[24]

Still alone on stage, Helen then begins the first strophe of the parodos with an invocation to the Sirens to join her lament, bringing with them reciprocal song and musical accompaniment from Persephone in Hades:

πτεροφόροι νεάνιδες,
παρθένοι Χθονὸς κόραι,
Σειρῆνες, εἴθ᾽ ἐμοῖς
μόλοιτ᾽ ἔχουσαι   (170)
Λίβυν λωτὸν ἢ σύ-   (171a)
  ριγγας [ἢ φόρμιγγας] αἰλίνοις κακοῖς· (171b)
τοῖς ⟨δ᾽⟩ ἐμοῖσι σύνοχα δάκρυα,
πάθεσι πάθεα, μέλεσι μέλεα,
μουσεῖα θρηνήμα-   (174a)
  σι ξυνωιδὰ πέμψειε   (174b)
 Φερσέφασσα φόνια χάριτας   (175)
 ἵν᾽ ἐπὶ δάκρυσι παρ᾽ ἐμέθεν ὑπὸ
 μέλαθρα νύχια παιᾶνα
 νέκυσιν ὀλομένοις λάβηι.[25]

Winged maidens, virgin daughters of Earth, Sirens, would that you might come bringing the Libyan lotus pipe or syrinxes [or phorminxes] to my woeful wails, and that tears joined together with my tears, sufferings with sufferings, songs with songs, Persephone might send deadly concert halls singing in harmony with dirges, so that as a thanks-offering she might receive from me in tears within the halls of night a paean for the perished dead. (167-178)

The chorus, who must enter while Helen is singing or just after, are imagined as Sirens, coming from Hades to provide θρηνήματα to complement and assist Helen's γόος, her individual song of mourning.[26] Helen's song in response to theirs thus becomes what

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expedition. On the extent to which these aspects of the Euripides' *Helen* were new, see Wright 2005: 67, 80-113; Allan 2008: 18-22.

[23] On the meaning of μοῦσα here, see Dale 1968: 76; Kannicht 1969: 2. 66; Willink 1990: 79; Allan: 171; Ford 2010: 288 n.17. Its primary meaning must be what kind of song she should adopt, but this does not exclude the secondary meaning of Muse too, especially since Helen then calls upon Sirens, the Muses' chthonic counterparts, to aid her.

[24] Kannicht 1969: 2. 60; Ford 2010: 286.

[25] This text follows that provided by Ford 2010: 287, which is largely based on Allan 2008. I follow Ford's reading in keeping πέμψειε in line 174b rather than the common emendation πέμψαιτε (see esp. Willink 1990: 89).

[26] Barker 2007: 12-14 argues that the θρηνήματα of the Sirens here comprise professional lamentation offered by them as expert musicians, as opposed to the individual γόος of Helen as a family member (cf. Alexiou 1974: 10-14). Such traditional practice may be hinted at here, but

Persephone will receive in turn as an offering of thanks (χάριτας, 175). This offering will not be a lament, but a paean for the dead (παιᾶνα / νέκυσιν ὀλομένοις, 177-178). The appearance of a paean in such a chthonic context is not unusual in tragedy, as Rutherford has shown,[27] and it is also typical of Euripides' particular predilection for generic mixing,[28] but its effect is to prevent any clear categorization of the nature of this musical performance and to leave the audience again wondering what sort of song will follow (as we shall see, the parthenaic character of the chorus' antistrophe in response broadens the generic scope of the performance even further). It becomes clear that the multiform nature of characters, *logoi*, and language in this play extends also to its *mousikē*, which is a generic hybrid with multiple identities.

Nevertheless, the antiphonal character of this performance is indicated even before the chorus begin their antistrophe. Helen's own repetitive, doubling language, especially in line 173 (πάθεσι πάθεα, μέλεσι μέλεα) gives the impression of some sort of musical reciprocity, as does her description of the music provided by the siren chorus as σύνοχα ("joined together with") and ξυνῳδά ("singing together with").[29] Such doubling, which is continued in the second strophic pair, not only draws our attention to the antiphony of this lament, but also establishes a close relationship between Helen and the Sirens, performing responsively together as chorus leader and chorus.[30]

As Helen begins by framing the nature of the Sirens' song,[31] so the chorus, responding to her call, enter singing of the lament they have just heard come from Helen herself:

κυανοειδὲς ἀμφ' ὕδωρ
ἔτυχον ἕλικά τ' ἀνὰ χλόαν   (180)
φοίνικας ἁλίῳ
πέπλους χρυσέαισιν
<τ' ἐν> αὐγαῖσι θάλπουσ'
  ἀμφὶ δόνακος ἔρνεσιν·
ἔνθεν οἰκτρὸν ὅμαδον ἔκλυον,
ἄλυρον ἔλεγον, ὅτι ποτ' ἔλακεν   (185)

Helen's own mix of terminology in her proode precludes such a precise distinction, while, as Swift 2010: 302-304 points out, θρῆνος and γόος are often used interchangeably in fifth-century tragedy (as at, for example, Eur. *Andr*. 92).

[27] See Rutherford 1995: 119-124, 2001: 118-120 on tragic paeans sung to the dead (esp. Aesch. *Cho*. 149-151; Eur. *Alc*. 422-424); also Swift 2010: 71-72. Rutherford stresses, *contra* Kannicht 1969: 2. 70, that the chthonic παιᾶνα in *Hel*. 177 is not simply an oxymoron, but that the song itself is a "generic hybrid" (1995: 124). Ford 2010: 290-294 suggests that, like the description of the nightingale's song in Ar. *Av*. 209-222, the transformation of Helen's song from a solo cry into a choral paean to the dead shows "a solitary outpouring of sorrow being sublimated into a fundamentally different kind of song" (293), marking Helen's own transformation from individual mourner into chorus leader. See also Murnaghan 2013: 174-175.

[28] Cf. Ch. 4, pp. 169-170.

[29] Cf. Ford 2010: 288.

[30] Cf. Murnaghan 2013: 174 on how this song anticipates "Helen's restitution to her proper role as chorus leader…the outcome that the tragic plot will only gradually and incompletely bring about."

[31] Cf. Kannicht 1969: 2. 67: "die Strophe ihrem Wesen nach selbst Mimesis der Sirenenklage ist."

<- – – ⏑> αἰάγμα-
   σι στένουσα νύμφα τις
οἷα Ναῒς ὄρεσι φύγδα
νόμον ἱεῖσα γοερόν, ὑπὸ δὲ
πέτρινα γύαλα κλαγγαῖσι
Πανὸς ἀναβοᾶι γάμους.[32]   (190)

Beside the dark-blue water and along the twisted grass I happened to be drying purple robes in the golden rays of the sun, by the young reed shoots; there I heard a piteous noise, a lyreless song, which she once shrieked with an *aiai* shout, a nymph groaning, just as a Naiad as she flees in the mountains sends forth a mournful strain, and within the stony hollows she cries out with screams [about] her rape by Pan.[33] (179-190)

Helen's song is now reframed as the sort of shriek a Naiad nymph might make when chased, captured, and raped by Pan: an indistinguishable noise, not yet a song but a wail of αἰαῖ, which the chorus themselves shout out in the second antistrophe (211). This description comes in sharp juxtaposition with Helen's characterization of the chorus' *mousikē* as the μουσεῖα ("concert halls")[34] of Sirens accompanied by the *aulos* or syrinxes,[35] particularly given the explicit lack of any such instrumentation for her own singing as heard by the chorus: their description of it as a "lyreless song" (ἄλυρος ἔλεγος, 185) is a traditional way to denote lament,[36] but here it forms a striking contrast with the choice of instruments that could accompany their siren song.

    By the time Helen and the chorus embark upon the second strophic pair, then, they have each characterized the singing of the other in a particular way: the chorus are invited to perform as Sirens; Helen is heard as a Naiad nymph crying out at her rape. With these roles established, they progress into a full lament for Helen's sufferings, marked by the variation of twofold cries (ἰὼ ἰώ, αἰαῖ αἰαῖ, φεῦ φεῦ) and by more repetitive, doubling language that mirrors the metrical response, as is particularly

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[32] This text follows Allan 2008.

[33] Ford 2010: 295 suggests an alternative translation of lines 188-189, reading a change of subject here and taking ὑπό in tmesis ἀναβοᾶι: "…and in accompaniment to the screams the rocky recesses shout aloud the marriage of Pan." I find this very tempting, as it suggests another level of antiphonal response, with the stony hollows echoing the cries of the nymph/Helen too, but the change of subject here is difficult to justify, while tmesis with a doubly compounded verb seems unlikely.

[34] Not "singers" (Allan 2008: 172) or simply "musical things" (Barker 2007: 11-12), since μουσεῖα, as Dale 1968: 78 says, is always local (as it is at *Hel*. 1108): cf. Eur. *Alcmene* fr. 88; Ar. *Ran*. 93. See also Ford 2010: 288-289.

[35] Perhaps also phorminxes, if we accept the metrically superfluous ἢ φόρμιγγας in 171b. Dale (1968: 78) follows Hartung in omitting κακοῖς in 171b instead in order to keep the response with line 183. Cf. Kannicht 1969: 2. 67-69.

[36] Cf. *IT* 144-146. On this phrase see Kannicht 1969: 2. 73; Allan 2008 173. On such privative words regarding *mousikē* (ἄλυρος, ἄχορος, ἀχόρευτος etc.) see Ch. 2, pp. 58-59.

evident in the responsive lines 194-195 (τις ἔμολεν ἔμολε δάκρυα δάκρυσί μοι φέρων) and 214 (ἔλαχεν ἔλαχεν, ὅτε σ᾽ἐτέκετο ματρόθεν).[37]

But what exactly do the characterizations in the first half of the parodos signify, and how might they affect the audience's reception of this performance? As Laura Swift emphasizes, both figurations work in part to introduce a parthenaic note to the song and so also to Helen's hybrid identity.[38] By describing her like a Naiad the chorus reconfigure Helen as a *parthenos* or a new bride (νύμφη), perhaps hinting at a link between the unwanted sexual advances of Theoclymenos and the divine abduction of a maiden. The theme of rape is then continued in the epode of the parodos, in which Helen sings of her abduction by Hermes from Sparta (245-249).[39] This parthenaic framing is further enhanced by the frequently noted parallel between the chorus' mention in lines 179-183 of their activity when they heard the nymph-like cry and Homer's description of the companions of Nausicaa, a maiden on the point of marriage, in the *Odyssey* (6.85-109).[40] In the Homeric passage the girls wash the royal robes in the river before playing around the singing princess in a way that evokes a choral scenario, with Nausicaa as their *chorēgos*, distinguished among them as Artemis is among nymphs, leading their song and dance (ἤρχετο μολπῆς, 101). The parallel between the two choruses suggests an identification between Nausicaa and Helen too, thereby configuring her as the chorus leader in a parthenaic performance, despite the context of lament.[41]

The invocation to the Sirens can also be understood as a parthenaic framing of the song, the chorus, and Helen herself. The identity of these birdlike females as *parthenoi* is stressed through the tautology of Helen's opening address, when she calls them νεάνιδες, παρθένοι, and κόραι (167-168). Their parthenaic identification here draws on an association between the Sirens and *partheneia* that we can already see in Alcman fr. 1, in which they seem to be presented as rival singers, either for Hagesichora or for the chorus (depending on the intended reference of ἁ in line 96):

> ἁ δὲ τᾶν Σηρην[ί]δων
> ἀοιδοτέρα μ[ὲν οὐχί   (*or* ἀοιδοτέρα μ[ὲν αὐδά)
> σιαὶ γάρ, ἀντ[ὶ δ᾽ ἔνδεκα
> παίδων δεκ[ὰς ἅδ᾽ ἀείδ]ει   (100)

> But she is not more songful than the Sirens (*or* the voice of the Sirens is more songful), for they are goddesses, and instead of eleven this group here of ten girls sings. (Alc. fr. 1.96-100 *PMGF*)

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[37] See Ford 2010: 297-298 on paregmenon and anadiplosis as typical markers of lament here; also Kannicht 1969: 2. 75.
[38] Swift 2010: 224-226.
[39] Allan 2008: 173-174; Swift 2010: 225-226.
[40] See Foley 2001: 306 n.10; Burian 2007: 10-11; Ford 2010: 294; Murnaghan 2013: 174.
[41] Since Nausicaa and her companions then encounter Odysseus, who becomes a potential husband for the Phaeacian maiden, the evocation of this Homeric passage also prepares us for the entrance of another shipwrecked Greek hero, Menelaus, who will be reunited with Helen as her husband.

If the article ἁ refers to the Sirens' voice, then here we also see that the Sirens do not just appear as parthenaic figures, but also as choral ones, against whom the chorus performing this *partheneion* set themselves in a competitive way, as ten singers against eleven. It is worth noting that the Sirens here, rather like those in the *Helen* parodos, fit within a pattern of different avian models for the song's musicality: the chorus also liken their singing to that of an owl (85-87) and a swan (100-101); we could understand the Peleades ("Doves") to represent another choral group (60-63).[42]

The Sirens also appear as a type of choral model for explicitly parthenaic singing in Pindar's second *Partheneion*:

> …πάν-
>   δοξον Αἰολάδα σταθμόν
> υἱοῦ τε Παγώνδα   (10)
>
> ὑμνήσω στεφάνοισι θάλ-
>   λοισα παρθένιον κάρα,
>   σειρῆνα δὲ κόμπον
> αὐλίσκων ὑπὸ λωτίνων
>   μιμήσομ' ἀοιδαῖς   (15)
>
> κεῖνον, ὃς Ζεφύρου τε σιγάζει πνοὰς
>   αἰψηράς….

…I will sing of the all-glorious house of Aioladas and of his son Pagondas, flourishing with wreathes on my maiden head, and I shall represent in my songs, to the accompaniment of the *lōtos* pipes, the proud vaunt of the Sirens, the one which silences the quick blasts of the west wind…. (Pindar fr. 94b, 8-17)

Swift detects here a sense of musical rivalry like that in Alcman's *partheneion*: "[t]he Siren is again presented as a rival singer, and one against whose power the chorus cannot compete."[43] But this is a claim not so much to attempt to compete with the Siren's powerful sound as it is to represent or express it (μιμήσομ', 15), and of course the chorus thereby elevate the musical force of their own song (and so also their praise for the Aioladai), suggesting it is able to move the audience as the Sirens do the winds.[44] At the same time, the Sirens appear here as potentially dangerous models for *partheneia*: their ability to raise and silence winds, which is also mentioned in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of*

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[42] Cf. Power 2011: 74. The identity of the Peleades is much disputed, as they could instead denote Hagesichora and Agido or be star-clusters: for a review and bibliography of these different interpretations see Stehle 1997: 79; Swift 2010: 179. If they are star-clusters, then this might be the first reference in extant Greek literature to the Pleiades as a chorus: see Csapo 2008: 266-267. Bowie 2011 even suggests that the Peleades are equal to the Sirens, associated with the abduction of girls ready for marriage: see below, n. 46.

[43] Swift 2010: 183.

[44] On the use of μιμεῖσθαι here, see Ch. 4, p. 150, n. 83. Stehle (1997: 96) likens the Sirens here to the magicians who lull the winds in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*: "the audience is like a wind or storm that [the *parthenoi*] "silence" as the Siren does."

Women, is far beyond the "maiden thoughts" that the performing choreuts are to sing (παρθενήια...φρονεῖν, 34), while their κόμπον recalls the threatening knowledge and seductive power of the Odyssean Sirens, who destroy sailors through singing of "all that happens on the much-nourishing earth" (ὅσσα γένηται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ, *Od.* 12.191).[45] So although Sirens seem to have been traditional models for *partheneia*, they are also problematic ones, invoked to demonstrate difference as well as similarity.[46]

Though the address to these creatures in Euripides' play does not reveal any explicit concern regarding their destructive aspect, it is also unsettling, since Helen does not attempt to draw any contrast between herself and them: instead she focuses on their commonality by stressing the shared nature of their *mousikē*. Their association may then point to the dangerous potential of the apparently helpless Helen, whose physical seductiveness has already caused so much destruction, and who later instigates the whole escape plan, tricking Theoclymenos into believing he will finally be able to marry her (1231-1235), and encouraging Menelaus in the bloody slaughter of the Egyptian sailors in their ship (1589-1610).[47]

The Sirens' parthenaic status is also stressed in the parodos through their association with Persephone, whom Helen asks to send these musical creatures, as if from one choral leader to another. Apollonius Rhodius in his *Argonautica* records the tradition that they were the maiden Persephone/Kore's choral companions (he describes them as μελπόμεναι, *Arg.* 4.898) prior to her abduction by Hades, after which they were apparently turned into birdlike form.[48] The connection between the Sirens and Persephone is confirmed by visual evidence, as four examples of Sirens depicted with pomegranates survive from Southern Italy and mainland Greece.[49] The emphasis placed on their association with Persephone in the *Helen* parodos helps to establish a link between her and Helen as two parthenaic chorus leaders, the one abducted by a god to Hades, the other to Egypt.[50] This identification recurs in the second stasimon, when the

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[45] Cf. Schol. *Od.* 12.168 (ἐντεῦθεν Ἡσίοδος καὶ τοὺς ἀνέμους θέλγειν αὐτὰς ἔφη). On the mix of Odyssean and Hesiodic ideas here, see Stehle 1997: 96-97.

[46] On the basis of the reference to the Sirens in Alcman fr. 1, Bowie 2011: 51-56 also suggests a threatening model of Sirens in *partheneia* due to a (hypothesized) myth complex in which they, like the Harpies, were associated with the abduction of girls ready for marriage. However, although Sirens do appear as companions of Persephone at the moment of her abduction, there is no evidence that they were ever conceived of as abductors themselves.

[47] Swift 2010: 224-225 sees the Sirens here as dangerous parthenaic models more in terms of their perpetual maidenhood: like the Sirens, Helen has become a perennial *parthenos*, delaying her transition to sexual maturity.

[48] Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 5.552; Claudian, *de Rapt. Pros.* 190. On this tradition see Tsiafakis 2001: 19; Barker 2007: 10; Swift 2010: 225; Bowie 2011: 51.

[49] These are: a bronze askos from South Italy in the shape of a Siren holding a pomegranate, dated to the second quarter of the fifth century (see below); a similar Siren askos from Croton with a pomegranate pendant, dated to the late sixth century; a bronze vase from Kynouria in the Peloponnese, dated to the early sixth century, also in the shape of a Siren with what seems to be a pomegranate pendant; and a similar terracotta one from Boeotia. On these vase depictions of sirens with pomegranates, see Tsiafakis 2001.

[50] On the link between Helen and Persephone here see Robinson 1979: 165; Downing 1990: 2, 6; Barker 2007: 11-12; Murnaghan 2013: [14]. There also survives a tradition in which Helen is said to have been snatched by Theseus while dancing in a chorus, similarly to how Persephone/Kore

chorus describe and simultaneously enact the circular, parthenaic dances from which Persephone/Kore was snatched by Hades (1312-1314). At the same time, however, the appearance of Persephone in the parodos points to Helen's hybrid character as both maiden and matron, for Persephone as she is invoked here, as Hades' queen, is a *gunē* as well as a *parthenos*. In the second stasimon Helen's dual nature is similarly suggested through implicit identification of her with both Demeter/Cybele and Persephone/Kore.

As Persephone's attendants in Hades, the maiden sirens are thus also chthonic, and this trait is also emphasized in Helen's address to them as παρθένοι Χθονὸς κόραι (168), encapsulating their joint association with maidenhood and death. Their chthonic aspect is particularly evident from the frequency with which they appear on gravestones from the late fifth century onward.[51] Given Helen's position by the tomb of Proteus, her call to the Sirens is therefore rather fitting, though it need not be prompted by their actual representation on the tomb, as some have suggested.[52] They are thus apt figures for lament as well as *partheneia*, seen as sympathetic mourners as well as models for parthenaic song,[53] so that the invocation to them here captures the similarly hybrid nature of the song itself.

Interestingly, it is in their role as divine mourners that Andromeda also refers to Sirens in a strikingly parallel context in the play performed alongside *Helen*. In a tantalizingly short fragment from her extraordinary monodic, mournful prologue, which Andromeda performs just before the entrance of the chorus, she asks "what tear-drops, what Siren…?" (ποῖαι λιβάδες, ποία σειρήν…, fr. 116). In the following fragment she then addresses the chorus as "dear maidens" (φίλαι παρθένοι, fr. 117). Depending on how soon they would then enter, it is possible that her reference to Sirens could indicate the chorus rather as Helen's address does. Like the siren chorus in *Helen*, the one in *Andromeda* enter both as *parthenoi* and as fellow mourners, whom Andromeda bids to grieve with her (συνάλγησον, fr. 119).

Of course the mention of the Sirens in both *Andromeda* and *Helen* also helps to showcase the song that is actually being performed in the theater, since the Sirens, whatever song they sing, are renowned for their alluring, musical skill. In the *Odyssey* they have the same attributes as the Muses, with their enticing λιγυρὴ ἀοιδή and prophetic ability,[54] while in a highly metamusical fragment of Alcman, the chorus sing that "the Muse cries out, the shrill Siren" (ἁ Μῶσα κέκλαγ' ἁ λίγηα Σηρήν, fr. 30); later the Sirens were even said to be daughters of a Muse.[55] Their renowned musicality

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was taken by Hades: see Calame 1977: 136 and Bowie 2011: 46 on Plut. *Thes.* 31; Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F168a; Alc. fr.21.

[51] See Weicker 1902: 171-172; *LIMC* s.v. Seirenes §4; Kannicht 1969: 2. 2.67; Holford-Strevens 2006: 19; Barker 2007: 10.

[52] Dale 1967: 78; Kannicht 1969: 2. 2. 67; also (more speculatively) Willink 1990: 78, 86.

[53] Cf. Sophocles fr. 861 Radt = 777 Nauck (quoted by Plutarch *QC* 9.14.6 = *Mor.* 745f.), in which the Sirens' songs are described as "wailing the strains of Hades" (θροοῦντε τοὺς Ἅιδου νόμους). On Sirens as sympathetic female mourners see Alexiou 1974: 102-103.

[54] *Od.* 12.39-54, 165-200. On the similarity between the Sirens and the Muses in the *Odyssey* see Buschor 1944; Pucci 1979: 126-128, 1987: 209-213; Dickson 1993: 26, 49; Ford 1994: 83-84; Doherty 1995.

[55] Their mother is Terpsichore in Apoll. Rh. *Arg.* 4.893; Melpomene in Apollod. 1.3-4; Calliope in Servius on *Aen.* 5.364.

also led to their inclusion in the neo-Pythagorean theory of the harmony of the spheres (Iamblichus calls the *tetraktus* "the harmony in which the Sirens reside").[56] Plato had already adapted the Pythagorean theory in the cosmic system that Socrates describes at the end of the *Republic*, in which Sirens are positioned on the eight cosmic circles, together producing the octave scale:[57]

> ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κύκλων αὐτοῦ ἄνωθεν ἐφ' ἑκάστου βεβηκέναι Σειρῆνα συμπεριφερομένην, φωνὴν μίαν ἱεῖσαν, ἕνα τόνον· ἐκ πασῶν δὲ ὀκτὼ οὐσῶν μίαν ἁρμονίαν συμφωνεῖν.

> And at the top of each of [the spindle's] circles went a Siren, who was carried around together with it, emitting one voice, one pitch: and from all eight voices a single *harmonia* sounded in harmony. (Plato, *Republic* 617b4-7)

There is also a suggestion here of a form of archetypal, cosmic *choreia*, with the Sirens moving in circles, as if dancing, and producing together a single *harmonia*.[58]

When Helen addresses the dramatic chorus as Sirens, then, she frames how the audience should perceive not just the chorus' character and the generic associations of their song (as well as hers), but also the nature or quality of their *mousikē*, which is to appear as the captivating euphonia of the Sirens, the archetypal chorus. At the same time Euripides also calls attention to his own music-making and, in doing so, draws on a long tradition in Greek poetry of using the Sirens as self-reflexive musical models for both performance and composition.[59] They function in this way in both Alcman fr. 1 and Pindar fr. 94b, but above all in the *Odyssey*, in which they appear as figures whose knowledge and diction coincides with the content and style of the *Iliad* (and to a lesser extent that of the *Odyssey* itself), so that the description of their beguiling skill focuses the audience's attention on that of the epic poetry and frames the reception of the bardic performance.[60]

The invocation of the Sirens in the *Helen* parodos may also introduce a note of musical rivalry to the lyric exchange between Helen and the chorus. We have already

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[56] τετρακτύς· ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἁρμονία, ἐν ᾗ αἱ Σειρῆνες, Iambl. *De vita Pyth*. 82.

[57] West 1994: 224 even suggests that the Sirens are eleven in number in Alcman fr. 1 because "there are just eleven true and perfect notes," just as they represent the diatonic scale in *Rep*. 617b4-7.

[58] Of course if all eight notes of the scale sounded together the result would be cacophonous, but we need not then assume, as Halliwell (1988: 182) does, that "the Sirens are imagined as emitting the notes of a key or mode *in sequence*," not together at the same time. See Barker 1989: 58: "[t]hough scalar *harmonia* is indeed sounded, it is not itself the celestial music, but constitutes the permanent framework, the reservoir of elements and relations, on which that music is based."

[59] On the self-mirroring and metatheatrical reflection of the play's poetry, see Burnett 1971: 77-78; Downing 1990: 9; Pucci 1997: 70.

[60] Cf. Pucci 1979/1998, 1987: 209-213; Dickson 1993: 50; Doherty 1995a: 61-62, 1995b. Helen in Book Four of the *Odyssey* resembles the Sirens as a female narrator with a captivated audience, whose role merges with that of the poet himself: cf. Doherty 1995b: 86-87. Euripides develops this story-making capability of Helen in his play through her various references to the different *logoi* of her birth, and of course through the alternative *logos* that forms the premise of the entire play, namely that the "real" Helen never went to Troy.

seen that the comparison in Alcman fr.1 suggests that the Sirens are a competitive model for the performing parthenaic chorus; this aspect is recorded in myth too, in the story of a singing match between them and Muses.[61] It is tempting to see an allusion to this competitive element of the Sirens' song in the ἀγών metaphor in Helen's proode, when she asks "what sort of lament should I strive for ?" (ποῖον ἀμιλλαθῶ γόον, 165). This sort of imagery may be a traditional way to begin a lament or to describe the antiphonal exchange involved in such a song,[62] but by having Helen then call different singers on stage two lines later, Euripides also seems to engage with the tradition of the Sirens as musical rivals. As a result, he influences the audience's perception of Helen's musical ability as much as that of the Sirens: her address to them implies that their euphonia is necessary for but also in competition with her own.

The Sirens were not just models of supreme vocal skill: they were also associated with instrumental music, as Helen's request that they bring a "Libyan lotus pipe or syrinxes" (Λίβυν λωτὸν ἢ σύ- / ριγγας, 171a) suggests. On archaic vases Sirens are usually represented as more bird than human, singing and diving, but from the late sixth century they start to be represented more anthropomorphically with hands, and are frequently shown playing instruments in addition to or instead of singing, most commonly with stringed instruments (especially the chelys lyre or kithara) and the *aulos*.[63] They often appear on funerary monuments as mourners with instruments too, indicating that by the late fifth and early fourth centuries their musical skill was associated with their chthonic presence.[64]

Helen's wish that the Sirens bring musical accompaniments with them, in addition to emphasizing their traditional musicality, may have a more specific dramatic reference too. The Λίβυν λωτὸν, which she mentions first, is a common way to refer to the *aulos* and may therefore point as much to the *aulos* of the theater as it does to the common attribute of Sirens in Greek art, particularly since the aulete would most likely be entering at this point with the chorus, striking up his tune as Helen begins the parodos.[65] At the same time, this reference to the "Libyan lotus" in association with the Sirens and in the dramatic setting of Egypt could also evoke the mythical lotus plant that, like the Sirens, Odysseus must avoid in the *Odyssey*; in some accounts the two are even conflated, with

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[61] As recorded in Emped. fr.116; Paus. 9.34-35; Eust. on *Iliad* vol. i.135.

[62] As in the parodos of Euripides' *Supplices*: "here comes another contest of laments answering laments" (ἀγὼν ὅδ᾽ ἄλλος ἔρχεται γόων γόοις / διάδοχος, 71-72). Cf. Willink 1990: 79.

[63] See Holford-Strevens 2006: 18-19; Neils 1995: 180.

[64] See Neils 1995: 181. The inclusion of phorminxes in Helen's address, despite difficulties of responsion, therefore makes sense here, and is not contradicted by the chorus' description of Helen's song as ἄλυρος in 185 (*contra* Willink 1990: 87-88; Allan 2008: 172). It is the siren chorus, not she, who is to bring these lyres; more to the point, ἄλυρος is frequently used to describe lament without actually necessitating the lack of any such instrumentation (cf. Dale 1968: 79). In fact it is the mention of syrinxes that seems more surprising here, since rarely do Sirens appear playing these in Greek art: the one surviving example is a siren-shaped bronze askos from Southern Italy that holds a pomegranate in one hand and carries a syrinx in the other. Similar depictions have, however, been found in other regions, such as a sixth-century limestone Siren from Cyprus and on some Hellenistic urns from Etruria. On these see Tsiafakis 2001: 19.

[65] On the *lōtos* as a designation for the *aulos*, see Ch. 2, p. 70, n. 53.

Sirens depicted as offering the lotus to unsuspecting men.[66] The implication is that the music brought by the Sirens to Helen—and so also by the dramatic chorus and aulete to the audience—is therefore meant to make its listener forgetful of cares, concentrating solely on the pleasure that it, like the lotus plant, brings. As a result, however, the allusion to the lotus suggests some danger too, perhaps implying that Helen, like those who eat this plant, may never leave this Egyptian land, instead continuing to perform lament with her siren chorus.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that Helen's remarkable address to the Sirens does not just link the chorus (and accompanying aulete) with these mythical, birdlike singers: it imagines the chorus *as* Sirens, so that the invocation has a transformative, almost epiphanic effect, since the chorus enter singing as Helen asks the Sirens to.[67] In this respect the address is also part of the motif of mirror images, what Downing calls "a protean, polytropic reality of doubling, changing and substituting shapes, fiction and appearance" that recurs throughout the play and has at its core the duality of Helen and her *eidōlon*.[68] As Helen begins her lament by the tomb of Proteus, the archetypal figure of metamorphosis, the protean atmosphere of this Egyptian setting and of the play itself is materialized through the entrance of the chorus as both captive Greek women and Sirens. As we shall see, the chorus' own call to the nightingale at the start of the first stasimon has a similar effect, this time framing the audience's reception of Helen herself.

FIRST STASIMON

Lament continues to be the primary song type in *Helen* for the first two thirds of the play. Shortly after the parodos Helen further mourns both her own position, now that she believes Menelaus to be dead, and the destruction her *eidōlon* has caused at Troy, in an astrophic lyric dialogue with the chorus that turns into a monody (330-385). The same markers of lament that appeared in the parodos recur in Helen's singing here, such as the exclamatory ἰώ and repetitive language (especially in the polyptotic expression ἄχεά τ'ἄχεσι, / δάκρυα δάκρυσιν ἔλαβε, 365-366), building up to her climactic image of all Greece performing a ritual lament:

> βοὰν βοὰν δ' Ἑλλὰς
> κελάδησε κἀνοτοτύξεν,
> ἐπὶ δὲ κρατὶ χέρας ἔθηκεν,
> ὄνυχι δ' ἀπαλόχροα γένυν
> δεῦσε φονίαισι πλαγαῖς.

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[66] Lehnus 1984: 82 and Stehle 1997: 97 similarly link the phrase αὐλίσκων ὑπὸ λωτίνων in Pind. fr. 94b, 14 to the mythical lotus plant. On the Egyptian origins of the lotus plant, see Hdt. 2.92. 2-5, DS 1.34.6; on its location in the *Odyssey*, see Page 1973: 14.

[67] The fact that there are just two Sirens in the *Odyssey* (as made clear by the dual form at 12.52), and that vases usually show only two or three, need not complicate the conflation of sirens and chorus here: as we have seen, the chorus in Alcman fr.1 seem to compare themselves to eleven Sirens (96-100); in Plato's *Republic* they number eight (*Rep*. 617b4-7). Bowie 2011: 58 notes that the myth that the Sirens competed with the Muses implies that they could also be imagined as close to nine, matching the number of Muses (though they can fluctuate in number too).

[68] Downing 1990: 5.

> And the cry, cry Greece shouted aloud and wailed, and put her hands on her head, and with her nails drenched her tender-skinned cheek with bloody strokes. (370-374)

Here Helen herself enacts this collective lament, using highly choreographic language to describe the typical gestures of mourning,[69] and in doing so becomes the personified "Greece," able to transcend the distance between Egypt and her native land through this remarkable, individual performance of *choreia*.

The close relationship between Helen and the chorus that has been established through the parodos and this lyric dialogue is further emphasized by the unusual exit of both Helen and the chorus, who leave the stage together to consult Theonoe, Theoclymenos' prophetic sister, for news of Menelaus.[70] This is the only example in surviving tragedy of a chorus' exit into the *skēnē*-building, and one of only a few occasions when a chorus leave the stage in the middle of the action.[71] Their departure here allows Menelaus to enter a deserted stage, but it also underscores the extraordinarily close association between them and their *chorēgos*, Helen.

When the chorus return, they perform a brief, astrophic song (the "epiparodos"), reporting Theonoe's hopeful response (515-527). The spoken dialogue is again punctuated 100 lines later by a lyric exchange, this time in the recognition *amoibaion* between Helen and Menelaus at 625-697. Although this initially contains expressions of ecstatic joy upon their reunion, it also incorporates aspects of lament, particularly in the second half, when Helen responds lyrically to Menelaus' iambic trimeters. The emotional intensity of her grief is conveyed particularly strongly by the frequently resolved dochmiac meter, as, for example, in her exclamation in lines 684-685: τὰ δὲ <σὰ> κατὰ μέλαθρα πάθεα πάθεα, μᾶ- / τερ, οἲ γώ ("sufferings, sufferings over your house, mother, alas!"). The fact that Helen now performs a lament before Menelaus, separately from the chorus, marks the beginning of her departure from them as their leader now that she has been reunited with her husband.

This shift may in part explain the extraordinary silence of the chorus for 600 lines and the delay of the first stasimon until the last third of the play, almost 1000 lines after the parodos. As William Allan points out, the lack of *choreia* following the reunion of Menelaus and Helen allows the plot to move forward increasingly quickly and urgently as they form their escape plan, without any pause for choral reflection.[72] At the same time, since Helen and the chorus have previously been so closely united in their shared performance of lament, the absence of choral performance following Menelaus' arrival, as well as the moment of musical joy that she shares with him, reflects Helen's own

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[69] Typical, that is, in tragedy (cf. e.g. Aesch. *Cho*. 418-428; Eur. *Hec*. 652-656) and presumably in the performances of lament outlawed by Solon (Plut. *Sol*. 21).

[70] *Contra* Burian 2007: 212, who argues that the chorus leave the stage as Helen sings her monody, even though they have explicitly said that they will enter the house with her (θέλω δὲ κἀγώ σοι συνεισελθεῖν δόμους / καὶ συμπυθέσθαι παρθένου θεσπίσματα, 327-328; cf. 330-334).

[71] Cf. Aesch. *Eum*. 231-244; Soph. *Aj*. 814-66; Eur. *Alc*. 746-861, [*Rhes*.] 564-674. See Arnott 1973: 54; Allan 2008: 185.

[72] Allan 2008: 265-266.

movement away from both the chorus and their song, anticipating her physical departure once her escape plan is put into action. When Helen next leaves the stage, it is with Menelaus, not with the chorus, who are left to sing without her.

By the time the chorus do finally perform the long-delayed first stasimon (1107-1164), then, the audience might be wondering what sort of song theirs will be: for what *mousikē* can they perform without Helen, their *chorēgos*? As it turns out, even in her absence they continue their earlier type of *choreia*, framing their song (at least initially) as a lament by calling on the "tearful songbird" (ἀηδόνα δακρυόεσσαν) to aid their θρῆνοι:

> σὲ τὰν ἐναύλοις ὑπὸ δενδροκόμοις
> μουσεῖα καὶ θάκους ἐνίζουσαν ἀναβοάσω,
> τὰν ἀοιδοτάταν   (1109a)
> ὄρνιθα μελῳδὸν ἀηδόνα δακρυόεσσαν,   (1109b-1110)
> ἔλθ᾽ ὦ διὰ ξουθᾶν γενύων ἐλελιζομένα
> θρήνων ἐμοὶ ξυνεργός,
> Ἑλένας μελέους πόνους
> τὸν Ἰλιάδων τ᾽ ἀει-
>   δούσαι δακρυόεντα πότμον   (1115)
> Ἀχαιῶν ὑπὸ λόγχαις,
> ὅτ᾽ ἔδραμε ῥόθια πολιὰ βαρβάρωι πλάται
> ὃς ἔμολεν ἔμολε μέλεα Πριαμίδαις ἄγων
> Λακεδαίμονος ἄπο λέχεα
> σέθεν, ὦ Ἑλένα, Πάρις αἰνόγαμος   (1120)
> πομπαῖσιν Ἀφροδίτας.

You beneath your leafy-treed dens, sitting in your halls of music and on your throne, let me call upon you, the most songful bird, melodious songbird full of tears, O come trilling through your vibrant cheeks, a fellow worker of dirges with me, as I sing of the piteous travails of Helen and of the tearful fate of the Trojan women under the Achaeans' spears, when he sped over the grey sea breakers with his foreign oar, he who came, came bringing to Priam's sons his miserable bride from Lacedaemon, you, O Helen—the fatally wedded Paris, with the escort of Aphrodite. (1107-1121)

This ode in part represents what Helen herself is meant to be performing at this moment, as she pretends to mourn Menelaus' death in order to persuade Theoclymenos to let her perform the funeral rites at sea. Whereas every previous song has been dominated by her voice, here the substitution of the chorus for Helen underscores the absence of her own song on stage from this point onward in the play: the chorus now take over from Helen as the main singers of the tragedy, performing this lament without her as their leader and then singing two more odes in quick succession. The departure of Helen from song seems to mirror her impending departure from Egypt and so from the play itself, as she and Menelaus prepare to escape, leaving the chorus of captive Greek women behind to sing in her place. As the chorus envisage in the third stasimon, Helen will soon sing and dance

elsewhere, in the χόροι and κῶμοι of the Leucippides and Hyacinthus in Sparta (1465-1477).[73]

The remarkable similarities between this song and what the chorus previously performed with Helen as their leader also suggests that they can in fact continue their song and dance without her physical presence among them. The address to the nightingale (the "tearful songbird")[74] in the first stasimon immediately establishes a reflexive correspondence between this song and the parodos: as Helen called on the Sirens to join her mourning, so the chorus call on the nightingale as their partner in lament (θρήνων ἐμοὶ ξυνεργός, 1112).[75] Similarities in language reinforce the sense of both continuation and mirroring between the two songs, especially between the two initial strophes, the one sung by the chorus, the other by Helen: θρήνων ἐμοὶ ξυνεργός recalls Helen's description of the Sirens' tears as αἰλίνοις κακοῖς / τοῖς <δ'> ἐμοῖσι σύνοχα δάκρυα (172-173) and their music as θρηνήμα- / σι ξυνῳδά (174a-174b); as in the parodos, the opening strophe of the first stasimon contains polyptoton of words like μέλεα (the adjective meaning "miserable" here rather than the noun "songs") and ἔμολε (1113, 1118). By mimicking Helen's own previous style and language of lament, the chorus seem both to replace her, acting out her false mourning while she is off-stage, and to respond once again to her initial call to them in the parodos.

Andrew Barker suggests that, given the similarities between the opening lines of the parodos and first stasimon, the Sirens and nightingale are essentially copies of each other, providing another example of the theme of doubling in the play.[76] To a certain extent this is true, since both are used as paradigms of female euphonia in the context of lament, but to understand fully the significance of its appearance here we should also examine the nightingale as a separate figure with a set of musical associations that both overlap with and are independent of those of the Sirens. The complex nature of its song, which typically involves various loud trills, whistles, and repetitive phrases that usually end in a crescendo, makes the nightingale a natural model for musical skill.[77] The length and repetitiveness of its singing may lie behind this bird's association with lament too,

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[73] Cf. Murnaghan 2013 on the ways in which the chorus articulate Helen's return to her role as chorus leader in Sparta. See below, pp. 124-133.

[74] I have chosen to translate ἀηδών literally as "songbird" to reflect its etymological root (ἀείδειν, ἀοιδός). On the identification of ἀηδών with the nightingale, see Thompson 1936: 16-22; Arnott 2012: 1-2.

[75] Cf. Barker 2007: 14-15.

[76] Barker 2007: 14-15.

[77] For a description and recordings of their sound, see e.g. http://sounds.bl.uk/Environment/British-wildlife-recordings/022M-W1CDR0001378-0800V0. Already in the *Odyssey* we find an awareness of these different sorts of trilling sounds, when Penelope describes how the nightingale "pours forth her many-toned voice, changing it frequently"(θαμὰ τρωπῶσα χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν, 19.521; on the variant πολυδευκέα see Nagy 1996: 32-35, 41-53). This is also what Aristotle must mean by παντοδαπή and ταχεῖα when he describes the nightingale's song in the late spring (*HA* 632b24). Pliny gives the fullest description of the bird's range of acoustic effects, writing how its song can be "full, heavy, sharp, repeated, prolonged…quivering, high-pitched, medium, deep" (*plenus, gravis, acutus, creber, extentus…vibrans, summus, medius, imus*, *NH* 10.81). On archaic and classical Greek perceptions of nightingales, see Nagy 1996: 7-38; Suksi 2001: 646-653; Barker 2004: 187-191; also Arnott 2007: 2.

but it acquires this trait above all from the myth of Procne's transformation into a nightingale and her continuous mourning for her son Itys, whose name she ceaselessly repeats.[78] Nightingales therefore frequently appear in Greek lyric to denote musicality (especially vocal skill), lament, or both:[79] so, for example, Sappho calls the bird "lovely-voiced" (ἱμερόφωνος, fr. 136); Bacchylides refers to himself the "honey-tongued Ceian songbird" (μελιγλώσσου… / Κηΐας ἀηδόνος, 3.98); the chorus in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* compare Cassandra's singing to the bird's ceaseless cry of Ἴτυν Ἴτυν, and she responds with ἰὼ ἰώ, a similar cry of lament, but rejects the comparison (1142-1145);[80] in Sophocles' *Ajax* the chorus use the nightingale as a contrast, to emphasize how painfully *un*musical the sounds of mourning made by the hero's mother will be (622-634).[81]

As these examples show, the figure of the nightingale tends to be used to frame the audience's perception of the song they are actually hearing, underlining the musicality of the poetry itself. Its use as a framing device is particularly clear in the parodos of Aeschylus' *Supplices*, when the chorus compare their own song to that of the nightingale:

εἰ δὲ κυρεῖ τις πέλας οἰωνοπόλων
ἔγγαιος οἶκτον ἀίων,
δοξάσει τιν᾽ ἀκούειν ὄπα τᾶς Τηρείας   (60)
†μήτιδος† οἰκτρᾶς ἀλόχου,
κιρκηλάτου γ᾽ ἀηδόνος,

ἅ τ᾽ ἀπὸ χώρων ποταμῶν τ᾽ ἐργομένα
πενθεῖ μὲν οἶκτον ἠθέων,
ξυντίθησι δὲ παιδὸς μόρον, ὡς αὐτοφόνως   (65)
ὤλετο πρὸς χειρὸς ἕθεν
δυσμάτορος κότου τυχών·

τὼς καὶ ἐγὼ φιλόδυρτος Ἰαονίοισι νομοῖσι
δάπτω τὰν ἀπαλὰν Νειλοθερῆ παρειὰν   (70)
ἀπειρόδακρύν τε καρδίαν….

But if there happens to be someone nearby in the land who knows the notes of birds, when he hears our piteous cry he'll think that he's listening to the voice of

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[78] Both Aristotle and Pliny emphasize the continuous nature of the bird's singing, claiming it sings nonstop for fifteen days and nights (Ar. *HA* 632b21; *NH* 10.81). The variant reading of πολυδευκέα at *Od*. 19.521 may also suggest the continuity of the bird's song (and that of the poet's song-making too): see Nagy 1996: 43-53.

[79] Cf. Suksi 2001: 649-650.

[80] Such wordplay is similar to that in Aristophanes' *Birds*, in which the cries of ἰὼ ἰώ, ἴτω ἴτω, and ἰοὺ ἰού are amongst those used to mimic birdsong (*Av*. 228-229, 343, 820, 857, 1170). Cf. Rutherford 1995: 42-43.

[81] Sophocles was the first to dramatize Procne's transformation into a nightingale in his *Tereus*: see Suksi 2001: 646-647. The nightingale also appears as a figure of musicality and lament at Soph. *El*. 107, 145-152, *OC* 18, 671-677, and *Trach*. 966: see Suksi 2001: 651-657.

Metis, Tereus' pitiful wife, the hawk-chased songbird, who, shut away from lands and rivers, laments piteously for her accustomed haunts, and composes the tale of her son's doom, how he died, killed by her own hand, encountering the rage of an unhappy mother. So I too, devoted to lamentation with Ionian tunes, tear my soft cheek, tanned by the Nile's sun, and my heart, inexperienced in tears… (58-71).

Here the chorus explicitly shape their audience's auditory reception of their performance, imagining that whoever is overhearing their song would think that he is listening to that of the nightingale. As Gregory Nagy has shown, the use of the verb ξυντίθησι ("composes") exemplifies how the nightingale also symbolizes the poet's act of *composition*, not just the performance.[82] By describing and reperforming the content of the bird's lament (63-67), the chorus then merge the two songs completely, so that the one virtually becomes the other, and as a result they create a heightened experience of their own euphonic lamentation. Avian imagery recurs elsewhere in the play too, in the chorus' later wishes to be able to fly away (392-395, 779-783, 792-799), just as in the third stasimon of *Helen* the chorus wish they could escape as cranes from Egypt to Greece (1479-1494), but it is only with the extended comparison of the lamenting nightingale that the two identities, chorus and bird, can actually merge into one.[83]

Euripides makes use of the nightingale's association with skillful song and lament for similarly self-reflexive effects, as we can see in two of his fragmentary plays, *Cresphontes* and *Phaethon*.[84] The parodos of *Cresphontes* contains the only other example in extant tragedy of a direct address to a nightingale, as the chorus of old Messenians seem to call on Procne as a comparison for their own plaintive song:

> φεῦ, φεῦ· ὦ γῆρας, ὦ παδι[
> τάλα[ι]να [……].ιμως πτερου̑[σ]σα
> ἀείδο[υσ……].η φιλοπροσωδ[ί]α
> ἀλεᾳ̑ [………]στρεφει παρα[ἀπο-
> ζυγεῖ[σα .. παιδ]ὸς οὗ πόθῳ στ[έ]νεις·

> Alas, alas! O old age, O wretched (daughter of Pandion?)…feathered, sing(ing your shrill songs?) with futile fondness for modulation (and?) twisting (voice?) separated from your son, in longing for whom you groan.[85] (fr.448, lines 82-86)

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[82] Nagy 1996: 15-16.

[83] Cf. Rutherford 1995 on P. Oxy. 2625 = SLG 460, a mysterious fragment of Greek lyric poetry in which a reference to a nightingale is followed by the unusual choral refrain ἴτω ἴτω χορός that is reminiscent of Procne's repetitive lament of Ἴτυν Ἴτυν, indicating a merging of bird and human song, and even offering "an ornithological aetiology for processional song, and for song in general" (43).

[84] See also Eur. *Hec.* 337-338, *Her.* 1021-1022, *Tro.* 146-147, *Pho.* 1515-1518, *Oed.* fr. 556, *Pal.* fr. 588; [Eur.] *Rhes.* 546-550.

[85] This is adapted from Collard and Cropp 2008, following emendations by Haslam (ὦ Πανδίο[νος] τάλα[ι]να [παῖς for 82-83; [φωνᾳ̑ τ' ἐπι]στρεφεῖ for 85) and Bonnycastle-Koenen (ἀείδο[υσ' ὀξέα μέ]λη for 84).

The language used to describe the nightingale's song, with the remarkable *hapax* noun φιλοπροσῳδ[ί]ᾳ ("fondness for modulation")[86] and the adjective concerning twisting or turning (]στρεφει), stresses its complexity, but of course it would also thereby emphasize and augment the chorus' own performance (whether or not they likewise varied their pitch) and perhaps also their auletic accompaniment.[87] The chorus of *Phaethon* also evoke the nightingale's song in the opening strophe of their parodos:

> ἤδη μὲν ἀρτιφανὴς
> Ἀὼς ἱ[ππεύει] κατὰ γᾶν,
> ὑπὲρ δ' ἐμᾶς κεφαλᾶς
> Πλειά[δων πέφευγε χορός],
> μέλπει δ' ἐν δένδρεσι λεπ-
>   τὰν ἀηδὼν ἁρμονίαν
> ὀρθρευομένα γόοις
> Ἴτυν Ἴτυν πολύθρηνον.

> Already Dawn, just appearing, (drives her chariot) over the earth, and above my head (the chorus of the) Pleiades (has fled), and the songbird sings in the trees her subtle mode, awake before dawn, much-wailing with her lament, "Itys, Itys." (fr. 773, lines 19-26)[88]

Barker calls this "pure scene-description,"[89] but the appearance of the nightingale here also works in a rather more complex way, demonstrating how subtly the bird's association with lament can be used. On the one hand, it vividly establishes the temporal setting of the action, at dawn on the day of Phaethon's marriage, in part through the merging of the "subtle mode" (λεπτὰν…ἁρμονίαν) of the nightingale's song with that of the chorus; a similar effect may arise from the mention of the Pleiades, a star chorus with whom the dramatic one can momentarily coincide.[90] On the other hand, the description of the nightingale and her mournful cry for Itys, like that of the swan's song in the following antistrophe (32-33), also introduces an ominous strain of lament to a song that the chorus later claim to be a ὑμέναιος (51-58),[91] and encourages identification between Procne and Phaethon's mother, Clymene, who will soon be mourning her son too.[92]

    With the nightingale's semantic value in mind, we can now return to the bird's appearance in the first stasimon of *Helen*, where, like the Sirens, she both marks the

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[86] For the translation of προσῳδία as "modulation" or "changing pitches", see LSJ s.v. 2.1; cf. Pl. *Rep*. 399a8.

[87] Such a focus on modulatory style seems typical of the "New Musicians:" see esp. Franklin 2013: 229-231. If we accept Collard and Cropp's dating of *Cresphontes* to the mid-420s (2008 VII: 495), then this fragment may indicate that Euripides was experimenting with highly metamusical language even earlier than *Electra*.

[88] The text here follows the emendations of Schubart and Wilamowitz 1907.

[89] Barker 2004: 190.

[90] On star choruses see Ch. 1, pp. 49-51.

[91] See Ch. 1, p. 21 on the association of swan song with lament.

[92] Cf. Barlow 1971: 24 on the ironic tone of this ode.

generic type of the chorus' song (and that of Helen offstage) and draws attention to the musicality of their performance. Although the chorus describe her as "tearful" and their "fellow worker in dirges" (1110, 1112), it is the musical skill of the bird (and thus also chorus and poet) that is particularly emphasized.[93] Even the bird's home is pictured as full of music, as the chorus imagine her sitting in her "concert hall" (μουσεῖα, 1108)—and in so doing further link her with the Sirens by recalling Helen's use of μουσεῖα in the parodos (174a). They then address her not only as "melodious" (μελῳδὸν, 1109b-1110) but with the rare superlative ἀοιδοτάταν as "most songful" (1109a)[94], and by following this description in the next line with, finally, ἀηδόνα, the bird itself, they stress the common root of ἀείδειν.[95] In line 1111 they turn to her modulating style of singing with the phrase "trilling through your vibrant cheeks" (διὰ ξουθᾶν γενύων ἐλελιζομένα). The adjective ξουθός, which seems to denote not only color but also sound and/or rapid movement, suggests the acoustic appearance of the bird in addition to its visual one, just as it does when the chorus in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* compare Cassandra to τις ξουθὰ…ἀηδὼν (1142-1145).[96] With the doubled "ἐλ-" sound the onomatopoeic participle ἐλελίζομενα, literally meaning "quivering (like a lyre's strings)," suggests both the bird's characteristic modulation and the repetitiveness of its song, and this moment of verbal mimicry helps to link the chorus' own musical effects with those produced by the nightingale itself.[97]

Instead of proceeding to reproduce the content of the absent nightingale's song, however, the chorus call on her to join them as a partner (ξυνεργός) in their own lament, to sing the same song together. Although, as we shall see, this motif is partly derived from Tereus' address to the nightingale as σύννομέ μοι in Aristophanes' *Birds*, such doubling of bird and dramatic singer, whereby the one is invoked to sing with the other the lament that then follows, is unparalleled.[98] The transference of singing, ἀείδειν, from the ἀοιδοτάτα ἀηδών to the chorus (ἀει- / δοῦσα, 1114-1115) further enhances the sense of this union of nightingale and chorus in the lament over the sufferings of Helen and Trojan women.[99]

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[93] See Pucci 1997: 29-30 on the nightingale as a "musical icon."

[94] Theocritus similarly uses this superlative to describe the nightingale: ὅσσον ἀηδών / συμπάντων λιγύφωνος ἀοιδοτάτη πετεηνῶν (*Id*. 12. 6-7). See Allan 2008: 272.

[95] See Allan 2008: 272.

[96] See Dunbar 1995: 206; Allan 2008: 272. ξουθός is used similarly in Aristophanes' *Birds* (214, 676): see below, pp. 110-112.

[97] Cf. Ar. *Av*. 213: see below p. 111. The same verb also appears in an avian context in Euripides' *Phoenissae*, when Antigone asks whether any bird might mourn with her, ὡς ἐλελίζω (1514), but the primary meaning of the active form here may instead be "utter a shrill, mournful cry (ἐλελεῦ)": see Mastronarde 1994: 571-572. On the meaning of ἐλελιζομένη in Ar. *Av*. 213 and Eur. *Hel*. 1111, see Dunbar 1995: 204-205.

[98] Ar. *Av*. 209. The apostrophe to the nightingale in *Helen* is not the first instance of an invocation to a nightingale to appear onstage, as Pucci 1997: 70-71 claims it to be: in Aristophanes' *Birds* Tereus tells the nightingale to come (ἄγε, 209), and she really does physically appear in response at 667ff.; the sound of the *aulos* from the point when Tereus addresses her is probably also meant to represent her (Romer 1983; Barker 2004).

[99] Ford 2010: 299 suggests that the metrical division of ἀει- / δοῦσα across a line break indicates "the endlessness ("ever," *aei*) of her [the nightingale's] song." The participle actually applies to

Given the epiphanic nature of Helen's invocation to the Siren chorus in the parodos, we might expect the unusual apostrophe to the nightingale in the first stasimon also to result in this musical figure somehow becoming manifest on stage. Of course, as Pucci reminds us, the appeal here is metaphorical, but, just like that to the Sirens, it could do more than function as "a mere verbal, musical icon," and instead pertain to a character within the play too.[100] That character must be Helen herself, who until this point has been the chorus' leader and lamenter *par excellence*,[101] and whose own *logos* of avian birth might encourage the audience more readily to identify her with the bird. This impression is strengthened by the prominent use of the second person pronoun σέ as the very first word of the ode: as Helen has just exited after giving final instructions to Menelaus regarding their escape plan, this "you" would seem to refer as much to her as to the imagined nightingale. By the end of the first strophe the second person apostrophe really is directed at Helen herself, and a similar address follows in the second strophe and antistrophe: σέθεν, ὦ Ἑλένα… (1120); σὺ Διὸς ἔφυς, ὦ Ἑλένα… (1144); σὰν ἔριν, ὦ Ἑλένα (1160). The lamenting nightingale is thus embodied by and transformed into Helen, who, though she does not enter during the chorus' song, comes on stage again immediately afterwards, this time with Theoclymenos and in mourning attire, physically transformed from when the audience saw her last. Just as the chorus momentarily became Sirens, so Helen is merged with her own musical "double," the nightingale, and thus still seems to participate in the women's *choreia* even as she is separated from it. At the same time, the fact that she does *not* immediately appear underlines the disunion of her and the chorus now that her escape plan has been put into action. About to flee Egypt and leave her Greek chorus there behind, Helen now has less cause to produce her own genuine lament, and so for the first time in the play the chorus must sing without her.

The identification between Helen and the nightingale also marks a transition in Helen's characterization between the parodos and first stasimon. Whereas previously the framing of the chorus as Sirens denoted a parthenaic performance, while they heard her cry out as a maiden Naiad nymph, now the chorus imagine her as an archetypal *mater dolorosa*, thereby emphasizing her matron role instead. This aspect of Helen is indicated again in the second stasimon through the figure of the Great Mother, who, like the nightingale, laments for the loss of her child, though the later song also combines this association with a parthenaic one, as the dancing of Persephone/Kore recalls that of Helen herself.[102] Similarly in the third stasimon her roles as parthenaic choral leader and mother are simultaneously emphasized as the chorus imagine her back in Sparta, dancing in honor of the Leucippides and Hyacinthus, and being reunited with her daughter, Hermione.[103]

The association of the nightingale and a soon-to-appear female character within the play would be particularly strong for those members of the audience who would have remembered the summoning of the nightingale in Aristophanes' *Birds* two years

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the chorus' song, but of course the sharing of musical traits between them and this avian model is deliberate.

[100] Pucci 1997: 71.

[101] Cf. Martin 2008: 119-126 on Helen as an expert lamenter in Homeric epic.

[102] See below, p. 115 on 1312-1313.

[103] See below, pp. 126-128 on 1465-1477.

earlier.[104] It has often been noted that line 1111 of *Helen* (διὰ ξουθᾶν γενύων ἐλελιζομένα) recalls Tereus' invocation to the nightingale, in which he describes her production of song with very similar language (presumably echoing in turn Sophocles' *Tereus*, which was produced sometime before Aristophanes' play):[105]

ἄγε σύννομέ μοι, παῦσαι μὲν ὕπνον,
λῦσον δὲ νόμους ἱερῶν ὕμνων,   210
οὓς διὰ θείου στόματος θρηνεῖς
τὸν ἐμὸν καὶ σὸν πολύδακρυν Ἴτυν,
ἐλελιζομένη διεροῖς μέλεσιν
γένυος ξουθῆς.

Come, my fellow singer, stop your sleep, and loosen the strains of your holy hymns, which through your divine mouth you give as a lament for my and your much bewept Itys, trilling with liquid melodies from your vibrant cheeks. (209-214)

In addition to the same onomatopoeic participle ἐλελιζομένη and the similarity between διὰ ξουθᾶν γενύων in *Helen* and both διὰ θείου στόματος (211) and γένυος ξουθῆς (214) in *Birds*, the vocative σύννομέ used of Procne in the comedy is, as we have seen, like the epithet ξυνεργός in the first stasimon of the later play, as well as the adjectives σύνοχα and ξυνῳδά used of the Sirens' music in the parodos.[106] It is possible that Euripides was also influenced by Sophocles' *Tereus*, of which only a handful of fragments survive, but the parallels between the first stasimon of *Helen* and Aristophanes' *Birds* are so striking that it seems likely that the tragedian modeled the beginning of his first stasimon on Tereus' invocation in the comedy, as well as on the bird chorus' address to Procne later in the play, when she is physically present:

ὦ φίλη, ὦ ξουθή,   (676)
ὦ φίλτατον ὀρνέων,
πάντων ξύννομε τῶν ἐμῶν
ὕμνων, ξύντροφ᾿ ἀηδοῖ,
ἦλθες, ἦλθες, ὤφθης,   (680)
ἡδὺν φθόγγον ἐμοὶ φέρουσ᾿·
ἀλλ᾿, ὦ καλλιβόαν κρέκουσ᾿
αὐλὸν φθέγμασιν ἠρινοῖς,
ἄρχου τῶν ἀναπαίστων.

> O dear, O vibrant one, O dearest of all the birds, fellow singer of my songs, O my companion songbird, you've come, you've come, you're here to be seen, bringing sweet sound to me. But, O you who weave the fair-toned *aulos* with springtime voices, begin the anapaests! (676-684)

This song is notable for the way in which it emphasizes the nightingale's presence on stage, both with the repeated συν- epithets denoting her companionship with them (as in the *Helen* first stasimon), and with the repetition of ἦλθες followed by the epiphanic ὤφθης ("you're here to be seen") in line 680. In *Birds* the nightingale is therefore not merely called upon metaphorically or mentioned as an imagined figure offstage: rather, she is a character who enters just before this choral song, and has most likely been audibly present already through the sound of the *aulos* from the moment when Tereus summons her.[107] So at least some of the audience of *Helen*, recalling the appearance of this avian *aulētris* in *Birds*, would be more likely to understand the nightingale not only as a metaphor for song but also as a female character within the play who will (re)enter shortly afterwards. It is unclear if Euripides could have intended or expected his audience to pick up on any further implications in the link between the famously attractive Helen and the prostitute *aulētris* of *Birds* here, but certainly the correspondence is an amusingly unflattering one. At the same time, the association between the nightingale and the sound of the *aulos* in Aristophanes' play might encourage the audience of Euripides' *Helen* to imagine that they are already hearing the trilling bird in the auletic accompaniment to the chorus' song, even if she has not yet appeared on stage.[108]

The allusion to Aristophanes' *Birds* in the *Helen* first stasimon is also significant for the way in which it frames the chorus' relationship to Helen as their choral leader. In both addresses to the nightingale this bird is presented as an initiator of *choreia*: in his invocation to her Tereus goes on to describe how, in response to her song, Apollo picks up his phorminx and starts leading the choirs of the gods, who then start singing themselves (217-222); when the bird chorus later address her in person, they emphasize their own closeness to and reliance upon the nightingale, whom they ask to start up their anapaests (684). In Euripides' play Helen is similarly presented as chorus leader, particularly, as we have seen, in relation to the siren chorus in the parodos. Through calling on the nightingale the chorus also call on her to lead their lament, just as she did in the parodos, while they simultaneously perform the nightingale's song themselves, enacting Helen's own false mourning offstage. But, though she does come back onstage after their song, Helen is no longer their *chorēgos*, and will soon leave them and sing and dance in Sparta instead.

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[107] See Romer 1983 (esp. 138); Barker 2004.

[108] The link between the nightingale and the *aulos* may have been a traditional one: it is also suggested by the description in Eur. *Oed.* fr. 556 of the reeds of the River Melas in Boeotia as "the skilful nightingale of sweetly-blown *auloi*" (ἀηδόν᾽ εὐπνόων αὐλῶν σοφήν). Pliny makes a similar connection, remarking that "in such a little throat are all the things which human skill has devised in the exquisite mechanisms of the pipes" (*omnia tam parvulis in faucibus, quae tot exquisitis tibiarum tormentis ars hominum excogitavit*, 10.82).

NEW MUSIC

Two more choral songs are performed in quick succession following the first stasimon, producing a flurry of *choreia* in the last third of the play that both complements the suddenly fast-moving action as Helen and Menelaus engineer their escape plan, and at the same time indicates the chorus' increasing separation from such activity, as their leader arranges to leave without them. The second stasimon, the relevance of which within the surrounding drama has vexed so many scholars,[109] seems to encapsulate this combination of dramatic movement and choral distance. Unlike their previous songs in the play, which focus more directly on Helen's circumstances and are generically framed as laments, here the chorus sing a narrative-style ode, recounting the search of the Great Mother (Cybele, who is syncretized with Demeter) for her daughter, Kore (Persephone).[110]

On the one hand, as we shall see, through this story of crisis and grief resulting in a happy resolution the ode enacts the positive shift in the surrounding *mythos*, in which Helen and a disguised Menelaus have just persuaded Theoclymenos to let them perform funeral rites at sea, thus contriving a way for them to escape from Egypt (1186-1300). Such correspondence between the narrative of the stasimon and action of the play is highlighted through the ways in which the Great Mother, like the nightingale, resembles Helen as a *mater dolorosa*. The song also marks a corresponding change in the dominant *mousikē* of the play, which from this moment ceases to involve any markers of lament: likewise in this story of the calming of the Great Mother's frenzied grief, new, pleasing forms of music are introduced to replace the discordant sounds described at the start of the ode. On the other hand, the second stasimon has often been seen as "one of the most inorganic or *embolimon*-like in extant Euripides," a self-contained narrative that lacks any integration into the texture of the play, and a typical example of Kranz's "dithyrambic" choral stasima.[111] This ode therefore seems to be a curious mixture of being both intricately related to the surrounding drama and, like the chorus themselves at this point in the play, removed from it.

One of the most striking aspects of the second stasimon—and one of the reasons why it has seemed so "dithyrambic"—is the extraordinary abundance of musical images

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[109] E.g. Golann 1945; Burnett 1960: 155-56; Kannicht 1969: 2. 327-59; Wolff 1973: 70-74; Rehm 1996: 57-58; Burian 2007: 270; Allan 2008: 292-95, 305-07, 309-10; Swift 2009, 2010: 229-40. Many of these interpretations link the narration of the Great Mother's search for her daughter and eventual appeasement to the play's overarching *anodos* pattern, and to Helen's own dual status within the drama and in cult as both *parthenos* and *gunē*. Cf. Guepin 1968: 120-122 and Foley: 1992 on *anodos* dramas, and Zweig 1999: 227-30, Foley 2001: 325-27 on motifs of female rites of passage in the *Helen*.

[110] On the syncretism of the Great Mother and Demeter in fifth-century Athenian cult and beyond, see Parker 1996: 188-189, esp. n.134, 2005: 344-345; Roller 1996: 312-313, 1999: 174-176; Allan 2004: 143-146; Currie 2005: 394-396. Pucci 1997: 72 relates the syncretism of the two goddesses in the *Helen* third stasimon to the theme of doubling in the play as a whole.

[111] Mastronarde 2010: 141; Kranz 1933: 254. Cf. Decharme 1906: 314-15 ("this ode…is an *embolimon* in the true sense of the word"); Golann 1945: 31-32; Dale 1967: xiii (the ode has "scarcely a pretence of relevance to the events on stage"), 147; Kannicht 1969: 2. 334-35; Burian 2007: 270; Allan 2008: 40, 293-94. For a more detailed bibliography on this view of the ode, see Swift 2009: 418, n.2. On *embolima* and "dithyrambic" stasima, see introduction pp. 3-6.

that it contains, from the roaring *krotala* (an instrument like slapsticks or castanets) during the Great Mother's search, to the dancing and playing of the *tympana* (hand drums) and *aulos* that coincide with her appeasement, to the whirling *rhombos* shaken in worship of the goddess and Dionysus.[112] Like the images of the Sirens and nightingale in the play's previous stasima, this focus on musicality reflects and intensifies both the chorus' own performance and the tragedian's musical skill, perhaps also drawing attention to Euripides' engagement with the "New Music". The story of how music achieved the appeasement of the Great Mother therefore not only provides an aetiology for the inclusion of particular instruments within her cult (the *krotala*, *kymbala*, *tympanon* and *aulos*), which is syncretised with the rites of both Demeter and Dionysus, but also functions as a sort of *aition* for the Dionysiac performance of the singing and dancing chorus of Athenian citizens in the *orchestra*.[113] This is not to say, however, that the relevance of the ode therefore lies entirely beyond its immediate dramatic context: on the contrary, it is especially its musicality that reflects and intensifies the positive shift away from lament as Helen and Menelaus start to engineer their escape.

The first strophe begins with an emphasis on swift and urgent movement, as the Great Mother frantically searches for her abducted daughter:

> Ὀρεία ποτὲ δρομάδι κώ-
> λῳ μάτηρ ἐσύθη θεῶν
> ἀν᾽ ὑλάεντα νάπη
> ποτάμιόν τε χεῦμ᾽ ὑδάτων
> βαρύβρομόν τε κῦμ᾽ ἅλιον   (1305)
> πόθῳ τᾶς ἀποιχομένας
> ἀρρήτου κούρας.
> κρόταλα δὲ βρόμια διαπρύσιον
> ἱέντα κέλαδον ἀνεβόα,
> θηρῶν ὅτε ζυγίους   (1310)
> ζευξάσα θεὰ σατίνας
> τὰν ἁρπασθεῖσαν κυκλίων
> χορῶν ἔξω παρθενίων
> κούραν <– × – ‿‿ –>
> μετὰ δ᾽ <ᾖξαν> ἀελλόποδες,
> ἁ μὲν τόξοις Ἄρτεμις, ἁ δ᾽   (1315)
> ἔγχει Γοργῶπις πάνοπλος,
> αὐγάζων ἐξ οὐρανίων
> <Ζεὺς ὁ παντόπτας ἑδράνων>
> ἄλλαν μοῖραν ἔκραινεν.

The mountain Mother of the Gods once with running foot rushed along the wooded glens and the river stream of waters and the deep-roaring breaker of the

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[112] Panagl 1971: 140-64 also highlights the auditory richness of this ode. See also Barker 2007: 15-20; Ford 2010: 300. On the syncretism of the Great Mother and Dionysus, for which the earliest surviving evidence is Pind. fr. 70b. 8-11, see Roller 1996: 313-316; Summers 1996: 351-353; Allan 2004: 131, 141-142.

[113] Cf. Downing 1990: 12: "the Mountain Mother ode yields an aetiology for choral celebration."

sea in longing for her absent daughter whose name is never spoken. And the roaring castanets (*krotala*), sending forth their piercing din, cried out, when she had yoked her chariot to a team of wild beasts and <rushed off to save?> her daughter, who'd been seized from the circling dances of maidens; after her <darted> storm-footed Artemis with her bows and the Grim-eyed One, fully armed with her spear. But seeing clearly from his heavenly <seat, all-seeing Zeus> brought about a different fate. (1301-1319)

The opening image of the Great Mother rushing on running feet (δρομάδι κώ- / λῳ…ἐσύθη,1301-1302) is enhanced by the resolution of the glyconic "colon" in the first line (later matched nicely in 1319): the meaning of the adjective δρομάδι is matched by the speed at which the syllables must be sung. These initial two lines are self-referential too, pointing the audience's attention towards the fast-moving feet of the dancing chorus and assimilating the choral performance they are seeing in the *orchestra* with the goddess' movement that is described in the song. When Artemis and Athena start to join the Great Mother in her quest, before they are even mentioned by name the speed of their feet is highlighted through the adjective "storm-footed" (ἀελλόποδες, 1314), a high-lyric epithet which stresses the raw energy of this motion.[114] It may also deliberately suggest a confusion of environment and choreography, merging the storm implied by the gushing streams of water and the deep-roaring sea (1304-1305) with the goddesses' movement through the air—and so also with the chorus' own dancing. The only vision we have of more orderly movement is the reference to the circular parthenaic dances from which Kore was snatched away, which again could correspond with the dramatic chorus' own choreographic formation,[115] yet that dancing was in the past, at the moment when Kore was seized in the first place.[116]

This first strophe is also full of disturbing sound, an unsettling mix of vocal, instrumental, and environmental noises. The "deep-roaring" breaker of the sea (βαρύβρομόν…κῦμ' ἅλιον, 1305) is followed by the roaring *krotala* (κρόταλα…βρόμια, 1308), so that the two sounds, of sea and percussion, blend together into a polyphonic confusion of acoustic images. Adjectives of the βρόμ- root might seem more apt for the thundering of the sea, but the short, clattering sound produced by *krotala* (whether made of wood, bone, or bronze)[117] could also resemble the clap of thunder; the

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[114] Cf. *Hom. Hymn Aphr.* 217; Sim. fr. 10; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.18, *Nem.* 1.6, fr.221. The equine associations of this epithet, in addition to the metaphorical meaning of ἀέλλα as "whirling", suggest that the maiden goddesses Artemis and Athena are even dancing: see Ch.1, p. 43, Ch. 4, pp. 138-139, and below, p. 132 on the association of horses with choreography (especially in *partheneia*).

[115] Cf. Allan 2008: 300-301.

[116] The happier nature of that dancing in comparison with the rushed movement elsewhere in the strophe is perhaps also suggested by the lightening of the rhythm through the choriamb in line 1312 after five long syllables.

[117] On the material from which *krotala* could be made and type of noise they could produce, see Barker 1984: 76 n.89; Mathiesen 1999: 163; Sadie 2001: VI. 727; Allan 2008: 300. West 1992: 123, 125 distinguishes between *krotala* made of wood and those of bronze: the former were used in "popular, festive music-making…not in the theatre, in professional contests, or in cult" (123), but the description of the *krotala* in the *Helen* second stasimon in fact could encompass both the higher pitched clashing of bronze "cymbal-clappers" (*ibid* 125) and the clattering noise of wood

description of them as βρόμια here suggests a merging of elemental and instrumental noise. The entirely resolved rhythm of line 1308 may help to convey their clapping sound—a percussive effect that is sharply juxtaposed with the five long syllables in the previous line, and with the silent absence of the girl whose name cannot be spoken (τᾶς ἀποιχομένας / ἀρρήτου κούρας, 1306-07).[118] The *krotala* and the βρόμος sound were also associated with the orgiastic rites of Cybele and with the frenzied celebration for both her and Dionysus,[119] whose title Βρόμιος ("roarer") appears in the final antistrophe (1365) and is also suggested by the repetition of βρόμ- root words in the first strophe.[120] As a result, the ode acts as an *aition* for the goddess' cultic *mousikē* from the start, not just in the description in the second strophe of her musical appeasement.

The sound picture of the *krotala* is also an uncomfortably mixed one of acoustic vocabulary piled up together. In addition to being described as "roaring", they are simultaneously producing a piercingly loud noise (διαπρύσιον…κέλαδον, 1308-1309). The adjective διαπρύσιον might seem more appropriate for the effect of the *aulos*, the one instrument that (as far as we know) was actually played in accompaniment to the choral song. Imagined music (the *krotala*) may thus merge with what the audience would actually be hearing in the theater, despite the difference between the actual sounds of the two instruments.[121] The *krotala* are also shouting (ἀνεβόα, 1309), as if they themselves are crying for help, emitting a vocal, not just percussive, sound. Of course the clattering noise of the *krotala* is in part being made through the rhythm of a purely human voice (as well as the chorus' hand-clapping and foot-stamping, presumably), so it is tempting to see here some self-referential commentary, as the chorus refer to their own ability verbally to conjure up instrumental sound. With such mingling of different pitches and timbres of sounds, elemental, instrumental, and vocal, Euripides displays his ability to use the human voice to represent a whole variety of noise, to represent even what seems to be unrepresentable.[122]

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or bone being knocked together. Rather than interpreting the reference to *krotala* in the *Helen* ode as a precise indication of a particular sort of instrument and the sound it produced, we should see it as an expression of a richly mixed sound experience.

[118] Cf. Kannicht 1969: 2. 337 on the series of short syllables in line 1308: "sind eine Periode und ersichtlich als metrische Darstellung des Geklappers der Korala zu fassen." Allan 2008: 300 also notes this "striking concatenation of sound words, with the fervent striking of the instruments expressed in the resolved iambic dimeters". This percussive sound effect may also draw attention to the chorus' dancing, as according to Athenaeus (14.636c-3) *krotala*, like the closely related *krembala*, were used to produce rhythmical sound to accompany dancers, while in vase painting too they are usually associated with the depiction of dance movement: see Peponi 2009: 49-55.

[119] As is clear from *Hom. Hymn* 14.3: see below, p. 117. On the playing of *krotala* for Dionysus as well as Cybele, see Pind. Dith. 2. 8-11 and Eur. *Cycl.* 205. See also Roller 1996: 308; Matthiesen 1999: 164-65; Sadie 2001: VI. 727, 797.

[120] See Kannicht 1969: 339-40 and below, p. 120.

[121] There is in fact no reason why the chorus might not at this point play *krotala* as they dance (or at least hold them as a visual prop), just as celebrants would in the rites of the Great Mother. If so, their description of the instrument would magnify the audience's reception of the sound actually being produced in the theater. The dominant instrumental sound, however, would still be that of the *aulos*.

[122] Cf. Dillon 2006, who discusses "obscene sound" in Dante's *Inferno*: she observes that the sounds there, as opposed to those in *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso*, all "shun any kind of fixed system

Such polyphonic confusion seems to have been a traditional element of the cult of the Great Mother. In the *Homeric Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* a multilayered sound picture is created through the description not only of instrumental noise (*krotala*, *tympana*, and *auloi*) but also of the cries of animals and echoing of the landscape:[123]

Μητέρα μοι πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων
ὕμνει, Μοῦσα λίγεια, Διὸς θύγατερ μεγάλοιο,
ἧ κροτάλων τυπάνων τ' ἰαχὴ σύν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν
εὔαδεν ἠδὲ λύκων κλαγγὴ χαροπῶν τε λεόντων
οὔρεά τ' ἠχήεντα καὶ ὑλήεντες ἔναυλοι.   (5)

Celebrate, shrill Muse, the Mother of all gods and all men, daughter of great Zeus, whom the shriek of castanets (*krotala*) and hand-drums (*tympana*) together with the roar of *auloi* pleases, and the howling of wolves and fierce lions, and the echoing mountains and wooded glens. (*Hom. Hymn* 14. 1-5)

Euripides' virtuosic display may also, however, be a sign of his engagement with the "New Music"—certainly it is strikingly close to what Plato condemns in his *Laws* as apparently recent musical practice:

ἔτι δὲ θηρίων φωνὰς καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὀργάνων καὶ πάντας ψόφους εἰς ταὐτὸν οὐκ ἄν ποτε συνθεῖεν, ὡς ἕν τι μιμούμεναι.

What's more, [the Muses] would never combine the cries of beasts and of humans and of instruments and all kinds of noises into the same piece, as a way to represent one thing. (Plato, *Laws* 669cd)

This sort of exploitation of the mimetic ability of the voice also seems to lie at the heart of the criticism leveled by Socrates against the "baser" (φαυλότερος) kind of imitation in speech in Book III of Plato's *Republic*:

πάντα ἐπιχειρήσει μιμεῖσθαι σπουδῇ τε καὶ ἐναντίον πολλῶν, καὶ ἃ νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν, βροντάς τε καὶ ψόφους ἀνέμων τε καὶ χαλαζῶν καὶ ἀξόνων καὶ τροχιλίων καὶ σαλπίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν καὶ συρίγγων καὶ πάντων ὀργάνων φωνάς, καὶ ἔτι κυνῶν καὶ προβάτων καὶ ὀρνέων φθόγγους.

[The speaker who uses much imitation] will attempt, seriously and in front of many, to imitate everything, both the things which we were just talking about, claps of thunder, and the noises of winds and hail and axles and pulleys, and the

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of pitch and rhythm, and are unruly, unpredictable sounds, more heightened than speech, but not quite fully fledged into song" (70). In describing sounds that went beyond musical notation, Dante was "tackling the challenge of representing the unrepresentable" (59). While the issue of what could and could not be notated is not pertinent to the *Helen* ode, a similar sort of challenge nevertheless seems to lie behind Euripides' mimetic play with voice and music.
[123] Cf. Pind. fr. 70b, 8-11.

strains of trumpets and pipes and panpipes and of all instruments, and besides the sounds of dogs and sheep and birds (Plato, *Republic* 397a).[124]

Of course we cannot know whether the actual tune of the chorus' singing contained as much variation as the words did,[125] but we can hear in this opening strophe vocal imitation of a great range of sound sources that are deliberately confused with each other to convey the acoustic frenzy of the goddess' search for Kore.

In the following antistrophe, however, after an initial reference to running feet (δρομαῖον, 1319),[126] the narrative slows down as Cybele abandons her search and starts destroying mankind by making the earth infertile.[127] Turbulent *mousikē* is replaced by its absence. Instead of descriptions of sound and movement, the antistrophe is full of silent grief, negation, and verbs of stopping and dwindling: ἔπαυσε (1320), in place of ἐσύθη in line 1302; φθείρει (1329); ἀπέλειπε βίος (1332); ἄφλεκτοι πελανοί (1334); ἀμπαύει (1335); πένθει…ἀλάστῳ (1337). The one violent movement on the part of the goddess is her headlong collapse in grief (ῥίπτει τ' ἐν πένθει, 1325). The infertility, sadness, and immobility (after 1325) of the aftermath of the goddess' fruitless search are thus reflected in the lack of references to *mousikē*, which is all the more pronounced after the noisiness of the initial strophe.

Then, in the second strophe, *mousikē* returns, this time in seemingly more pleasing vocal, instrumental, and choreographic forms. The focus shifts from the barren world of mortals to the divine plane, as the gods use music to console the Great Mother: Zeus tells the Muses and Graces to sing and dance, and Aphrodite and the Great Mother herself join in the music-making.

> ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπαυσ' εἰλαπίνας
> θεοῖς βροτείῳ τε γένει,
> Ζεὺς μειλίσσων στυγίους
> Ματρὸς ὀργὰς ἐνέπει·   (1340)
> Βᾶτε, σεμναὶ Χάριτες,
> ἴτε, τὰν περὶ παρθένῳ
> Δηὼ θυμωσαμέναν
> λυπᾶν ἐξελᾶτ' ἀλαλᾷ,
> Μοῦσαί θ' ὕμνοισι χορῶν.   (1345)
> χαλκοῦ δ' αὐδὰν χθονίαν
> τύπανά τ' ἔλαβε βυρσοτενῆ
> καλλίστα τότε πρῶτα μακά-
> ρων Κύπρις· γέλασεν δὲ θεὰ
> δέξατό τ' ἐς χέρας   (1350)
> βαρύβρομον αὐλὸν
> τερφθεῖσ' ἀλαλαγμῷ.

[124] See also *Rep.* 396b, where the noise of rivers and the roar of the sea are included among the sorts of noises which the guardians should not imitate.
[125] Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 397c.
[126] The rhythm of δρομαῖον (u – –) itself seems to signify a slowing down of movement, in contrast to the three short syllables of δρομάδι in line 1301.
[127] Cf. Allan 2008: 302.

But when she stopped feasts for gods and the mortal race, Zeus, trying to soothe the grim wrath of the Mother, said, "Step forth, holy Graces, go, and take Deo, who is angered for her daughter, away from her grief with the cry of *alalai*, and you, Muses, with the songs of choruses." And the earthy voice of bronze and the drums (*tympana*) of stretched hide then for the first time Cypris, loveliest of the blessed ones, took up; and the goddess laughed and took into her hands the deep-roaring *aulos*, delighting in the *alalai* cry. (1337-1352)

Zeus' imperatives of βᾶτε…ἴτε (1340-41) seem to be as much choreographic directions as orders to go to the goddess, so that for a moment the movement of the divine maidens who are about to dance and that of the dancing dramatic chorus could coincide.[128] Both the Graces and Muses are to sing as well as dance, with ὕμνοισι χορῶν and by uttering the ritual cry of ἀλαλά (1344-45).[129] The introduction of instrumental sound after Zeus' instructions makes clear that the *mousikē* illustrated here is associated with delight and charm, as Aphrodite, described as the most beautiful of the gods (καλλίστα…μακά- / ρων, 1348-49), takes up the "earthy voice of bronze" (χαλκοῦ…αὐδὰν χθονίαν, 1346), which most likely means the *kymbala* or perhaps the *krotala* made of bronze,[130] and the *tympana* (hand drums) of stretched hide (τύπανά…βυρσοτενῆ, 1346). Again the resolved rhythm of line 1347, as well as the alliteration of the harsh χ- and τ- consonants, produces a percussive effect, so that there is a brief mimetic interplay between the chorus' voice and the drumming music they are describing. The culmination of this performance then comes with the laughter of the Great Mother and her delight in the sound of the *aulos* and the *alalai* cry, which, as Pietro Pucci has observed, thus replace Kore as the found object that enables reconciliation.[131] This musical aetiology, according to which Aphrodite plays the *kymbala* and *tympana* for the first time (πρῶτα) in order to appease the Great Mother, who herself takes up the *aulos* as if it is a new thing, accounts for the inclusion of these instruments (and the *krotala* of the first strophe) within her orgiastic cults, as well as in those of Dionysus, on whom the final antistrophe focuses. At the same time, the shift from grief to delight, from disturbing noise to new, more pleasing *mousikē*, indicates a change for the music of the play too, as the chorus no longer perform lament and instead take up a new kind of song. The enactment of this different type of *mousikē* by the dramatic chorus at the same time as they describe it brings this transition into the present of the play, merging the aetiological myth with the surrounding drama.[132]

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[128] On βαίνω as a verb used to describe dance steps, see Naerebout 1997: 281.

[129] As Kannicht 1969: 2. 350 points out, the Graces' cry of *alalai* is only nominally separated from the *humnoi* of the Muses. For the association of this cry with cultic celebration for Cybele and Dionysus, see also Pind. *Dith*. 2.12.

[130] See Burian 2007: 273 on the *kymbala*. Cf. Barker 1984: 76 n.93. On the "earthy" (and "chthonic") sound of bronze, see Kannicht 1969: 2. 353-53.

[131] Pucci 1997: 73-74. Such laughter as a sign of the goddess' abandonment of solitary grief also augments the syncretism between Cybele and Demeter, whose laughter at Iambe's jesting in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* marks a similar shift in the narrative (*Hom. Hymn*. 2. 202-05). See Burian 2007: 274; Allan 2008: 305.

[132] On the reenactment of aetiological myth in choral performance, see Kowalzig 2007a, 2007b.

It is striking that in this account of the Great Mother's musical appeasement it is the *aulos* which signifies the climax of the whole ode, the moment when the goddess finally shifts from grief to delight in its sound, and is herself pictured as an *aulētēs* as she takes this instrument into her hands (1350-1352). Recalling the similar-sounding βαρύβρομόν…κῦμ' ἅλιον in the first strophe (1305), the βαρύβρομον αὐλόν here stresses the contrast between this delightful sound of the *aulos* among the gods and the frightening roaring of the sea that previously accompanied the goddess' frenzied search. It may seem surprising for the *aulos* to be described as "deep-roaring", but this adjective could denote the Phrygian version of the instrument, which was said to have had a deeper pitch than the Greek one and would suit the worship of the Great Mother, whose cult originated in Phrygia (the same instrument may be indicated by the βρόμος αὐλῶν in the *Homeric Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*).[133] It is possible that the Greek *aulos* that was actually being played in the theater at this point could also have had a similarly low pitch,[134] but even if it did not, it could be imagined to produce such a sound, for this instrument was conceptualized as being able to imitate anything, low or high (hence its even being called "many-stringed" in Plato's *Republic*).[135] Perhaps more significant than the acoustic sound implied by the word βαρύβρομος is the way in which it continues the word play of the first strophe, associating the *mousikē* described here with Dionysus' cultic title of *Bromios*, just as in Aristophanes' *Clouds* the βαρύβρομος music of the *auloi* is mentioned as part of the god's festivities, which are described as βρόμια χάρις (311-313). These alliterative effects have a kind of epiphanic power, as they lead to the actual appearance of Dionysus, addressed as *Bromios,* in the final antistrophe (1364-65). They also help to link the musical experience described in the myth to that of the audience, hearing the *aulos* in the Theater of Dionysus during the City Dionysia.

The description of the *aulos* here also suggests its surprisingly *vocal* sound, again alluding to the instrument's imitative versatility: when the goddess is said to delight in the cultic cry of *alalai*, it is unclear whether this is the sound of the Muses (as at 1344) or that of the *aulos* itself; the chorus' own performance of this cry may represent both. Unlike the discordancy described in the first strophe, however, here the fusion of vocal and instrumental sound, chorus and *aulos*, causes delight, and the instrumental sound which causes the most pleasure in the narrated myth is the very one that is being played in this dramatic performance. It is therefore not just the goddess who delights in this sound: such enjoyment could also be seen in the actual *aulētēs* and in the chorus dancing in response to the *aulos*' tune – and it is the desired response in the audience too. As a

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[133] As suggested by Kannicht 1969: 2. 353; Barker 1984: 76 n.95 (cf. 74 n.79), 2007: 19-20. For ancient sources on the Phrygian *aulos*, which seems usually to have been a pair of unequal pipes, one of which ended in a bell made of horn, see West 1992: 91.

[134] Cf. Allan 2008: 213, who points to the description in Aristophanes' *Clouds* of the choral accompaniment at the City Dionysia as "the deep-roaring music of *auloi*" (μοῦσα βαρύβρομος αὐλῶν, 313). We cannot, however, use this passage as conclusive evidence for the use of lower pitched *auloi* in the theater, since the use of βρόμ- words also relates the instrument to Dionysus *Bromios*. The explicit reference to Phrygian *auloi* in Euripides' *Bacchae* complicates this issue still further, since there they are not described as deep-sounding at all, but on the contrary their "sweet-crying breath" is said to be σύντονος ("high-stretched", 126).

[135] Pl. *Rep*. 399d: see Barker (1984) 132 n.29. On the *aulos*' (perceived) ability to imitate anything, see Ch. 4, pp. 151-152.

result, the song creates an aetiology as much for the present performance in the theater as for the orgiastic *mousikē* of the Great Mother's rites.[136]

Musical revelry continues in the antistrophe, but it is now transferred to the mortal realm with a warning to Helen herself that the sacrifices of the Great Mother should be honored. The form in which she should be worshipped is made clear through the following scene of ritual celebration, which describes the dancing and music-making of mortals in honor of Dionysus and the Great Mother, whose cult is completely syncretized with that of Demeter at Eleusis:[137]

> †ὧν οὐ θέμις <σ'> οὔθ' ὁσία
> πύρωσας ἐν ⟨γᾶς⟩ θαλάμοις,†
> μῆνιν δ' ἔχεις μεγάλας (1355)
> Ματρός, ὦ παῖ, θυσίας
> οὐ σεβίζουσα θεᾶς.
> μέγα τοι δύναται νεβρῶν
> παμποίκιλοι στολίδες
> κισσοῦ τε στεφθεῖσα χλόα (1360)
> νάρθηκας εἰς ἱεροὺς
> ῥόμβου θ' εἱλισσομένα
> κύκλιος ἔνοσις αἰθερία,
> βακχεύουσά τ' ἔθειρα Βρομί-
> ῳ καὶ παννυχίδες θεᾶς, (1365)
> † εὖ δέ νιν ἅμασιν
> ὑπέρβαλε σελάνα †
> μορφᾷ μόνον ηὔχεις.

†Offerings neither right nor holy you burnt in the inner rooms of the earth,† and have incurred the wrath of the Great Mother, my child, by not honoring the sacrifices of the goddess. Great is the power of the dappled fawnskin robes, and the shoot of ivy wound about the holy narthex wands, and the whirling, circular shaking of the *rhombos* high in the air, the hair streaming in bacchic joy for Bromius, and the nightlong festivals of the goddess, †but well by day the moon surpassed her† in your beauty alone you gloried. (1353-1368)

As we have seen, the previous strophe brought the divine music narrated in the myth closer to what the audience would be experiencing in the theater. Now, with this transference to the mortal celebration of Dionysus and the Great Mother (and Demeter), the *mousikē* described at the end of the stasimon would merge with the Athenian audience's own ritual experience, as well as with the Dionysian musical imaginary.[138]

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[136] Cf. Wilson and Taplin 1993, who suggest that the musical themes of the *Oresteia* culminate in an aetiology for "the incorporation of tragedy itself within the city of Athens" (175).

[137] On the second stasimon as evidence for the Eleusinian syncretism of the Great Mother and Demeter, see Allan 2004: 144-145, 2008: 295. The rites of the Great Mother at Agrai in Attica were seen as a prelude to the Mysteries at Eleusis: see Parker 1996: 188; Allan 2004: 143.

[138] On the worship of the Great Mother, Demeter and Dionysus at the "lesser" and "greater" Mysteries, see Parker 2005: 344-345.

The description of characteristically Dionysian festivity is highly visual, with references to the celebrants' long hair (1364) and their accouterments of dappled deerskins and ivy wound around the *narthex* (1359-61). The synaesthetic experience of this cultic celebration is encapsulated by the *rhombos*, a spatulate blade (usually made of wood) which produced a sound by being whirled through the air on a string in a circular motion.[139] This instrument is described in responsion with the most musical part of the second strophe (1362-1363 ≈ 1346-1347), when the sounds of the bronze *kymbala* and the *tympana* are described, yet the *rhombos* is depicted in purely visual terms, conveying a vivid impression of its fast, circular movement through the air. The "whirling, circular shaking of the *rhombos*" (ῥόμβου θ' εἰλισσομένα / κύκλιος ἔνοσις) might also draw the audience's attention to the circular dancing of the chorus in the *orchestra*, particularly as words of the ἑλιξ- root often seem to have a choreographic association in Euripides' later plays;[140] the resolved rhythm of line 1363 may also give the impression of fast movement (whether or not this would actually have been performed). The chorus' song and dancing thus suggest a fusion of the aural and visual aspects of performance, evoking the synaesthetic experience of ecstatic, cultic celebration. The suggestion of circular dancing, which, as the typical formation of the dithyramb, was linked to Dionysus, may further strengthen the syncretism of the god and the Great Mother.[141] With the inclusion of the *rhombos*, the chorus have now sung of all the instruments associated with the orgiastic rites of the two divinities—the *krotala*, *kymbala*, *tympana*, *aulos* and *rhombos*— and, in doing so, they combine in their own live performance both divine and mortal archetypes of *choreia*.

But why should this description of cultic celebration be framed as a warning to Helen? The cause for this reprimand has been much debated, and its precise meaning is impossible to grasp due to textual problems in the opening and closing lines of the final antistrophe. Kannicht suggests that Helen is addressed here not just as a dramatic character but as a metaphor for improper human behavior regarding the Mysteries.[142] Others argue, however, that the warning is much more integrated within the themes of the play as a whole: in particular, Allan and Swift both suggest that Helen is being rebuked for persisting in her figurative role as a *parthenos* and refusing to enter sexual maturity.[143] If Helen as "a figure of parthenaic allegory" does lie behind the anger of the Great Mother,[144] this reason can only be implicit at best, and such an interpretation is made problematic by the identification between Helen and the Great Mother, not just Kore, in

[139] On the *rhombos* or "bull-roarer", see West 1992: 122; Sadie 2001: IV. 598-99.

[140] See Introduction, p. 5.

[141] On the circular formation of the dithyramb, see D'Angour 1997. On the Dionysiac connotations of vocabulary concerning circular movement in late Euripidean tragedy, see Csapo 1999-2000: 418-24, 2003: 69-73; Introduction p. 5.

[142] Kannicht 1969: 2. 334.

[143] Allan 2008: 295, 306-07. Swift 2009: 433-434, 2010: 236-238. Robinson 1979: 70 interprets the second antistrophe as a threat that the Great Mother would detain Helen in Egypt because she had never worshipped her in Sparta. Podlecki 1970: 412 finds some verbal connections between this stanza and other passages in the play, and concurs with the judgment of Pearson 1901: 170 that these last lines are addressed to Persephone, not Helen, and concern her inability to leave Hades after tasting the pomegranate seed.

[144] Swift 2010: 237.

the second stasimon. Barker instead sees the warning to Helen in terms of the difference between the musical character of this ode and the parodos and first stasimon, suggesting that she is being rebuked for omitting ecstatic rites and for instead concentrating on lamentation.[145] Given the dominance of musical imagery in the second stasimon, this interpretation seems rather more plausible, although the reason for an implied rejection of the previous song type is surely not, as Barker suggests, that "le lamentazioni di tipo tradizionale esprimono un atteggiamento incauto nei confronti della morte." The warning itself is another instance of doubling identity and misleading appearances, since it points to another Helen, one who glories in her beauty (μορφᾷ μόνον ηὔχεις, 1368), far from the character presented on stage, who earlier wished for her beauty to be effaced (262-263) and has just appeared with a shorn head and dressed in mourning clothes.[146]

The reprimand also, however, concludes the musical change described and performed through the ode, thus redirecting the *mousikē* of the play as a whole. The chorus' description of Dionysian celebration draws attention to the difference between the sort of musical performance being enacted now and the lament revolving around the figure of Helen that dominated the parodos and first stasimon, as well as Helen's shorter lyric exchanges with the chorus and Menelaus. Like the Great Mother, who abandoned her grief, rejoicing in the ecstatic *mousikē* of her rites, Helen no longer has need for lamentation, and will soon sing and dance in cultic celebrations back in Sparta, just as the chorus depict her doing in the next and final song of the play (which the second stasimon therefore anticipates). The ode as a whole, then, reflects a crucial transition in the plot of the tragedy, marking a shift from lament to more celebratory *mousikē*, just as Helen and Menelaus are finally able to escape from Egypt.

The ritual *choreia* that the chorus describe at the end of the second stasimon will also be performed for Helen herself. In the closing scene of the play the Dioskouroi announce that she will receive offerings as a goddess (1666-1669), and her cult at Sparta was famous enough for Aristophanes to describe her choral dances there in *Lysistrata* (though this play, performed just one year after Euripides' *Helen*, also draws from and parodies her presentation in the recent tragedy); she was worshipped in some parts of Attica too.[147] The parallel between the goddess and Helen can also be seen in their geographical movement: although the Great Mother's cult was well-established in Greece by the late fifth century, she was still seen as an exotic import from Phrygia;[148] Helen will arrive in Greece from the equally exotic land of Egypt, bringing her *mousikē* with her.[149]

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[145] Barker 2007: 21. Cf. Pucci 1997: 73-74, who emphasizes the "relieving power" of such orgiastic music.

[146] Cf. Zweig 1999: 170, who interprets this warning as expressing a tension between the Helen of myth and the Helen of Spartan ritual worship.

[147] Ar. *Lys*. 1296-1321: see below, p. 128. On Helen's role in Greek (esp. Spartan) cult, see Farnell 1921: 323-325; Larson 1995: 69-70, 80-81; Calame 1997: 191-202; Zweig 1999: 162-163; Allan 2008: 14-15.

[148] On this paradox see Allan 2004: 120-121, 140-146.

[149] Cf. Murnaghan 2013: 169-171: she sees Helen's return to Sparta as "also a musical return, to one of tragedy's points of origin, in the non-dramatic choral lyric genres of the Peloponnesus" (169).

TRAVEL AND EPIPHANY

Less than 100 lines after the second stasimon, as Menelaus and Helen depart on the ship Theoclymenos has unwittingly provided, the chorus perform their final song, in which they imagine Helen's return to Sparta and wish that they could travel there themselves, rather as the chorus in the second stasimon of *Iphigenia in Tauris* imagine the escape of Iphigenia, Orestes, and Pylades to Athens.[150] This focus on the immediate present and future of the play makes the ode seem a far cry from the lament that dominated the parodos and first stasimon, and from the narrative aetiology of the second stasimon, which they have just sung. At the same time, however, there is a sense of continuity between the third stasimon and the chorus' previous songs: as we shall see, it develops some of the imagery of Dionysiac cultic celebration that appeared in the second stasimon, displaying the different kind of *mousikē* to which that song propelled us; the aeolo-choriambic meter of this ode is similar to that of the previous one;[151] and, like the previous stasima, this one is dominated by images of *choreia* that articulate the relationship between Helen and the chorus.

As in the first stasimon, in which the chorus represented the mourning being performed by Helen offstage, here, through their highly choreographic description of Helen's travel, they enact the journey now taking place. They then look beyond the play's temporal scope too, imagining and simultaneously representing through their own performance Helen's participation in *choreia* back in Sparta. In doing so, the chorus seem to bring her back into the play, transcending the distance between Egypt and Greece by conjuring up her presence amid their choral song and dance just as they did previously by summoning her as the nightingale.

Like the parodos and first stasimon, this ode begins with an arresting invocation, this time to the Sidonian ship carrying Helen to Greece, which becomes a figure of *mousikē* rather as the Sirens and nightingale did. As we saw in Chapter One, choral descriptions of naval travel in Euripides frequently involve highly choreographic language, indicating a correspondence between seafaring and dance in the orchestic imaginary of the tragedian and his audience.[152] Like the chorus of *Electra*, who begin their first stasimon by addressing the Greek ships carrying Achilles to Troy as if they are chorus leaders accompanied by Nereids, surrounded by the dancing of the "*aulos*-loving dolphin" (*El.* 434-436), the *Helen* chorus here invoke the ship carrying Helen to Greece as a χοραγός of dolphin choruses:

> Φοίνισσα Σιδωνιὰς ὦ
> ταχεῖα κώπα, ῥοθίοισι Νηρέως
> εἰρεσία φίλα,
> χοραγὲ τῶν καλλιχόρων
> δελφίνων, ὅταν αὐ-   (1455)
> ρᾶν πέλαγος ἀνήνεμον ἦι,
> γλαυκὰ δὲ Πόντου θυγάτηρ

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[150] Eur. *IT* 1123-1152.
[151] See Dale 1968: 158.
[152] See Ch. 1, pp. 34-40.

Γαλάνεια τάδ’ εἴπηι·
κατὰ μὲν ἱστία πετάσατ’, αὔ-
  ρας λιπόντες εἰναλίας,   (1460)
λάβετε δ’ εἰλατίνας πλάτας,
ὦ ναῦται ναῦται,
πέμποντες εὐλιμένους
Περσείων οἴκων Ἑλέναν ἐπ’ ἀκτάς.

O swift Phoenician ship of Sidon, oarage dear to the waves of Nereus, leader of the dolphins of beautiful choruses, whenever the sea is free from the winds' breezes, and the grey-eyed daughter of Pontus, Galaneia, says these words: "Let down the sails,[153] leaving the sea-breezes behind, and take up your fir-wood oars, O sailors, sailors, escorting Helen to the well-harbored shores of Perseus' home." (1451-1464)

Just like the address to the Greek ships in the first stasimon of *Electra*, this one is left without any predicate, becoming just the sort of hanging invocation in new Euripidean choral lyric that the character Aeschylus parodies in Aristophanes' *Frogs* with his address to halcyons and spiders.[154]

As Steiner has recently shown, the mimetic interplay between the focus on the swift, dancing motion of the ship (especially its oars) and dolphins on the one hand, and the chorus' own movements in the *orchestra* on the other, can be seen as evidence of Euripides' display of "New Musical" style, as can the appearance of dolphins in the choral imagery used here.[155] As we saw in Chapter One, by the late fifth century dancing dolphins were a long-established part of the dithyrambic choral imaginary and often appear in "New Musical" contexts.[156] The presence of the καλλίχοροι δελφῖνες in the *Helen* third stasimon therefore continues the allusions to the god's cultic revelry that appeared in the previous stasimon. The type of performance associated with this Dionysian imagery would be even closer to the present experience of the Athenian audience, who, as part of the City Dionysia, would have recently witnessed dithyrambic *choreia* in the same theater in which they would now be watching this tragedy.

In the second half of the strophe, as the chorus quote the words of Galaneia, the subject of the address shifts from the ship to the sailors rowing it, conveying Helen back to Greece. As both Padel and Steiner observe, an affinity between the dolphins and sailors is suggested here: the dolphins, which, as Herodotus' account of Arion's rescue by them makes clear, were regarded as archetypal maritime escorts, here surround the ship

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[153] "Spread the sails" as a translation for κατὰ...πετάσατ’ makes no sense here: the verb (with tmesis) must either imply the letting down of the sails while the rowers propel the ship or be corrupt: see Diggle 1994: 430-436; Allan 2008: 321.

[154] Cf. Dale 1968: 159 on this "floating apostrophe." See Dover 1993: 352; Csapo 2003: 72 on this feature in *El.* 434-441 and Ar. *Frogs*. 1309-1319.

[155] Steiner 2011. She argues that Euripides combines such "New Musical" motifs with images of archetypal *choreia* so as to "archaize" the song's more innovative elements. On the emphasis on dancing movement in the strophe as a whole, see too Padel 1974: 236-238.

[156] Ch. 1, pp. 34-40.

rather as the sailors surround Helen.[157] It is also possible that the emphasis placed on the activity of rowing, beginning with the metonymic address to the ship as an "oar" (κώπα, 1452) and "oarage" (εἰρεσία, 1453) and culminating in Galaneia's order to the sailors to take up their oars (λάβετε δ’ εἰλατίνας πλάτας, 1461), could carry some choreographic associations, since we know from Athenaeus (admittedly a late source) of the dance-figure of the κελευστής, the man who keeps rowers in time.[158]

We find a similar emphasis on rowing in an equally metamusical passage of *Iphigenia in Tauris*, when the chorus imagine the female protagonist's escape back to Greece so vividly that, as in the third stasimon of *Helen*, they even seem to enact it (although, in an ironic twist, the first attempt by Iphigenia, Orestes, and Pylades to flee is thwarted and Athena has to intervene to save them). In this song the chorus draw on the dithyrambic choral imaginary by picturing the Argive ship as "fifty-oared" (πεντηκόντερος, 1124), encouraging us to equate oars with fifty choreuts dancing a dithyramb. When they sing that Iphigenia "will go with plashing oars" (βήσηι ῥοθίοις πλάταις, 1134), they could represent the movement of rowing through their own dancing; the verb βαίνω, which is often used to describe dance steps, encourages the merging of the fifty oars and the *choreia* in the *orchestra*.[159] Their description of how Pan's syrinx will shout out to the oars (κώπαις ἐπιθωΰξει, 1127) may suggest (and be suggested by) the interaction between the *aulos* and the chorus' own dancing in the theater. The audience would be accustomed to the association of *aulos* and rowing (and rowing dance gestures), since a τριηραύλης would play on triremes to aid the timing of the rowers' strokes,[160] and, according to Athenaeus, the κελευστής dance-figure was also performed to the accompaniment of an *aulos*. Since dolphins are also regularly depicted as dancing to the tune of an *aulos*, Steiner suggests that the sound of this instrument in the theater links the pleonastic focus on rowing at the start of the third stasimon of *Helen* to the image of the dancing dolphins.[161] Through their own performance to the accompaniment of the *aulos*, then, the chorus of *Helen* merge with three dancing figures—the ship, the dolphins, and the sailors—and in doing so enact, visually as well as orally, Helen's journey back to Greece, vividly anticipating her imminent restoration.[162] By becoming through their own *choreia* the dancing dolphin-sailors, accompanying Helen to Greece, the chorus virtually recreate her presence on stage as their *chorēgos*.

The chorus then jump ahead in the antistrophe to Helen's full reintegration within cultic celebrations back in Sparta, and the dance imagery of the previous strophe now turns into a more literal presentation of Helen herself dancing:

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[157] Padel 1974: 237; Steiner 2011: 303-304; Hdt. 1.23-24. In *Hom. Hymn* 7.52-53 Dionysus turns the Tuscan sailors into dolphins, while in *Hom. Hymn* 3.399-439 Apollo steers the Cretan ship towards Crisa in the form of a dolphin.

[158] Athenaeus 629-30. Cf. Eur. *IT* 1133. On this dance-figure see Lawler 1964: 45.

[159] On the choreographic associations of βαίνω, see Naerebout 1997: 281; also see above, p. 119, on *Hel.* 1340-1341.

[160] The τριηραύλης is conflated with the aulete of the theater in Plutarch's account of the return to Athens of Alcibiades, who arrives on a trireme with oarsmen rowing to the music of Chrysogonus, the star αὐλός player (Plut. *Alc.* 32).

[161] Steiner 2011: 302-303.

[162] Cf. Segal 1971: 598-599, who emphasizes the restorative function of the sea now in contrast to its association with separation and death earlier in the play.

ἦ που κόρας ἂν ποταμοῦ   (1465)
παρ᾽ οἶδμα Λευκιππίδας ἢ πρὸ ναοῦ
Παλλάδος ἂν λάβοις
χρόνῳ ξυνελθοῦσα χοροῖς
ἢ κώμοις Ὑακίν-
    θου νύχιον ἐς εὐφροσύναν,   (1470)
ὃν ἐξαμιλλασάμενος
τροχὸν ἀτέρμονα δίσκου
ἔκανε Φοῖβος, †τᾶ† Λακαί-
    ναι γᾶι βούθυτον ἀμέραν
ὁ Διὸς εἶπε σέβειν γόνος·   (1475)
μόσχον θ᾽ ἂν †λίποιτ᾽ οἴκοις†
<×–×–◡◡–>
ᾶς οὔπω πεῦκαι πρὸ γάμων ἔλαμψαν.[163]

Perhaps you might find the daughters of Leukippos alongside the swell of the river or in front of the temple of Pallas, when at last you have joined the choruses or revels for Hyakinthos for nightime joy, he whom Phoebus, after competing over the unending wheel of the discus, killed, and the son of Zeus told the land of Sparta to observe a day of sacrifice. And the calf that †she (you?) left at home† …for whom wedding pines have not yet blazed. (1465-1478)

If we accept the reading λάβοις found in ms L in line 1467 instead of the emendation to the third person singular λάβοι,[164] then we can see that the initial invocation in the strophe to the musical figure of the ship turns into an address to Helen herself, just as in the first stasimon the chorus shift to her from the singing nightingale. Now, like the ship, she is dancing, joining the choruses and κῶμοι for the Leucippides and Hyacinthus, and this parallel with the first strophe encourages us to picture Helen too as a *chorēgos*, particularly since, as we have seen, she was already presented as the leader of a parthenaic chorus in the parodos.[165] The theme of joining in *mousikē* continues on from the parodos and first stasimon, with the συν- prefix of ξυνελθοῦσα in line 1468 recalling the language with which Helen summoned the Sirens (the chorus) and the chorus called the nightingale (Helen) to participate in music-making.[166] Now, by participating in the initiatory cults of the Leucippides and the Hyacinthia,[167] she is

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[163] I follow the text provided by Diggle 1994 and Allan 2008 here, except for keeping λάβοις (not λάβοι) in 1467.

[164] Dale 1968 and Kannicht 1969 keep λάβοις; Diggle 1994, Burian 2007, and Allan 2008 use the emendation λάβοι.

[165] Cf. Murnaghan 2013: 165-169 on Helen's reintegration as a chorus leader in Sparta. On Helen's identity as a chorus leader in Spartan myth and cult, and even in Homeric epic, see Calame 1997: 191-202; Martin 2008: 121; Murnaghan 2013: 163-177

[166] σύνοχα, 173; ξυνῳδά, 174b; ξυνεργός, 1112. See pp. 94, 105, 109 above.

[167] On the initiatory role of the Leucippides, see Calame 1997: 185-191. The Hyacinthia also seems to have been a cult of adolescence, but involved all Spartan citizens, not just girls (though an exclusively female ritual may have been part of it): see Calame 1997: 174-185.

imagined as taking up her choral role in transition rituals for Spartan girls, the same role in which we see her at the end of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (1296-1321).[168]

Through their own song and dance the dramatic chorus seem to perform these cultic celebrations in which they picture Helen taking part, just as they enacted the *choreia* of her journey from Egypt to Sparta.[169] This merging of the two choruses, tragic and ritual, is particularly strong when they describe the aetiology for the Hyacinthia much as actual celebrants might (1471-1475).[170] The various images throughout the play of Helen as a most musical performer now reach their culmination, as this protean figure assumes her final identity in contemporary Spartan *choreia*. At the same time, though they are physically separate, the chorus continue to display their close association with their *chorēgos*, transcending the distance between them by recreating through their own *choreia* the cultic dances in which she is performing. Their performance here thus functions aetiologically, demonstrating just the sort of epiphanic effect of *mousikē* that would have been experienced in contemporary Spartan cult. The imagery of travel in the first strophe further strengthens the connection between women's choral activity and that of Helen back in Sparta, since the journey of the dancing ship suggests an uninterrupted flow of *choreia* over the sea from Egypt to the banks of the River Eurotas, rather as the κῶμος in some of Pindar's epinicians is imagined to accompany the victor all the way home from the games in which he competed.[171]

In the second strophe the chorus then shift back to a more figurative depiction of *mousikē* as they turn to their own desire to be with Helen as their chorus leader, making their way back from Egypt to Greece with her. They express this wish through avian imagery, continuing the motif of musical birds from the parodos and first stasimon by imagining themselves as "birds from Libya" making their journey north to Greece after wintering in Northern Africa:[172]

> δι' αἰθέρος εἴθε ποτανοὶ
> γενοίμεθ' ὅπαι Λιβύας

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[168] Cf. Theoc. *Id*. 18, in which Helen assumes a similar role amongst Spartan girls who sing and dance along the banks of the Eurotas.

[169] Cf. Steiner 2011: 308-309: she stresses the significance of the discus' τροχὸν ἀτέρμονα in line 1472, arguing that its circular movement could be mimetically reflected in the chorus' own dancing. She also suggests that in the combination of both χοροί and κῶμοι there is a conflation of linear and circular choreography, continued from the first strophe, that unites processional and dithyrambic styles of dance, even if the dramatic chorus itself would be performing in a circle. Since the only indications of dancing style in this stanza are the references to κῶμοι, which could be either circular or linear, and to the discus' wheel, the choreographic significance of which is by no means clear, such a deliberate mixture of lines and circles does not seem particularly evident to me.

[170] Cf. Kowalzig 2007b on the merging of tragic and ritual choruses, and Kowalzig 2007a on the reenactment of aetiological myth in choral performance and on Dionysian imagery of choral travel, "bringing" a cult to a place from elsewhere (especially by sea).

[171] See esp. Pind. *Nem*. 9.1-5 (κωμάσομεν παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος Σικυωνόθε, Μοῖσαι, / τὰν νεοκτίσταν ἐς Αἴτναν….); *Ol*. 6.22-28.

[172] Cf. Dale 1968: 160: she notes that the second half of the stanza describes the birds' reverse migration from south to north in early spring, the time of the play's performance at the City Dionysia.

οἰωνῶν στολάδες   (1480)
ὄμβρον χειμέριον λιποῦ-
  σαι νίσονται πρεσβυτάτου
σύριγγι πειθόμεναι
ποιμένος, ἄβροχά θ' ὃς
πεδία καρποφόρα τε γᾶς   (1485)
ἐπιπετόμενος ἰαχεῖ.
ὦ πταναὶ δολιχαύχενες,
σύννομοι νεφέων δρόμου,
βᾶτε Πλειάδας ὑπὸ μέσας
Ὠρίωνά τ' ἐννύχιον,   (1490)
καρύξατ' ἀγγελίαν
Εὐρώταν ἐφεζόμεναι,
Μενέλεως ὅτι Δαρδάνου
πόλιν ἑλὼν δόμον ἥξει.

If only we could be flying through the air, where the birds from Libya go in rows, leaving the wintry rain, obeying the panpipes of the eldest, the shepherd who, winging his way over the unwetted and crop-bearing plains of the earth, cries out. O long-necked winged creatures, partners of the clouds' racing, go beneath the Pleiades in midcourse and Orion in the night. Announce the news as you land by the Eurotas, that Menelaus, having taken the city of Dardanus, will come home. (1478-1494)

A choral wish to fly appears in earlier tragedies too (most notably in the second stasimon of Euripides' *Hippolytus*),[173] and choruses are sometimes depicted in birdlike forms on archaic and classical vases.[174] Nevertheless, this motif seems to have been a particular trend of the dithyrambic style of the late fifth century BCE, given the various references to metaphors of flight in the comedies of Aristophanes:[175] as Cinesias, a contemporary dithyrambist, claims in *Birds* after repeatedly singing of flying up into the air, the best parts of dithyrambs are "airy" and "flapping with wings" (ἀέρια καὶ…πτεροδόνητα, 1389-1390); in *Clouds* Socrates calls composers of dithyrambs "astronomical quacks" (μετεωροφένακας, 333) who compose music about the clouds; and in *Peace* Trygaeus describes the souls of dithyrambists he saw as "winging about" (ποτώμεναι, 830), collecting musical interludes of "the floating through midday airy breezes sort" (τὰς ἐνδιαεριαυρονηχέτους τινάς, 831).

As when the chorus of *Iphigenia in Tauris* wish they could fly home along the "shining chariot-ways" of the sky (λαμπροὺς ἱπποδρόμους, 1138), the chorus of *Helen* express their longing to become Libyan birds migrating to Greece with strongly choreographic language. These "long-necked" (δολιχαύχενες, 1487) creatures are most

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[173] On Eur. *Hipp*. 732-751 see Padel 1974: 228-232. Cf. Soph. *Trach*. 953-959, *OC* 1081-1083. Although they do not wish for an avian transformation, the chorus in Aeschylus' *Supplices* do express a comparable desire to become smoke or "dust without wings" (κόνις ἄτερθε πτερύγων, 782).

[174] See Rothwell 2007: 52-58.

[175] Cf. Wilson 1999-2000: 441.

likely cranes,[176] described as following their syrinx-playing leader in "rows" (στολάδες, 1480), which might evoke the typical v-formation in which these birds were known to fly,[177] and could also be quite easily represented in the chorus' own choreography. It is even possible, as Steiner suggests, that the chorus' wish to be these birds could evoke the Athenian *geranos* (crane) dance that Theseus was said to have invented and, according to Callimachus, Plutarch, and Pollux, was performed at Delos; sources differ as to whether the dance's choreography was circular or linear.[178] It is possible that this particular dance may be suggested in the third stasimon of *Helen*, although the relevance of the name *geranos* to the nature of the dance itself has been disputed.[179] What is important here, however, is that the Athenian audience might readily associate cranes with *choreia* in general, and so link the chorus' description of their movement with the dancing being performed in the theater. The choral identification of these birds is further made evident in the direction in line 1489 that they should fly beneath the Pleiades, the archetypal star chorus.[180]

Given the depiction of Helen in her role as chorus leader in the previous antistrophe and her ship's journey to Greece described in the opening strophe, the syrinx-playing crane whom the chorus wish to follow to Sparta here must represent Helen, their absent *chorēgos* who has left them behind. The image of this instrumentalist can simultaneously, however, have a metatheatrical reference and be linked to the *aulos*-player accompanying the chorus' dance: the acoustic image of the syrinx representing the cranes' cry would merge with the sound of the *aulos* being played in the theater, creating a particularly vivid projection.[181] The aulete could therefore visually assume a role similar to that of the *chorēgos* whom the chorus describe, adding to the epiphanic effect of their performance: Helen can be imagined to be there with them, represented by their *aulos*-playing leader.

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[176] This identification is suggested by the migration described here from Northern Africa, where eastern European cranes tend to winter: see Arnott 2007: 80; Aristotle identifies their wintering place as "the marshlands south of Egypt, where the Nile rises" (τὰ ἕλη τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὅθεν ὁ Νεῖλος ῥεῖ, *HA* 597a5-6). It should be noted, however, that swans are also described as δολιχαύχενες (Bacc. 15.6; Eur. *IA* 794) or δουλιχοδείροι (*Il.* 2. 460), fly in a similar v-formation, and can have choral associations (as in Alc. fr. 100-101). Although Steiner 2011: 312-315 suggests that this passage in *Helen* evokes the crane dance, the broader choral identity seen in these birds may be more significant than their precise species.

[177] This formation is noted in Plut. *Mor.* 967bc, 979a; Ael. *NA* 3.13; Cic. *DND* 2.49.125; Phil. *Her.* 11.4. See Arnott 2007: 80.

[178] Steiner 2011: 314-315. The dance is described in Call. *Hymn* 4.310-313; Plut. *Thes.* 21; Pollux 4.101; it is also mentioned in Luc. *Orch.* 34. It may also be depicted on the late sixth-century François Vase: see Muellner 1990: 93-95; Torelli 2007: 19-24; Hedreen 2011.

[179] See esp. Lawler 1946; Detienne 1983; Muellner 1990: 91; Calame 1997: 55-56. According to the literary sources (n. 178 above), the dance represented Theseus' winding path through the Labyrinth, celebrating his triumph over the Minotaur.

[180] Cf. Padel 1974: 237, who also notes the emphasis on the birds' fast movement, being equal to the νεφέων δρόμου (1488); see too Steiner 2011: 316-317. On the Pleiades as a chorus of stars, see Csapo 2008: 266-267.

[181] Cf. Allan 2008: 324-325; Steiner 2011: 311. On the merging of the syrinx and *aulos* in performance see Ch. 1, p. 48, Ch. 4, pp. 146-152.

The language of shared *mousikē* that reappears in the vision of Helen rejoining Spartan *choreia* in the previous antistrophe recurs in this second strophe too with the description of the cranes as the clouds' σύννομοι (1488). I have translated this word here as "partners," but it also suggests the musical meaning of "fellow singers," like it does in Tereus' invocation to the nightingale in Aristophanes' *Birds*.[182] In the parodos such language emphasized the commonality between Helen and the chorus as performers of lament and partheneia; in the first stasimon the chorus still addressed Helen as their musical partner, though she was no longer present to perform with them; in the second stasimon we noted the correspondence between the chorus' more detached style of song and Helen's imminent departure. Now, in their final song, the chorus cannot be these σύννομοι of the clouds: the shift to the second person apostrophe in line 1487 separates them from those making their dancing flight to Greece and from the *chorēgos* who leads them. Yet in their own song and dance they are simultaneously fused with Helen's own choral performance, and as a result this strophe is not so much an expression of their frustration at being left behind as it is a celebration of her presence in and through their continued *choreia*.

The ode finishes with another vision of an aerial journey in the final antistrophe, but this time the route is reversed as the chorus summon the Dioskouroi, Helen's brothers, to travel over the sea to Egypt, the present setting of the play:

μόλοιτέ ποθ᾽ ἵππιον οἶμον (1495)
δι᾽ αἰθέρος ἱέμενοι,
παῖδες Τυνδαρίδαι,
λαμπρῶν ἀστέρων ὑπ᾽ ἀέλ-
   λαις οἳ ναίετ᾽ οὐράνιοι,
σωτῆρε τᾶς Ἑλένας, (1500)
γλαυκὸν ἐπ᾽ οἶδμ᾽ ἅλιον
κυανόχροά τε κυμάτων
ῥόθια πολιὰ θαλάσσας,
ναύταις εὐαεῖς ἀνέμων
πέμποντες Διόθεν πνοάς, (1505)
δύσκλειαν δ᾽ ἀπὸ συγγόνου
βάλετε βαρβάρων λεχέων,
ἃν Ἰδαιᾶν ἐρίδων
ποιναθεῖσ᾽ ἐκτήσατο, γᾶν
οὐκ ἐλθοῦσά ποτ᾽ Ἰλίου (1510)
Φοιβείους ἐπὶ πύργους.

May you come, hastening through the air on the path of horses, sons of Tyndareus, you who dwell in the heavens beneath whirlings of bright stars, saviors of Helen, over the grey-green salt swell and the dark blue greyish surge of the sea's waves, as you send sailors fair-blowing breezes from Zeus, cast away the ill-repute from your sister of a foreign marriage bed, which she obtained as

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[182] Cf. Dunbar 1995: 203-204; Steiner 2011: 316.

punishment for the strife on Mount Ida, never having gone to Phoebus' towers in the land of Ilium. (1495-1511)

The chorus' depiction of the Dioskouroi's journey continues the ode's choreographic imagery, particularly that of the previous stanza. Drawing on the long-established association of equine imagery with dance in choral lyric,[183] Euripides presents the famous horse riders as flying on a ἵππιον οἶμον (1495);[184] like the crane chorus, these catasterized brothers fly beneath the stars, whose "whirlings" (ἀέλλαις, 1498-1499) suggest circular choral movement.[185] Such musical imagery has an epiphanic element here, with the chorus calling on the Dioskouroi to come (μόλοιτε, 1495) in the same way as they, as Sirens, were summoned by Helen in the parodos (μόλοιτ', 170). The Dioskouroi really do appear just over 100 lines later, resolving remaining conflict by ordering Theoclymenos not to kill his sister, Theonoe, and declaring Helen's apotheosis (1642-1679). The choral enactment of a desired presence becomes a dramatic reality, rather as in the first stasimon the chorus' simultaneous invocation to and performance of the nightingale's song was followed by Helen's entrance onstage.

Self-referential language and performance of dance and song can often be associated with epiphany, as in the summoning of Darius' ghost in Aeschylus' *Persae* and that of Agamemnon in *Choephoroi*, while the idea that gods and heroes can be summoned to a religious festival through the power of *choreia* is common in archaic Greek poetry.[186] The Dioskouroi may have been believed to be particularly likely to respond to this sort of epiphanic appeal, both because they were the most frequent recipients of theoxenia ("god entertaining") and as they were traditionally invoked by sailors at sea: in the *Homeric Hymn* dedicated to them, they are said to "appear suddenly on tawny wings" to storm-tossed sailors (ἐξαπίνης ἐφάνησαν / ξουθῇσι πτερύγεσσι, 12-13).[187] A similar effect is evident in Pindar's third Olympian ode, in which the chorus' initial invocation to the Dioskouroi is followed by a strongly self-reflexive focus on the *mousikē* of their epinician performance (1-10); the divine brothers' presence then

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[183] On horses and choreography, see above, p. 115; Ch.1, p. 43; Ch. 4, pp. 138-139.

[184] Steiner 2011: 319 suggests that οἶμον here can be understood as "path of song."

[185] Cf. Steiner 2011: 320. Such vocabulary may have been traditional within hymns to the Dioskouroi: cf. *Hom. Hymn* 33. 7. The word ἀέλλα combines the more literal meaning of "storm" with the metaphorical one of a whirling movement, as also in the chorus' wish to be an ἀελλαία dove in Soph. *OC* 1081-1082 (εἴθ' ἀελλαία ταχύρρωστος πελειὰς / αἰθερίας νεφέλας κύρσαιμ' ἄνωθ' ἀγώνων). Cf. Eur. *Bacc.* 873 (μόχθοις δ' ὠκυδρόμοις ἀελ- / λὰς θρώισκηι....); also p. 115 above on *Hel.* 1314.

[186] Aesch. *Pers.* 623-680, *Cho.* 315-509. On the production of divine presence through *choreia* in archaic poetry see Mullen 1982: 70-89; Burnett 1985: 8-14; Kurke 2012, 2013. On divine presence in Graeco-Roman images, see Platt 2011, who discusses "the continual slippage between presentation and representation that characterised Greek religious practice, and the difficulty of distinguishing between real and mediated presence" (16). See also Ch. 4, pp. 140-141 on Eur. *IA* 235-241; Epilogue, pp. 173-174 on the epiphanic power of *choreia* in *Bacchae*.

[187] On this epiphany of the Dioskouroi see Platt 2011: 66. On the Dioskouroi and theoxenia see Parker 2011: 142-143 on Bacc. fr. 21, quoted in Ath. 11.101, 500a-b. According to a fragment of the early comic poet Chionides, in the *Anakeia* festival at Athens a meal was prepared for the Dioskouroi in the Prytaneion (fr. 7, quoted in Ath. 4. 14-19).

becomes apparent in their attendance at the Olympian festival and their gift of κῦδος to Theron (33-41).

The appearance of Dioskouroi therefore marks the culmination of appeals for epiphany in and by means of choral *mousikē* through the course of the tragedy: in this final epiphany we see the full presencing power of *choreia*. That it is Helen's brothers who appear, not Helen herself, makes it clear that her new choral location is Sparta, even while she is simultaneously experienced as a transcendant *chorēgos* for the women in Egypt. The presence of the Dioskouroi also articulates the nature of Helen's cult in Sparta, which seems to have been closely associated with that of her brothers, and thus further strengthens the sense in which the chorus is sharing in their leader's *choreia* in Sparta.[188] Far from being an escape ode, then, this third stasimon paradoxically cements the continued choral relationship of Helen and the chorus at the same time as it enacts her journey away from them. The shift in forms of *mousikē* in the play as a whole, from lament to Dionysiac celebration to the *choreia* of Spartan rituals, thus works not only as an aetiology of the music of the theater, but also as an aetiology of Helen as a divine *chorēgos* in contemporary cult. It also creates for the audience the sense that they too are (almost) now at Sparta, even while sitting and watching in Athens; the tragedy comes to a close as they, like Helen and Menelaus, are returned to Greece. By representing both the locality and transcendence of Helen's choral *mousikē*, the third stasimon thus achieves a sense of choral closure, anticipating the cessation of the play itself.

By looking beyond the time span of the dramatic action to Helen's return to Sparta, the third stasimon therefore helps to bring *Helen* to an end. The chorus' vivid enactment of her journey and resumption of her choral role in Greece also comes in sharp contrast with their shared lament at the start of the play, both in terms of the type of *mousikē* described and performed in each song, and in the way in which this final ode represents the culmination of a process of separation of Helen from the chorus she leaves behind in Egypt. The performance and language of *mousikē* thus reflect the narrative arc of the tragedy's *mythos*, complementing the transition from Helen's expressions of helplessness in the opening scenes to the formation and execution of her escape plan with Menelaus. But, as in Euripides' *Electra*, *mousikē* also plays a more active role in pushing the drama forward, especially in the second and third stasima, which enact and anticipate crucial moments in Helen's story, both within and beyond the tragedy itself.

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[188] On the relationship between Helen's cult and that of the Dioskouroi in Sparta, see Calame 1997: 191-201.

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Iphigenia in Aulis

Iphigenia in Aulis, the last and latest play in this study of Euripidean *mousikē*, was produced posthumously, probably in 405 BCE, in the tetralogy that also included the *Bacchae* and *Alcmeon in Corinth*.[1] The transmitted text was likely prepared for production by Euripides Minor, the tragedian's son or nephew, and accumulated further material when it was adapted for a fourth-century revival and as a result of later interpolations.[2] The large proportion of choral song in *Iphigenia in Aulis*, like that in *Bacchae*, contradicts the traditional narrative that the later plays of Euripides showcase increasing amounts of actors' song at the expense of the chorus, especially if we accept both the parodos and final choral ode as largely authentic.[3] Also as in *Bacchae*,[4] the choral songs in *Iphigenia in Aulis* contain a striking accumulation of allusions to and descriptions of music and dance that play into the tragedy's actual performance, particularly in the third stasimon.

Most previous scholarship on this play has been concerned either with the textual difficulties it presents and the question of authorship for contested passages, or with thematic motifs, in particular the pervasive language and imagery of sacrifice, the motif of sight and the act of viewing, and the pattern of changing minds through the course of the drama.[5] This last branch of scholarship includes numerous attempts to explain Iphigenia's dramatic shift in attitude and character in her speech at 1374-1401, when, even as Achilles promises (perhaps unconvincingly) to defend her, instead of lamenting her fate she suddenly insists that she must be sacrificed for the good of the army—and indeed of all Greece.[6] So far, however, the tragedy has not been examined through the thematic lens of *mousikē* and *choreia*, despite the striking degree of musical descriptions throughout the drama. As we have seen is the case with many of the other tragedies from

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[1] Schol. on Aristophanes, *Frogs* 66-67.

[2] On possible interpolations in *IA* see Page 1934: 122-216; Kovacs 2003; also below, pp. 136-137, 167-172.

[3] On this view of the "decline" of choral song in tragedy, see Introduction, pp. 3-4.

[4] Unfortunately too little of *Alcmeon in Corinth* survives for us to be able to discern the extent of musical language in that play as well. On *mousikē* in *Bacchae*, see Epilogue.

[5] On textual difficulties in the *IA*, see especially Page 1934; Mellert-Hoffmann 1969; Willink 1971; Knox 1972; Bain 1977; Irigoin 1988; Kovacs 2003. On the theme of sacrifice, see Foley 1982, 1985: 65-105. On sight and the act of viewing, see Zeitlin 1994: 157-71, 1995; see too Scodel 1997: 87-91. On the motif of changing minds, see especially Sansone 1991; Gibert 1995: 222-237.

[6] See especially Smith 1979; McDonald 1990; Sansone 1991; Gibert 1995: 222-237; Burgess 2004: 51-55.

the last fifteen years or so of Euripides' career, if scholars make any reference to the play's musicality, they usually do so in order to exemplify his later "dithyrambic" or "New Musical" style, not to elucidate the dramatic function of his *mousikē*.[7]

The language of *mousikē* and *choreia* in the choral (and monodic) songs of *Iphigenia in Aulis* can indicate Euripides' affinity to new sociocultural trends in musical language and performance, as it does in *Electra*, *Troades*, and *Helen*. But, as the previous chapters have, I hope, made clear, we should consider such metamusical passages within their dramatic context too. Moreover, these moments of intensely self-conscious musicality draw on traditional images of music-making and *choreia* just as much as they showcase the tragedian's innovative skill, suggesting that we should see his innovation within a nuanced mix of generic motifs and new styles of language and performance. As will become evident in this chapter, both the language and performance of *mousikē* in this play also bear significantly on all the aspects of the play that have previously preoccupied its commentators: not only the themes of sight, sacrifice, and changing minds, but the issue of authenticity as well, at least for the problematic parodos and the final lyric exchange between Iphigenia and the chorus.

I begin the following discussion by analyzing the dynamics of spectatorship and chorality in the parodos, with a particular focus on two stanzas in the middle of this extraordinarily long song, and then briefly compare lines 206-41 with passages from two other Euripidean plays, *Ion* and *Hypsipyle*, that contain some similar features. I then concentrate on descriptions of past music-making in the first and third stasima: the brief image of Paris playing his syrinx, and the more extensive musical language used to describe the hymenaeal celebrations for Peleus and Thetis. Finally, I discuss the musical shape of the tragedy as a whole: the shift from *choreia* to monody in the last third of the drama, and the paeanic merging of choral and solo song as Iphigenia goes to her death in what was probably the final scene of Euripides' play.

SPECTATORSHIP, MIMESIS, AND DESIRE

All Greek tragic choruses are in some sense spectators, observing and commenting on the events in which the actors are involved,[8] but the chorus of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, like that of *Ion*, is striking for the emphasis placed on their viewing of scenes beyond what the audience can see on stage, and even beyond the immediate *mythos*. Their role as spectators in this play is made particularly prominent at their first entrance on stage, when they sing of the view they have just had of the Greek fleet with highly pictorial language that is replete with verbs of seeing.[9] They also reenact some of what they have seen through their own choreographed performance at the centerpoint of their song (lines 206-41). As a result, rather as the chorus in the closing scene of *Troades* perform the destruction of Troy, bringing this otherwise unseen backdrop physically into the

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[7] See esp. Kranz 1933: 234, 239-254; Panagl 1971; Csapo 1999-2000: 421, 423.
[8] Schlegel 1846: 76-77 famously deemed the chorus to be the "ideal spectator;" Battezzato 2005: 154-56 sees the chorus members more as "empirical readers/spectators."
[9] Their song is reminiscent of both the Catalogue of Ships and the Teichoscopia in the *Iliad* (2.494-759, 3.161-244): see Scodel 1997 (esp. 87-91); Michelakis 2006: 27.

orchestra, the Chalcidean women in *Iphigenia in Aulis* provide not just a verbal description but a virtually *visible* scene of the Greek army;[10] in doing so, they become simultaneously past spectators and present performers of *choreia*. This description of the amassed forces provides a tense visual (and almost audible)[11] backdrop to the whole play, in which they are a constant, intimidating presence, waiting at Aulis until Iphigenia's sacrifice enables them to depart (a moment that never quite happens within Euripides' original play, it seems).[12] The tension is particularly charged following the opening scene, since Agamemnon has just sent a servant with a message to Clytemnestra not to bring Iphigenia to Aulis: without her, the Trojan War cannot happen.[13] The chorus, however, feel none of this tension as they delight in the visual splendor of this incredible sight.[14]

Due to the unusual length of this song, as well as the uncommon language and grammar, and the apparently monotonous, trochaic meter of the last five stanzas, lines 231-302 have been deemed one of several "inorganic" additions made after Euripides' death either for its first performance or for a fourth-century revival.[15] The appearance of rare vocabulary at least should come as no surprise, given Euripides' predilection for many unusual compound words in his later plays, especially in his "dithyrambic" choral songs. The authenticity of the whole parodos has been defended through emphasis on its symmetrical relationship with the equally unusual prologue, in which Agamemnon's monologue is sandwiched between two passages of anapaestic dialogue.[16] This argument is convincing if at least Agamemnon's iambics are somewhat authentic,[17] but perhaps a stronger argument for the authenticity of the entire parodos is both that its theme—the spectacle of the great Greek army—provides such an effective backdrop to the rest of the tragedy, and that, as we shall see, the dynamics of spectatorship that this song so strikingly sets up are continued throughout the drama.[18] The image of *choreia* in the view of the ships in lines 231-41 can also be likened to other authentically Euripidean passages of choral spectatorship, as we shall see at the end of this section through a comparison of

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[10] On the performance of Troy's fall in *Troades*, see Ch. 2, pp. 79-86.

[11] As at 814-818, where Achilles relates in direct speech the Myrmidons' forceful complaints at their delay in Aulis.

[12] Note particularly Achilles' account of how the whole army, even his own Myrmidons, forced him through the threat of stoning to abandon his attempt to save Iphigenia (1345-53). On the army as an off-stage "character", see Michelakis 2006: 44-45.

[13] See Hose 1990: 160-61; Zeitlin 1994: 165-66.

[14] See Mastronarde 2010: 129 on the chorus' aloofness and lack of anxiety in this song.

[15] See esp. Page 1934: 142-46. Willink 1971: 314 n.8 suggests Cephisophon as the author of lines 231-302; Kovacs 2003: 83-84 thinks that they were composed either by Euripides Minor for the play's first performance or by a fourth-century producer ("the Reviser").

[16] Irigoin 1988. See also Jouan 1983: 29-30 on the unity of the parodos as a whole.

[17] See Knox 1972; Mellert-Hoffmann 107-130; Kovacs 2003: 80-83. Page 1934: 138 rejects 106-14 but thinks Euripides wrote the rest of the iambics.

[18] See also Zeitlin 1994: 161-71 on visual imagery in the play as a whole. Wiles 1997: 110 argues for the authenticity of the whole parodos by emphasizing the ways in which its Panhellenism, which only becomes clear if the last five stanzas are allowed to stand, unites "[t]he Homeric world of the story and the immediate here-and-now of the Peloponnesian War."

this part of *Iphigenia in Aulis* with *Ion* 1074-89 and *Hypsipyle* 752fg.[19] Ultimately, however, what is important for my argument here is that, even if the last five stanzas of the parodos were not written by Euripides himself, they were composed in his style and are consistent with the striking degree of reflexively performative choral song in the rest of the play.[20] In what follows I will focus in particular on two stanzas of the parodos: the first epode (206-30), which is almost certainly by Euripides himself, and the second strophe (231-41), which is Euripidean in style and very possibly in authorship too.

PARODOS

As soon as the chorus enter, they make it clear that they have traveled from Chalcis for the express purpose of seeing the great Greek army: Ἀχαιῶν στρατιὰν ὡς ἐσιδοίμαν (171). They repeat this wish in the antistrophe, and then start to recount what they did in fact see:

> ἀσπίδος ἔρυμα καὶ κλισίας
> ὁπλοφόρους Δαναῶν θέλουσ’
> ἵππων τ’ ὄχλον ἰδέσθαι.
> κατεῖδον δὲ…. (189-92)
> …wishing to see the bulwark of armament and the arms-bearing tents of the Danaans, and the mass of horses. And I looked down upon….

As Froma Zeitlin has shown, this desire to *see* is part of the pervasive imagery of sight and spectacle in the parodos, as the chorus describe the masses of Greek warriors in strikingly vivid—and visual—terms.[21] Zeitlin argues that this scene becomes essentially an ecphrasis, as the chorus recount the tableau of the army as if it is a pictorial representation, in a similar way to how the chorus of *Ion* comment on the scenes depicted on the pediments and walls of the temple at Delphi (*Ion* 184-218). This ecphrasis helps to set the temporal and spatial context of the play in a strikingly visual way: "the impression is one of a full *skēnographia*, a painted backdrop to frame the drama of Iphigenia as it unfolds on stage before the eyes of the spectators in the audience."[22]

The effect of this pictorial display does not, however, lie merely in words, in verbally setting this scene in the mind's eye of the audience. The chorus also seem to *enact* in their own performance at least part of what they saw, particularly in the first non-strophic epode and second strophe (206-41), where the reflexive correspondence

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[19] It is also similar to the teichoscopia in *Phoenissae* 88-192, when Antigone and the Old Man spot from the roof the different renowned warriors amid the besiegers of Thebes: see Scodel 1997: 85-87; also Zeitlin 1994: 173-185.

[20] If these lines are interpolated, they were probably composed by an early actor or producer trying to reproduce Euripides' style in the performance of the tragedy: as Mastronarde 1994: 39-41 explains, readers' interpolations are generally from a later stage in the transmission of Euripides' tragic texts.

[21] Zeitlin 1994: 157-66, 1995: 180-92. Cf. Hose 1990: 1.160.

[22] Zeitlin 1995: 182. She suggests that the organization of the parodos in *Iphigenia in Aulis* evokes the beginnings of a mnemonic system reliant on pictorial images: Zeitlin 1994: 161-65, 171; 1995, esp. 184-87. Cf. Jouan 1983: 47.

between text and choreography is especially pronounced. It is at this central point of their song that they focus on Achilles and his Myrmidons, whose appearance caused them particular delight at the whole scene, as they tried to count the ships so that they might "fill the womanly vision of [their] eyes, a †sweet† pleasure" (τὰν γυναικεῖον ὄψιν ὀμμάτων / ὡς πλήσαιμι, †μείλινον† ἀδονάν, 233-34).[23] The image of Achilles racing in full armor against a four-horse chariot begins with a remarkable stress on speed and feet, even for the famously swift-footed hero: the striking *hapax* compound λαιψηροδρόμος is particularly marked in the pleonastic description of the hero as "swift-running Achilles, equal to the wind on his feet" (τὸν ἰσάνεμόν τε ποδοῖν / λαιψηροδρόμον Ἀχιλλέα, 206-07).[24] The emphasis on the running of feet could also, however, point to the chorus' own movements, just as it seems to in the description of Achilles as "light in the leap of his feet" (κοῦφον ἅλμα ποδῶν) in the first stasimon of *Electra* as he travels with the dancing ships and Nereids to Troy, accompanied by the whirling, *aulos*-loving dolphin (439).[25] The description of Achilles' race against the chariot as a "contest on feet" (ἅμιλλαν…ποδοῖν, 212) may also focus the audience's attention on the chorus' own dancing feet.[26] The impression of mimetic interplay between Achilles' movements and those of the chorus is then strengthened in the parodos of *Iphigenia in Aulis* when he is pictured as "whirling" (ἐλίσσων) around the track (215). This verb is used once in Homer in a similar context to express the swift directing of a chariot around the turning posts;[27] if that use is evoked here, then the application of the verb to Achilles himself would augment the picture of him as a runner who can outmatch the speed of a chariot. But we have also repeatedly seen that in Euripides' later plays words of the εἵλισσ- root tend to occur in choral passages with highly metamusical language and suggest the circular movement of the chorus in the *orchestra* (and perhaps also the spinning of individual choreuts).[28]

In the second half of the epode the chorus concentrate on the horses racing alongside the hero, although at the end they return to Achilles with another strongly choreographic verb, παρεπάλλετο ("was leaping alongside").[29] As we have seen in *Electra* and *Helen*, equine imagery often appears in descriptions of dancing female

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[23] Here I disagree with Scodel 1997: 88, who argues that the women seem to admire all the sights equally and do not focus on any one hero.

[24] Cf. Stockert 1992: 2.249.

[25] See also the epithet ταχύπορον πόδ' in the following antistrophe (*El.* 451). On this metamusical focus on Achilles' running feet in the first stasimon of *Electra*, see Ch. 1, p. 40.

[26] The chorus in [Aesch.] *Prom.* also use the word ἅμιλλα (contest) to refer to their own fast movements: …ἅδε τάξις πτερύγων / θοαῖς ἀμίλλαις προσέβα ("…this band of ours has come with the speedy rivalry of wings….").

[27] *Il.* 23.309: see Stockert 1992: 2.251-52.

[28] Wiles 1997: 108 suggests that "the non-strophic dancing suits Achilles' linear progression to the finishing post," but does not seem thereby to imply that the dancing itself would have been linear rather than circular.

[29] This compound is a *hapax*, but πάλλω can often refer to dance: see Naerebout 1997: 281-282. The verb is used choreographically at *El.* 435, 477, Ar. *Ran.* 1317, and esp. *Lys.*1304-1313, where it occurs twice, first as part of an exhortation to dance (εἷα μάλ' ἔμβη, / ὦ εἷα κοῦφα πάλον…) and then in a compound form to describe the movement of horses and maidens (⟨ὅχ'⟩ ἅτε πῶλοι ταὶ κόραι / πὰρ τὸν Εὐρώταν / ἀμπάλλοντι πυκνὰ ποδοῖν).

choruses in Euripides, and the association of horses and *choreia* was a traditional one, as indicated by Alcman's first *Partheneion*, in which Agido and Hagesichora are likened to different breeds of horses in their dancing and beauty.[30] Given the self-referential, choreographic language preceding the chorus' description of the two sets of horses, then, the audience here too might be inclined to overlay their vision of the dancing chorus with that of the horses that they describe in such visual and attractive terms: they are "embellished with gold" (χρυσοδαιδάλτους 219); the center pair have "white-flecked hair" (λευκοστίκτῳ τριχί 222); the tracehorses are flame-colored with dappled skin (πυρσότριχας 225; ποικιλοδέρμονας 226). As the individual runner/dancer against the team of horses, Achilles then stands out almost as a *chorēgos* is distinguished from the rest of a chorus. As a result of such interaction between the chorus' own dancing and the movements they describe in their song, the audience would virtually be able to share in the sight of this scene, not just hear about it.

In the following strophe the chorus emphatically shift back to the position of a female viewer (τὰν γυναικεῖον ὄψιν, 233) watching an "indescribable sight" (θέαν ἀθέσφατον, 232), before once again enacting the viewed object, which is now the Myrmidon fleet:[31]

> καὶ κέρας μὲν ἦν
> δεξιὸν πλάτας ἔχων
> Φθιωτίδας ὁ Μυρμιδὼν Ἄρης
> πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ θουρίαις·
> χρυσέαις δ' εἰκόσιν κατ' ἄκρα Νη-
> ῃῆδες ἔστασαν θεαί,
> πρύμναις σῆμ' Ἀχιλλείου στρατοῦ. (235-41)

> And the force of Myrmidons from Phthia formed the wing on the right, with fifty swift ships. And in golden likenesses the Nereid goddesses stood on the sterns, at the very ends, the emblem of Achilles' army.

On the sterns of the fifty ships are golden images of Nereids, the archetypal choreuts who, as we have seen, also appear in the intensely metamusical first stasimon of *Electra*.[32] They are often associated with circular dancing, and in the third stasimon of *Iphigenia in Aulis* they are even described as "whirling in circles" (εἰλισσόμεναι κύκλια, 1055).[33] The number of ships (and so also of Nereids) here is significant, since it is also the number of choreuts in the performance of a dithyramb and therefore encourages us to see this ecphrastic image as a choral one. As in other passages where the chorus allude to the dithyrambic imaginary, their singing of the fifty Nereids here has a doubling effect, making the audience see them as both the dramatic chorus and the imagined one. At this center point of the *Iphigenia in Aulis* parodos, then, the chorus

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[30] Ch. 1, p. 43; Ch. 3, p. 115, n. 114; Alc. fr. 1. 58-59.

[31] In line 231 the word ἤλυθον, which resumes the pattern of verbs of coming/going at the start of each stanza (cf. 164, 186), also helps to reestablish the first person perspective.

[32] See Ch. 1, pp. 35-36 on Eur. *El*. 434.

[33] On Nereids and circular dancing, see Csapo 1999-2000: 422; 2003; 2008: 268-69; Steiner 2011: 301-02. On the Nereids of the third stasimon see below, p. 156.

again enact the object of their desirous gaze, representing that other chorus, the golden Nereids on the ships' sterns.

What is particularly striking about the detail of the fifty Nereids here, however, is that they are works of art: they stand in χρυσέαι εἰκόνες ("golden likenesses"), presumably as the carved figureheads at the tips of the sterns, like golden statues.[34] Leslie Kurke has demonstrated how the association between a chorus and precious art was part of the traditional imaginary of *choreia* in archaic and classical Greece: in particular, choruses could be "imagined as moving statues (*daidala* or *agalmata*), products of divine or uncanny crafting," as in the simile of the potter's wheel that is used to describe the dancing youths and maidens on Achilles' shield in the *Iliad* (18.599-602).[35] So in the parodos here the chorus merge with the golden statues of divine choreuts, which seem, if not divinely crafted, certainly far beyond the chorus' previous aesthetic experience (hence the description of their view as "indescribable" at 232).[36]

As in the previous epode, there is also a doubling effect, whereby the viewer and the viewed are simultaneously separate and fused. On the one hand, the chorus wonder at these Nereids as focalizers who are explicitly female and therefore "other," finding delight in what they see in part due to the very alterity of this scene of great male warriors. On the other hand, in performance they also become assimilated to those golden crafted objects, embodying this emblem (σῆμα) of Achilles' forces and thus visually representing it to the audience.[37] In this way the choreographic reenactment of Achilles and his ships is in part a feminization through *choreia* of an otherwise alien male scene. This process could continue in the following stanzas, in which almost every other group of Greek ships is represented by a σῆμα too, but with less explicit focus (at least in the text itself) on the choreographic correspondence: the 60 Argive ships are decorated with the emblem of Pallas on a winged chariot (247-252); the 50 Theban ships show Cadmus' golden dragon (253-260); on Nestor's ships from Pylos is a river-bull emblem (275-276).[38]

This overlapping of the chorus of spectators and the chorus of divine Nereids is on one level an enactment of what Kurke describes as "the mimetic chain of presence," whereby gods, dancers, and human spectators are fused together through *choreia* and the

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[34] Stockert 1992: 2.259 thinks they could be either carved or painted, and they could resemble statues in either case. However, it seems more likely that they were carved, since an εἰκών, particularly when it is described as "golden," often denotes a sculpture: see e.g. Hdt. 1.50.14, 7.69.13; Plat. *Phaedrus* 235d9; Plut. *Mar.* 32.4, *Alex.* 336c10, *De Pyth. Or.* 401e2; Ath. 11.505de; DS 2.15.3, 2.34.5. Other references to carved figureheads on the sterns or prows of ships in fifth-century Athens include Aristoph. *Ran.* 932 (= Aesch. *Myrm.* fr. 212 M), when Aeschylus explains that "the golden horse-rooster" is an emblem carved upon ships (ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν…ἐνεγέγραπτο): see Jouan 1983: 130. See also *Ach.* 547 on the gilding of figureheads of Pallas (presumably for ships).

[35] Kurke 2013: 153. See also Power 2011; Kurke 2012.

[36] Cf. Neer 2010: 60-61 on speechlessness as an effect of seeing a wonder (*thauma*).

[37] Cf. Neer 2010: 57-69 (esp. 66-68) on the doubling effect of nearness and alterity in *thauma*, particularly with respect to artwork. See also Steiner 2001: 20-22; Kurke 2012, 2013.

[38] Wiles 1997: 108-09 sees each of these as a "choreographic image" and discusses the transition from Nereids to "chthonic monsters and monstrous men."

erotic desire it invokes.[39] It also extends to the actual audience in the theater, since they merge with the Chalcidean women as spectators of *choreia*, "seeing" as they do through the chorus' bodily assimilation to the viewed objects.[40] This twofold overlap of extradramatic and intradramatic spectators on the one hand, and performing and imagined chorus on the other, occurs when the delight expressed by the chorus at what they saw verges on the erotic: the sight for their female eyes is a "pleasure" (ἁδονάν, 234); although the adjective μείλινον ("sweet"), which is found in ms L, must for metrical reasons be corrupt, all proposed emendations still intensify the force of ἁδονάν.[41] Zeitlin has noted that their fixation on Achilles in the previous stanza also has an erotic coloring, and suggests that this dramatically foreshadows Iphigenia's first view of her pretend bridegroom.[42] In the second strophe, then, this desirous focus on the individual hero expands to his whole force of Myrmidons, and its effects are heightened through the mimetic interchange of *choreia*.[43] Although Iphigenia's reaction of shame at the sight of Achilles (Ἀχιλλέα τόνδ' ἰδεῖν αἰσχύνομαι, 1341) may in part suggest her attraction to him,[44] the erotic prominence of Achilles in the parodos also presages a more general focus on him as an ideal bridegroom (οὐ μεμπτός, as Clytemnestra says after examining Agamemnon on his lineage, 712), as well as the dreadful irony of the excitement of Iphigenia and her mother at the marriage that will actually be a sacrifice.

These dynamics of viewing in the parodos, whereby the chorus shift between being spectators and spectacle, resume in the last third of the play, in which the army and Iphigenia (rather than the chorus) alternately become the subject and object of spectatorship. Just before Iphigenia changes her mind and submits to sacrifice, Agamemnon tells her and Clytemnestra to look at the same scene that the chorus describes (and enacts) in the parodos:

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[39] Kurke 2013: 148. Cf. Power 2011. Cf. Peponi 2009 on the representation of ideal *mousikē* in *Hom. Hymn. Ap.*, "where the line separating the act of performing from the act of attending tends to disappear" (67). See also Platt 2011 on epiphanic images and the ways in which the distinction between a deity and its representation can be blurred in ritual contexts.

[40] The playing of the *aulos* in accompaniment to the chorus' song and dance may have a similar doubling effect, since auletes also kept time for the stroke of a trireme—a scene that would have been very common for Athenians in the late fifth century. On this use of the *aulos*, see Wilson 1999: 80-81.

[41] Jouan 1983 and Günther 1988 both favor Wilamowitz's emendation of λίχνον ἁδονάν ("greedy pleasure") over Hermann's μᾶλλον ἁδονάν ("more pleasure"). Stockert 1992: 2.258 suggests μελιχρῶν ἁδονᾶν ("honey-sweet pleasures").

[42] Zeitlin 1994: 159f., 1995: 183. See also Foley 1985: 79-80.

[43] On the theme of *eros* in *Iphigenia in Aulis* as a whole, see Michelini 1999-2000: 51-54.

[44] Smith 1979 argues that Iphigenia's desire for Achilles motivates her change of mind, as she shifts from supplication to the resolve to die. To view her motivation as one merely of desire, however, is to underappreciate both the complexity of her virginal character and the pattern of changing minds in this play. Indeed her expression of shame at 1341, even if it recalls the chorus' own αἰσχύνη that reddens their cheeks as they look upon the army (187-88), seems as much a result of modesty and embarrassment as of erotic feelings towards Achilles: she explains that "the unfortunate situation of our marriage brings me shame" (τὸ δυστυχές μοι τῶν γάμων αἰδῶ φέρει, 1342). For further readings regarding Iphigenia's motivation, see e.g. Jouan 1983: 36-38; Foley 1985: 76-77; McDonald 1990; Sansone 1991; Gibert 1995: 222-237; Burgess 2004: 51-55; Michelakis 2006: 38-40; Mastronarde 2010: 238-240.

ὁρᾶθ’ ὅσον στράτευμα ναύφαρκτον τόδε,
χαλκέων θ’ ὅπλων ἄνακτες Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι (1259-60).

Behold how great this army of ships here is, and how many leaders of bronze-clad Greek warriors there are.

Yet it is Iphigenia to whom the gaze of the army, chorus, and audience turns exclusively toward the end of the tragedy: as she changes her mind, she repositions herself as the viewed instead of the viewer, stating that "the whole of mighty Greece now looks upon me" (εἰς ἔμ’ Ἑλλὰς ἡ μεγίστη πᾶσα νῦν ἀποβλέπει, 1378).[45] The chorus reinforce this transition in their final song, as they direct everyone—Clytemnestra onstage, the army in the (imagined) background, and the audience—to look at Iphigenia, who through her sacrifice seems to replace the army as the sacker of Troy:[46]

ἰὼ ἰώ.
ἴδεσθε τὰν Ἰλίου
καὶ Φρυγῶν ἑλέπτολιν
στείχουσαν…. (1510-12)

Io io! Behold the city-sacker of Ilium and the Phrygians as she goes on her way….

The chorus' song is then followed by the messenger's speech, in which Iphigenia's sacrifice is described with very vivid details, as Zeitlin has shown.[47] Even though this speech is probably spurious,[48] it is notable that there is again an emphasis placed on viewing, this time with a poignant echo of Iphigenia's earlier statement as Agamemnon, Menelaus and the army avert their gaze from the girl herself: "The sons of Atreus and the whole army stood, looking to the ground" (ἐς γῆν δ’ Ἀτρεῖδαι πᾶς στρατός τ’ ἔστη βλέπων, 1577). This shift of visual focus toward Iphigenia and away from the army complements the transition from group to individual, from choral song to Iphigenia's monody, that we will see at the end of this chapter.

We also find choral enactment of the object of viewing in the third stasimon of *Ion*, when the chorus of Athenian maidens sing of their shame at the idea of Ion, apparently a non-Athenian, witnessing the Eleusinian Mysteries as a *theōros*:

αἰσχύνομαι τὸν πολύυ-
μνον θεόν, εἰ παρὰ Καλλιχόροισι παγαῖς

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[45] The army in *Iphigenia in Aulis* is presented synecdochically as "the whole of mighty Greece": cf. 1352, when Achilles says "all Greeks" (πάντες Ἕλληνες) threatened him. See Mellert-Hoffmann 1969: 23-26, who emphasizes the panhellenic aspect of the Greek army scene in the parodos.

[46] See too 1475-1476: ἄγετέ με τὰν Ἰλίου / καὶ Φρυγῶν ἑλέπτολιν. See below, pp. 167-168. Iphigenia thus also assumes Helen's role but in more positive terms: cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 689-90, where she too is described as ἑλέπτολις.

[47] Zeitlin 1994: 169-70.

[48] On the inauthenticity of the messenger speech, see below, p. 166, n. 144.

λαμπάδα <u>θεωρὸς</u> εἰκάδων
ἐννύχιον ἄυπνος <u>ὄψεται</u>,
ὅτε καὶ Διὸς ἀστερωπὸς
ἀνεχόρευσεν αἰθήρ,
χορεύει δὲ σελάνα
καὶ πεντήκοντα κόραι
†Νηρέος αἱ κατὰ πόντον
ἀενάων τε ποταμῶν†
δίνας χορευόμεναι
τὰν χρυσοστέφανον κόραν
καὶ ματέρα σεμνάν·

I feel shame before the much-hymned god [Dionysus/Iacchus], if by the springs of the beautiful dances <he as> a watcher will view, sleepless, the all-night torch procession of the twentieth day, when even the starry-faced aether of Zeus has begun dancing, and the moon dances and the fifty daughters of Nereus, through the sea and the eddies of everflowing rivers, dancing in honor of the golden-crowned Kore and her august mother. (1074-86)

The chorus' description of the Mysteries is dominated by Dionysiac images of cosmic and divine dance (the dancing aether, stars, and moon; the fifty Nereids),[49] and these converge with their own dance in the theater so that they are performing the spectacle that Ion would see. The detail with which they imagine these performances suggests that they themselves are to be seen as Athenian *mystai*, initiated in the Mysteries and therefore both participants in and spectators of the dancing they describe.[50] As Csapo has shown, the image of cosmic *choreia* has strong associations with mystery cult in antiquity;[51] it also suggests the experience of "the mimetic chain of presence" in attending the dances of mystic initiation, whereby human, divine, and even cosmic spectators and choreuts merge together. Unlike the chorus of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, however, they do not explicitly position themselves as viewers: rather, the *theōros* (Ion) is *imagined*, an uninitiated foreigner seeing what he should not.

The chorus' simultaneous description and choreographic enactment of the sight of the Greek army in *Iphigenia in Aulis* can also be compared with the parodos of the fragmentary *Hypsipyle*, another late play by Euripides,[52] in which the chorus of Nemean women in a lyric exchange with Hypsipyle picture the passing army of the Seven with highly vivid, metamusical language. This description follows detailed images of *mousikē* in the previous lines, when they ask Hypsipyle if she is singing of the "fifty-oared" Argo, or if she is thinking of Lemnos "which the wave-beating Aegean resounds, whirling around" (τὰν Αἰγαῖος ἐλί[σ]σων / κυμοκτύπος ἀχεῖ, 752f 27-28): here the self-

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[49] See Csapo 2008: 268. Cf. Lee 1997: 277; Csapo 2003: 73 ("if they dance on eddies, they must dance in circles"). On Dionysiac associations in *Ion* as a whole, see Zacharia 2003: 110-11.
[50] Most Athenians, both men and women, were initiated in the Eleusinian Mysteries: see Burkert 1985: 285-86.
[51] Csapo 2008.
[52] On the dating of *Hypsipyle*, see Bond 1963: 144; Cropp and Fick 1985: 80-81; Cockle 1987: 40-41; Collard and Cropp 2008: 254.

referential participle ἑλίσσων is combined with the adjective κυμοκτύπος, in which the alliteration of the hard "k-" sound strengthens the acoustic and choreographic image of beating (or clapping).[53] The chorus then draw Hypsipyle's attention to the immediate scene of the army of the Seven in the plain, which is pictured very visually as "flashing with bronze arms" (ἀσ[τ]ράπτει χαλκέο[ι]σιν ὅπλο[ις, 30).[54] These lines are fragmentary, but they seem to continue the choreographic language of the first half of the strophe with the epithet "swift-footed" (ὠ[κυ]πόδας) used of Adrastus (34) and the description most likely of horses as "single-stepping" and "raising" or "raising themselves from" the ground (μονοβάμονε[ς / ἀειρόμενοι χθ[ον, 38-39). As in the parodos of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, then, the Nemean women here enact through their metamusical language and choreography the sight that they simultaneously describe.

But these lines only take up half a strophe, and, although the chorus seem to take delight in the glittering spectacle of the army of the Seven, Hypsipyle rejects the scene they have so vividly described. Instead she yearns for the sight of the Argonauts arriving in Lemnos (where she bore her twin sons to Jason), the very scene on which the chorus had suspected she was dwelling: "these, these my spirit desires <u>to see</u>, but let someone else cry of the labors of the Danaans" (τ[ά]δε μοι τάδε θυμὸς <u>ἰδεῖν</u> ἵεται, / Δαναῶν δὲ πόνους / ἕτερος ἀναβοάτω, 752g 15-17).[55] What survives of her sung response continues the performative language of the previous strophe: we can imagine the chorus dancing in accompaniment to her description of Peleus leaping and the rowers keeping time to the song of Orpheus' lyre (3-14). Thus in the parodos of *Hypsipyle* two "views" are described and performed for the audience: that of the army of the Seven, which the characters on stage can actually see (or have just seen); and that of the Argo and its heroes, which is in the realm of memory, temporally and geographically distant, yet crucial as a backdrop for the ensuing *mythos*, in which Hypsipyle is reunited with her sons and returns with them to Lemnos.[56]

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[53] Cf. Csapo 1999-2000: 419. κτύπος ("beat") is often used in particularly vivid, synaesthetic images of *mousikē*, as we saw at the end of *Troades* (see Ch. 2, p. 86); cf. ποδῶν κτύπος, Luc. *De Salt*. 68.7. The parody of choral lyric in *Hypsipyle* in Aristophanes' *Frogs* suggests that the percussive element of the play's *mousikē* may have been particularly striking: to accompany the song the character Aeschylus summons Euripides' Muse, "the one who beats with her pot-sherds" (ἡ τοῖς ὀστράκοις / αὕτη κροτοῦσα). On the reference to *krotala* here, see Griffith 2013: 143.
[54] Euripides may influenced here by the parodos of Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, in which the chorus also seem to enact the scene of the approaching army of the Seven that they so vividly describe: they focus above all on the terrifying noise of the army, augmenting this sound picture with their own cries and excited singing (see esp. 83-86, 100-103); the description of the army "encircling" the gates (κυκλοῦνται, 121) would be particularly vivid if they themselves were to dance in a circle at this point in their song.
[55] See Scodel 1997: 91-93.
[56] Wiles 1997: 126 argues that the forward and backward movement of the strophic dance in the parodos parallels the opposition between the "positive" journey of the Argo and the "negative" one of the army of the Seven.

PAST AND PRESENT *MOUSIKĒ*

In the parodos, as we have seen, the chorus concentrate on a present scene that forms the temporally concurrent backdrop of the entire play. The following stasima, however, extend the play's temporal scope by focusing on the past and future.[57] In the first stasimon (543-589), after gnomic speculation in the strophic pair, the chorus dwell on the recent past, on Paris igniting the conflict between Troy and Greece and so causing the Greek army to be here in Aulis. In the second (751-800) the chorus describe with vivid detail the Trojan war, imagining the arrival of the Greek fleet on the river Simois, the weeping of Helen, and the lamentation of the Trojan women at their looms.[58] In the third stasimon (1036-1097) their focus spans past, present, and future: initially shifting back to the more distant past, though with relevance to the present, as they dwell on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, the song then moves toward the future with images of the destruction that Achilles, their offspring, will wreak at Troy; in the epode the chorus then sing of the present circumstances and immediate future within the *mythos*, namely Iphigenia's sacrifice. In their final song (1509-1531), as in the parodos, they are fixated on the present, but this time they respond to what the audience themselves also see on stage, namely Iphigenia being led away for sacrifice.

Both the first and third stasima contain strikingly vivid descriptions of *mousikē*, which bring these scenes of past and future to life, merging with the chorus' own performance so that they are enacted for the audience within the frame of the present drama. The images of music-making in these songs thus intensify the significance of these scenes for the immediate *mythos*, while they also heighten through contrast the poignancy of Iphigenia's situation by offering glimpses of carefree *mousikē* that can belong only to the past.

FIRST STASIMON

Language of *mousikē* in the first stasimon is limited to just three lines of the epode, yet it plays an important part in the movement and meaning of the ode as a whole. As if escaping from the action they were previously so keen to witness, now that Agamemnon has determined to sacrifice Iphigenia despite Menelaus' change of mind (506-542), the chorus here utter gnomic statements of moral wisdom in praise of restraint and virtue in love (543-72). They describe in the epode two specific scenes of the past that led to the impending war: the herdsman Paris arriving at the Judgment scene, playing on his syrinx (573-581), followed by Paris standing before Helen's palace, kindling the love between them (582-586).[59] The difference between the destructive love that brings

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[57] As Barlow 1971: 24-25 notes, this temporal pattern of the choral odes is common in Euripides's plays: the parodos tends to situate the audience within the immediate environment of the *mythos*, while the stasima often look forwards and backwards.

[58] It may also include a vision of Paris' bloody corpse, if we accept Murray's conjecture of ⟨Πάριν Ἀτρείδας⟩ for line 777.

[59] On the structure of the first stasimon, see Stinton 1965: 25-26; Stockert 1992: 2.355-57. On the motif of the origin of the conflict, see Stinton 1965: 13-29; Mastronarde 2010: 123-24: cf. *Andr.*

the Greek army to Troy's walls and the restrained love that the chorus have just praised and wished for is emphasized by the wordplay of ἔρις (strife) and ἔρως (love) in lines 585-587.[60] The transition from gnomic wisdom to descriptive narrative starts off with the depiction of Paris' music-making, which vividly transports the audience to the setting on Mount Ida, capturing the moment of pastoral innocence before the stirrings of war (a moment on which Iphigenia later dwells at more length in her monody at 1279-1335).[61] These lines encourage the audience for a few brief seconds to hold on to a moment of carefree *mousikē*, before the return to ἔρις and the horrifying reality of the play—an effect that can be ascribed to the strikingly metamusical language.

The motif of Paris making music just before the judgment scene was a common one, and many archaic and classical vases show him playing a chelys lyre as the goddesses approach (as in fig. 1).[62] Here in lines 573-578, however, he is described as piping (συρίζων) on his syrinx—a different image that emphasizes the pastoral nature of the scene, representing Paris as a herdsman rather than a lyre-playing aristocrat.[63]

†ἔμολες, ὤ Πάρις, ἧτε σύ γε†
βουκόλος ἀργενναῖς ἐτράφης
   Ἰδαίαις παρὰ μόσχοις,   (575)
βάρβαρα συρίζων, Φρυγίων
αὐλῶν Ὀλύμπου καλάμοις
   μιμήματα †πνέων†.

You came, Paris, to the place where you were reared as a herdsman among the shining white heifers of Mount Ida, piping foreign tunes on the syrinx, breathing on the reeds renditions of the Phrygian *auloi* of Olympus.[64] (573-78)

274-92 and *Hec*. 629-49 on the causes of the Trojan War; *El*. 669-746 and *Or*. 807-43 on the Tantalid myth.

[60] Cf. Alcaeus fr.283, in which an account of Helen's ἔρως in following Paris is followed by a description of the resulting bloodshed at Troy. On the relevance of the theme of ἔρως in the *Iphigenia in Aulis* ode, see Foley 1985: 80; Sorum 1992: 533; Stockert 1992: 2.355; Mastronarde 2010: 135.

[61] Cf. Stinton 1965: 28.

[62] See Stinton 1965: 28; Raab 1972: 62; Bundrick 2005: 65-66. In the *Iliad* Paris is associated with the *kithara*: when Hector chastises Paris in Book 3, he warns him οὐκ ἄν τοι χραίσμη κίθαρις… (*Il*. 3.54).

[63] Bundrick 2005: 65 emphasizes the class associations of the two instruments, arguing that "the lyre…marks Paris as aristocratic and educated, distinguishing him from an ordinary herdsman playing a syrinx." In the Homeric poems, however, herdsmen (including Paris himself) can also be associated with kings: see Gutzwiller 1991: 26-29.

[64] In my translation of these lines I concur with that of Kovacs 2002: 223. Barker 1984: 92 translates lines 576-578 as "breathing imitations of Olympus on the reeds of Phrygian *auloi*," assuming that Paris must be playing Olympus' tunes on his syrinx rather than representing a different instrument. Another alternative, which would reflect the Greek word order more accurately than Barker's suggestion, would be "breathing imitations on the reeds of Olympus' Phrygian *auloi*," but it would be odd for μιμήματα to be without a objective genitive. There is in fact no need not to accept "μιμήματα of *auloi*," since this is an example of the sort of clever

The participle συρίζων could either refer to what Paris was doing as he approached the goddesses, or be part of the subordinate clause, describing his activity as he was growing up in the bucolic setting of Mount Ida. This ambiguity is surely deliberate, encapsulating his entire existence before being sent to Helen as well as the specific moment at which the Judgment took place.[65] The description of Paris as a βουκόλος (574) indicates the rustic nature both of the geographical setting and of his own pre-Helen identity (as it does in Iphigenia's monody toward the end of the play),[66] and this impression is intensified through the image of his music-making. As we saw in the second stasimon of Euripides' *Electra*, when the chorus sing of Pan blowing on the syrinx as he brings the golden fleece to Argos from the mountains, this instrument is often a marker of pastoral simplicity.[67] Its rusticity may also be indicated by the reference to its reeds (κάλαμοι, 577), which appear as a metonym for the actual instrument.[68]

Fig. 1. Paris playing the lyre as he is approached by Hera, who holds the apple. Red-figure hydria, ca. 470 BCE. British Museum, London.

interplay between imagined and performed music that we find so often in Euripides' later work. On the translation of μιμήματα as "renditions" instead of "imitations", see below, p. 150, n. 84.
[65] Cf. Stockert 1992: 371.
[66] *IA* 1291-1293 (…τὸν ἀμφὶ / βουσὶ βουκόλον τραφέντ' Ἀ- / λέξανδρον….). The reference to his heifers (μόσχοι, 575) may also suggest a romantic coloring to this pastoral scene, since these animals are often part of an erotic setting in Greek literature: see esp. Theoc. *Id*. 8.71-79, 9.7-12; Long. *Daph*. 1.15.3, 1.18.1, 2.4.3; cf. Hor. *Odes* 2.5.5-8.
[67] Ch. 1, pp. 47-48 on *El*. 699-706. Cf. [Aesch.] *Prom*. 575-576; Eur. *Alc*. 568-87, *Ion* 492-502, *IA* 1085-86 (see below, p. 164), *Rhes*. 551-53, *Phaethon* fr. 773, 27-28; also *Hom. Hymn Hermes* 512; *Hom. Hymn Pan* 16-18; Hom. *Il*.18.526; Soph. *Phil*. 213; Plato *Rep*. 399d; Longus *Past*. 2.31. On the associations of the syrinx with Pan and pastoral settings in Euripides, see Pereira 1998: 52-58. On the pastoral connections of the syrinx in general, see West 1994: 110; Landels 1999: 69; Mathiesen 1999: 222-23. The syrinx also tends to appear in this setting in its relatively few representations in Attic vase painting: see Bundrick 2005: 42. On its appearance on the François Vase and Sophilos Dinos, see below, pp. 156-157.
[68] Cf. *IA* 1038, *El*. 702, *IT* 1125-1127; also Ar. fr. 719 (καλαμίνην σύριγγα). The syrinx was also associated with δόνακες: Eur. *Or*. 146; Long. 2.34.2-3; Nonn. *Dion*. 11.105-106, 19.294.

The syrinx also situates the scene in the foreign setting of Troy. This environment is evoked not only by a description of the physical geography of Mount Ida (as it is later by Iphigenia in her monody) but through its *soundscape*.[69] The tunes piped by Paris are focalized by the Chalcidean women as βάρβαρα (576),[70] while the instrument itself, though said in the Homeric Hymn to have been invented by Hermes,[71] also tended to be conceptualized as foreign in origin.[72] This non-Greek soundscape not only is created linguistically through the description of Paris playing the pipes, but could also be represented acoustically through the accompaniment of the *aulos*, just as Pan's playing on the syrinx could be in the second stasimon of *Electra*.[73] The audience would probably not hear or see the syrinx itself (though some miming on the instrument might be possible), but the tune of the *aulos* heard in the theater could temporarily fuse with the imagined sound of the syrinx. Paris' pipe-playing could similarly be represented *visually* through the figure of the aulete playing in the *orchestra*, whose elaborate clothing might bring to mind Paris' own reputation for Phrygian luxury (when he is not depicted as a herdsman). The description of Paris' tunes as "renditions of the Phrygian *auloi* of Olympus" in lines 577-578 intensifies the fusion of the two instruments: the syrinx in the song is represented by the sound of the *aulos* in the theater, so that Paris seems to be playing both at once.[74]

It is possible that the aulete at this point would have made use of an *aulos* part that was also called a "syrinx", which some authors mention as a way to raise the pitch of the *aulos* by "overblowing", producing piping that Aristoxenus calls συρίττειν.[75] Such terminology indicates that the higher pitched sound thus produced on the *aulos* seemed similar to that of the syrinx, so that, if the aulete in a performance of *Iphigenia in Aulis* did use this technique, his tune would seem to resemble Paris' own piping even more.[76] Those members of the audience who would recognize the use of the "syrinx" device at this point in the performance (perhaps as a result of their own participation in choral performances, as well as attendance at auletic contests like that at the Pythian games)

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[69] Cf. *IA* 1279-1335 (Iphigenia's monody), esp. 1291-1299. On soundscapes see Schafer 1977; Feld 1990, esp. 264-266; Feld 2000: 183-184. Cf. Hall 1989: 129-132 on barbarian music.

[70] Cf. Aesch. *Sept.* 493: φιμοὶ δὲ συρίζουσι βάρβαρον τρόπον. On the syrinx, Paris and Olympus as βάρβαρος, see Stockert 1992: 371.

[71] *Hom. Hymn Hermes* 511-12. It is possible that Hermes enters with the syrinx in Sophocles' *Inachus* as if he has just invented it: see Seidensticker 2012: 222, n.62.

[72] See Ath. 4.82, Diod. 3.58, Poll. 4.77. Cf. Mathiesen 1999: 222-23.

[73] See Ch. 1, pp. 48-49 on *El.* 699-706.

[74] It may therefore be significant that κάλαμοι were associated with the *aulos* as well as with the syrinx, adding to a merging of the two instruments here: see Theophrastus 4.6; Ar. fr. 144; Theoc. *Id.* 5.6-7; Ath. 4.78, 4.80.5-6.

[75] Aristox. 1.20-21; cf. ps.-Arist. *De audibilibus* 804a14; Plut. *Non posse vivi* 1096b; Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1138a. See West 1994: 86, 102-103. This "syrinx" could have been a "speaker hole" near the top end of the *aulos* (see Barker 1984: 226 n.137; Hagel 2005), or it could instead refer to a single beating-reed mouthpiece (see Mathiesen 1999: 214-218, 2007: 319).

[76] The use of the word συριγμός to describe the representation of the serpent's dying hisses in the traditional auletic performance of the Pythian *nomos* (Xen. *Symp.* 6. 5; Strab. 9.3.10; cf. Ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1138a) also suggests a link between the effects of the "syrinx" device for the *aulos* and the sound of the actual instrument: see West 1994: 102.

might also appreciate the way in which the participle συρίζων could refer both to Paris' music and to the technical manipulation of the *aulos*' sound in the theater.

It is not only the mention of the syrinx that recreates the non-Greek soundscape of Mount Ida: the *aulos* in general could also be conceptualized as foreign, having particular associations with Phrygia. Indeed the *auloi* mentioned here are described as Φρύγιοι, an adjective which mostly denotes their location but could also indicate a particular type of *aulos* that seems to have consisted of unequal pipes (one of which was a horn). These Φρύγιοι αὐλοί were unsurprisingly associated with Asiatic or at least non-Greek settings.[77] The two instruments, syrinx and *aulos*, actually appear together to convey the sound of the Trojans in the *Iliad*, when Agamemnon looks out at their camps in front of the city:[78]

> θαύμαζεν πυρὰ πολλὰ τὰ καίετο Ἰλιόθι πρὸ
> αὐλῶν συρίγγων τ᾽ ἐνοπὴν ὅμαδόν τ᾽ ἀνθρώπων.

> He marveled at the many fires that were burning in front of Ilium and at the noise of *auloi* and syrinxes and the din of men. (*Il*. 10.12-13)

The *aulos* and the Phrygian *harmonia* with which it was associated were commonly thought to have been invented in Phrygia by Hyagnis, father of Marsyas, who was in turn believed to have been the teacher of Olympus.[79] By the late fifth and early fourth centuries the *aulos* was conceptualized by conservative critics of new musical trends as dangerously ὀργιαστικός and παθητικός, traits which were also linked to the Phrygian *harmonia*.[80] Not only could the instrument's origin and possible mode be imagined as non-Greek, but by the late fifth century its professional players in Athens tended to be from outside the city (especially from Boeotia and the Peloponnese),[81] so that it could also appear foreign visually in performance, even though its music had pervaded Athenian life for so long. The image of Paris playing the syrinx is therefore coded as doubly foreign: his βάρβαρος tunes on the syrinx represent those of another foreign instrument, the Phrygian *auloi*. The fact that these *auloi* are those of Olympus also

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[77] See Barker 1984: 74, n.79 and West 1994: 91-92, who cites pre-Hellenistic references to the Phrygian *auloi*: Archil. fr. 269, Soph. frs. 450 and 644 (both in Asiatic settings), Eur. *Bacc*. 127 (Phrygian *auloi* in the Cretan cult of Rhea), Callias fr. 23, Cratinus Junior fr. 3 (in Cyprus); also cf. Paus. 5. 17. 9.

[78] This is not to say that *auloi* are *only* played by Trojans: as Hall 1989: 41 points out, they also appear in the (presumably Greek) wedding scene on Achilles' shield (18.495).

[79] On Hyagnis as the inventor of *auloi*, see esp. ps.-Plut. *De Mus*. 1132f, 1133f, 1135f; Ath. 624b. On Marsyas as the teacher of Olympus, see Plato *Symp*. 215c; Paus. 10.30.9. By the mid-fifth century BCE, Marsyas was represented in conservative discourse as a satyr who took up the *aulos* once it had been rejected by Athena: see Arist. *Pol*. 1341b, Ath. 616e-f, and Paus. 1.24; also Wilson 1999: 59-63; Martin 2003; Wallace 2003: 82-83. In Pindar's *Pythian* 12, however, the *aulos* is said to have been discovered by Athena: Wallace 2003: 79-80 suggests this may be an invention by Pindar himself, but it could also indicate an alternative tradition for the origin of the *aulos* that existed alongside the conservative one.

[80] Arist. *Pol*. 1341a21-23, 1442b3. See also Mathiesen 1999: 178; Wilson 1999: 86-93; Martin 2003: 155-157.

[81] On non-Athenian auletes, see Wilson 1999: 74-75; Wilson 2002: 46-48; Wallace 2003: 76.

augments the non-Greek soundscape, since this aulete was commonly said to have introduced instrumental music to Greece from Phrygia.[82]

The depiction of Paris as "breathing renditions of Olympus' *auloi*" is the only example in extant tragedy of music being described as μιμήματα.[83] The closest tragic comparandum occurs in a fragment of Euripides' *Aeolus*, in which the title character makes a statement on the fragile nature of age that also seems to be a self-reflexively performative reference to the actor's own voice and movement (ψόφος and σχῆμα), even if it is not explicitly musical:

> γέροντες οὐδέν ἐσμεν ἄλλο πλὴν ψόφος
> καὶ σχῆμ', ὀνείρων δ' ἕρπομεν μιμήματα.

> We old men are nothing but sound and shape, and we creep along as representations of dreams. (fr.25, 2-3)

The idea of mimesis as the enactment or representation of clearly musical sound or movement is evidenced, however, in archaic poetry.[84] In Pindar's *Pythian* 12 Athena makes the *aulos* so as to "represent [Euryale's] loud-sounding wail with instruments" (σὺν ἔντεσι μιμήσαιτ' ἐρικλάγκταν γόον, 21), while in *Partheneion* fr. 94b, as we saw in the previous chapter, the chorus claim to enact the Sirens' song:[85]

> σειρῆνα δὲ κόμπον
> αὐλίσκων ὑπὸ λωτίνων
> μιμήσομ' ἀοιδαῖς

> …and I shall represent in my songs, to the accompaniment of the *lōtos* pipes [*auloi*], the proud din of the Sirens…. (Pind. *Parth*. fr. 94b 13-15)

Another example of μιμήματα with reference to choral performance is the famous description in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* of the Delian maidens' musical ability:

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[82] *Sud*. O 221; Ps.-Plut. *De Mus*. 5.1132ef, 7.1133df (at 11.1134f-35c he is also credited with the discovery of the enharmonic genus); Plat. *Min*. 318b.

[83] Stockert 1992: 371 sees this as a lofty paraphrase for (αὐλοὺς) μιμούμενος ("wobei αὐλοί die Flöten*musik* bezeichnet") – which it essentially is, but the phrase μιμήματα πνείων conveys the idea of the *product* of piping (i.e. the sound itself) more than just the participle μιμούμενος would.

[84] On mimesis as (re)enactment or representation rather than accurate imitation, see Keuls 1978: 9-32; Nagy 1990: 42-45, 373-375, 1996: 53-58; Peponi 2009 (esp. 64: the verb μιμεῖσθαι in *Hom. Hymn Apollo* means "to represent, embody and convey the shared ritual stance that is otherwise portrayed in various vocal and kinetic modes, in the different choral acts performed by diverse communities"). On pre-Platonic examples of mimesis as the imitation of sound, see Keuls 1978: 18-19.

[85] On sirens and *mousikē* see Ch. 3, pp. 93-102.

πάντων δ’ ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ κρεμβαλιαστὺν
μιμεῖσθ’ ἴσασιν· φαίη δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος
φθέγγεσθ’· οὕτω σφιν καλὴ συνάρηρεν ἀοιδή.

> They know how to represent the voices and rhythmic motions of all men: and each one might think that he himself was giving voice: so beautifully is their song fitted together.[86] (*Hom. Hymn Apollo* 161-163)

This prototypical *choreia* involves an "intersubjective fusion of choreuts and audience," a mimetic illusion whereby the audience see and hear their own *mousikē* in that of the performing chorus.[87] Like the other references to the mimesis of *mousikē* in archaic poetry, however, these lines of the Hymn suggest the representation of voice and movement, not the sort of instrumental mimesis that is described (and enacted) in the first stasimon of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, where the musician represents another instrument on his own.

The idea of one instrument representing another does occur, however, in Plato's conservative rhetoric against the new trend for musical genre-mixing, when he complains that recent poets "represented *aulos* songs with kithara songs" (καὶ αὐλῳδίας δὴ ταῖς κιθαρῳδίαις μιμούμενοι, Plato, *Leges* 700d).[88] The instrumental mimesis or overlap that he decries here seems similar to that described in *Iphigenia in Aulis*: *aulos* songs (or even tunes)[89] are apparently represented by another instrument—this time the kithara, presumably in the hands of musicians like Timotheus, with whom Euripides seems to have collaborated.[90] With the image of Paris "breathing renditions of Olympus' *auloi*" Euripides is engaging with these new musical trends by displaying just this sort of instrumental mixing, not only verbally, but also in performance, through the use of the *aulos* to represent the sound of the syrinx.[91]

Given how frequently the chorus refer to the *aulos* when describing music-making in Euripides' later tragedies, its appearance here is not surprising, but it is nonetheless a particularly apt instrument for this sort of mimetic process. Already in Pindar the *aulos* is presented as particularly mimetic: the chorus enact the Sirens' song to

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[86] I follow Peponi 2009: 41-55 on the reading of κρεμβαλιαστὺν in line 161 rather than βαμβαλιαστὺν.

[87] Kurke 2013: 149; see also Peponi 2009: 62, 67-69.

[88] On this passage of Plato's *Laws* see Ch. 2, pp. 74-75. *Mousikē* in general is characterized as mimetic in Plato's *Laws* and Aristotle's *Politics*, but this trait more often concerns character and feeling (ἦθος, τρόπος, παθός) than the copying of other musical performances: see Pl. *Leg.* 655c-656b, 668a; Ar. *Pol.* 1340a-b.

[89] αὐλῳδία literally means "*aulos* song:" cf. Paus. 10. 7.4-6 on how songs to the *aulos* came not to be included at the Pythian festival. It might also, however, refer to the art of playing the *aulos* itself, just as κιθαρῳδία could mean not just "singing to the kithara" but its playing too (both of which the kitharode, unlike the aulete, was able to do himself): cf. ps.-Plut. *De Mus.* 1132f; also *Ion* 533b on κιθαρῳδία. Power 2010, however, sees κιθαρῳδία as a combination of vocal and instrumental music.

[90] The tradition of their collaboration is recorded in Satyrus' *Life of Euripides*, POxy 1176, fr.39, col.22.

[91] Cf. Steiner 2011: 311 on *Hel.* 1483.

the accompaniment of the *auloi* (αὐλίσκων ὑπὸ λωτίνων, 14) in *Partheneion* fr. 94b,[92] and it is with the "every-sound tune of the *auloi*" (πάμφωνον μέλος, 19) that Athena intends to represent Euryale's wail in *Pythian* 12; the idea of the instrument as πάμφωνος also appears in *Olympian* 7 and *Isthmian* 5.[93] In Plato's *Republic* it is this trait that causes Socrates to exclude makers and players of the *aulos* from the city,[94] while Aristotle in *Poetics* condemns *aulos* players who represent absolutely everything.[95] The link made between mimesis and this instrument in lines 577-578 of the first stasimon of *Iphigenia in Aulis* therefore also appears to be drawing on the traditional imaginary of the *aulos*, as well as its more recent, conservative conceptualizations.

Here, however, Euripides has apparently transferred such imitative ability over to the syrinx, as it is this instrument, not the *aulos*, which is said to be producing μιμήματα. In performance the mimetic relationship between the two instruments becomes circular: while the chorus is singing of the syrinx representing the *aulos*, the audience would be hearing the sound of the *aulos* representing the syrinx. This is an example of musical layering, of imagined music (the syrinx) merging with perceived (heard and seen) music (the *aulos*), but what is described is the inverse of the audience's performative experience, whereby it is the *aulos* which reenacts the syrinx. This acoustic effect makes the sound image even more vivid, as the *aulos* music of the theater thus becomes the music that the shepherd Paris was blithely playing just before setting the Trojan War in motion. The audience are thus taken to Mount Ida not just through the description of sound, but by means of what they are actually hearing as the instrumental accompaniment to the chorus' performance. The combination of imagined and performed *mousikē* thus helps to extend the temporal scope of the play, transporting us to this bucolic, peaceful scene of the past so that we feel all the more sharply its contrast with the brutal present of the surrounding drama.

THIRD STASIMON

The third stasimon continues the motif of the roots of the Trojan War, shifting back from the judgment scene that is depicted so vividly in the first stasimon to the wedding where Eris first threw the apple, and then predicting the destruction that will ensue at the hands of Achilles, the offspring of the marriage.[96] Unlike the first stasimon, with its brief image of Paris' music-making in the epode, this ode opens with strikingly rich and extended language of *mousikē* (instrumental, vocal, and choreographic) as the chorus describe the wedding celebrations of Peleus and Thetis. The effect of such a performative focus from the start of the ode is to transport the audience immediately into this vivid scene of the past, making them not only hear about such *mousikē* but

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[92] On the association of the *aulos* with the *lōtos*, see Ch. 2, p. 70; below, p. 154.

[93] Pind. *Ol*. 7.12 (…παμφώνοισί τ' ἐν ἔντεσιν αὐλῶν); *Isth*. 5.27 (…ἐν αὐλῶν τε παμφώνοις ὁμοκλαῖς).

[94] Plato *Rep*. 399d-e; cf. *Laws* 669c-e.

[95] Ar. *Poet*. 1461b on ἡ ἅπαντα μιμουμένη φορτική. It is interesting that Aristotle's criticism here seems to concern the *movement* of the φαῦλοι auletes rather than the sound of their instrument.

[96] Cf. Alcaeus fr. 42, in which the marriage of Peleus and Thetis is linked to both Helen and the destruction of Troy.

experience it too. As a result, the song leads the audience to suspend their disbelief and to imagine the happy marriage of Iphigenia and Achilles—to hope that Achilles' professed confidence in his ability to persuade Agamemnon not to sacrifice Iphigenia, even if Clytemnestra cannot, will be proven justified. But, like Cassandra's pathetic wedding song in the *Troades* (308-341), the third stasimon of *Iphigenia in Aulis* presents a poignant contrast to the reality of the dramatic action, in which there is no possibility of such a celebration for Iphigenia and Achilles.[97] By transporting us to a scene that is so at odds with the dramatic reality, their song therefore works to undermine Achilles' hollow promises and to intensify our expectation of Iphigenia's imminent death, since we all know that she is about to be sacrificed.

The ode's musical imagery and performance highlight this contrast, underscoring the lack of any such music, song, or dance for Iphigenia.[98] The opening strophe has been described as having a static, pictorial quality,[99] but, on the contrary, it is full of self-reflexive descriptions of movement and sound, which would at the same time be partly or allusively performed by the chorus as they themselves sing and dance in the theater:[100]

τίν' ἄρ' Ὑμέναιος διὰ λωτοῦ Λίβυος	
μετά τε φιλοχόρου κιθάρας	
συρίγγων θ' ὑπὸ καλαμοεσ-	
σᾶν ἔστασεν ἰαχάν,	
ὅτ' ἀνὰ Πήλιον αἱ καλλιπλόκαμοι	(1040)
δαιτὶ θεῶν ἔνι Πιερίδες	
χρυσεοσάνδαλον ἴχνος	
ἐν γᾷ κρούουσαι	
Πηλέως ἐς γάμον ἦλθον,	
μελῳδοῖς Θέτιν ἀχήμασι τόν τ' Αἰακίδαν,	(1045)
Κενταύρων ἐν ὄρεσι κλέουσαι	
Πηλιάδα καθ' ὕλαν.	
ὁ δὲ Δαρδανίδας, Διὸς	
λέκτρων τρύφημα φίλον,	(1050)
χρυσέοισιν ἄφυσσε λοιβὰν	
ἐν κρατήρων γυάλοις,	

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[97] On the ironic contrast between the song and the dramatic reality, see Panagl 1971: 208; Walsh 1974; Foley 1982: 163-64, 1985: 81-83; Stockert 1992: 2.496. On Cassandra's distorted wedding song in *Troades*, see Ch. 2, pp. 64-67.

[98] The musicality of this ode has generally gone unnoticed (an exception is the brief discussion of the acoustic images at the start of the ode in Panagl 1971: 209-10; cf. 213). Kranz 1933: 240-41 notes the mimetic character of lines 1036-39, likening it to that of "der neuen Nomoi und Dithyramben."

[99] Walsh 1974: 242; Foley 1982: 167-68, 1985: 82.

[100] Pictorial images of music-making need not have been static either, particularly when they interacted with the *mousikē* of the occasions at which they were used: so, for example, depictions on sympotic vessels of *aulos*-playing would in some sense be brought to life by the musical entertainments (especially those of the *auletrides*, the female *aulos*-players) at the symposium itself. On the *aulos* at the symposium, see Wilson 1999: 81-85. Also see below, pp. 156-157, on the images of *mousikē* on the François Vase.

ὁ Φρύγιος Γανυμήδης.
παρὰ δὲ λευκοφαῆ ψάμαθον
εἰλισσόμεναι κύκλια   (1055)
πεντήκοντα κόραι γάμους
Νηρέως ἐχόρευσαν.

What wedding hymn was it that raised its cry amid the Libyan pipe and along with the chorus-loving lyre and to the accompaniment of the reedy syrinxes? It was when, along the ridge of Mount Pelion, at the feast of the gods, the beautiful-haired Pierians, beating their golden-sandaled foot on the earth, came to the marriage of Peleus, and celebrating with melodious strains Thetis and the son of Aeacus, in the mountains of the Centaurs, down through the woods of Pelion. And the Dardanian boy, the dear darling of Zeus' bed, drew off the libation wine in the golden hollows of the mixing bowls, the Phrygian Ganymede. And along the gleaming white sand, whirling in circles, the fifty daughters of Nereus celebrated the marriage in dance. (1036-57)

This initial image of the sounds of multiple instruments accompanying the cry of the wedding song immediately establishes a correspondence between the chorus' own performance and the one they describe, since they too are raising their voices in song to instrumental accompaniment, to the music of the *aulos*. As we saw in Chapter Two, the "Libyan *lōtos*" actually denotes the *aulos* itself;[101] the "chorus-loving" (φιλόχορος) kithara and "reedy" (καλαμόεις) syrinx would probably not have been on stage—they belong to the imagined *mousikē* of the song—but for the audience they would also merge with and be encompassed by the sound of the *aulos* that they actually hear. The long association of the *aulos* with mimetic flexibility would make it well suited to such acoustic representation.[102]

Following this intensely acoustic beginning, perfectly coordinated and highly attractive choral dance takes over from the instrumental accompaniment as the song's focus: the Muses are described as beating their golden-sandaled feet on the ground in unison, as if moving just one foot (note the singular χρυσεοσάνδαλον ἴχνος, 1042), while they sing in praise of Peleus and Thetis. This is an image of prototypical *choreia*, through which the audience can momentarily see the dramatic chorus dancing in the

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[101] Ch. 2, p. 70.

[102] Cf. *Helen* 170-72, where the *aulos* (also described as the "Libyan *lōtos*") is similarly combined with the syrinx and a stringed instrument (the *phorminx* instead of the *kithara*). Interestingly, the combination of the *kithara* (as opposed to the *phorminx*) with other instruments that appears in *IA* 1036-39 seems very rare in extant Greek literature: Maas and Snyder 1989: 68 claim no other example exists, but we can see a similar combination in Sappho fr.44, 24-25 (accepting the reading of [κίθαρις] in line 24), suggesting that the two could appear together in wedding celebrations. The *kithara* and *aulos* also appear together in both paeans dating from the late second century BCE that are preserved on the southern outer wall of the Athenian treasury at Delphi (Delphi inv. 517, 526, 494, 499; 489, 1461, 1591, 209, 212, 226, 225, 224, 215, 214; for text and notation see Mathiesen 1999: 39-56; Pöhlmann and West 2001: 62-85). Of course the merging of the two instruments in the inscribed paeans may be an example of merely imaginary *mousikē*, but it could also indicate actual practice.

theater as divine, merging in performance with the Muses' dancing (and singing). The spondaic rhythm of line 1043 (ἐν γᾷ κρούουσαι) may even be meant to coincide with the movement of the chorus themselves as they emphatically stamp on the ground. As in many other images of divine *choreia* in archaic and classical choral lyric, these dancing goddesses are also described in very attractive terms, with a focus on their beautiful hair (καλλιπλόκαμοι, 1040) and their feet clad in golden sandals.[103] The attraction of the Muses' *choreia* becomes erotically charged as the focus soon shifts from them to Ganymede, Zeus' beautiful plaything, whose golden mixing bowl corresponds with the gold of their feet (1049-53).[104]

The chorus of Muses seems to have been traditionally included in representations of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, often with an emphasis on their beauty and attractiveness: in Pindar *Nemean* 5, for example, the κάλλιστος χορός of Muses sing to the accompaniment of Apollo's lyre (18-43); in *Pythian* 3 both Peleus and Cadmus are said to have enjoyed at their weddings the "golden-crowned Muses singing in the mountains" (χρυσαμπύκων / μελπομενᾶν ἐν ὄρει Μοισᾶν, 89-90).[105] As in those songs, the chorus in Euripides' ode present an image of prototypical *choreia*, through which the audience can momentarily see the choral dancing in the theater as divine, merging with that of the Muses. The chorus also focus on the Muses' song, their *hymenaios* for Peleus and Thetis, emphasizing its "melodious strains" (μελῳδοῖς…ἀχήμασί, 1045) as well as its content. The Muses' *choreia* thus fuses with that of the dramatic chorus, not only in dance but also in song, as both choruses, imagined and performing, sing a song in celebration of Peleus and Thetis. Through the process of aesthetic suggestion all three registers of *mousikē*—instrumental accompaniment, song, and dance—seem to correspond with the chorus' own performance in the theater.[106]

At the end of the strophe the spotlight shifts to dancing once again, but now a new choral group takes over from the Muses: the fifty Nereids, Thetis' sisters, are described as

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[103] Cf. the description of the Muses as καλλίκομοι in Sappho fr. 128 and of Dawn as χρυσοπέδιλλος in frr. 103 and 123. On the attractiveness of the Muses here, see Panagl 1971: 211. Kurke 2012, 2013 discusses the erotic potential of *choreia*.

[104] Cf. Barlow 1971: 112 on the correspondence of different "dazzling impressions" in this scene. See also Michelini 2000: 53: "[t]hese moments of glowing, ideal beauty belong to the legendary and lyrical view of the erotic." The erotic focus of Ganymede with his golden bowl may recall that of Aphrodite in Sappho fr. 2, whom the singer bids to pour nectar χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν (14).

[105] Note too the presence of the Muses in the scene of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis on the François Vase and the Erskine Dinos (both Attic black figure from the late sixth century BCE): see Stewart 1983: 62 for a list of the figures shown on each vase. See also Theogn. 15-17 (the Graces and Muses at Cadmus' wedding). Both Graces and Muses also appear, apparently in connection with wedding song, in Sappho fr. 103, a highly fragmentary wedding song: see Contiades-Tsitsoni 1990: 71-91, who suggests that the mythical marriage is that of Hebe and Heracles (*ibid* 82).

[106] Cf. Panagl 1971: 210, who thinks the Muses are the musicians as well as the dancers: "[a]uf der Schilderung der Klänge folgt also der Auftritt der göttlichen Musikantinnen, die wie der Dramenchor in seinen Liedern -- als Göttinnen natürlich in gleicher Person -- zu den instrumentalen Tonen den von Inhalt erfüllten, konkreten Gesang treten lassen." See also *ibid* 213 on the combination of dancing and instrumental and vocal sound.

whirling in circles in their dance (εἰλισσόμεναι κύκλια…ἐχόρευσαν, 1055-57). This is one of the most explicitly choreographic descriptions in all of Euripides, and the clearest textual stage direction for the dramatic chorus to dance with similarly circular movement, whether twirling on the spot or joining hands in concentric circles (or a mixture of both).[107] It is also an example of Euripides' "New Musical" or "dithyrambic" style, which, as we have seen, often includes both dancing Nereids and vocabulary denoting circular dancing (especially the verb ἐλίσσειν, which is used here).[108] At this moment, then, the dramatic chorus, presumably also dancing in circles, would be fusing themselves through their performance with the Nereids, just as they had previously done with the Muses. Through dance the performance space is transformed too: the "gleaming sand" (λευκοφαῆ ψάμαθον , 1054) beside which the Nereids dance becomes the floor of the *orchestra*. The inclusion of the fifty dancing Nereids here may be a marker of Euripides' innovative *mousikē* at the end of his career; it is also a very apt addition to the narrative of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, since the bride herself is one of Nereus' daughters.

As we have already seen, the chorus' reenactment of the celebrations for Peleus and Thetis through their own musical performance, which merges with the described *mousikē* in their song, is similar to other lyric descriptions of this prototypical marriage ceremony. The account of the chorus of Muses in Pindar's *Nemean* 5 offers a particularly noteworthy parallel, with multiple interactions between the mythic narrative and the present choral performance: not only does the κάλλιστος χορός correspond with the choral performance of the epinician, but the figure of Apollo playing on his phorminx in the middle (ἐν δὲ μέσαις, 24) is like the *chorēgos* in the center of the circular chorus.[109] We also have several similar visual representations of this famous marriage. The most famous and best preserved of these is Kleitias' François Vase (ca. 570 BCE), which shows on its shoulder the procession of gods and chariots to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. This includes the Muses, with Calliope, standing apart from her sisters, facing out toward the viewer and playing the syrinx (fig. 2.1); the Horai making coordinated gestures with their hands, which could represent dancing; and, next to them, Dionysus dancing with bent legs and arms as he carries an amphora. (fig. 2.2). A similar scene is also shown on two roughly contemporary vases by Sophilos: a very fragmentary dinos from the Acropolis (Akr. 587), and the huge Erskine dinos in the British Museum, on which one of the Muses is also playing a syrinx (fig. 3). If, as seems likely, vases like these were originally intended as wedding gifts, then the images of music and dance shown on them could have visually corresponded to the hymenaeal music actually performed during the celebrations—a type of interaction comparable to that between the mythical narrative and choral performance in *Iphigenia in Aulis*.[110]

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[107] The combination of ἐλίσσω and κύκλος only occurs in the surviving plays of Euripides: *Hel.* 1362-63, *IT* 1103-04. It also occurs twice in actors' spoken lines, but with less obviously choreographic reference: *Pho.* 1185-86 (the messenger describing Capaneus' death) and *Or.* 444 (Orestes telling Menelaus that he is surrounded by hostile Argives).

[108] On Nereids and circular choreography in Euripides' plays, see Introduction, p. 5.

[109] See Mullen 1982: 149, 158-160; Power 2000: 68. On the position of the *choregos* in the center of a choral circle, see Calame 1997: 36; on Apollo and the Muses in *Nemean* 5, see *ibid*: 50.

[110] On the purpose of the François Vase, see Stewart 1983: 69-70.
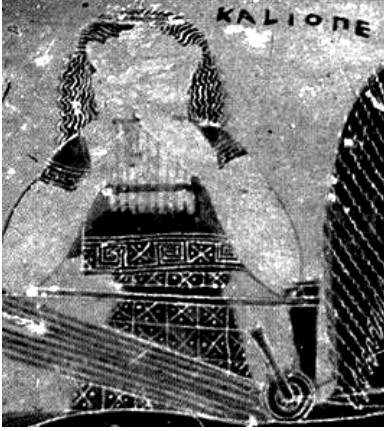
Fig. 2.1. Kalliope playing the syrinx on the François Vase, Attic black-figure volute krater, ca. 570 BCE, Museo Archeologico di Firenze.

Fig. 2.2. The Horai and Dionysus on the François Vase.

Fig. 3. One of the Muses (Calliope?) playing the syrinx on the Sophilos Dinos, Attic black-figure dinos, ca. 580 BCE, The British Museum.

The depiction of the musical celebrations at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis in *Iphigenia in Aulis* is similar to representations of other mythical marriages too, some of which may form parts of actual *hymenaioi*.[111] In Sappho fr. 44 the marriage of Hector and Andromache is described with a striking emphasis on music, both instrumental and vocal, building up a multilayered soundscape rather like that in the *Iphigenia in Aulis* ode:

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[111] In what follows I use the term *hymenaios* to refer to the wedding song rather than *epithalamion*, since the latter word is not used in extant pre-Hellenistic literature: see Contiades-Tsitsoni 1990: 31; Swift 2010: 242-43. *Hymenaioi* referred particularly to the songs sung at the wedding procession, like those the Muses are said to sing for Peleus and Thetis.

αὖλος δ’ ἀδυ[μ]έλης [κίθαρίς] τ’ ὀνεμίγνυ[το
καὶ ψ[ό]φο[ς κ]ροτάλ[ων, λιγέ]ως δ’ ἄρα πάρ[θενοι
ἄειδον μέλος ἄγν[ον, ἵκα]νε δ’ ἐς αἴθ[ερα
ἄχω θεσπεσία....

And the sweet-sounding *aulos* and the kithara were combined, and the noise of *krotala*, and maidens sing shrilly a holy song, and the wondrous echo reached the sky.... (fr. 44, lines 24-27)

Whether or not this description of the mythical wedding is a fragment of an actual *hymenaios*,[112] it would most probably have been performed as a monody to the accompaniment of the kithara,[113] which would then sonically represent all three instruments (the *aulos*, kithara, and *krotala*) just as the *aulos* would in the performance of Euripides’ ode. Greek hymenaeal songs seem to have traditionally contained mythic narrative sections describing prototypical marriages, including that of Peleus and Thetis, implicitly comparing the bride and bridegroom with these divinities and heroes.[114] The description of their wedding in this choral ode may therefore resemble the content of an actual *hymenaios*. Likewise the self-reflexive, performative language, along with the chorus’ own dancing, would give the audience the impression that they are witnessing the performance of a wedding song, not just the description of one, even though the ode as a whole is not a formal *hymenaios*.[115]

The chorus in *Iphigenia in Aulis* thus do not just “perform” the celebratory *mousikē* of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis by complementing their account of that event with their own song and dance: they also seem to enact the *hymenaios* of Iphigenia and Achilles themselves.[116] Indeed the content of this song, particularly its musical focus, corresponds with the rites that the messenger in ignorance bids Agamemnon to set up upon Iphigenia’s arrival:

ἀλλ’ εἶα, τἀπὶ τοισίδ’ ἐξάρχου κανᾶ,   (435)
στεφανοῦσθε κρᾶτα καὶ σύ, Μενέλεως ἄναξ,
ὑμέναιον εὐτρέπιζε καὶ κατὰ στέγας

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[112] On fr. 44 as a hymenaeal fragment, see Rösler 1975; Hague 1983: 134; Lassere 1989: 81-106; Contiades-Tsitsoni 1990: 102-09. The choice of the wedding of Hector and Andromache, however, seems a rather ominous theme for such a celebration, particularly if, as Nagy 1974: 138 has suggested, the epithets used of Paean Apollo ironically allude to the Homeric Apollo, who deserts Hector just before he dies, and if the epithet θεοείκελος used of Hector in line 34 refers to Achilles, his killer (cf. *Il.* 1. 131, 19. 155). See also Kakridis 1966 and Schrenk 1994.

[113] On the poem as monodic, see Lassere 1989: 81-106; Contiades-Tsitsoni 1990: 102-08; Lardinois 1996: 159.

[114] Cf. Sappho frr. 103 and 144, both of which seem to refer to a divine wedding. See Hague 1983: 133-34; Swift 2010: 247. In Aristophanes’ *Birds* the chorus perform a *hymenaios* in which they describe the wedding of Zeus and Hera (1731-44). See too Sappho fr. 141, a fragment describing a divine marriage which may also be from a wedding song.

[115] See Rösler 1975: 277-78; Hague 1983: 132-38, Contiades-Tsitsoni 1990; Swift 2010: 242-49 on elements of the *hymenaios*. It seems very likely that the *melody* too could have imitated that of wedding songs, but it is impossible for us to know to what extent this might have been the case.

[116] Cf. Wilson 2005: 189 on the “restaging” of different kinds of musical performances in tragedy.

λωτὸς βοάσθω καὶ ποδῶν ἔστω κτύπος·
φῶς γὰρ τόδ' ἥκει μακάριον τῇ παρθένῳ.

But come now, given these events, set up the basket, wreathe your head, and you, lord Menelaus, make ready the *hymenaios* song, and let the *lotos* pipe shout out through the tents and let there be the beat of feet! For this day has come, a blessing for the maiden. (435-39)

The hymenaeal song that the audience hears in the third stasimon contains both in language and in performance the cry of the *lōtos* pipe—the *aulos*—and the beat (acoustic and choreographic) of the dancing chorus' feet.[117] The messenger's description of the day as "blessed" (μακάριον, 439) for Iphigenia may also refer to the *makarismos* within a *hymenaios*—just such a blessing occurs in the antistrophe of the third stasimon, when the gods establish the divine marriage as μακάριος (μακάριον τότε δαίμονες…γάμον…ἔθεσαν, 1076-78). As we shall see, the wreathing of heads is also taken up as a motif in the third stasimon, though of course it refers to neither Menelaus nor Agamemnon: the centaurs are garlanded in Dionysiac celebration (1058); Iphigenia for sacrifice (1080).[118] There is thus a complete merging of identity between the chorus and the Muses on the one hand, and the chorus and the Nereids on the other: just as the chorus of Chalcidean women are (momentarily) celebrating the union of Iphigenia and Achilles by performing a *hymenaios*, so the Muses and Nereids sing and dance in honor of that of Achilles' parents. Unlike the performance context of a *hymenaios*, however, the marriage of Iphigenia and Achilles is impossible (despite the hero's promise to save her from sacrifice), so the enactment of their hymeneal song paradoxically also underscores the lack of any such celebratory *mousikē* for Iphigenia.[119]

We become increasingly aware of this lack through the rest of the ode. The Dionysian imagery established by the whirling Nereids continues into the antistrophe with the entrance of the *thiasos* of centaurs,[120] but this is an image of chaotic revelry rather than the sort of coordinated *choreia* that is described and enacted in the previous strophe:

ἀνὰ δ' ἐλάταισι στεφανώδει τε χλόᾳ
θίασος ἔμολεν ἱπποβάτας
Κενταύρων ἐπὶ δαῖτα τὰν   (1060)
θεῶν κρατῆρά τε Βάκχου.
μέγα δ' ἀνέκλαγον·

And, leaning upon fir trees and with wreathed greenery, the horse-mounted revel-rout of Centaurs came to the feast of the gods and the mixing-bowl of Bacchus. And they shouted out loudly…. (1058-62)

Given the centaurs' attempted rape at the wedding of Perithoos and Hippodameia, their takeover from the Muses and Nereids as a performing group introduces a particularly

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[117] Cf. Walsh 1974: 243.
[118] See below, p. 163.
[119] Cf. Foley 1982: 163-64, 168 on the multiple ironies of this ode's epithalamic themes.
[120] See Panagl 1971:214; Stockert 1992: 2.505.

unsettling tone within this hymenaeal context.[121] Now, instead of melodious singing, there is loud shouting (ἀνέκλαγον, 1068) as they address Thetis and recount Chiron's prophecy regarding her son.[122] This prophecy draws the audience away from the immersive celebrations of the past toward the dramatic present and future, to Achilles as sacker of Troy:[123]

ὃς ἥξει χθόνα λογχήρεσι σὺν Μυρμιδόνων
ἀσπισταῖς Πριάμοιο κλεινὰν
γαῖαν ἐκπυρώσων,   (1070)
περὶ σώματι χρυσέων
ὅπλων Ἡφαιστοπόνων
κεκορυθμένος ἔνδυτ᾽, ἐκ θεᾶς
ματρὸς δωρήματ᾽ ἔχων
Θέτιδος, ἅ νιν ἔτικτεν.   (1075)

He who will come to the land with the spear-wielding shieldbearers of the Myrmidons, to burn the famous country of Priam to ashes, having donned his helmet he put on the golden arms wrought by Hephaistos, holding the gifts from his divine mother, Thetis, who bore him. (1068-75)

Although the song is still framed within a hymenaeal context, its mood continues to become more ominous with this shift forwards, particularly as Achilles' presence at Troy precludes Iphigenia's survival.[124] In these lines the visual focus of desire is also transformed, shifting from the golden-sandaled Muses and Ganymede with his golden mixing-bowl to Achilles with his golden armor (χρυσέων / ὅπλων, 1071-72) in the antistrophe. This view of Achilles recalls the more extended erotic focus on him in the parodos, racing alongside the colorful horses with their golden trappings, but now, in contrast to his previous show of athleticism, he is depicted as a warrior about to burn Troy to the ground. The previously carefree eroticism is here directed at a much more destructive subject.

The theme of Achilles' future (his death as well as his warring) seems to have been common in representations of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. The bottom section of the François Vase shows Achilles' pursuit of Troilus; on the neck are the funeral games of Patroklos; on the handles is Achilles' lifeless corpse, being carried by Ajax away from the battle. It is also possible that the amphora that Dionysus carries in the procession shown on the central frieze is meant to represent the urn that will hold the

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[121] Cf. Walsh 1974: 244-45. For the wedding of Perithoos and Hippodameia, see *Od*. 21. 295-304; Pind. fr. 166 M.

[122] Kovacs 2003: 283 rightly corrects previous translations of these lines that make Chiron the subject governing ἀνέκλαγον: Chiron himself is not present, and his prophecy is embedded within the centaurs' cry.

[123] The prophecy also emphasizes Achilles' ancestry, which has already been recounted by Agamemnon to a quizzical Clytemnestra at 695-713; cf. 208-09, 926-27.

[124] See Walsh 1974: 244-47; Foley 1982: 168, 1985: 83; Sorum 1992: 535-36; Stockert 1992: 2.496, 506-07.

ashes of Achilles and Patroklos.[125] Likewise in Pindar *Isthmian* 8 the story of Thetis' marriage to Peleus is followed by the later bloody exploits of Achilles:

> ὃ καὶ Μύσιον ἀμπελόεν
> αἵμαξε Τηλέφου μέλανι ῥαίνων φόνῳ πεδίον,
> γεφύρωσέ τ᾽ Ἀτρεΐδαισι νόστον, Ἑλέναν τ᾽ ἐλύσατο, Τροΐας
> ἶνας ἐκταμὼν δορί….

> He even bloodied the vine-clad plain of Mysia, sprinkling it with Telephos' dark gore, and he bridged a return home for the sons of Atreus, and released Helen, having cut out Troy's sinews with his spear…. (Pind. *Isth*. 8. 49-52).

A similar transition from the joy of the wedding to the destruction of the Trojan War is also evident in Alcaeus fr. 42: after the birth of Achilles is mentioned, we are given the chilling reminder that "they perished, however, for Helen's sake, both the Phrygians and their city" (οἱ δ᾽ ἀπώλοντ᾽ ἀμφ᾽ Ἐ[λένᾳ Φρύγες τε / καὶ πόλις αὔτων, 15-16).[126] In the context of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, however, the prediction of Achilles' destruction at Troy is particularly charged as a result of the assurances he has just made to Clytemnestra that Iphigenia will be spared (in which case there would be no Trojan War).[127] The striking absence of vivid musical imagery in the antistrophe reflects this return to the more unsettling present and immediate future of the *mythos*, away from the previous celebratory scenes of *mousikē*. It is possible, however, that even in the strophe there was some hint of this more ominous turn through the focus on the two complementary choral groups of Muses and Nereids, since one of the most memorable occasions when they appear together is at the funeral of Achilles, as described by the ghost of Agamemnon in Book 24 of the *Odyssey*:

> ἀμφὶ δέ σ᾽ ἔστησαν κοῦραι ἁλίοιο γέροντος
> οἴκτρ᾽ ὀλοφυρόμεναι, περὶ δ᾽ ἄμβροτα εἵματα ἕσσαν.
> Μοῦσαι δ᾽ ἐννέα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ
> θρήνεον· ἔνθα κεν οὔ τιν᾽ ἀδάκρυτόν γ᾽ ἐνόησας
> Ἀργείων· τοῖον γὰρ ὑπώροϱε Μοῦσα λίγεια.

> And about you stood the daughters of the old man of the sea, mourning pitifully, and clothed you in immortal garments. And all nine Muses, answering one another with their beautiful voice,
> were singing a dirge. There you would have seen not one of the Argives tearless, for such was the shrill Muse's power to move. (*Odyssey* 24.58-62)

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[125] For this interpretation see Stewart 1983.

[126] The song of the Parcae in Catullus 64 also concentrates on both the destructive exploits of Achilles and his death (338-70).

[127] It also suggests a disconnect between the traditional, heroic image of powerful Achilles (as he is presented in the third stasimon, and also in the parodos) and Achilles as a character in this play, who will be unable to resist the sway of the army (even his own men): see Walsh 1974: 245-47.

The combination of the two choruses may herald the disturbing shift toward the present and future through the rest of the ode, which further stresses the impossibility of a *hymenaios* for Iphigenia and Achilles, and at the same time undermines its enactment. The wedding song can be present in performance, but it is poignantly absent in the reality of the play.

Despite this shift away from the joyful *mousikē* with which the ode begins, there may still be some correspondence between the language of the antistrophe and the musicality of the strophe. David Wiles has argued for the "choreographic identity" of strophe and antistrophe, with the result that the same visual image can receive two meanings.[128] There is something of this sort of association between the strophe and antistrophe in third stasimon, although the choreography may not be exactly identical: it might be surprising, for example, to imagine the same dancing accompanying the start of Chiron's reported prophecy in lines 1062-65 as that performed in imitation of the Muses in lines 1040-43. But the simultaneous merging and transformation of images between the two stanzas, partly realized by the chorus' *mousikē* (both singing and dancing), adds to the increasingly unsettling effect of the antistrophe. Not only do the chorus shift from the Muses and Nereids to the centaurs, a much more problematic performing group, but the Muses' song becomes the prophecy of Chiron, "who knows the music of Phoebus" (ὁ φοιβάδα μοῦσαν / εἰδὼς, 1064-65).[129] Instead of the "quoted" *hymnos* of the Muses that we hear in Pindar, *Nemean* 5, it is Chiron's prophecy that is enframed, though without any indication of beautiful, orderly *mousikē*.[130] At the end of the antistrophe the previous image of the Nereids' joyful dancing mutates into that of the gods blessing the marriage (1076-79). If, as Wiles contends, the chorus' choreography here would recall their earlier circular movements, such correspondence would underscore the ironic disconnect between past and present, divine and human: the marriage of Peleus and Thetis might be blessed, but that of Achilles and Iphigenia is impossible.

With the epode the chorus fully return to the horror of the immediate present, before ending with gnomic speculation on the powerlessness of modesty and virtue that contrasts with the praise of such traits in the first stasimon. Now the second person address shifts from that of the centaurs to Thetis, the bride of Peleus, to that of the chorus in their own person to Iphigenia, the sacrificial bride of Achilles:[131]

> σὲ δ' ἐπὶ κάραι στέψουσι καλλικόμαν   (1080)
> πλόκαμον Ἀργεῖοι, βαλιὰν
> ὥστε πετραίων
> ἀπ' ἄντρων ἐλθοῦσαν ὀρέων
> μόσχον ἀκήρατον, βρότειον
> αἱμάσσοντες λαιμόν·

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[128] Wiles 1997: 87-113. I am more inclined to agree with Dale 1968: 212-14 that the choreographic mirroring of strophe and antistrophe need not have been an absolute rule, and instead could have allowed for some variation of gesture and movement between them, according to the requirements of the dramatic action.

[129] Although μοῦσαν can metaphorically mean "prophecy" (see Stockert 1992: 2.506), its literal meanings of both "music" and "Muse" are extremely apposite here.

[130] See Power 2000: 75 on the Muses' song in Pind. *Nem*. 5.

[131] On the unaccompanied σὲ referring to Iphigenia, see Mastronarde 1979: 99-100.

οὐ σύριγγι τραφεῖσαν οὐδ'   (1085)
ἐν ῥοιβδήσεσι βουκόλων,
παρὰ δὲ ματέρι νυμφοκόμον
Ἰναχίδαις γάμον.

But you, upon your head the Argives will crown your beautiful hair, your locks, like a dappled, untouched calf that's come from rocky caves of mountains, they bloodying your neck: not raised with the syrinx nor among the whistlings of herdsmen, but dressed as a bride at the side of your mother, a wedding for the sons of Inachus. (1080-1088)

The ode as a whole is thus an example of a particularly Euripidean pattern of "narrative followed by application," whereby a choral song opens with a mythic narrative and eventually turns to the immediate situation in the *mythos*.[132] It is particularly similar to the first stasimon of the *Electra*, in which the seemingly carefree musical imagery used to describe the Greeks' sea journey to Troy in the first strophe (choruses of Nereids and a whirling, leaping, *aulos*-loving dolphin) becomes more ominous in the second strophic pair and beginning of the epode as the description of Achilles' terrifying armor is filled with allusions to choreography, particularly circular movement.[133] In the epode of this song the chorus of Argive women then address Clytemnestra directly, turning from the bloodiness of Achilles' weapons to her own murder of Agamemnon (478-86). Through this movement back towards the present, the chorus not only "apply" the narrative of the ode to the immediate dramatic situation, but also anticipate a pivotal point in the plot—Clytemnestra's murder at the hands of Orestes and Electra.

In the epode of the *Iphigenia in Aulis* third stasimon the imagery of *mousikē* is similarly used for a deeply unsettling effect, as the chorus allude to details of music and dance from the previous verses, but transfer them from the context of marriage to that of sacrifice.[134] In doing so, the chorus here, as in *Electra*, anticipate the inevitable turning point in the plot of the play, as Iphigenia submits to her sacrifice. The garlanding of her head (στέψουσι, 1080) recalls the shouting, reveling *thiasos* of centaurs with their "wreathed foliage" (στεφανώδει χλόα, 1058), while the focus on her beautiful hair (καλλικόμαν / πλόκαμον, 1080-81) reminds us of the καλλιπλόκαμοι Muses dancing and singing.[135] Through the course of the ode, then, the focus of erotic attraction has shifted from the Muses' *choreia* and Ganymede in the strophe, to Achilles in the antistrophe, and finally—and most disturbingly—to Iphigenia, the sacrificial bride, in the epode.

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[132] Mastronarde 2010: 141. Other examples include *Andr*. 274-308, *El*. 699-746, *Phoen*. 638-89, 1019-66, and most likely *Hel*. 1301-68 (but the corrupt lines at the end of this ode make the pattern harder to recognize); also Aesch. *Cho*. 585-662; Soph. *Ant*. 332-75, *OT* 863-910: see Mastronarde 2010: 140-43, 148-49.

[133] See Ch. 1, pp. 32-45 on *El*. 431-486.

[134] On the combining of marriage and sacrificial imagery in *Iphigenia in Aulis*, see Foley 1982, 1985: 82-83; Seaford 1987: 108-10; Michelakis 2006: 70-71. Cf. Rehm 1994 and Swift 2010: 250-55 on the conflation of marriage and funerary rituals in Greek tragedy.

[135] Lines 1080-1081 also foreshadow Iphigenia's words at 1477-1479 as she goes to be sacrificed: στέφεα περίβολα δίδοτε, φέρετε / –πλόκαμος ὅδε καταστέφειν– / χερνίβων τε παγάς.

The chorus also once again refer to the syrinx, which takes on a twofold meaning as a result of the instrumental sound with which the ode began.[136] On the one hand, the fact that Iphigenia was not raised to the sound of the syrinx and the whistling of herdsmen emphasizes the difference between her and the mountain calf, a more usual sacrificial animal, to which the preceding simile compares her. In this respect the mention of the syrinx reminds us of the image of Paris as a βουκόλος piping on his syrinx at the end of the first stasimon (574): it is another image of pastoral innocence that is used to contrast with the surrounding dramatic context, while the similar language here points to the causal connection between the moment of the judgment scene and Iphigenia's sacrifice.[137] On the other hand, the absence of a syrinx for Iphigenia here contrasts with the inclusion of the "reedy syrinxes," along with the *aulos* and kithara, in the opening of the ode (1038). The syrinx therefore also functions as a representative of wedding music, just as it does in the hands of Calliope on the François Vase and the Sophilos Dinos, and so the mention of it here highlights the absence of any such celebratory *mousikē* for Iphigenia. This absence would have been further stressed through the performance of the third stasimon as a whole, if, given the lack of references to choreography here, we can assume that the chorus would dance less in the epode, or even that they might be stationary (as William Mullen has suggested might happen in the performance of epodes in Pindaric *choreia*).[138]

Like Cassandra's distorted, monodic performance of a *hymenaios* in *Troades*, the third stasimon of *Iphigenia in Aulis* does not simply provide a contrast with the reality of the immediate dramatic situation, but is in fact embedded within the dramatic fabric of the play as a whole. We saw in Chapter Two that the emphasis on the lack of a chorus in Cassandra's performance plays into the motif of absent *choreia* that runs throughout the earlier tragedy, emphasizing the complete breakdown of communal worship and civic structure in the wake of Troy's destruction. At the same time, the lack of *hymenaioi* sung by a chorus of *parthenoi* (rather than by the bride herself) points forward beyond the span of the play itself to Cassandra's death; Euripides here seems to be exploiting a traditional idea that the distortion or absence of a proper *hymenaios* signals doom for the bride.[139] Similarly, in *Iphigenia in Aulis*, the ironic emphasis on the lack of any such celebratory *choreia* for Iphigenia anticipates her sacrifice rather than her marriage.

Even while this ode transports us to a time and place beyond the scope of the play itself, then, both the language and performance of *mousikē* help to forge close ties with the surrounding drama. Like other odes within Euripides' oeuvre that contain vivid accounts of *mousikē*, this song's intensely musical language seems typical of the dithyramb and the "New Music," and at the same time points to the tragedian's experimentation with the ways in which choral performance could (and could not) relate to the surrounding drama. The highly metamusical character of the ode, as well as its engagement with the musical imaginary within and through its performance, also, however, derives from traditional hymenaeal choral lyric, and it is through the audience's

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[136] ῥοιβδήσεσι, translated here as "whistlings," may also refer to both the sound and the way of playing the syrinx: Stockert 1992: 2.509 understands lines 1085-86 to mean essentially "nicht beim schrillen Klang der ländlichen Syringen."

[137] This image also recurs with Paris as a βουκόλος in Iphigenia's lament, lines 1291-1299.

[138] Mullen 1982: 90-142.

[139] Ch. 2, pp. 64-66.

acquaintance with this long-established genre that the song achieves its devastatingly ironic impact, directing us forward not toward Iphigenia's marriage, but toward her death.

CHOREIA AND MONODY

The third stasimon of *Iphigenia in Aulis* not only has an anticipatory effect similar to that of the first and second stasima of *Electra*; it also fits within a larger pattern of *mousikē* that runs through the whole play. The first two thirds of the tragedy are rich with choral song, particularly if we accept the authenticity of the entire parodos: over a quarter of the lines are sung by the chorus in the parodos and three stasima. The third stasimon, however, is the last intensely lyrical outburst of choral song; in the last third of the play choral song is largely absent, only briefly appearing in response to Iphigenia's request that the chorus sing to Artemis.[140] The shift of focus onto Iphigenia herself in the epode therefore heralds not just a turning point in the play as her death becomes more certain (as we know it must), but a change in terms of the tragedy's *mousikē*.[141] Following the third stasimon, the next song is performed by Iphigenia, not the chorus: at a break in action that would naturally be marked by another choral ode, between the exit of Agamemnon and entrance of Achilles, she sings a monody that develops the motif of the judgment of Paris that the chorus mentioned in the first stasimon.[142] Previously she has only appeared in the exchange between her, Clytaemnestra, and Agamemnon upon her arrival (631-750), but from the moment when she wishes she had Orpheus' power of speech (1211) she becomes the dominant voice of the tragedy: almost half of all the lines from this point onward are hers (over half if, as is very likely, the play ended with the chorus' song at 1510-1532 and did not include the following messenger speech).[143] The

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[140] *Heracles* has a similar choral structure, with frequent performances of *choreia* in the first two thirds of the play followed by the chorus' virtual silence in the closing scenes: after the parodos they perform three stasima that are full of triumphant epinician and paeanic imagery, and become increasingly celebratory until the entrance of Iris and Lyssa, after which they sing of frenzied, ill-sounding *mousikē* (875-905, esp. 877-879, 889-890, 894-895); soon they struggle to know what to sing at all, at which point Amphitryon tells them to be silent (1042-1044); they are then quiet for the rest of the play, as the focus shifts to the exchange between Amphitryon, Heracles, and Theseus. On images of "negative *mousikē*" in *Heracles*, see Henrichs 1996: 61-62; Wilson 1999-2000. For an opposite choral structure, see Ch. 3 on *Helen*, in which a mixture of individual and antiphonal lament in the first two thirds of play transitions into a particularly strong choral presence in last third (all three stasima are performed within the last 550 lines). The *Helen* structure is perhaps more striking than that of *Iphigenia in Aulis* and *Heracles*, since the length of stasima typically decreases through the course of a tragedy.

[141] Cf. Ch. 3, pp. 113-123 on the enactment of musical change in *Helen*.

[142] *IA* 1279-1335; 573-589. Cf. Kranz 1933: 229; Lesky 1972: 479; Kovacs 2003: 97. On the use of an actor's monody rather than choral song in an act-dividing position here, see Taplin 1984: 122. On act-dividing choral songs between exits and entrances in tragedy, see Taplin 1977, esp. 51-58; Poe 1993.

[143] On the dubious authenticity of lines 1532-1629, see Page 1934: 192-204; Willink 1971: 314; West 1981: 73-76; Jouan 1983: 26-28; Stockert 1992: 1.79-87; Kovacs 2003: 98-100. See below, pp. 167-172.

style of her first monody also suggests that it involved complex and impressive music of the sort that required the talents of a star actor rather than an amateur chorus.[144] The loose syntactical structure, enjambment, variety of meter (trochees, anapaests, dochmiacs, dactyls, and paeans), repetition of individual words (such as Ἰδαῖος Ἰ- / δαῖος ἐλέγετ᾽ ἐλέγετ᾽ in lines 1289-1290), and assonant and alliterative wordplay (as in ὁ τεκών με τὰν τάλαιναν, 1311), are all indicative of the musical and verbal complexity typical of monodies in Euripides' work at the end of the fifth century.[145]

The focus of musical performance thus shifts from chorus to individual actor in the last section of the play, just as the focus of the dramatic action turns toward her alone—and toward her crucial change of mind as she decides voluntarily to die so that the army can leave Aulis for Troy.[146] As we have seen, this narrower focal point is in sharp contrast to the chorus' panhellenic perspective in the parodos as they report on the sight of the vast Greek army. The transition from *choreia* to monody therefore mirrors the increasing importance of Iphigenia as a character in the play over that of the collective (Greece, the army, and the chorus).

Before her second and final song, however, Iphigenia calls the chorus back to perform a paean to Artemis before preparing for her sacrifice:

> ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ἐπευφημήσατ᾽, ὦ νεάνιδες
> παιᾶνα τῆμῆι συμφορᾶι Διὸς κόρην
> Ἄρτεμιν....

> But you, O maidens, sing a paean over my misfortune in praise of the daughter of Zeus, Artemis.... (1467-1469)

Despite her order to the chorus, it is Iphigenia herself who then begins this celebratory song:

> ἄγετέ με τὰν Ἰλίου
> καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐλέπτολιν.
> στέφεα περίβολα δίδοτε φέρε-
>   τε—πλόκαμος ὅδε καταστέφειν—
> χερνίβων τε παγάς....

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[144] Cf. Csapo 1999-2000: 407; Hall 2002: 8-11.

[145] Cf. Aeschylus' parody of such monodies in Ar. *Ran.* 1331-1363. On the increasing complexity of actors' song in late Euripides, see Hall 1999: 113-114; Csapo 1999-2000: 407; Csapo 2004: 216, 222-227. On Iphigenia's monody see Stinton 1965: 29-34.

[146] Conacher (1967: 249-250) and Michelakis (2006: 31) divide the tragedy into three parts: the first focusing on Agamemnon and his dilemma over his daughter's sacrifice; the second on Clytemnestra and Achilles, who learn the reason for Iphigenia's presence; the third on Iphigenia and her decision to be sacrificed. On Iphigenia's change of mind and (in)consistency of character, see esp. Siegel 1980; Luschnig 1988: 53-54; Sorum 1992. Her instructions to the chorus at 1467-1474 and monody at 1475-1499 seem to me to be strong declarations of willing self-sacrifice, even if she does change her stance in part because of the overwhelming force of the army (cf. Siegel 1980: 310-311).

> Lead me, the city-sacker of Ilium and the Phrygians. Give me garlands to be cast about me, bring them – here are my locks to garland – and streams of lustral water…. (1475-1479)

In this song she marks her changed resolve to be sacrificed by transforming her previous performance of lament: the repeated refrain of ἰὼ ἰώ now becomes part of the paean to Artemis, to whom she bids the chorus sing with her in celebration (ἰὼ ἰὼ νεάνιδες, / συνεπαείδετ᾽ Ἄρτεμιν, 1491-1492).[147] Her song then turns into a brief, lyric iambic exchange with the chorus before she departs (1500-1509). As she makes her way off stage, the chorus take up her song, watching her as she goes to be sacrificed and celebrating Artemis at her request (1510-1532).

This final choral song has traditionally been regarded as spurious, largely on account of the striking degree of repetition between it and Iphigenia's monody.[148] Recently David Kovacs has countered this view by arguing for the authenticity of this song and suggesting that Iphigenia's monody is interpolated instead, in which case she was originally meant to depart for her sacrifice immediately after giving her instructions to the chorus to sing to Artemis at 1466-1474.[149] If so, then the choral performance would in fact have been part of the exodos. It is generally agreed that the last 100 lines containing the messenger's speech are interpolated, perhaps added as late as the seventh century C.E., while even the alternative lines quoted in Aelian implying the appearance of Artemis *ex machina* contain some problematically post-classical elements.[150]

This focus on the question of authenticity, however, has neglected the ways in which both Iphigenia's monody and the chorus' final song respond musically to each other and together fit within the pattern of *choreia* and monody that runs through the play as a whole. By "respond musically" I do not mean metrical responsion—the chorus' song is astrophic—but a form of antiphony in which the chorus echo Iphigenia's monody in style and diction, and follow her directions to perform in a particular way. These songs therefore need not be mutually exclusive: both of them could have been in the play at its first performance, and they respond to each other in ways that suggest that they were originally intended by Euripides, even if he himself did not write them—in which case they were probably composed by an early actor or producer trying to reproduce the tragedian's style.[151]

Given the narrowing focus on Iphigenia and her solo song over the previous 400 lines, the reappearance of *choreia* here at the end of the play may seem surprising. Now, however, the chorus perform with Iphigenia as she exits the stage, not separately from

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[147] The refrain of ἰὼ ἰώ previously appeared in lines 1283, 1333, 1491, and 1497.

[148] See esp. Page 1934, 191-92; also West 1981, 74. Diggle, following Kirchhoff and England (who in his 1891 edition deems this song "a feeble and at times senseless reproduction of the language and the ideas of vv. 1475ff."), marks 1510-32 as *vix Euripidei* in his 1994 edition of the Greek text.

[149] Kovacs 2003, 98-100.

[150] Ael. *NA* 7.39. On the dubious authenticity of lines 1532-1629, see Page 1934, 192-204; Willink 1971, 314; West 1981, 73-76; Jouan 1983, 26-28; Stockert 1992, 1: 79-87; Kovacs 2002, 161; Kovacs 2003, 98-100

[151] Early interpolations are most likely histrionic, whereas readers' interpolations are generally from a later stage in the transmission of Euripides' tragic texts: see esp. Mastronarde 1994, 39-41.

her, and the shared nature of their performance should prompt us to question both the common view that the return of *choreia* here is interpolated and Kovacs' suggestion that Iphigenia's monody should be rejected instead. Whatever their quality, the repetitions of 1475-1509 in 1510-1531 are surely deliberate, as *both* Iphigenia *and* the chorus, following her instructions, sing together in praise of Artemis.

This joint performance is most clearly signaled by Iphigenia's unusual compound imperative συνεπαείδετε ("join in celebrating/appeasing with song") in line 1493.[152] The chorus, following this command, start to respond to her song shortly afterwards in an antiphonal exchange, in which their lines complement Iphigenia's own concerning her city and glory in dying (1498-1504). They then take up her paeanic refrain of ἰὼ ἰώ at 1510 and sing astrophic lyrics that in diction are initially so similar to her monody that the chorus really do seem to be joining her in song:

> ἰὼ ἰώ.
> ἴδεσθε τὰν Ἰλίου
> καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐλέπτολιν
> στείχουσαν, ἐπὶ κάραι στέφη
> βαλουμέναν χερνίβων τε παγάς....

> *Io io!* Behold the city-sacker of Ilium and the Phrygians as she goes on her way, with garlands cast about her head and streams of lustral water…. (1510-1513)

Like Iphigenia, they begin with a second person plural imperative (ἴδεσθε 1510; cf. ἄγετε 1475) that directs our attention to the same accusative object—Iphigenia as the "city-sacker of Ilium and the Phrygians" (τὰν Ἰλίου / καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐλέπτολιν, 1510-1511 = 1475-1476).[153] They then with similar language refer to her sacrificial garlands and "streams of lustral water" (…ἐπὶ κάραι στέφη / βαλουμέναν χερνίβων τε παγάς…, 1512-1513; cf. 1477-1479). The chorus soon turn to celebrating Artemis, just as Iphigenia bade them to (ἀλλὰ τὰν Διὸς κόραν / κλήισωμεν Ἄρτεμιν, 1521-1522),

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[152] Cf. Stockert 1992: 2: 614: "Die Wiederholungen in v. 1509ff. könnten freilich…auch als Ausdruck der Gleichstimmigkeit und des συνεπαείδειν (v. 1492) verstanden werden." Kovacs (2003: 99) argues that this verb is probably interpolated, both because of its rarity and on account of the fact that it takes an accusative object here. It is worth noting that, although ἐπαείδω does not tend to have an accusative object, both ἀείδω and other verbs with the συνεπ- prefix do (e.g. συνεπαινέω). Given Euripides' penchant for unusual vocabulary in the lyric passages of his later plays, the verb's rarity should not strike us as too surprising. On the combined sense of celebration and appeasement (the latter as in ἐπάδειν), see Stockert *ibid*: Artemis is to be appeased so that the Greeks can leave Aulis.

[153] Kovacs (2003, 99) finds ἄγετε in line 1475 inappropriate, as Iphigenia is apparently being accompanied by just one servant to sacrifice (cf. 1462), yet this imperative is addressed as much to the chorus as to any servant(s). He also feels that this imperative is awkward since it is combined with ones which can only be carried out at Iphigenia's destination, but the same combination of real present and vividly imagined future is evident earlier in the play in reference to Iphigenia, particularly in the final stanza of the third stasimon (1080-97).

and continue to recall the language of her song with their invocation of ὦ πότνια ⟨πότνια⟩ in line 1524 (cf. 1487).[154]

The similarities between the songs of Iphigenia and the chorus here thus suggest an antiphonal exchange in the style of a paean, which is the very type of song she has instructed them to perform. Although this paean has a sacrificial context, the militaristic tone with which both songs start, picturing Iphigenia as the ἑλέπτολις of Troy, may also evoke the performance of a battle paean, with the leader (here Iphigenia) beginning the song and being answered by the army (the chorus).[155] The imperative συνεπαείδετε may also suggest such a battle paean. This verb appears only here and in Theophrastus, but, as Ian Rutherford has noted, the communal response in a performance of a paean in Xenophon is twice denoted by another verb with a συνεπ- prefix, συνεπηχέω.[156] The same verb is used similarly (though not in the immediate context of battle) in Thucydides,[157] and verbs with the ἐπί- prefix are commonly used for the singing of a paean. If the performance at the end of *Iphigenia in Aulis* is meant to suggest that of a battle paean, the chorus would therefore again appear to merge with the Greek army, just as they did through their *choreia* when describing the arrayed troops in the parodos.

This evocation of the paeanic genre inverts the gender roles it usually entails: whereas performances of paeans outside tragedy were almost exclusively male, here a female chorus answers the opening song of a female leader.[158] Their combined performance also seems to confuse this paean with Iphigenia's previous mode of song, lament, which, when not in its purely solo form, typically involves a lyric exchange between a female leader and a sympathetic female chorus.[159] Such merging of genres is intensified by the refrain of ἰὼ ἰώ, which is also used in lament in tragedy (as in Iphigenia's earlier song at 1283 and 1332) – and indeed this is the type of song the audience might expect to hear at this point in the tragedy above all, when Iphigenia is being led to her sacrifice. The usurpation of the male musical form of the paean, however, complements Iphigenia's appropriation of the male language of bravery and service to community as she accepts her sacrifice: this is already evident when she

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[154] As Kovacs (2003, 99) points out, πότνια μᾶτερ in line 1487 is unparalleled as an address to one's own mother rather than a goddess or mistress and therefore points to some corruption in this part of Iphigenia's song. It is possible that Iphigenia is addressing Artemis here, not Clytemnestra, particularly since the rest of her song is so focused on the goddess, whom the chorus then address as πότνια at 1524. A description of Artemis as μᾶτερ (Burges' accepted reading of an obscure set of letters in ms. L), however, would also be surprising, even if, as Stockert advises, we consider the goddess' "Doppelcharakter" (1992, 2: 614). Perhaps the chorus' similar invocation should instead be understood as a transformation of Iphigenia's address rather than a precise repetition.

[155] See Rutherford 2001, 42-47 on pre-battle and victory paeans.

[156] Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9.10.4. See Rutherford 2001, 66 on συνεπηχέω at Xen. *Cyr.* 3.3.58, 7.1.26.

[157] Thuc. 6.32.2.

[158] On the gender of paeanic performers see Calame 1997, 76-79; Rutherford 2001, 58-59; Swift 2010, 64-65.

[159] As at *Il.* 24.719-746, when Andromache leads the γόος among a wider group of women who also lament (ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γυναῖκες, 722=746), as well as the bards who lead their θρῆνοι: see Alexiou 1974, 134-38; Swift 2010, 301-02. Cf. *Tro.* 98-229, 1216-59, 1287-1330; *IT* 143-235; *Hel.* 167-251. On the mixing of paean and lament in tragedy, see Rutherford 1994-1995, 121-24; *id.* 2001, 118-20; Swift 2010, 71-72.

explains to Clytemnestra how she is determined to die with *kleos* through her marriage to Greece (1374-1401); her final exchange with the chorus also resembles male panhellenic rhetoric, as she claims that Mycenae "raised me as a light for Greece" (ἐθρέψαθ' Ἑλλάδι με φάος, 1502).[160] By evoking in particular a battle paean, the chorus, though previously characterized as female non-combatants, further complement this change in Iphigenia's (self-)presentation by performing with her like an army in response to their leader.[161]

This sort of mixing of genders and genres seems rather close to what the Athenian bemoans as new musical practice in Plato's *Laws*, both when he argues that the Muses would never make the mistake of assigning feminine gestures and tunes to male verses or vice-versa (ῥήματα ἀνδρῶν ποιήσασαι τὸ σχῆμα γυναικῶν καὶ μέλος ἀποδοῦναι, 669c), and when he describes the "unlawful" poets who "mixed dirges with hymns and paeans with dithyrambs" (κεραννύντες δὲ θρήνους τε ὕμνοις καὶ παίωνας διθυράμβοις, 700d).[162] We saw in Chapter Three that a similarly hybrid performance by a female chorus occurs in the parodos of Euripides' *Helen*: within her opening lament Helen bids Persephone to send a paean from Hades (174-178); the chorus of captive women then enter, singing their antistrophe in response. Nevertheless, such mixing of gender and genre was not necessarily only a recent or specifically Euripidean phenomenon, since it is also evident in Aeschylus' *Choephoroi*, when Electra instructs the chorus to sing a paean over Agamemnon's tomb (149-151), while a female performance of a paean also occurs in Sophocles' *Trachiniae* (205-223).[163]

The response of the chorus to Iphigenia's directions to sing a paean with her may begin before they actually start singing in their antiphonal exchange. Near the beginning of her monody she bids the chorus to "whirl around" the altar of Artemis (ἑλίσσετ' ἀμφὶ ναόν / ἀμφὶ βωμὸν Ἄρτεμιν, 1480-1484). We have already seen that the verb used here (ἑλίσσω) also appears within a particularly self-referential passage of the parodos, when the chorus describe the running and leaping of Achilles, and that it frequently occurs in other, highly metamusical choral passages in Euripides' later plays. Here in Iphigenia's song the verb may also suggest some sort of simultaneous choreography, particularly as the circular movement that it implies is stressed by the repetition of the preposition ἀμφί. Rather than being merely a reference to the speaker's own movement, however, this imperative is given as a stage direction by the actor to the chorus. Such circular dance was a common form of paeanic performance, and we can imagine that the chorus might at this point in Iphigenia's song respond to her directions by moving accordingly. Certainly they are likely to have danced in this way when singing their own paean to Artemis.[164]

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[160] For a particularly pessimistic view of Iphigenia's language here, see Siegel 1980, 311-16 (he views her rhetoric of *kleos* as completely delusional).

[161] While the mixing of genders here demonstrates how the tragic paean was, as Swift (2010, 65) argues, "freed from the gender constraints of the real world," it also indicates that it relied on the audience's experience of its real-life enactment for its full dramatic effect.

[162] On Plato's criticisms here, see above, p. 151, Ch. 2, pp. 74-75, and Ch. 3, p. 117.

[163] See Rutherford 1994-1995, 120; *id*. 2001, 113.

[164] See Rutherford 2001, 65 on this passage (although he states that the chorus is merely imagined to be moving around the altar, when in fact they could actually be dancing in a circle while Iphigenia sings). Cf. Calame 1997, 76-77.

Although Iphigenia and the chorus respond musically to each other through their shared paeanic celebration, there is also a more unsettling undercurrent to their performance as a result of the unusual nature of their antiphony. Antiphonal *mousikē* tends to stress the solidarity of a leader and chorus, and in tragedy it especially does so in the form of lament, as in, for example, the shared parodos of Euripides' *Helen* and the extended performance of non-Greek mourning sung by Xerxes and the chorus at the end of Aeschylus' *Persians*.[165] In *Iphigenia in Aulis*, however, the chorus' response to Iphigenia's song ironically brings them together with her as their *chorēgos* just when she is exiting the stage to go to her sacrifice.[166] The poignancy of this performance is thus comparable to that at the end of Euripides' *Troades*, when, as we saw in Chapter Two, the long, antiphonal lament of Hecuba and chorus as she is about to be led away from them to Odysseus' ship marks the end of their *choreia*—and so too the complete breakdown of any remaining social bonds or institutions in the aftermath of Troy's fall.[167] The metrical disjointedness of the antiphony in the later play, with both Iphigenia and the chorus singing astrophic songs, further underscores her separation from them at the same time as their joint performance highlights their communality. Such distorted antiphony reflects the paradoxical nature of Iphigenia's final action, through which she both withdraws herself from the Greek community by leaving for her sacrifice and simultaneously acts as its savior, ensuring the army's departure and subsequent victory at Troy. So though the *mousikē* of Iphigenia and the chorus here gives the impression of a celebratory, antiphonal paean, this type of performance is also disturbingly flawed.

The usual categorization of Iphigenia's song at 1475-1499 as a monody is therefore misleading, since it ignores the ways in which it is related to the chorus' own performance. If we take all aspects of performance into account (dance as well as song), some sort of responsive exchange between her and the chorus seems to occur even before the chorus start singing at 1510ff. Iphigenia's instructions at 1467-1469 that the chorus sing a paean are not therefore made redundant because they are not immediately followed by the chorus' own song: they *are* followed by a choral performance, as the Chalcidean women dance in accompaniment to her song, which begins the paean that they then take over. When the chorus do begin to sing as well as dance, their response seems not just to complement Iphigenia's performance but also to replace it, marking the end of both her singing and her voice in the tragedy as a whole: *choreia* returns with Iphigenia's departure and death.

It has recently been argued that the performance of this paean is a sign of the chorus' marginalized position in the play.[168] But, on the contrary, we can see that it presents the final coalescing of chorus and actor as they become intimately involved in

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[165] See Ch. 3, pp. 92-102 on Eur. *Hel.* 167-251; Ch. 2, p. 84 on Aesch. *Pers.* 932-1076.

[166] As the text stands, Iphigenia must leave the stage after she finishes singing at 1508, so that there can be an interval between her exit and the arrival of the messenger at 1532 to report her death. But with the more likely ending at 1531, we can imagine that Iphigenia might have left the stage gradually during the chorus' song, thereby emphasizing their separation just as they perform in response to her. The moment of Clytemnestra's exit is unclear: she could depart into the house at 1509 or stay on stage through the chorus' song until the end of the play.

[167] See Ch. 2, pp. 83-86 on Eur. *Tro.* 1287-1332.

[168] Chong-Gossard 2008, 181. He claims that the chorus would rather sing a lament, but that "in the end they cannot sing the song they might want, but only what another person tells them to."

her story, carrying out her instructions to celebrate and appease Artemis in her memory, just at the moment when she leaves them to be sacrificed. To deem the repetitions between the songs of Iphigenia and the chorus in the closing scene of the *Iphigenia in Aulis* as evidence for one or the other being spurious is to miss how the merging of their singing in an antiphonal performance concludes the interplay of *choreia* and monody in the drama as a whole. It is above all through the performance of *mousikē* (music and dance) that the audience's attention is increasingly directed toward Iphigenia through the course of the tragedy, away from the panhellenic *choreia* of the parodos. In the Chalcidean women's last song, they function as both audience and chorus, beholding Iphigenia as she goes to her sacrifice and finally joining her in song, transforming her death into a paeanic celebration while also reminding us of the poignancy of her sacrifice.

Epilogue

Mousikē and *Mythos* in Euripides' *Bacchae*

The aim of this dissertation has been to show how *mousikē* can be intricately related to the *mythos*, and that, contrary to the traditional narrative of the chorus' increasing irrelevance and decline in late fifth-century tragedy, choral performance and the choral imaginary together play a vital role in Euripides' later work. I have ended my discussion with *Iphigenia in Aulis*, a posthumously produced tragedy with a relatively high proportion of *choreia*, and one in which Euripides uses *mousikē* for a variety of powerful effects—to virtually bring on stage a scene that is otherwise unseen; to heighten dramatic irony, intensifying the disconnect between the characters' premature hopefulness and what the audience knows must happen; to anticipate a pivotal moment of the plot; to help direct our focus toward Iphigenia and her sacrifice at the end of the play.

Bacchae, which was probably performed alongside *Iphigenia in Aulis* at the City Dionysia in 405 BCE, is also a strikingly musical and metamusical play, with almost a quarter of its lines sung by the chorus.[1] Not only is it full of vivid descriptions of music-making, but it also presents *choreia* as its central theme, as representative of the Dionysian cultic worship which Pentheus tries to ban from Thebes. Together, these two tragedies (and perhaps also *Alcmeon in Corinth*, though very little of this play survives) must have been an intensely musical—and *choral*—experience for the Athenian audience. No study of tragic *mousikē* would be complete without some discussion of *Bacchae*, so I end this dissertation with a few remarks on the role *choreia* plays within it.

From the moment when Dionysus declares in his prologue that he has come to Greece, "having set everything there [in Asia] dancing in choruses and established my rites" (τἀκεῖ χορεύσας καὶ καταστήσας ἐμὰς / τελετάς, 21-22), *choreia* is a definitive part of *Bacchae*. As he summons his chorus of Asian followers, bidding them to take up the drums (*tympana*) and make noise (κτυπεῖτε, 61) "so that Cadmus' city may see" (ὡς ὁρᾷ Κάδμου πόλις, 61), and stating that he will join their choral dances (συμμετασχήσω χορῶν, 63), the god indicates that his own epiphany in Thebes, as well as in his theater and cultic worship more generally, will occur through the presencing power of *choreia*.[2] In the following parodos, the chorus, performing in response to his instructions and including in their song an aetiology of the Dionysiac cultic *mousikē* that they are simultaneously producing on stage (120-134),[3] reflect and reinforce the god's

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[1] On the proportion of choral song in *Bacchae*, see Csapo 1999-2000: 410, 413.

[2] Cf. Bierl 2013: 218: "the chorus highlights again and again its own *choreia* in which the divine power manifests itself." On Dionysus' epiphany in/through *choreia*, see too Kowalzig 2007a: 228-230; on the epiphanic power of *choreia* in general, see esp. Ch. 3, pp. 128-133.

[3] This parodos has many dithyrambic features, such as the theme of Dionysus' double birth: see Zarifi 2007: 235. In their musical aetiology the chorus focus on the *tympana* (deictically described as βυρσότονον κύκλωμα τόδε, 125), which, in keeping with their dramatic character as maenads dancing for Dionysus, they would very probably hold and beat themselves. There is

arrival in Thebes (as well as his presence in the theater). Their performance is thus inextricable from the play's action.

This crossover of *mousikē* and *mythos* is particularly effective in the second stasimon, when the chorus' performance seems not only to make Dionysus present but also to effect and (re)produce in the *orchestra* his destruction of Pentheus' palace. *Choreia* in this play generates the dramatic action more obviously than it does in *Electra*, since the chorus sing and dance for the very god around whom the *mythos* revolves. Their vivid prediction of Dionysus' participation in their *choreia* also works as a performative utterance referring to their own simultaneous dancing:

> …ἥξει
> τε χορεύσων ἅμα βακχεύ-
>   μασι, τόν τ' ὠκυρόαν
> διαβὰς Ἀξιὸν εἰλισ-
>   σομένας μαινάδας ἄξει.…

> …and he will come to dance together with his bacchants, and, having crossed the fast-flowing Axius, he will lead his whirling maenads.… (566-570)

The combination of their own performance and their depiction of Dionysus as their chorus leader has an immediate, epiphanic effect, since it is followed by the god's voice from within, as he declares his identity as Dionysus (576-581); they then triumphantly sing that he is indeed present in the palace (ὁ Διόνυσος ἀνὰ μέλαθρα, 589). As they call on him with increasingly urgent cries, they shift from envisaging the demolition of the palace in the future (586-587) to describing it vividly in the dramatic present (594-603), and as they do so they physically enact this destruction rather as the chorus of Trojan women perform Troy's fall at the end of *Troades*: the imperatives to "hurl to the ground, hurl your trembling bodies, maenads" (δίκετε πεδόσε δίκετε τρομερὰ / σώματα, μαινάδες, 600-601) demand worship of Dionysus in response to his destructive power, but their simultaneous enactment also represents the palace's falling; the god turns their own bodies (σώματα) "upside down" (ἄνω κάτω, 602) as well as the building itself.[4] At the same time, they seem to merge with Dionysus as agents of destruction, as he gives the order to "burn up, burn up the palace of Pentheus" (σύμφλεγε σύμφλεγε δώματα Πενθέος, 595), and they respond by pointing out the fire (πῦρ οὐ λεύσσεις…, 597) and performing the destruction that ensues. There is hardly any distinction here between the action offstage and the performance of *choreia* in the *orchestra*.

Euripides thus not only makes *choreia* an essential theme of *Bacchae* but also uses it to represent, intensify, and even virtually generate vital moments of the *mythos*. In this respect the role played by the chorus' own performance in the play is a particularly powerful example of the sorts of musical effects I have explored in *Electra*, *Troades*,

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no need to assume in this case that the *aulos* (which they also mention here) would have been the only instrument played in the theater.

[4] Cf. Zarifi (2007: 236-237), who emphasizes the high degree of resolution in the meter here: "[j]ust as land can 'dance' at an earthquake (Callimachus *Hymns* 4.139), so an earthquake can be danced" (236).

Helen, and *Iphigenia in Aulis*. But this tragedy is also different in its use of *mousikē*, since the music-making described by the chorus is more closely associated with the women's own identity than it is in the other extant tragedies of Euripides: these maenads describe the musical activities by which their own dramatic character is defined, and which they simultaneously perform; imagined *choreia* therefore coincides with the chorus' actual performance on stage.[5] When they sing in the parodos of Dionysus leading his choruses of maenads in the mountains, bidding them to sing and dance with the *tympana* and *aulos* (135-149), they invite the audience to see and hear their own performance as the one they describe. They also, as Anton Bierl points out, turn our view to the chorus of the Theban maenads and their ecstatic worship of the god on Mount Cithaeron, so that the choruses led by Semele's sisters "become reality in the imagination of the spectators."[6] But the gap between imagined and performed *mousikē* is very small, and so the process of aesthetic suggestion is more simple in this play than it is when, for example, choruses in other tragedies sing of Nereids or dolphins, or of instruments such as the kithara and syrinx that are unlikely to have been played in the actual theater.

     In this respect Euripides may be adopting an older model of tragic *choreia* while also continuing to experiment with the role *mousikē* could play within a drama. Three of Aeschylus' surviving plays have choruses whose dramatic identity to a large degree coincides with their manner of performance: the chorus of *Choephoroi* perform lament, as befits their character as libation bearers; the extended, antiphonal mourning performed by the chorus with Xerxes in *Persians* in many ways conforms to the Athenian idea of Persian character; the chorus in *Eumenides* give a powerful display of their identity as Erinyes through the performance of their "binding song." Moreover, we know that several Aeschylean tragedies had choruses that were composed of worshippers of Dionysus or musical figures associated with the dithyrambic choral imaginary (*Bacchae*, *Bassarides*, *Edonians*, *Nereids*);[7] one fragment of *Edonians*, referring to the arrival of Dionysus and his followers, vividly describes the sounds of the *aulos*, *krotala*, and *tympana* in the god's cultic rites.[8]

     So while the ways in which Euripides makes use of the dramatic power of choral performance in *Bacchae* recall techniques that he also employs in the four tragedies that I have discussed at length in this dissertation, its *choreia* moves beyond the dynamic interplay of imagined and performed *mousikē* that characterizes much of his other work from the late fifth century BCE. This new musical direction in part involves a return to an older style of *choreia*, though the extent to which it does so is difficult to determine, since so few fragments survive from those plays of Aeschylus which featured a chorus of Dionysus' worshippers. The merging of *mousikē* and *mythos* in *Bacchae* also comes as the innovative climax of almost two decades of experimentation with the dramatic function of choral performance within a tragedy. This final work is perhaps Euripides' greatest musical experiment of all.

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[5] Cf. Bierl 2013, who suggests that *Bacchae* is "the only transmitted tragedy where the dramatic and performative roles of the chorus are intertwined, and, as far as dancing is concerned, are practically indiscriminate and identical" (212).

[6] Bierl 2013: 217; cf. Holzhausen 2003: 235.

[7] Aesch. frr. 22-25, 57-67, 150-154 Radt. On similarities between Aeschylus' "Dionysiac" plays and Euripides' *Bacchae*, see Xanthaki-Karamanou 2011.

[8] Aesch. fr. 57 Radt.

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