

ARTEMIS AND IPHIGENEIA*

(i) *The sacrifice of Iphigeneia in Aeschylus: I*

FEW problems in the *Oresteia* have been more debated in recent times than that of why Artemis sends the calm which detains the Achaean fleet at Aulis. ‘The main problem, a much vexed one’, wrote Eduard Fraenkel, ‘. . . arises from the fact that we are not told anywhere in the ode why the wrath of Artemis is directed against the Atreidae’.¹ By ‘the ode’ Fraenkel means, of course, the parodos of the *Agamemnon*; he might have written ‘in the play’ or ‘in the trilogy’. He believed that Aeschylus had in mind the story, told in the *Cypria* and in the *Electra* of Sophocles, that Agamemnon had angered Artemis by boasting that he surpassed her as an archer, but that he made no allusion to it because it seemed to supply a motive too petty to accord with his great theme.

Others have protested that in a trilogy concerned with guilt and retribution it is strange that so important an action should be left unmotivated. Sir Denys Page revived the view of Conington and others that Artemis is angry with the Atreidai because they are symbolised by the eagles which appear at Aulis, and these eagles kill a pregnant hare, an animal under her protection.² That is to confuse the world of the portent with the world of reality which it symbolises, besides assigning to the goddess a motive of a still more objectionable pettiness. In pointing this out, twenty years ago, I contended that since the eagles stand for the Atreidai the hare must stand for Troy, and deduced from this that Artemis must be angry at the prospective massacre of the Trojans. In Homer and in the later tradition, Artemis takes the Trojan side against the Greeks, and I argued that since the hare stood for Troy the partiality of Artemis for wild animals and their young must stand for her partiality for the Trojans.³

Some critics have objected that this theory too ascribes to the goddess a motive incommensurate with the greatness of the theme. N. G. L. Hammond writes that Artemis loathes the feast of the eagles (*Ag.* 137) ‘because she loathes the bloodshed of the war which Agamemnon and Menelaus are starting’; she is ‘the goddess of the weak and helpless . . . and she abominates the brutality of the impending war’;⁴ several other scholars have agreed with him.⁵

* My Oxford colleagues C. W. Macleod†, R. C. T. Parker and N. J. Richardson all read an early draft of this paper and helped me to improve it. I am grateful to Prof. Joanne P. Waghorn for the information given in n. 17, which is likely to be supplemented in most interesting fashion by her own publications; and I have profited by being allowed to read a so far unpublished dissertation on the cult of Brauron with which Miss Paula Perlman obtained the degree of M.A. from the University of California at Berkeley some years ago. Professor Albert Henrichs allowed me an early view of the valuable article of his mentioned below, and also supplied useful criticism; and I had help and encouragement from the scholar without whose work this article could not have been written, Prof. Walter Burkert. The following abbreviations are used:

Brelich: Angelo Brelich, *Paidés e Parthenoi* (Rome 1969)

Burkert *HN*: Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berlin etc. 1972)

Burkert *GR*: *id.*, *Griechische Religion in der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart 1977)

Calame: Claude Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* i (Rome 1977)

Deubner: Ludwig Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932)

Henrichs: Albert Henrichs, ‘Human sacrifice in Greek

religion: three case studies’, *Entr. Hardt* xxvii (1981) 195 ff.

Hönn: Karl Hönn, *Artemis: die Gestaltwandel einer Göttin* (Zurich 1946)

Meuli: Karl Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Basel etc. 1975)

Nilsson *GF*: M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1906)

Nilsson *GGR*³: *id.*, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*³ (Munich 1967)

¹ *Aeschylus, Agamemnon* (Oxford 1950) ii p. 97.

² *Aeschylus, Agamemnon*, ed. J. D. Denniston and D. L. Page (Oxford 1957) xxiii f.; cf. A. Lesky, *Die tragische Dichtung der Hellenen*³ (1972) 116.

³ *CQ* xii (1962) 187; cf. p. 23 of my translation, *Aeschylus: Oresteia–Agamemnon*² (London 1979). R. H. Klausen was the first to point out that Artemis was angry not with the birds but with the men they stood for; see his *Theologumena Aeschyli Tragici* (Berlin 1829), and cf. P. M. Smith, ‘On the Hymn to Zeus in Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon*, *Amer. Cl. Stud.* v (1980) 76 n. 101.

⁴ *JHS* lxxxv (1965) 42 f. = *Studies in Greek History* (Oxford 1973) 395 f.

⁵ E.g. J. J. Peradotto, *Phoenix* xxiii (1969) 237 f.; M. Ewans, *Ramus* iv (1975) 17 f.; P. M. Smith (n. 3) *loc. cit.*

In an article published just too late for me to take note of it, William Whallon argued that Artemis was angry not only because of the impending massacre at Troy, but because of the guilt of Agamemnon's father Atreus, who had served his brother Thyestes with his own children's flesh: 'because of the tecnophagy Artemis is impelled by remorseless vindictiveness'.⁶ He too stresses the role of Artemis as the protectress of the weak and helpless; 'what shapes her part', he writes, 'in the vast scheme of destruction wreaked upon the Atreidae is her love for any kind of helpless offspring'.

But if as all these critics think Artemis is impelled by her hatred of bloodshed in general and her love of young creatures in particular, why does she act in a way that causes the sacrifice of Iphigeneia? This consideration leads J. J. Peradotto to suggest that Artemis does not really intend that Iphigeneia shall be sacrificed; she stills the winds, he argues, simply to keep the fleet from sailing; so also Heinz Neitzel, who quotes Wilamowitz as denying that the protectress of the hare can possibly demand the blood of the virgin.⁷

Those scholars who assume that the kindly goddess who protects the young of wild animals is at all times averse from bloodshed are taking it for granted that the idea of Artemis entertained by Aeschylus differed a good deal from the character assigned her by the religion of archaic Greece. In that religion the goddess cherishes the young of animals because they are her own; yet at the same time she is the huntress who destroys them. 'In fact', writes Walter Burkert, 'Artemis is and remains a mistress of bloody sacrifices'.⁸

In recent years it has been established that the idea of sacrifice plays a notable role in the *Oresteia*.⁹ The eagles are said to 'sacrifice' the hare (*Ag.* 137), and Kalchas fears that in requital Artemis may hasten on 'another sacrifice' (*Ag.* 150). Iphigeneia is sacrificed to Artemis; there is no mention of the story, common to the *Cypria* and the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue*,¹⁰ that at the last minute the sacrifice was averted; and years later Klytemnestra will assume her daughter to have perished. Later the *alastor* is said to have sacrificed a grown man in requital for young ones; the plural seems to indicate that the children of Thyestes as well as her own daughter are in Klytemnestra's mind.¹¹

We are all agreed that the tragedians were free to make use of ancient legends without troubling themselves about their origin, or about their original significance. But the stress which Kalchas' account of Artemis' concern for young creatures has led some scholars to lay upon her gentle side must not lead us to forget the side of the goddess which is not gentle. If we wish fully to explain the part in the action played by this deity, whose connection with sacrifice is so close, it may prove helpful to investigate the origin of the legend that Agamemnon could not lead his army against Troy without sacrificing his daughter.

(ii) *Human sacrifice in Greek myth*

Greek myth contains a number of legends about human sacrifice, which have often encouraged scholars to conjecture that at an early stage of their history the Greeks, or perhaps their ancestors, may have been in the habit of sacrificing human victims. In the masterly book *Homo Necans* in which he has demonstrated the central place occupied by sacrifice in Greek religion, Burkert has reminded us that legends of human sacrifice are associated with some of the principal Greek festivals celebrated at holy places. One notable example is the part played by Pelops at Olympia; another is that played by Lykaon in Arcadia; at Delphi, Nemea and the

⁶ *AJP* lxxxii (1961) 78 f.

⁷ Peradotto (n. 5); Neitzel, *Hermes* cvii (1979) 10.

⁸ Burkert *GR* 237.

⁹ See F. Zeitlin, *TAPA* xcvi (1965) 401 f. and xcvi (1966) 645 f.; P. Vidal-Naquet, *Par. del Pass.* cxxix (1969) 401 f. = J. P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Tragedy and Myth in Ancient Greece* (Brighton 1981) (trans. of *Mythe et tragédie en Grèce ancienne* [Paris 1972])

150 f.; A. Lebeck, *The Oresteia: a Study in Language and Structure* (Washington 1971) index s.v. 'sacrifice'.

¹⁰ See Proclus, *Chrestomathia* in Allen, *Homeri Opera* v 104.12 f. A. Séveryns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus* iv (Paris 1963) 82, 135 f.; Hesiod *fr.* 23a. 17 M.-W.

¹¹ *Ag.* 1504.

Isthmus, Neoptolemos, Archemoros and Melikertes seem to occupy positions similar to that of Pelops.

Several legends tell of the sacrifice of young persons, usually female, to ensure success in war.¹² Thebes cannot repel the Argive onslaught without the death of Kreon's son, whether Megareus or Menoikeus; Erechtheus cannot defeat Eumolpos without the sacrifice of his daughters; Demophon and Iolaos cannot defeat Eurystheus without the sacrifice of Makaria. Thebes, even with the aid of Herakles, cannot defeat Orchomenos without the sacrifice of the daughters of Antipoinos; neither can Messenia repel the Spartans without the sacrifice of the daughters of Aristodemos. The publication of the Sorbonne papyrus containing new fragments of Euripides' *Erechtheus* has reminded us that such legends sometimes stood in close relation to religious observances practised in historical times. Before an Athenian army took the field, its general sacrificed in the sanctuary of the Hyakinthides, who were identified with the daughters of Erechtheus.¹³

Can it be argued from these myths, in conjunction with such archaeological evidence as has from time to time been brought forward to try to show that human sacrifice was practised during the Bronze Age, that at one time the Greeks, or at least their forebears, sacrificed human victims? With admirable caution Albert Henrichs has lately surveyed the entire body of relevant material.¹⁴ He rightly concludes that the evidence for the practice of human sacrifice during the archaic period, not to mention the classical and Hellenistic periods, is insufficient, and that even for the Bronze Age the evidence that has been brought forward leaves much room for doubt. He is right, also, to point out that the known fact that in historical times a beast was often sacrificed, in theory, as a replacement for a human victim does not by itself suffice to prove that in earlier times a human victim had indeed been sacrificed. At the same time, the possibility can hardly be discounted. The evidence for both cannibalism and the ritual killing of children in palaeolithic times cannot be disputed; and even if the practice had become obsolete before the Bronze Age, the memory may have endured. Archaeological evidence, cited by Henrichs, has confirmed the statements of Greek and Roman historians that the Carthaginians sacrificed children to Moloch at times of crisis. That means that the practice is attested for the Mediterranean basin as late as the fourth and third centuries BC; but for our present purpose what matters most is that the Greeks of the historical age believed that it had once existed.

(iii) *The origins of sacrifice*

Keeping this in mind, let us consider what seems to me the most persuasive theory of the origins of sacrifice that has been advanced in modern times. Karl Meuli started from the observation that during the infinitely long period of human history before the introduction of pasturage and the still later introduction of agriculture, human life must have depended principally upon the hunting expeditions undertaken by the male members of each community.¹⁵ Burials of bones in Siberia and other places indicate that the hunters tried to placate the spirits of the animals they had slain by offering to return to them parts of themselves; they offered, naturally, those parts which they themselves did not need for food and clothing. Very commonly such an offering was fixed to or suspended from a tree; for trees, like other plants, seem to perish in winter, but come alive again in spring. In early religion, any tree may be a tree of life; and Meuli has connected this with the prevalence of tree worship and the importance of trees in the worship of many deities.

In the earliest times the fear of ghosts must have assumed an overwhelming importance.

¹² See Burkert *HN* 77 f.; C. Austin, *Nova fragmenta Euripidea* fr. 50.16 f. and fr. 65.65–89; Eur. *Held.* 408 f.; Paus. ix 17.1; iv 9.2, 5.

¹³ See Burkert *HN* 78.

¹⁴ Henrichs; cf. F. Schwenn, *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern*, RGVV xv.3 (Giessen 1915); P.

Stengel, *Die gr. Kultusaltertümer* (Munich 1920) 128 f.; Nilsson, *GGR* 3, index s.v. 'Menschenopfer'; Burkert *GR*, index s.v. *id.*

¹⁵ See his 'Griechische Opferbräuche' in *Phyllobolia für P. von der Mühl* (Basel 1946) 185 f., = *GS* ii 907 f.

Later, it was supplemented, and to a great extent even displaced, by the fear of gods and spirits. The offering to a ghost became an offering to a god, paradoxical as it may seem that men should offer to a god those parts of the slaughtered beast that they do not themselves require: this is Meuli's solution of the problem which the Hesiodic story of the deception of Zeus by Prometheus was designed to solve, and which still provided the comic poets of Athens with material for jokes.¹⁶

(iv) *The Mistress of Animals*

In the beginning, such offerings may well have been made to no god or spirit in particular, but to a mysterious collective. But later they must have been made to a particular divinity. In the earliest Greek religion of which anything is known to us, the forests and the wilds were the domain of the great goddess who is referred to by the name of the Mistress of Animals, *πότνια θηρῶν*.¹⁷ It is a reasonable surmise that the forebears of the Greeks tried to appease the Mistress of Animals for the killing of beasts which they believed to be her property. Before the hunting group of males disappeared into her domain, to risk death daily over a long period, some form of sacrifice is likely to have been offered in the hope of propitiating the formidable goddess.

In the earliest Greek religion, goddesses were little differentiated from one another: structuralists, with their tendency to neglect the historical dimension, would do well to remember that the precise marking off of one deity from another in terms of attributes and function may not safely be attributed to the remote past. Thus it is not surprising that the Mistress of Animals has different heiresses in different places. She is recalled by certain features of the Samian and Argive Hera, the Tegean Athena Alea, the Cybele and Anahita of Asia Minor and various cults of Demeter and Persephone; but her usual heiress in historic times is, as we all know, Artemis. Artemis incorporated various local goddesses who had inherited certain features of the Mistress of Animals, such as Aphaia in Aegina, Diktyнна and Britomartis in Crete, Hekate in many places. From the comparatively late time when she became Apollo's sister, Artemis took on Apolline characteristics; but the virgin huntress, chaste and fair, who is already established in the Homeric epics, is a very different person from the Mistress of Animals as she appears in the more ancient art, even if one does not go back so early as her Cretan manifestations.¹⁸

(v) *The worship of Artemis*

In the worship of Artemis in historical times, many characteristics of the Mistress of Animals persisted. That worship was common in the Peloponnese, including Arcadia, that remote and mountainous country where as the dialect confirms part of the pre-Dorian population of the Peloponnese took refuge. One of the most widely diffused cults was that of Artemis Laphria, which Nilsson¹⁹ guessed to have started in Aetolia, spread to Naupaktos and across the Gulf of Corinth to Patrai, and then westwards to Kephallenia and eastwards to Delphi and Hyampolis in Phokis. At the feast of the goddess celebrated in Patrai, not only fruits but living birds and beasts were hurled onto the flames of the great fire that blazed around the altar.²⁰ The allied cult of

¹⁶ Hes. *Th.* 535 with West *ad loc.*; Menander, *Dysc.* 447 f., with Handley and Sandbach *ad loc.*

¹⁷ See Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*² (Lund 1950) 503 f.; *GGR*³ index s.v. 'πότνια θηρῶν'; Burkert *GR* 233 f.; B. C. Dietrich, *The Origins of Greek Religion* (Berlin etc. 1974) 146 f. Prof. Joanne P. Waghorn, of the University of Massachusetts at Boston, has drawn my attention to the startling parallel presented by the goddess who in Southern India presides over the forest and the battle-field, causes death in childhood, receives offerings in trees and is propi-

tiated with blood. One looks forward eagerly to the publication of Prof. Waghorn's investigation of the religion of Southern India, a subject that has been neglected by western scholars.

¹⁸ Whether or not the name Artemis occurs in the Pylos tablets remains uncertain; see C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Kadmos* ix (1970) 42, and other literature cited by Burkert *GR* 85 n. 23.

¹⁹ *GF* 218 f.

²⁰ For a discussion of this rite, with full bibliography, see Giulia Piccaluga, 'L'olocausto di Patrai', *Entr. Hardt*

Artemis Triklaria, closely linked with that of Dionysos Aisymnetes, had a cult legend of the sacrifice of a young man and a young woman.²¹ In the famous cult of Artemis Orthia at Sparta there was abundant use of masks which represented many different animals;²² just so in the Syracusan feast of Artemis described by Theocritus 'there were many beasts in the procession around the goddess, and one was a lioness'.²³

Artemis is often connected with trees and vegetation; often she is connected with fertility. As in myth she has her entourage of nymphs, corresponding with the satyrs who attend on Dionysos, so in cult she is often honoured by young girls: they were virgins, though the dances which they performed in honour of the goddess were not always decorous. At Olympia, the title Artemis Kordax²⁴ indicates their character; similar things are reported of the Spartan cults of Artemis Korythalia and Artemis Dereatis.²⁵ Like cults of Artemis as far off as Syracuse, Delos, Lesbos and Ephesos, the cult of Orthia had its dances; their nature may lend plausibility to the notion that the cult title, susceptible as it is of several different explanations may not be altogether free of phallic significance.²⁶ Artemis is connected with girls, but also with young men: in Sparta the ephebes were flogged at the altar of Artemis Orthia, and in Athens they swore their oath in the temple of Artemis Agrotera, the same goddess who received a sacrifice of five hundred goats as a thank-offering for her aid at Marathon.²⁷

(vi) *Iphigeneia and the cult of Brauron*

In Attica, an important place in relation to the cult of Artemis belonged to Iphigeneia. Athena in her speech from the machine near the end of Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris* commands Orestes and Iphigeneia to convey the statue of Artemis from the Tauric Chersonese to the east coast of Attica. There, at Halai Araphenides, Orestes is to institute the cult of Artemis Tauropolos; at Brauron, only two miles to the south, Iphigeneia is to institute the cult of Artemis Brauronia, whose priestess she is to become. When she dies, she is to be buried in the precinct, and the clothes of women who die in childbirth are to be dedicated at the shrine. The clear statement of the Euripidean Athena that the cults of Halai and Brauron are quite distinct from one another is confirmed by the testimony of Strabo, so that the once prevalent habit of supposing that they were the same was a deplorable mistake.²⁸

(a) The cult at Brauron

Unfortunately we know little about the ritual of either of the two cults; but what we do know of the actions performed and the dress worn by the participants in the rituals of both suggests that they belong together with other known initiation rituals that are associated with

xxvii (1981) 243 f. She observes that the holocaust did not include corn or wine, and is surely right in connecting it with the transition from an economy based on hunting to one based on cultivation. But like J. P. Vernant (283-4 of the same volume), I have doubts about the details of her structuralist interpretation of the connection between the holocaust and the myth of Oeneus, and in particular about her contention that by choosing cultivation in preference to hunting Oeneus was choosing to remain mortal rather than to become immortal. After the fashion of structuralists, Prof. Piccaluga combines different forms of the myth that are attested at different times and places, as though we could be sure that each formed part of a unitary complex; and in her preoccupation with forming a neat pattern she resolutely averts her gaze from the unusual cruelty of the rite and the effect which it must surely have had upon participants (252 n. 1, and see G. S. Kirk on p. 280). She seems to think the holocaust was a deliberate defiance of Artemis; but surely it was an attempt to

placate her by offering her things that were her own, and naturally not adding corn and wine, in which she had no part. While conceding that the Artemis of Kalydon preserved some elements of the Mistress of Animals, Prof. Piccaluga is scornful of those who have seen the Artemis of this ritual as the heiress of that divinity (245-6, 250-1); yet her own theory contains nothing that is inconsistent with that supposition.

²¹ Nilsson *GF* 216 f.; Calame 73, 245, 273.

²² Nilsson *GF* 190; cf. R. M. Dawkins, *JHS* Suppl. v (1929); Calame 276 f.

²³ ii 66-8.

²⁴ Nilsson *GF* 187; Burkert *HN* 117.

²⁵ Nilsson *GF* 183; Calame 297 f.; on Artemis Dereatis, see Calame 302.

²⁶ Nilsson *GF* 191; on the complicated question of the name's possible implications, see Calame 289 f.

²⁷ Deubner 209.

²⁸ Eur. *IT* 1449 f.; Strabo 399; see Deubner 208.

puberty, rituals in which an animal was sacrificed as a surrogate for a human being. The festival of the Tauropolia, like many other festivals of Artemis, involved dancing at night by choruses of girls; this is the festival at which in Menander's *Epitrepontes* Charisios rapes his future wife Pamphile. According to the Euripidean Athena, the ritual involved the mock sacrifice of a man. 'When the people celebrate the feast', she says (1458 f.), 'in memory of your nearly being sacrificed, let someone hold a sword to a man's neck and draw blood, for an appeasement and so that the goddess may be honoured.'

The sanctuary of Brauron was excavated by John Papadimitriou, Director of the Greek Archaeological Service, between 1948 and his sudden death in 1963. Important discoveries were made, and many interesting objects may be seen, though not photographed, in the museum on the site; but lamentably the results of the excavation remain unpublished.²⁹ If and when the inscriptions found during the dig are given to the world, we may learn more about the cult of Brauron and its ritual. In the meantime we would have to depend solely on the scattered testimonies found in ancient authors, had not Mme Lily Kahil published valuable studies of certain vases found at Brauron and at other places which are highly relevant to the problems now under discussion.³⁰

Aristophanes *Pax* 872–6 seems to suggest that in the late fifth century the Brauronia took place every four years; but this was not necessarily so in early times, and as we shall see the analogy of comparable festivals suggests that originally the rites had been celebrated annually.³¹ They involved a sacrifice, the beast sacrificed, as in many other cults of Artemis, being a goat. The sacrifice was offered to the goddess by young girls known as 'bears'; they wore, at least during part of the ritual, the saffron-coloured robe called the *krokotos*. The most celebrated allusion to them is in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 638 f. The chorus of militant women who have seized the Acropolis is about to offer advice to the citizens, as comic choruses often do in a parabasis. In order to establish their credentials, they parody the kind of recital of their qualifications which men might have given in similar circumstances by enumerating various religious duties which young girls might have performed in Athens, claiming to have performed all of them themselves. 'We are setting out, all you citizens', they say, 'to say something useful to the city, as we well may, because it reared me in splendid affluence. From the moment I was seven I served as *arrhephoros*; then at ten I was a baker for the *Archegetis*; then I had my *krokotos* and was a bear at the Brauronia; and I was once *kanephoros*, a lovely girl with a bunch of figs.'

Historical specialists who rightly see Aristophanes as a priceless source of information about Athenian life sometimes forget that it is not his primary purpose to provide them with such information, he being not a historian or an antiquarian but a comic poet. Some of them have been incautious in taking the women's word for it that they can really have performed all these duties, and that Athenian women regularly performed them all. But Wilamowitz in his note on the passage³² rightly reminds us that in each year only two girls served as *arrhephoroi*, though in

²⁹ Something may be learned from Papadimitriou's article in *Scientific American* ccviii (1963) 118 and from his situation reports in *Praktika* and *Ergon* and those of G. Daux in *BCH* between 1949 and 1963.

³⁰ *AK* viii (1965) 20 f.; *Beih.* i (1968) 5 f.; *CRAI* 1976, 126 f.; *AK* xx (1977) 86 f. A thorough, though rather literal-minded, discussion of the cult, with a precious collection of testimonia, is in Brelich 241 f.; see also J. D. Kondis, *ADelt* xxii (1967) 156 f.; Calame 186 f.; Henrichs n. 35.

³¹ Brelich 276 takes too literally the explanation of the passage of Aristophanes that is offered in the scholia and by the *Suda* s.v. 'Βραυρών': ἐν Βραυρώνι δὲ δήμῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς πολλαὶ πόρνοι, ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ Διονύσια ἤγετο, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον δῆμον, ἐν οἷς ἐμέθυον, μεθύοντες δὲ πολλὰς πόρναις ἤρπαζον. The innocent rural deme of Brauron cannot have been a red-light

district: the excavations indicate that there had been no settlement there since Mycenaean times. As for the alleged Dionysia, they were surely invented in order to explain ὑποπεπτωκότες (874), just as the prostitutes and the absurd notion that people got drunk and seized them was invented in a feeble effort to explain the text.

³² Wilamowitz, *Aristophanes, Lysistrata* (Berlin 1927) 162. Line 643 appears in modern texts as κᾶτ' ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίοις. κᾶτ' ἔχουσα is an interpretation of Ἰ'ς κατέχουσα usually ascribed to Bentley; I owe to Prof. Henrichs the awareness that Bentley was anticipated by the Flemish scholar Nicasius Ellebodus (see F. Schreiber, *TAPA* cv [1975] 328). But the Ravennas has καταχέουσα, and this reading has been defended by C. Sourvinou (-Inwood), *CQ* xxi (1971) 339, who inserts a stop after ἀλετρις ἢ in 644, removes one after τάρχηγέτι at the end of that line

all likelihood they represented all girls born at the same time. About the 'bakers' we know nothing; but at Athens 'the Archegetis' is likely to be Athena, and they presumably baked for her the special cakes required for some religious purpose. The *kanephoroi* referred to are presumably those who walked in the procession at the Great Panathenaia, a duty which was certainly not performed by all Athenian girls. A scholion on the passage contains an *aition* which implies that all Athenian women served as 'bears', but it would not be wise to believe this statement on no better authority than that of an ancient scholar who may well have been guessing irresponsibly.³³ We do not know how many 'bears' there were, but all analogy suggests that a small number of girls represented their entire age group. Neither do we know whether it is true, as some have guessed, that they lived for some time in the sanctuary, as the *arrhephoroi* lived on the Acropolis, undergoing a 'reclusion' of a type familiar in initiation rites.³⁴

The vases studied by Mme Kahil are like small mixing-bowls, and are therefore termed *krateriskoi*. They have been found not only at Brauron and at Halai, but also in the shrines of Artemis Mounychia at Piraeus, of Artemis Aristoboule near the Agora, and of Pan and the Nymphs in the Agora and near Eleusis. It is not surprising that they should be found in the shrine of Artemis Mounychia, since two ancient authorities say that 'bears' took part in her rites as well as in those of Artemis Brauronia. The vases show young girls, sometimes wearing a short *chiton*, but sometimes naked. Sometimes they are running a race towards an altar with a flame burning on it, or towards a palm-tree, an object often associated with Artemis and with Apollo; on some vases the runners carry torches. On other vases they are not running a race, but dancing what seems to be a slow and solemn dance, or executing rhythmic steps, near the altar and at the tree; sometimes they are carrying garlands.

The words of Aristophanes have been taken to imply that the girls were over ten; but a scholion on the passage says that they were between five and ten, and the very fact that this figure differs from what is in the text causes one to hesitate before concluding that it is mistaken. On the vases some girls seem very young, others a little older; Semni Karouzou³⁵ thinks they average seven or eight years old, which would suit the statement in the scholion. It may well be that at some time the age of the participants was altered; if the obvious explanation of the rites is the correct one, they were originally girls approaching puberty. The girls represented in the statues dedicated in the sanctuary, which date from the fourth and third centuries, are teenage girls rather than children or young women; but we must remember that we have no positive reason to suppose that these statues represent 'bears'.

We know that the animal sacrificed in the rite at Brauron was a goat. Now according to the *Cypria* the animal substituted for Iphigeneia was a hind; but Phanodemos says it was a bear,³⁶ and the statement of Tzetzes that Iphigeneia was turned into a bear seems to carry the same implication. But a goat was the beast commonly sacrificed to Artemis, and in historical times goats were more easily procurable than either hinds or bears.

The temple legend of the Mounychia cult³⁷ was that a bear was once killed, so that a plague

(which she surprisingly thinks refers to Artemis rather than to Athena), and finds a reference to the shedding of robes common in initiation rites (see below) both here and at Aesch. *Ag.* 239 f. Dr Sourvinou may be right, but her view involves an awkward punctuation and an insistence upon one particular stage of the ritual which I find surprising. T. C. W. Stinton, *CQ* xxvi (1976) 11 f., who reads *καὶ χέουσα*, avoids the former drawback but not the latter.

³³ P. Vidal-Naquet in *Comment faire l'histoire* iii (1974) 137 f. = *Myth, Religion and Society*, ed. R. L. Gordon (Cambridge 1981) 163 f. treats the matter with admirable common sense. 'Les étapes', he writes, speaking of the successive religious duties which the women claim to have performed, 'sont celles d'un pseudo-cycle'.

³⁴ Some people have supposed that the buildings round the stoa contained a dormitory for the bears; but for all we know they contained dining-rooms or guest-houses such as there were in many sanctuaries. Dr Richardson refers me to J. J. Coulton, *The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa* (Oxford 1976) 9 and 43. To supplement the one inscription from Brauron so far published (by Papadimitriou [n. 29] *loc. cit.*; cf. L. Robert, *REG* lxxv [1963] 135, Brelich 260 n. 60 and Kondis [n. 30]) in this sense is incautious; other supplements are possible.

³⁵ *Ap.* Kahil, *AK* viii (1965) 25.

³⁶ See Proclus, quoted in n. 10 above; Phanodemos *FGH* 325 F 14; Henrichs n. 14.

³⁷ See Pausanias *Atticista* 35 Erbse; Suda s.v. 'Εμβαρος'; App. *Prov.* 2.54 (*Paroem. Gr.* i 402);

ensued, and an oracle pronounced that it would not cease until a girl was sacrificed. A certain Embaros promised to sacrifice his own daughter, on condition that the priesthood of the cult was made hereditary in his family; he then concealed his daughter, dressed up a goat to resemble a girl, and sacrificed it in her place. This *aition* seems to have been designed to explain a ritual in which a goat was a surrogate for a human victim, presumably one of the 'bears'. That is what the legend of Iphigeneia would lead us to expect, and we know that the cult of the Mounychia was closely related to that of the Brauronia.

The vases indicate that the 'bears' danced, as we should expect of girls taking part in a ritual in honour of Artemis; they also indicate that they ran a race. It is not surprising that they ran a race, in view of parallels from Sparta and from Elis; and it is not surprising that a race should be connected with a sacrifice.³⁸ At Olympia the most ancient part of the games was the footrace: after the sacrifice to Pelops, whose shrine lay just west of the great altar of Zeus, the priest with his torch gave the signal for the start of the footrace, and the winner with his torch set fire to the offering lying on the altar.³⁹ Like Iphigeneia, Pelops was sacrificed; we are reminded of Neoptolemos at Delphi, Archemoros at Nemea and Melikertes at the Isthmus; and at the Arcadian festival of the Lykaia games were closely linked with a sacrifice which had central importance in the cult of Zeus Lykaios, a cult closely linked with that Lykaon who sacrificed his son.

The girls shown running on the vases run naked or wearing a short chiton. Attempts have been made to identify this with the *krokotos*; but this is normally a long garment, more like the high-waisted, short-sleeved, ankle-length chiton worn by the maidens whose statues were discovered in the sanctuary. Persons undergoing *rites de passage* often start by wearing a long garment which at a certain stage of the ritual they throw off. At Phaistos there was a festival called the *ekdysia*, whose cult myth told of a girl whom at her mother's entreaty Leto turned into a young man who was named Leukippos. Cretan inscriptions refer to the participants in similar rites as *οἱ ἐκδυόμενοι*.⁴⁰ When Theseus after making his way to Athens came to the temple of Apollo Delphinios, then the royal residence, he was wearing a long garment; being mocked for his girlish appearance he threw it off, and then hurled the oxen which had drawn the builders' cart higher than the roof.⁴¹ The story of the 'twice seven', the youths and maidens sent as tribute to the Minotaur, of whom Theseus was one, has been convincingly explained as an *aition of rites de passage*; so have the legends of Kaineus and of Achilles upon Skyros. In Corinth seven boys and seven girls spent a year, wearing black robes, in the shrine of Hera Akraia: 'the climax and conclusion of their service', Burkert writes, 'was a sacrifice at the festival of Akraia, the sacrifice of a black he-goat'.⁴² As Burkert says, this goat was clearly a substitute for the children: the cult legend was the story of the killing of the children of Medea. All the best authorities say that Niobe had seven sons and seven daughters: the story of their destruction by Artemis and Apollo surely relates to rites of the same kind. Burkert has argued that the rites performed on the Acropolis by the *arrhephoroi* were initiation rites, and these too involved a sacrifice.⁴³

What we know of the rites performed at the Brauronia fits in well enough with other initiation rites carried out by girls just before reaching the age of puberty. Before marriage, every Athenian girl made to Artemis the sacrifice known as *proteleia*.⁴⁴ It would hardly be

Apostolius 7.10 (*ib.* ii 397); Bekker, *Anecdota* i 444. All these are in Brelich 248–9; cf. Deubner 206.

³⁸ See Burkert *HN* 110 f., citing Plut. *Qu. conv.* 675c; for a possible parallel instance of a race and a dance as parts of the same rite, see Calame 339.

³⁹ Philostr. *Gymn.* 5 (cited by Burkert, *HN* 112).

⁴⁰ See Nilsson *GF* 370 f.; L. Gernet, *L'Anthropologie de la Grèce Antique* (Paris 1968) 203 (p. 164 of the inadequate trans. *The Anthropology of Classical Greece* [Baltimore 1981]); Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkeley 1979) 29 f.

⁴¹ F. Graf, *MusHelv* xxxvi (1979) 14, and the literature he cites p. 15 n. 118. On the Osc(h)ophoria

and Pyanopsia in connection with Theseus, see Calame 225 f. Jacoby, *FGrH* III b 1 (1954) and III b 2, 193 f., gives the evidence. Cf. P. Vidal-Naquet, *Annales ESC* xxiii (1968) 947 f., = *PCPS* cxiv (1968) 57 n. 4, = Gordon (n. 33) 156 n. 24.

⁴² *GRBS* vii (1966) 117 f.; cf. Calame 220 f.

⁴³ *Hermes* xciv (1966) 1 f.; he reminds me of the goat sacrifice probably connected with the *arrhephoroi* (*HN* 172).

⁴⁴ See Burkert *HN* 75 n. 20: it is for *proteleia* that Iphigeneia is brought to Aulis at Eur. *IA* 433. On such rites in general see Burkert *GR* 390–5, and the excellent brief account by Vidal-Naquet (n. 33).

surprising if at Brauron girls about to reach the age of puberty propitiated the same goddess.

(b) Iphigeneia

Young women who suffered from various maladies were accustomed to dedicate clothes to Artemis, as we know from the Hippocratic treatise on the maladies of virgins.⁴⁵ We have a number of inscriptions recording gifts of clothes to Artemis Brauronia. But the Euripidean Athena says that the clothes of women who die in childbirth will be dedicated to Iphigeneia.⁴⁶ At Megara, where the events after the assembly of Agamemnon's fleet usually set at Aulis were located by Megarian tradition, Iphigeneia had her own heroon. More often she was linked in cult with Artemis. At Aigira in Achaea a very ancient statue of her stood in the temple of Artemis; and at Hermione in the Argolid there was a cult of Artemis Iphigeneia.⁴⁷

In the *Iliad*, Agamemnon has a daughter called Iphianassa, but not one called Iphigeneia; Lucretius' use of the name Iphianassa may well indicate that some Greek poet gave that name to the daughter who was sacrificed. In a list of divinities in a Linear B tablet, we find the name I-pi-me-de-ja: the absence of an initial digamma is surprising, but the fact is still significant.⁴⁸ In the *Odyssey*, Iphimedeia is the name of the mother of the giants Otos and Ephialtes. The first appearance of Iphigeneia as daughter of Agamemnon is in the *Cypria*. In the *Catalogue* Iphigeneia is not killed, but is turned into Hekate, handmaid of Artemis; in the *Cypria*, Iphigeneia is carried off to Tauris and there made immortal by the goddess.

In Stesichorus, Iphigeneia is the daughter not of Klytemnestra by Agamemnon, but of her sister Helen by Theseus, born after Helen's kidnapping at an early age and handed over to her aunt to be brought up by her.⁴⁹ This looks like a compromise between the story that Iphigeneia was Agamemnon's daughter by his wife and a different story. Helen was originally a goddess, connected with vegetation and fertility. She was not always Leda's daughter; one story gives her as a mother Nemesis, worshipped as a goddess at Rhamnous, not very far from Brauron.⁵⁰ The story of a daughter of Nemesis being carried off by Theseus may well have started as an Attic legend: the relations of Theseus with Attic local divinities and local heroes were not always happy. Similarly, it seems that in the original version of Helen's kidnapping current at Sparta, the aggressor was not Theseus, but a local character; Enarsphoros, one of the sons of her father's enemy Hippokoon, is known to have had designs on her.⁵¹

It has long been conjectured that Iphigeneia started as a goddess, and was later subordinated to or identified with Artemis;⁵² and it seems distinctly possible that she had Helen as a mother before being transferred to Helen's sister.

In historical times, Artemis was a goddess of birth.⁵³ As such, she seems often to have

⁴⁵ *De virg.* 17 f. (ed. Littré, viii 466–8).

⁴⁶ See *IG* ii² 1514–25 and 1528–31 for fragments from the Acropolis and *Hesp.* xxxii (1963) 169–82 nos 7–10 for fragments from the Agora; cf. T. Linders, *Studies in the Treasure Records of Artemis Brauronia*, Skrifter Svenska Inst. i Athen iv. 19 (Stockholm 1972). Relevant extracts from *IG* ii² 1514 and *IG* ii² 1388 and 1400 are translated by M. R. Lefkowitz and M. Fant, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome* (London 1982) 120 nos 123, 124. Dedications to Iphigeneia: *Eur. IT* 1464.

⁴⁷ Paus. ii 35.1; vii 26.5; i 43.2.

⁴⁸ *Il.* ix 287, in a list of daughters whose names describe different aspects of kingship; *Lucr.* i 85; *Hes. fr.* 23 M.-W.; for the tablet, see M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* (Cambridge 1956) no. 172 (Kn. O 2). As to the digamma, see H. Mühlstein, *Colloquium Mycenaicum* (Neuchâtel 1979) 235; Mr E. L. Bowie suggests that the derivation of Iphigeneia's name from *ἴφι* may be a mere popular etymology, and that the first element may derive rather from the root of *ἵπταμαι*, a suggestion that I find

attractive.

⁴⁹ *Fr.* 191 in Page, *PMG*.

⁵⁰ See M. L. West, 'Immortal Helen', Inaugural Lecture, Bedford College, London (1975); Calame 333 f.; L. B. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène dans les textes et les documents figurés* (Paris 1955).

⁵¹ See *Plut. Thes.* 31; cf. D. L. Page, *Alcman: the Parthenion* (Oxford 1951), who speaks of 'a further possibility that Alcman told a story of the Tyndarids' punishment of Enarsphoros (and his brothers) for their insolence to Helen' (32 n. 2).

⁵² See L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford 1921) for a useful, though to my mind over-cautious, discussion of the question.

⁵³ See Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* ii (Oxford 1896) 444 and the nn. on 567 f. On sacrifices to Artemis in connection with birth and pregnancy, see the sacral law from Cyrene in *SEG* ix 1.72 = F. Sokolowski, *Les lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Suppl. (1962) 115, where *ἄρκος* may well be equivalent to *ἄρκτος*.

acquired much of the benignant character of the ancient goddesses of birth, the Eileithyiai,⁵⁴ but this quality is secondary, being foreign to the original nature of the goddess. In Homer Artemis is a lion to women;⁵⁵ with her gentle arrows she sends them sudden death. As the heiress of the Mistress of Animals, she will initially have been not a kindly supporter, but a potential killer who had to be propitiated. J. D. Kondis⁵⁶ in his useful article on the cult of Brauron is unlikely to be right in making out Artemis as altogether kindly and in taking Iphigeneia to be responsible for the sinister elements: one may doubt whether their functions are so easily to be separated. By the time Artemis is appealed to as a kindly helper by women in travail, as she is according to the chorus of Euripides' *Hippolytus*,⁵⁷ she has travelled far from her original function in connection with birth.

(vii) *Orestes and the cult of Halai Araphenides*

Let us now turn to the cult of Artemis Tauropolos, located some two miles north of Brauron, but distinct from the Brauronian cult, and founded by a male hero, brother to the founder of the neighbouring cult of Brauron. Like other festivals of Artemis, the Tauropolia involved dances for which girls wore beautiful costumes; but it was founded by a male, and males might be among the spectators.⁵⁸

The cult claimed to possess the original image of Artemis which had been brought back by Orestes from the Crimea,⁵⁹ the Tauric Chersonese; so did several other cults of Artemis, including that of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Beyond doubt the story that the image came from the Tauric Chersonese owed its invention to the name Tauropolos: the Greeks will have been glad to credit barbarians with cruel sacrifices of a kind they were unwilling to attribute to their own ancestors.

According to one story, the cult statue of Artemis was found in a clump of withies by the heroes Astrabakos and Alopekos, who thereupon went mad.⁶⁰ Another hero who went mad after the discovery of a cult statue is Eurypylos of Patrai; the statue, it is true, was not that of Artemis but that of Dionysos Aisymnetes, but his cult is closely linked with that of Artemis Triklaria, and the heroon of Eurypylos lay within the *temenos* of Artemis.⁶¹ Artemis was expert in curing madness. According to one version of the story, Melampous cured the daughters of Proitos of the madness sent by Hera by praying to Artemis Hemera of Lousoi in Arcadia.⁶² Gods who cause an affliction can also, like the spear of Achilles, cure it; and Orestes' connection with madness is well known. In the version of his story best known to us his protector is Apollo, but Pherekydes⁶³ tells how he sought refuge from the Erinyes at Oresthasion, or Oresteion, in Arcadia, in a temple of Artemis, and was protected by the goddess. When the sailors who form the chorus of Sophocles' *Ajax*⁶⁴ are speculating about the causes of their master's madness, the

⁵⁴ E.g., see Eur. *Hipp.* 145.

⁵⁵ *Il.* xxi 483.

⁵⁶ Cited in n. 30. Calame 292 f. thinks Artemis protected the newborn child, Eileithyia the mother; but if so, and I see no reason for believing it, this will have been a comparatively late development.

⁵⁷ 166 f.

⁵⁸ See Farnell (n. 47) ii 451 f.; Deubner 208 f.; Nilsson *GF* 251 f.; Jacoby on Phanodemos *FGrH* 325 F 14.

⁵⁹ See Paus. iii 16.8; cf. F. Graf, *Ant. Welt* iv (1979) 33 f.; for other cults making the same claims, see Brelich 244.

⁶⁰ Paus. iii 16.9; see Burkert, *MusHelv* xxii (1965) 172.

⁶¹ See Nilsson *GF* 294 f.; also 217.

⁶² See Akousilaos *FGrH* 2 F 28; Bacchyl. 11 *passim*; Burkert *HN* 189 f.; and cf. Hippocr., *De virg.*, cited in n. 45 above. At Eur. *Hipp.* 145 Diktynna is mentioned in

this connection; for Euripides she was identical with Artemis, as Barrett's parallels indicate. Kybele is coupled with Diktynna here; both together with Hekate are mentioned by Hippocr., *De morbo sacro* 4 in a similar connection. Kybele is often said to cause madness, sometimes in conjunction with the Korymbantes, as in Menander, *Theophroroumene* 27 and in the fragment containing hexameters which E. W. Handley, *BICS* xvi (1969) 96 with great probability assigned to that play (see Sandbach's Oxford text of Menander, pp. 145–6). It may well be relevant that Kybele, like Artemis, is an heiress of the Mistress of Animals; see Burkert *GR* 233–4 and E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley/L.A. 1951) 77 f., 96 f.

⁶³ *FGrH* 3 F 135, with Jacoby *ad loc.* (I a 424).

⁶⁴ 172; for appeals to Artemis to send away diseases, cf. Philip, *AP* vi 240 Gow–Page, *Garland of Philip* 2648 f. and *Hy.Orph.* 36, 15 (cf. O. Weinreich, *Gebet und Wunder* [Stuttgart 1929] 18 f.).

first divinity they imagine may have sent it is Artemis Tauropolos. Some have supposed that she is invoked because it is cattle that Ajax has destroyed, but the connection of Artemis Tauropolos with madness is likelier to be relevant.

The cult title Tauropolos occurs in several places in Asia Minor, besides Amphipolis, on the Strymon, where the Greeks seem to have identified a local goddess with their own Artemis.⁶⁵ It is not unnatural for the heiress of the Mistress of Animals to be connected with bulls, but the title seems to have deeper implications. Fritz Graf⁶⁶ has pointed out that all cults of Artemis Tauropolos seem to involve the suspension of everyday conditions by the importation of something strange or uncanny. He finds that they were linked with the incorporation of young persons into the adult world by means of *rites de passage*, like the ordeal of the ephebes in the allied cult of Artemis Orthia.

Further evidence in support of Graf's opinion may be found in the evident connection of the Tauropolos with male sexuality, not surprising in a goddess whose protection is sought for young males approaching puberty. The bull is an obvious symbol of virility; thus Aeschylus and Aristophanes both use what seems to be an ancient ritual term *ἀταύρωτος* in the sense of 'virginal'.⁶⁷ The title Orthia or Orthosia may well reflect an ancient connection of the goddess with the sexuality of males.⁶⁸ In the cults of Hera Akraia at Corinth, Apollo Delphinios at Athens, and Apollo and Artemis together near the river Sythas in the neighbourhood of Sicyon, male and female initiation rites seem to have been combined together.⁶⁹ There is ground for suspecting that, at least in the earlier stages of its history, the cult of the Tauropolos was concerned with the initiation of males, and was closely related to that of the Brauronia, which was concerned with that of females.

(viii) Bears and the cult of Brauron

The cult legend of Mounychia⁷⁰ indicates that the rite involved the sacrifice of a goat, serving as surrogate for a girl, meant to appease the goddess for the death of a bear. The rites of Brauron also involved a sacrifice; the girl for whom the sacrificed beast was surrogate was called a bear, and was in a certain sense identical with the goddess, just as the sacrificed Iphigeneia was in a sense identical with Artemis. The analogy of the cult of Dionysos is easy to perceive.⁷¹ The ritual death of the bear marked the end of the girls' lives as children and their entry into the adult world; so, I suspect, did the ritual death of the male victim in the rites of the Tauropolos.

The appearance of the bear, of all creatures, in this connection, is of great interest; for no animal figures more prominently in the earliest material used by Meuli to support his theory of the origins of sacrifice as an attempt by hunters to assuage the guilt they felt for the killing of their animal victims.⁷² The strength and cunning of the bear have always made a deep impression on its hunters; so has its resemblance, when standing upright on its feet, to a human being; and bears figure in countless stories, legends and beliefs of the hunting cultures of which

⁶⁵ See Farnell (n. 53) *loc. cit.* and his nn. on 569 f.

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.* (n. 59) 41.

⁶⁷ Aesch. *Ag.* 244 and *Ar. Lys.* 216; Fraenkel on the former passage agrees with Wilamowitz on the latter that the word must be hieratic. *ταύρος* = *κοχώνη*, Pollux ii 173, Galen xiv 706; *τὸ αἰδοῖον τοῦ ἀνδρός*, Suda s.v.; *ταυρίνδα* is the name of a phallic game played at Taras, Hsch. s.v.; cf. Nilsson *GF* 184. One would like to know why the female flatterers who wheedled Macedonian princesses were called *ταυρόπολοι* or *τριοδίτιδες*: the latter name is suggestive of Hekate, a personage connected with Artemis (see Klearchos *fr.* 19, ed. Wehrli, p. 15). On the rape of girls dancing in honour of Artemis, see Calame 176, and cf. 189 f. For attempts to connect the etymology of *ταυρόπολος* with *ταῦρος*, see Phanodemos *FGrH* 325 F 14, Istros *FGrH*

334 F 18, Apollodoros *FGrH* 244 F 11.

⁶⁸ See n. 26.

⁶⁹ See Burkert, *GRBS* vii (1966) 117 f.; Graf (n. 41) 1 f., esp. 13 f.; on the Sicyonian cult, see Nilsson *GF* 171 f., Calame 205 f., and Brelich 377 f. ⁷⁰ See n. 37 above.

⁷¹ See E. R. Dodds, *Euripides, Bacchae*² (Oxford 1960) xviii f.

⁷² See Meuli (n. 15), esp. 225 f. = 949 f. and 242 f. = 969 f.; see also *GS* index s.v. 'Bär' (ii 1238). Paul Faure, *BCH* lxxxiv (1960) makes conjectures about bears in the cult of Artemis at Akroteri in Crete which if correct are highly relevant: see R. F. Willetts, *Cretan Cults and Festivals* (London 1962) 275 f. and *The Civilization of Crete* (London 1977) 122; also A. J. Hallowell, *American Anthropologist* xxviii (1962) 87 f. (on bear burials).

we have knowledge. Rhys Carpenter⁷³ was gently rebuked by Dodds for showing 'an excessive preoccupation with bears', but he was right to stress the importance of the bear in early Greek belief. The cult legend of the Lykaia in Arcadia told how Lykaon, whose name suggests the wolf, sacrificed his son or grandson.⁷⁴ Lykaon's daughter is Kallisto,⁷⁵ who was an attendant of Artemis and was changed by her into a bear for having broken her vow of chastity; her son was Arkas, the eponym of the Arcadians, whose name was often connected with the word for bear. Although punished by Artemis, Kallisto, like Iphigeneia, was in a sense identical with Artemis. We seem to have no evidence of initiation rites for females parallel to those for males known to have existed in connection with the Lykaia; yet I strongly suspect that such rites originally existed, and that bears played in them a part corresponding with that played by wolves in the initiation of male persons. Since there is no record of bears in Greece during historical times, the origins of these rites would seem to have been extremely ancient, and the same is likely to be true of the origins of the cult of Brauron.

(ix) *Male and female initiation rites and sacrifice*

Initiation rites for males marked the entry of the young male into his full status as a warrior. Often he had to begin with a probationary period, living in the wilds like an animal and mastering the skills that hunters need. In Arcadia male initiates lived for a time a life like that of wolves; Burkert has pointed out that this explains legends about were-wolves, as it explains the stories of leopard-men that come from modern Africa. The Spartan institution of the *krypteia* supplies an obvious parallel; here too the skills learned by the ephebes during their period of probation were not those of the warrior, but those of the hunter.⁷⁶ Does that indicate that such practices went back to the time when hunting, just as much as if not even more than war, was the main occupation of the group of adult males on whose activities the fate of the community depended?

At the centre of all initiation rites there was a sacrifice.⁷⁷ It was designed to secure divine protection for the male in hunting or in war, for the female in married life and childbirth. In theory, as the legend of Embaros indicates, human blood had to be shed to atone for the shedding of the blood of an animal dear to or even identified with the divinity. In a sense that victim too was identified with the divinity; in historical times the place of the victim was taken by another animal.

It is so natural to suppose that, in the early history of mankind, sacrifice of this sort should have been offered to the power that ruled over the wilds and forests that one is tempted to conjecture that in the cultures from which that of the Greeks descended the Mistress of Animals may have been the first divinity to receive such sacrifices. During the immensely long period of prehistory throughout which human life depended on the hunting of animals by the group of mature males, each man would have to venture his life daily during long sojourns in the domain of the Mistress of Animals; each man would be trying to kill the animals who were her property, so that he would have cause to fear her wrath. At the start of its expedition, the group of hunters would need to propitiate her by the shedding of blood.

Later, when the group of male fighters made war not merely upon animals but upon other men, the institutions that had developed to meet the needs of the hunting group must have been easily adapted to the needs of a community that from time to time engaged in war. In the initiation rites of Sparta and Arcadia as we know them, the stage of the young man's life at which he lived in the wilds like an animal and learned the skills of hunters was followed by the stage at

⁷³ Rhys Carpenter, *Folk Tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics* (Berkeley/L.A. 1946) ch. 6 *passim*; cf. Dodds in M. Platnauer, *Fifty Years (and Twelve) of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 32 n. 19.

⁷⁴ See Burkert *HN* 98 f.

⁷⁵ See W. Sale, *RhM* cv (1962) 122 f.; cviii (1965)

115 f.; cxviii (1975) 265 f.; G. Maggiulli in *Mythos: Scripta in honorem M. Untersteiner* (Genova 1970) 179 f.; Henrichs 201 n. 27.

⁷⁶ See Vidal-Naquet (n. 41), esp. 55 f. = 155 f.

⁷⁷ See Burkert *HN* 50 and 142.

which he served as horseman or as hoplite.⁷⁸ At the point of transition it was natural to placate a potentially hostile divinity; so also when the group of males set off on a campaign, during which as during the hunting expeditions of early times, they would try to kill others and would risk death themselves. The great wars of legendary Greece did not lack preliminary sacrifices; neither did the wars of history.

'Marriage is to a girl what war is to a boy', Jean-Pierre Vernant⁷⁹ has remarked in connection with initiation rites. Female puberty is accompanied by the start of menstruation. The ancients did not always clearly distinguish blood from amniotic fluid; in any case, copious bleeding accompanies and follows birth, so that the author of the Hippocratic treatise on the diseases of women can remark that when a woman is in good health her blood gushes out 'like that of a sacrificial victim'.⁸⁰ Birth may be fatal to the mother or the child, or both: Artemis slew women, as she slew hunters, with her gentle arrows. Artemis came to be thought of as a kind protector of women in travail; but originally she had been a dangerous enemy, to be propitiated at great cost. Several myths record her fury against girls who left her sphere by surrendering their virginity. So females also were in danger of having their blood shed, perhaps fatally, by the Mistress of Animals.

Artemis was dangerous also to male hunters. Often this aspect of the goddess is linked in myth with sexuality. Burkert has written that her virginity is not asexual, like that of Athena, but 'a peculiarly erotic, challenging ideal'.⁸¹ Formidable males who offer violence to her or to her mother Leto are struck down by her unerring arrows: such are Tityos⁸² and the two Aloadaï, Otos and Ephialtes. She shot the hunter Bouphagos, who tried to rape her; she sent mad the hunter Broteas, who failed to do her honour, just as Astrabakos and Alopekos, Eurypylos and Orestes, all went mad. One story makes her responsible for the death of the hunter Adonis, lover of Aphrodite; there can be no doubt that this story plays a part in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, where the two goddesses function as polar opposites.⁸³ There are various accounts of the end of the great hunter Orion, but one makes Artemis kill him for having offered her violence. As for Aktaion, the hunter who is son of the divine Aristaios by the virtually divine Autonoe, the story that Artemis destroyed him for having seen her bathing is not attested before the Hellenistic period, and probably derives from the legend of the blinding of Teiresias by Athena for a similar offence.⁸⁴ One older version, used by Euripides in his *Bacchae*, makes her kill him for having boasted that he surpassed her as a hunter; but that, like the similar tales about Orion and Agamemnon, must be secondary. Both Stesichorus and the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue* make her get rid of him for being a suitor of Semele, thus furnishing another instance of a hunter destroyed by Artemis because he has desired a female. Cherished companions of Artemis, like the female Atalante and Kallisto and the male Hippolytos, had to observe chastity:⁸⁵ those who failed to do so suffered at her hands. We are reminded that in historical times athletes while training for the games had to abstain from all sexual activity, sometimes resorting to the practice of infibulation in order to remove temptation.⁸⁶ The sacrifice and banquet that marked the moment of release from the taboo after the games was the signal for renewed sexual indulgence, and myths like that of the visit of the Argonauts to Lemnos have been connected with this fact.⁸⁷ In the earliest times initiation ceremonies, marking the passage

⁷⁸ See Vidal-Naquet (n. 41); Brelich 116 f., citing older literature.

⁷⁹ *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece* (Brighton 1980) (trans. of *Mythe et Société en Grèce Ancienne* [Paris 1974]) 23.

⁸⁰ *De morb. mul.* 9 (ed. Littré, viii p. 30).

⁸¹ Burkert *GR* 235.

⁸² On Tityos, the Aloadaï, Bouphagos, Orion, see Schreiber in Roscher's *Lexikon* i 578 f.; on Broteas, see Apollodorus, *Epit.* ii 2 (ed. Frazer ii 154 f.); on Aktaion, see Burkert *HN* 127 f.; on such myths in general, see G. Piccaluga in *Il mito greco*, ed. B. Gentili and G. Paioni (Rome 1973) 33 f. and J. Fontenrose, *Orion: the Myth of*

the Hunter and the Hunters, U. Cal. Publ. in Classics xxiii (1981).

⁸³ 1416–22.

⁸⁴ See Dodds on Eur. *Ba.* 337–40. The conjecture of L. Malten, *Kyrene* (Berlin 1911) 18 that the story that Aktaion was killed for having pursued Semele occurred in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue* has now been confirmed by the papyrus published by T. Renner, *HSCP* lxxxii (1978) 283 f.; cf. Stes. *fr.* 236 Page, *PMG*.

⁸⁵ See Burkert *HN* 72, with n. 12.

⁸⁶ See p. 544 of my appendix to H. W. Smyth's *Loeb* edn of Aeschylus, ii.

⁸⁷ See Burkert *HN* 212 f.

of young men or women to full adult status, may have been followed by such collective weddings as Louis Gernet has described.⁸⁸ It may be relevant to remark that during the pre-agricultural age the return of the hunting group after a long stay in the wilds may well have been signalled by a period of licensed indulgence following the enforced abstinence.

We know that the rites of Artemis Orthia involved an initiation ceremony for males, and we have seen reason to accept Fritz Graf's suggestion that the same is true of the rites of Artemis Tauropolos.⁸⁹ I have already mentioned that the cults of Hera Akraia at Corinth, Apollo Delphinios at Athens, and Apollo and Artemis by the river Sythas near Sikyon offer instances of linked pairs of ceremonies for males and females. To these the linked cults of the Tauropolos and the Brauronia should, I believe, be added.⁹⁰

In many places the god concerned with male initiation rites was Apollo. His origins are partly oriental, but Burkert has drawn attention to the resemblance of his name to the word *apella*, used in the Peloponnese to denote the assembly of adult males.⁹¹ As god of the *apella* he controlled the processes by which young men qualified for membership; and Burkert has argued with great probability that a native Peloponnesian deity of this kind was amalgamated with one of eastern origin.

At Delos the two goddesses, mother and daughter, were present long before Apollo;⁹² the daughter, like the great goddesses of Ephesos and Magnesia on the Maeander, became identified with Artemis. Conjecture in matters so obscure is hazardous; but one is tempted to guess that the similarity of function between two deities, one male and one female, each of whom presided over initiation rites, led to a merger by which they became brother and sister, the brother henceforth usually presiding over initiation rites for males, the sister over those for females. Of course, many exceptions and abnormalities will have survived: thus Hera Akraia and Apollo Delphinios related to both sexes, Artemis Orthia dealt with male initiations and the twin cults of Brauron and Halai Araphenides, both belonging to Artemis, dealt with females and with males respectively. From the time when she became Apollo's sister, Artemis took on Apolline characteristics, calculated to obscure her original character and disposition.⁹³

In the chain by which, following Meuli and Burkert, I have tried to link palaeolithic hunter with warriors of historical times, primitive appeasement of ghosts with historically attested appeasement of gods, some links are a good deal more conjectural than others. Archaeological evidence indicates that palaeolithic hunters tried to appease by offerings the spirits of the beasts they slaughtered; here Meuli has found the origins of sacrifices later made to gods. Warriors in historical as well as legendary times sacrificed at the outset of a campaign in order to assure success;⁹⁴ that they inherited the practice from the hunters who were their ancestors is a matter of surmise. In historical times, sacrifices made before battles or in thanksgiving for victory were frequently to Artemis. Artemis is also connected with initiation rites for males and females, some of which seem to date from the primitive period of the hunting cultures, not surprisingly in view of her status as the main heiress of the Mistress of Animals. For the theory to be correct, it is not

⁸⁸ Gernet (n. 40) 39 f.=23 f.; he notes their connection with Artemis.

⁸⁹ Graf (n. 59) 41.

⁹⁰ On the myth of Niobe, see p. 94 above. According to each of the great tragedians, as well as Lasos of Hermione and Aristophanes, she had seven sons and seven daughters; for the numbers of her children according to the various authorities, see W. S. Barrett *ap.* Richard Carden, *The Papyrus Fragments of Sophocles* (Berlin etc. 1974) 227 f. Their death at the hands of Apollo and Artemis may well be connected with an initiation rite in which a sacrifice symbolised the end of childish life for the participants. Herodotus' story of the rescue by the Samians of Corcyrean boys sent by Periander to Persia for castration looks like an aition

connected with a rite of the same kind; see Nilsson *GF* 240 and Calame 185.

⁹¹ See Burkert, *RhM* cxviii (1975) 1 f.; in his article in *Grazer Beiträge* iv (1975) 51 f. he has added to the evidence for an oriental element in Apollo's origins by showing that the early Greek statues of him belong to a type which had represented Rešep, the Egyptian lord of arrows and the plague, since the second millennium BC.

⁹² See H. Gallet de Santerre, *Délos primitive et archaïque* (Paris 1958).

⁹³ See Hönn 76.

⁹⁴ On Spartan practice see Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 13.8; *Hell.* iv 2.20; Plut. *Lyc.* 22.2; Burkert *HN* 78 and *GR* 107. On the general connection of Artemis with war, see Farnell (n. 53) ii 470-1.

necessary for the Greeks to have practised human sacrifice even as early as the Bronze Age; but it is possible that they did so then, and it is likely that their ancestors did so earlier. If so, the Greek myths about human sacrifice may preserve memories of a time when the forebears of the Greeks did as the Carthaginians did as late as the Hellenistic period.

(x) *The sacrifice of Iphigeneia in Aeschylus: II*

In the light of all this, let us return to the problem of the wrath of Artemis against Agamemnon as Aeschylus presents it. It seems clear that in the original legend the sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter was, like the sacrifices of Kreon's son and the daughters of Herakles and of Erechtheus, a necessary preliminary to the war. Persephone, to whom Makaria and the daughters of Erechtheus were sacrificed, is one heiress of the Mistress of Animals, and we recall Herodotus' statement⁹⁵ that Aeschylus (and Aeschylus alone) somewhere made Artemis the daughter of Demeter. But the chief heiress of the Mistress of Animals was Artemis, and it was natural that Iphigeneia should be sacrificed to her. As the Aeschylean Kalchas says, Artemis delights in the young of beasts; yet at the same time she is herself the greatest hunter, and grudges to others the right of killing that which is her own. So warriors, like hunters, may not kill without appeasing her; so both warriors and hunters, on entering into the membership of the groups of adult males which they belong to, need to propitiate her.

Long before Aeschylus, and long before the *Cypria*, the sacrifice that was necessary before the Greeks could sail for Troy will have figured in the legend of the war. In early times the reason for it will have been too obvious to need an explanation; even in historical times, it is amply attested that before every battle the Spartan generals sacrificed to Artemis.

But for Aeschylus and his audience a reason for the sacrifice needed to be given. Had he wished, Aeschylus could have given the reason given by the author of the *Cypria* and later by Sophocles in his *Electra*. Instead, Kalchas explains that Artemis feels pity for the victims of the eagles. He speaks of the killing of the pregnant hare as a sacrifice, and fears that Artemis may avenge it by bringing about another sacrifice, hinting directly at the sacrifice of Agamemnon's daughter. Artemis loathes the feast of the eagles, and the eagles are the sons of Atreus; she feels pity for the hare and her young, and the hare and her young stand for Troy. In the *Iliad*, Agamemnon tells Menelaus that when Troy falls not even the unborn children in the womb are to be spared. In the poetic tradition Artemis, like her brother Apollo, is a supporter of the Trojans, and since the hare and her young stand for the Trojans, this fact can hardly be called irrelevant. Yet at the same time the notion that the goddess pities the prospective victims of the expedition accords with the ancient belief, still to be reckoned with in the time of Aeschylus, that those who are setting out to shed the blood of animals or people have to propitiate a female divinity concerned for their prospective victims by shedding the blood of something or someone that belongs to them. So it is significant that Aeschylus chose this motive rather than the story of Agamemnon's boast.

Artemis, kindly as she is towards the young of beasts, yet demands (*Ag.* 140 f.) that the portent of the eagles be made valid: it seems to be agreed that her demand must be addressed to Zeus. Then Kalchas invokes Artemis' brother in his aspect as the Healer (146 f.), so that Artemis may not make it impossible for the Greeks to sail, 'hastening on another sacrifice . . . a maker of quarrels born in the house, without fear of the man; for there abides a keeper of the house terrible, ever again arising, a treacherous, unforgetting Wrath, child-avenging'. The sacrifice of Iphigeneia is called a maker of quarrels, to quote Fraenkel's paraphrase, 'born in the house and grown one with it'; that is to say, the sacrifice of his daughter will bring down upon Agamemnon the enmity of his wife, who will not fear her husband. For there waits 'a keeper of the house' who is identified with 'unforgetting Wrath, child-avenging'; these words can only refer to the Wrath that threatens the son of Atreus, murderer of his brother's children, to what

⁹⁵ ii 156.

Klytemnestra later (1501 f.) calls 'the ancient savage avenger of Atreus, the cruel banqueter'. The sacrifice of Iphigeneia, caused by Artemis, will arouse the anger of Klytemnestra; and the anger of Klytemnestra will be employed by Zeus to punish Agamemnon for the crime committed by his father Atreus. As Zeus has used Agamemnon to punish the crime of the Trojans, so he uses Klytemnestra to punish the crime of Agamemnon's father Atreus: this becomes clear to Kassandra (see 1287 f., 1327 f.) and to the Argive elders (1335 f.).⁹⁶ As they later remark, everything that is accomplished for mortals is the work of Zeus (1485 f.).

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⁹⁶ See my new introduction to the *Oresteia* (n. 3) xvii f.