

THE TEMPLE-LEGENDS OF THE ARKTEIA

J.D. Condis has just devoted a long and interesting study to the cult of Artemis and Iphigenia at Brauron, touching on all aspects but dealing chiefly with archaeological and historical matters¹). He sees Artemis as manifold in function and varied in being: protectress of the earth's fertility, of domesticated animals, of children; goddess of the household arts of women, of childbirth, of the hunt and the dance. She was a kindly goddess, while her divine counterpart Iphigenia was demonic, a Chthonian who received the clothes of women who died while giving birth, and who was charged with the protection of children of such unlucky deliveries. The following remarks are intended to supplement Condis', and concern the temple-legends associated with the ritual known as the Arkteia²). I should like first to state what the Brauronian legends were, and while so doing vindicate the Suda as an important source for them. Then I shall examine two other facts: the Arkteia belongs to Munychia as well as Brauron, and the myths associated with both sanctuaries are strikingly similar. Then we shall see that we can combine the two Brauronian legends into one, the result being virtually the same as the Munychian tale. This will lead to the stimulating possibility that the famous story of Iphigenia at Aulis began life as an obscure Munychian temple-legend. But it remains only one of several possibilities; for we are unable to determine whether Iphigenia was localised at Brauron first or at Aulis first, or even whether the Arkteia was celebrated at Brauron first or at Munychia first.

Among the scholia to Aristophanes which have a bearing on the story of Iphigenia, there is one in particular which has not been adequately utilised: the Suda s.v. ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρων-

1) J.D. Condis, "Artemis Brauronia", *Archaiologikon Deltion* 22 (1967) pp. 156-206. See also Paul Clement, "New Evidence for the Origin of the Iphigenia Legend", *L'Antiquité classique* 3 (1934) pp. 293-409; Henri Grégoire's *Notice* to his text and translation of *Iphigenia in Tauris* in the Budé edition, *Euripide, Tome IV* (Paris 1959) pp. 85-111; and Wilamowitz, "Die beiden Elektra", *Hermes* 18 (1883) pp. 249-263.

2) Hesychius s. v. ἄρκτεία· ἢ τῶν ἀρκτηνομένων παρθένων τελετή.

νίους (these words – with ἦ for ἧ – are a direct quotation from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 645). It is convenient to break this notice into three parts:

S. 1. ἄρκευόμεναι γυναῖκες τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἑορτὴν ἐτέλουν, κροκωτὸν ἡμφιεσμένοι, οὔτε πρεσβύτερες ἢ ἐτῶν οὔτε ἐλάττους ἔ, ἀπομειλισσόμεναι τὴν θεόν.

S. 2. ἐπειδὴ ἄρκτος ἀγρία ἐπιφοιτῶσα διέτριβεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ Φιλαιδῶν (sic MSS, sed in fonte Suda Φιλαιδῶν cum Meursio legendum est). καὶ ἡμερωθεῖσαν αὐτὴν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις σύντροφον γενέσθαι, παρθένον δὲ τινα προσπαίλζειν αὐτῇ, καὶ ἀσελγαινούσης τῆς παιδίσκης παροξυνθῆναι τὴν ἄρκτον καὶ καταξέσαι τῆς παρθένου. ἐφ' ᾧ ὄργισθέντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς αὐτῆς κατακοντίσαι τὴν ἄρκτον.

S. 3. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λοιμώδη νόσον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐμπεσεῖν. χρηστηριαζόμενοι δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἶπε λύσιν τῶν κακῶν ἔσσεσθαι, εἰ τῆς τελευτησάσης ἄρκτου πονῶς ἀρκετεύειν τὰς ἐαντῶν παρθένους ἀναγκάσουσι. καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μὴ πρότερον συνοικίεσθαι ἀνδρὶ παρθένον, εἰ μὴ ἀρκετεύσει τῇ θεῷ.

In the Leyden MS (L) of the *Lysistrata* we have a different scholium:

L 1. ἄρκτον μιμούμεναι τὸ μυστήριον ἐξετέλουν. αἱ ἀρκευόμεναι δὲ τῇ θεῷ κροκωτὸν ἡμφιέννυντο καὶ συνετέλουν τὴν θυσίαν τῇ Βραυρωνία Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τῇ Μουνυχία, ἐπιλεγόμεναι παρθένοι οὔτε πρεσβύτεραι δέκα ἐτῶν οὔτε ἐλάττους πέντε. ἐπετέλουν δὲ τὴν θυσίαν αἱ κόραι ἐμειλισσόμεναι τὴν θεόν, ἐπειδὴ λιμῷ περιπεπτώκασιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἄρκτον ἡμέραν ἀνηρηκότες τῇ θεᾷ.

L 2. οἱ δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰφιγένειαν ἐν Βραυρωνί φασιν, οὐκ ἐν Αὐλίδι. Εὐφορίων “Ἀγχιάλον Βραυρῶνα κενήριον Ἰφιγενείας”. δοκεῖ δὲ Ἀγαμέμνων σφαγιάσαι τὴν Ἰφιγένειαν ἐν Βραυρῶνι, οὐκ ἐν Αὐλίδι, καὶ ἄρκτον ἀντ' αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔλαφον δοθῆναι. ὅθεν μυστήριον ἄγουσιν αὐτῇ.

L 3. Ἄλλως. ἄρκτος τις ἐδόθη εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ἡμερώθη. ποτὲ οὖν μία τις παρθένος ἐπαίξε πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ ἐξύσθη ἢ ὄψις αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῆς ἄρκτου. καὶ λυπηθεὶς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς ἀνείλε τὴν ἄρκτον. ἢ δὲ Ἀρτεμὶς ὄργισθεῖσα ἐκέλευσε πᾶσαν παρθένον μιμήσασθαι τὴν ἄρκτον πρὸ τοῦ γάμου, καὶ περιέπειν τὸ ἱερὸν κροκωτὸν ἱμάτιον φοροῦσαν, καὶ τοῦτο ἀρκετεύεσθαι ἐλέγετο.

If L and S were the only two scholia on this line that we possessed, we would conclude that we had two independent witnesses to one ancient commentary. Independent, because only in the Suda does the story of the slain bear include the

locale, speak of a plague, and mention more than one brother; but the Suda omits most of what we read in L 1 and all of L 2. One ancient commentary, because most of the information given by the Suda is to be found in L, and the wording of S 1 is very much the same as L 1.

But L and S are not the only scholia we have. There is a third source, the Ravennas MS, which gives us this:

R 1. ἄρκτος τις δοθεῖσα εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἡμερώθη. ποτὲ οὖν μία τις παρθένος ἔπαιξε πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ ἐξύσθη ἢ ὄψις αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τῆς ἄρκτου. καὶ λυπηθεὶς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς ἀνεῖλε τὴν ἄρκτον. ἡ δὲ Ἀρτεμις ὀργισθεῖσα ἐκέλευσε πᾶσαν παρθένον μιμησασθαι τὴν ἄρκτον πρὸ τοῦ γάμου, καὶ περιέπειν τὸ ἱερόν κροκωτὸν ἱμάτιον φοροῦσαν, καὶ τοῦτο ἀρκετεύεσθαι ἐλέγετο.

R 2. οἱ δὲ καὶ λοιμώδη νόσον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐμπεσεῖν. καὶ ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν λύσιν τῶν κακῶν ἔσεσθαι, ἐὰν τῆς τελεντησάσης ἄρκτου ποινὰς ἀρκετεύειν τὰς ἑαυτῶν παρθένους ἀναγκάσωσι. δηλωθέντος δὲ τοῦ χρησμοῦ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐψηφίσαντο μὴ πρότερον συνοικιῆσθαι ἀνδρὶ παρθένον, εἰ μὴ ἀρκετεύσειεν τῇ θεῷ.

Had the R scholium been discovered only recently, and had the world long been familiar with the L and S traditions, scholars would probably have drawn the obvious conclusion that the scribe of R took half of his notice on *Lysistrata* 645 from the L tradition (L 3 = R 1) and the other half from the S tradition (S 3 = R 2); and little further attention would have been paid to him. But the Ravennas MS is the most important single MS for the text of Aristophanes, and though no one nowadays takes it very seriously as a source of scholia, it is more influential than it ought to be. Gustav Stein, in 1891, continued to rank it as higher in authority than the Suda, and his edition of the scholia to the *Lysistrata* has yet to be superseded³). Stein considers the archetype of the scholium to this line to have consisted of L 1, L 2, L 3 = R 1, and R 2. He feels that the notice in the Suda derives from the LR tradition as reflected in L 1, L 3 = R 1 and R 2:

3) Gustav Stein, *Scholia in Aristophanis Lysistratam* (Göttingen 1891) pp. XXVIII-XXIX. It does not appear that my arguments are affected by the important work of G. Zuntz, *Die Aristophanes-Scholien der Papyri* (Brussels 1939) or the studies of W. W. Koster, who has a useful summary-article, "Aristophane dans la tradition Byzantine", REG LXXVI 1963, pp. 381-396.

Harum partium (L 1, L 2, L 3 = R 1, R 2) in quarta narratur, qua de causa irata Artemis Atheniensibus immiserit pestilentiam, cuius in prima parte mentio fit (mutantur *λιμός* et *λοιμός*, ut saepius fit); itaque duae hae partes coniunctae unam componunt fabulam. A qua pars tertia differt in eo, quod aliter narrat, quomodo ursa interfecta sit. Hanc varietatem sublatam et has tres partes permixtas invenit Suidas, qui ex suo Aristophanis exemplari excerpserit haec. (p. XIV)

There are several difficulties with this theory. First, it implies that the Suda had no source independent of the ancestor of L and R. Then where did it get the information that the bear was killed *ἐν τῷ δήμῳ Φιλαιδῶν*? This phrase was not added to the Suda by its compilers, for their *Φλαυιδῶν* is an obvious misreading of *Φιλαιδῶν*. It is not in the scholia to L and R. Yet it is a piece of information of the first importance, since Philaidae is almost certainly the deme which included the Brauronian sanctuary⁴). Had the word “Brauron” appeared here in the scholia, it would have carried much less weight, since it at least *might* have been interpolated. But for a scribe to have interpolated “Philaidae” is not credible: the phrase must go back to the ancient source of the scholium⁵).

The Suda, or rather Stein’s “Aristophanis exemplar”, which we may call Σ , here had access to material not in L or R. But did it derive this material from Stein’s hypothetical archetype – call it LR – of L and R, which in turn derived it from the ancient scholium? Or did Σ rely upon an independent tradition? Note that if Σ does not descend from LR, we need to explain the identity of R 2 and S 3 in some other way; and the obvious explanation is that R copied from Σ . If so, we shall wonder whether LR ever existed – and find reason to think that it probably did not. We shall then be back with the view that I proposed above, that L and S are independent witnesses to one

4) Schachermeyr, in Pauly-Wissowa, R.-E., s.v. Philaidai; to this should be added Scholia *Aves* 872: *Φιλαΐδαι* (Hemsterhuys: *Φιλαΐτης* MSS) *ἔπονομάζουσι τὴν Ἀρτεμὴν τὴν Βραυρονίαν*.

5) The scholium to *Aves* 872 (above, note 4) says that the Philaidaeans called Artemis *Brauronia*. Can we not argue that the Suda’s compiler’s or their source *inferred* that the slaying of the bear took place in Philaidae? I do not see how such an argument can be entirely refuted. But it in effect makes a scribe or compiler into a scholiast, and an exceptionally active, alert and retentive scholiast. Surely it is infinitely simpler to imagine that S or his source was merely copying the scholium to *Lys.* 645, with the word Philaidae in it.

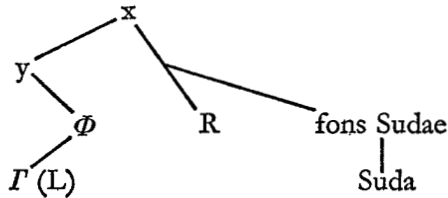
ancient commentary. But first, let us suppose that Σ was copied from LR, which we shall divide, following Stein, into four parts: LR 1 = L 1, LR 2 = L 2, LR 3 = L 3 = R 1, LR 4 = R 2. Then Σ will have proceeded as follows. He abbreviated LR 1 drastically. He left out LR 2 altogether. When he came to LR 3, he suddenly decided that his source was inadequate. He – or perhaps S, whose compilers are admittedly capable of rewriting on occasion – reworded the beginning of LR 3 so as to give it more colour. But, inexplicably, he added at least one more brother to the maiden's family. Then, tiring of LR 3, he dropped it halfway through, turned to LR 4 and – as if conscience-stricken by his previous behaviour – he copied it almost word-for-word. Apart from the rewording of the beginning of LR 3, these are very strange proceedings; but they are nothing compared to what L did a few centuries later. For L copied out all of his source precisely, until he came to LR 4. At *just that point* where S's ancestor in a fit of remorse began to copy word-for-word, L's conscience abandoned him altogether. He laid down his pen, and simply left LR 4 out.

Surely such a history of the tradition is to be believed only out of desperation. And that is not all. Stein observes – correctly – that R 2 is the end of something (p. XIV). Even had it not contained the phrase *τῆς τελευτησίσης ἀρκτιον ποιῶς*, which assumes previous mention of the killing of a bear, it is still incomplete in itself. A plague comes – why? Apollo says that maidens must honour Artemis with the Arkteia – why? But Stein feels that the beginning of R 2 is given by L 1. Actually L 1 is complete in itself, if brief; R 2 does not so much end L 1 as it expands it. But let that pass; a more serious question is why the scribe of Stein's archetype of L and R broke up his story deliberately and pointlessly by inserting L 2 and L 3. And why did he assign R 2 to *οἱ δέ*? Or is LR a phantom?

Now if L 1 needs no ending, S 2 needs one very badly, and the natural conclusion is that R 2 = S 3 is just what it appears to be in S, the ending of S 2. R 2 = S 3 is at home in S; in R it is specifically brought in as an alternative ending to R 1. The scribes of R are unpredictable men, and it is hazardous to guess at their reasoning at any point; but it would at least be sensible of the scribe who wrote R 1 to be dissatisfied with it. In stories of this sort it is very unusual for a goddess to become angry over something and simply demand a ritual. The normal procedure is first for her to send plague or famine, then for an oracle

or seer to be consulted, and only then for the wishes of the goddess to become known through the god. That is how S₃ tells it, and that is why R might have decided to copy it from the ancestor of S. And so LR proves to have been a phantom. And S is vindicated as an independent witness.

The inference that the Ravennas MS had two sources in one of its scholia may not prove welcome to students of these scholia. It does not, for example, suit the stemma constructed by D. Mervyn Jones and Nigel Wilson⁶). But it does suit one fact to which they have given some attention, the frequent agreement of R and the Suda over against most other MSS of Aristophanes (p. XIX). In this stemma, constructed for the *Knights*, L (= *I'*) belongs to a family y (none of whose other members contain the *Lysistrata*), which is descended from the archetype x separately from the ancestor of R and S; thus (omitting MSS not containing the *Lysistrata*):



The source of R and *fons Sudaē* will be the MS I have called Σ . Now on this stemma, x will have had L₁, L₂, L₃ = R₁ (augmented, surely by the deme-name Philaidae) and R₂ = S₃; for otherwise the virtual identity of L₃ and R₁ is inexplicable. And this gives us LR all over again, together with that history of the tradition described above in which I simply cannot believe. To remedy the difficulty, we must suppose a line drawn from R to y, along which material descended which appears in one form in R and L (*I'*) and quite differently in the Suda. By hypothesising an affiliation between R and y we are able to explain another fact which would otherwise defy explanation: how it happens that the deme-name, which must have been in x, appears in

6) D. Mervyn Jones and Nigel Wilson, *Scholia Vetera in Aristophanis Equites*, Pars I, Fasc. II of *Scholia in Aristophanem* (Groningen and Amsterdam, 1969), p. XXIV.

neither L nor R. It was obviously missing from y. I do not intend to suggest that R was actually a member of the y-family, only that it drew upon y (or a related MS) from time to time⁷).

The problem of the relative superiority of y or S admits of only a tentative solution. S 1 gives a highly condensed version of the information we find in L 1; S omits L 2 entirely. To that extent L is the better source. S seeks to give a consistent story; not only does it omit L 2, but it omits details found in L 1 which conflict with S 2-3 and L 3: in L 1 it is hunger which afflicts the Athenians, in S 3 it is plague; in L 1 it is the Athenians who slay the bear, in L 3 it is the maiden's brother, in S 2 it is her brothers. L 1 may show signs of Munychian influence, for it attributes the Arkteia to Munychia as well as Brauron, and we shall see that one of our sources for Munychian legend agrees with L 1 in making the Athenians the killers of the bear. On the other hand S 2 gives the name of the deme, which L 3 omits; and S 3 is much fuller than the end of L 3, which leaves out both the plague and the oracles, though it does include a brief description of the Arkteia. Since plague and oracles are regular features of such stories as this, and since these details, along with the name Philaidae, are to be found in S but not in L, it is reasonable to infer that to this extent S gives a more accurate picture of the original scholium⁸).

Stein asks himself what the source of the scholium itself was, and decides hesitantly for Apollodorus' *Peri Theon*. He reasons that the scholium to *Lys.* 447 – a note on *Tauropolon*, the epithet of Artemis at Halae Araphenides, near the Brauronian sanctuary – attributes its information to Apollodorus. Since

7) There is at least one other scholium virtually requiring us to derive R from y. On *Lys.* 447 R and L have virtually the same brief note. S is much fuller, but it omits two facts preserved by both R and L: the title of Apollodorus' book, and the name of Xenomedes. R and L therefore derive from the same source; that source is independent of S and is either y or a near relative. On the Jones-Wilson stemma there is no way that I can see to explain why R is almost identical with L and so different from S.

8) It is interesting that L₁ differs somewhat from L₃ and S not only in giving λιμός for λοιμός – which might be scribal error – but in assigning the killing of the bear to “the Athenians”, rather than to the brother or brothers of the maiden. If – as we infer from the deme-name – S₂₋₃ and L₃ give us the Brauronian temple-legend, it may well be that L₁ has drawn upon a Munychian myth. For L₁ does not localise its brief aition, except to imply that it was told of either the Munychian or the Brauronian Artemis, if not both. And we shall see that one of our sources for Munychian myth also names “the Athenians” as the killers.

Apollodorus was therefore available to the scholiast, and since he was used as a source of information for one Attic cult, will he not have been used for another, for the Brauronian? And we have independent evidence that Apollodorus knew of the substitution, mentioned in L 2, of a bear for Iphigenia, which can point only to Brauron (see Wilamowitz – above, note 1 – p. 259). The argument is attractive if not conclusive; if we accept it, Apollodorus will have recounted two myths, one including Iphigenia (L 2), the other not (S 2–3, L 3). But in any case, whoever gave us the narrative in S 2–3 and L 3 almost certainly derived his story from the local mythology of Philaidae. For here is a tale which suits Brauronian ritual very nicely. It cannot be severed from the Arkteia; in its present form, at least, it must be called aetiological with Nilsson, who rather carelessly refers to a “nicht (*sic*) lokalisiertes Aition bei Suidas s.v. ἄρκτοι (*sic*) und Schol. Aristoph.”⁹) Even if the myth had not been localised by the Suda, its certain connexion with the Arkteia would have compelled us to give it a home at either Brauron or Munychia, the only places, so far as we know, where the Arkteia was celebrated. When, consequently, Σ locates the story not at Brauron, but in the correct *township*, we can feel sure that Philaidae is where Σ’s ultimate source heard the story told. And so S 2–3 and L 3 give us the temple-legend of the Arkteia, which may be broken down into the following sequence:

- I. A bear comes to Brauron, is tamed, and – as the event proved – becomes sacred to Artemis.
- II. One day the bear is playing with a maiden, and scratches her; for this her brother(s) kill it.
- III. Plague falls upon the land.
- IV. Apollo is consulted.
- V. The god says that the Arkteia must be performed in payment for the slain bear.
- VI. And virgins thereafter have practised the Arkteia.

But this is only one of the temple-legends; we must now examine the quite different story offered us by L 2:

⁹ M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion* I² (Munich 1955) p. 485 n 6.

But others say that what happened to Iphigenia happened in Brauron, not in Aulis. Euphorion: "Sea-girt Brauron, cenotaph of Iphigenia". And it is thought that Agamemnon sacrificed Iphigenia in Brauron, not in Aulis, and a bear was given in her stead, not a deer. And that is why they perform a *μυστήριον* for her.

The "her" at the end of this excerpt must refer to Iphigenia, although in L 1 the mystery-rite was said to have been performed for Artemis. What is more perplexing is that L 2 gives us what appears to be an entirely different aetiology for the Arkteia, the familiar myth of Iphigenia, altered to suit Brauron and its bear-maidens.

How authentic is the information given by L 2? Some of it, though not of course the reference to Euphorion, may go back to the Atthidographer Phanodemus, for we know from the Et. Mag. s.v. *Tauropolon* that Phanodemus said that a bear was substituted for Iphigenia¹⁰). Beyond that we can only argue rather generally. Iphigenia was in fact honoured at Brauron, and the Arkteia was in fact performed there. It does not seem probable that a story which tells of her career at Brauron, and links that career to Brauronian ritual, was never told at Brauron, but was only told elsewhere.

The Arkteia at Brauron thus appears to have two local aetiologies: a bear substitute for Iphigenia (L 2), or a bear slain for having scratched a young girl (S-L 3). Such a state of affairs is perhaps not troubling to us, since we do not practice the Arkteia nor believe in Artemis. But it is a good deal harder to imagine that devout Brauronians subscribed simultaneously to two different accounts of the origin of their ritual¹¹). Yet if we try to detach one of the accounts from Brauron, we encounter improbabilities. The account in the Suda has the stamp of authenticity in the deme-name Philaidae. L 2 insists on its Brauronian provenance by the fact that the differences between it and the common Aulidian version – the different locale, the different animal substituted – are just those which we would

10) Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 1883, p. 259, says that the substitution of the bear and the Brauronian locale of the sacrifice must go back to Brauronian legend, "and actually we are able to point out the female bear in the Atthis, in Phanodemus".

11) Grégoire (above, note 1) surmounts the difficulty by simply ignoring the relevance of the Aristophanes-scholium (except L 2) to Brauron.

expect Brauronians and no one else to have fathered. (I do not imply that the story of Iphigenia at Brauron was later than the version which put her at Aulis. Earlier or later, the Brauronian locale and the bear-substitute fit the facts at Brauron and therefore argue for Brauronian authorship of this version.) The tale told by S and L 3 is specifically related to the Arkteia and has no meaning apart from it. Similarly, L 2 connects Iphigenia and the substitution of the bear with the Arkteia.

Ought we then to argue that one of the aetiologies is older than the other? Suppose S's tale is older than L 2's. That would mean that at a fairly late date Iphigenia suddenly grew in importance, so that the Arkteia, which had been associated solely with Artemis, had now to be associated with Iphigenia as well¹²). Now it is true that near the end of the fifth century the *Iphigenia in Tauris* appeared and gave Iphigenia a prominent role at Brauron. The play might have signalised – or indeed instituted – an elevation of Iphigenia. But Euripides places the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Aulis, which hardly encourages the opinion that through the *Iphigenia in Tauris* men were motivated to place the sacrifice at Brauron. And in any case a sudden increase in prominence of Iphigenia at Artemis' expense is not probable. Iphigenia was once, very probably, an independent goddess. By the fifth century she was the demonic companion of the great goddess, with a fixed, if secondary role. Most of Greece knew her as the daughter of Agamemnon. Are these the circumstances under which she will have wrested authority from her divine benefactress? Consider now the alternative, that L 2's version is older than S's. In that case Iphigenia diminished in importance, and the Arkteia was taken away from her and given to Artemis. This suits the general trend, in Greek religion, for Artemis to assume more and more of the power of her subordinates, especially during the fifth century and after. But here the popularity of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* proves a stumbling-block. For whatever the play may say about the locale of the

12) This is in effect the opinion of Clement (above, note 1), p. 401. He notes that the Arkteia will now be "considered a rite not for Artemis but for Iphigenia". This is supposed to be one of several "obvious attempts to reconcile the legend of the epic Iphigenia with a cult ritual which it was felt she had originated by the tragic circumstances of her death". This is to me obscure: it seems to mean that the Arkteia was transferred to Iphigenia as part of an effort to reconcile common legend with an Arkteia which was already associated with Iphigenia. Or does "felt" mean "now said"?

sacrifice, it does give Iphigenia an important role at Brauron, to receive the clothes of women who had died in childbirth (IT 1464-7). And do we wish to hold that Phanodemus the Atthidographer believed in the substitution of a bear for Iphigenia if the Phlaidaeans in his time had ceased to believe it? And where did Euphorion, a century later, learn about the sacrifice of Iphigenia at Brauron, if not from the temple-legend? These queries could be answered by assuming some non-Brauronian source for Phanodemus and Euphorion which we no longer possess; we should make this assumption, if we had any good reason to regard L 2's version as older than S's. But we do not. We are seemingly confronted, therefore, with two contemporaneous Brauronian aitia for the Arkteia.

Before we go any further into the situation at Brauron, it will prove helpful to look at the very similar ritual and myth at Munychia. Our L 1, in fact, associates the Arkteia with both sanctuaries:

They used to perform the mystery-rite by imitating a bear. And those carrying out the Arkteia to the goddess were dressed in saffron and offered the sacrifice to the Brauronian Artemis, and to the Munychian, virgins selected when they were not older than ten years nor less than five. And the maidens carried out the sacrifice in order to appease the goddess, since the Athenians had become subject to famine (*limos*) for having slain a tame bear sacred to the goddess¹³).

There is independent evidence that the rite belongs to Munychia. Harpocration has, under the entry *arkteusai*:

Lysias, in the speech on behalf of the daughter of Phrynichus, if it is genuine, uses the word to mean that maidens before marriage dedicated themselves to the Munychian Artemis or to the Brauronian. And things corroborating the above are said by others, among them Craterus in the *Psephismata*. And that maidens who perform the Arkteia are called "bears" is mentioned by Euripides in the *Hypsipyle* and by Aristophanes in the *Lemnians* and the *Lysistrata*.

In the light of L 1 and other testimony which we have yet to see, the phrase "to the Munychian or to the Brauronian Arte-

13) The last words in the scholium are ἄρκιον ἡμέραν ἀνηρηκότες τῇ θεᾷ. I have avoided the rendering, "having slain - i.e., sacrificed - a tame bear to the goddess", since it suits neither the Brauronian legend which we have seen nor the Munychian which we are to see; but I know of no precise parallel to ἡμέραν τῇ θεᾷ in the sense, "made tame for the goddess".

mis" should not be taken to express hesitation¹⁴). Some *arktoi* were dedicated to the Munychian, others to the Brauronian goddess: Attic maidens might be dedicated to one *or* the other.

To the cult at Munychia was attached this story:

A certain Embaros played a subtle trick in a prayer. For he set up the sanctuary of Munychian Artemis. And a bear appeared in it, and was slain by the Athenians, and so a plague arose. For this the god proclaimed release if someone should sacrifice his daughter to Artemis. And Embaros (or Barus) promised that he would do this on condition that his family should have the priesthood for life [i.e., in perpetuity]. Decking out his daughter, he hid her in the inner recess, and adorning a goat in clothing, sacrificed it as if it were his daughter. For which he passed into a proverb: "You are an Embaros", that is, clever, wise. (Pausanias Lexicon, in Eustathius *Iliad* 2.273)

The same account, with variants, is found in Zenobius¹⁵). Pausanias and Zenobius themselves had a common source, whom Crusius identifies with Demon¹⁶). Whoever the source was, he no doubt gives us genuine local tradition. For Munychia is a real place, Munychian Artemis a real cult with real priests. If these priests did not trace their descent to Embaros, why on earth would anyone, seeking to explain the proverb "You are – or I am – an Embaros", with all the world to choose from, have turned to the priesthood of Artemis Munychia and foisted upon them a fictitious ancestor? When he could be so readily contradicted? But if the priests did trace their descent to Embaros, is it credible that this legend of a local figure, a legend closely tied to local cult practices, was the property of outsiders? It is possible that the rudiments of the narrative came from elsewhere, but they must have been taken up and made into the story of Embaros

14) As does Ludwig Deubner, *Attische Feste* 2ed (Hildesheim 1966), pp. 205–6. When Deubner says, "Harpocraton bezeichnet als Quelle für den angeführten Brauch die *ἠρηλοκωατά* des Krateros und 'andere' Autoren", one suspects that he cannot have had the full text before him: Harpocraton gives Lysias – or pseudo-Lysias – as his chief authority.

15) See Edouard Miller, *Mélanges de Littérature Grecque* (Paris 1868), p. 350. Stein's stemma, which he attributes to Wilamowitz, is simply impossible: the Suda got its account from Pausanias Lex. or a very similar source indeed, not – as in Stein – from Zenobius; and Bekker I 444 cannot come from Pausanias or even the common source of 'Pausanias and Zenobius (see below).

16) Otto Crusius, *Analecta ad Paroemiographos Graecos* (Leipzig 1883), p. 146 (reprinted in *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum, Supplementum* [Hildesheim 1961]).

by the local priests. The tale is therefore a temple-legend. And it appears in another source, one that does not derive from Pausanias or Zenobius, from whom it is too different in form; or indeed from any paroemiographic source at all, since it omits the proverb. It is rather a combination of a copy of the passage in Harpocration quoted above, and a faltering but nonetheless independent witness to the Munychian temple-legend:

Lysias says that for maidens to dedicate themselves to Artemis before marriage is called *arkteuein* ... And elsewhere *arkteusai* is used of dedicating oneself as a bear and sacrificing to Artemis. And it was called this because a bear appeared once, as the story goes, in Peiraeus, and maltreated many people, then was killed by certain young men. And a plague arose, and the god told them in an oracle to honour Artemis and sacrifice a maiden for the bear. Then, as the Athenians were about to carry out the oracle, a certain man among them did not allow it, saying that he himself would perform the sacrifice. So, taking a goat and naming it his daughter, he sacrificed it in secret. And the suffering ceased. Then, when the citizens were mistrustful, the man said to ask the god. And when the god said that the man who said he would sacrifice was to continue to do so in future, the man revealed what had happened in secret. And from this event maidens would not hesitate to *arkteuein* before marriage, considering that they were acquitting themselves for what happened in connexion with the beast¹⁷).

The one important point at which this account differs from the paroemiatic tradition is in attributing the Arkteia to Munychia and thereby making the story of the slain bear an aetiology. Deubner therefore concluded that it was contaminated from the Brauronian legend; but Nilsson pointed out that the story of Embarus even as found in the paroemiatics must have been intended to explain the Arkteia¹⁸). Embarus dressed up (*διακοσμεῖν*) his daughter and hid her in the *adyton*: what can this mean except that he adorned her as a bear and that she became the first

17) I. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* I (Berlin 1814), 444. The Greek text is difficult at two points. The penultimate sentence begins *τὸν δὲ ἂν εἰπόντα θῶσαι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὕτως ποιεῖν φήσαντος*; the subject *τοῦ θεοῦ* must be supplied very awkwardly, and the *ἂν* is out of place (unless *τὸν δὲ ἂν εἰπόντα* = *ὅστις ἂν εἴπῃ*). The end of the last sentence reads *ὥσπερ ἀροσιούμεναι τὰ τῆς θηρίας*. The object of the verb ought to specify an oath taken or even an oracle received, not the events which gave rise to the oracle and oath.

18) Deubner (above, note 14) pp. 205–6; Nilsson (above, note 9), p. 475 n 6.

arktos?¹⁹⁾ Bekker I 444 is shaky in its details, and perhaps corrupt at one or two points, but that does not invalidate it as independent testimony for the Munychian legend.

To summarize that legend:

I. In a sanctuary of Artemis there appears a bear – a sacred animal, as the event proved (Pausanias and Bekker I 444).

II. The bear harms many people and is killed by certain young men (Bekker I 444) or by the Athenians (Pausanias and L 1).

III. Disaster falls upon the land (plague in all Embarus accounts; famine in L 1).

IV. Apollo is consulted (through a priest or Pythia, naturally-all accounts).

V. The god says that a maiden must be sacrificed to Artemis by her father (all accounts, except that Demon does not specify a maiden).

VI. The father consents, and appears to perform the sacrifice (all accounts).

VII. But instead he sacrifices a goat (all accounts).

VIII. The daughter becomes a priestess of Artemis. (This is not certain, but strongly suggested by the fact that Embarus' daughter must have been the first *arktos*-maiden, and that his family is to have the priesthood in perpetuity, according to the paroemiacs.)

IX. And virgins thereafter perform the Arkteia (Bekker I 444).

The details of this story are almost entirely familiar to us from Brauronian myth. The coming of the sacred bear (I), its doing harm and its being killed by certain young men (II), the plague's falling on the land (III), the consultation of Apollo (IV), the institution of the Arkteia (IX) – all these features are precisely the same in the S version. (I, II, and IX are in L 3 as well.) On the other hand, there are parallels between the Embarus story and L 2. Apollo says that a maiden must be sacrificed to Artemis by her father: this is detail V above, and it must also have been told at Brauron of Iphigenia and Agamemnon, since L 2 says that *τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰφιγένειαν* known to us from Aulis were also told at

19) A goat? If so, why on earth would he have hidden her in the *adyton*? The "logic" of a story in which the daughter is dressed in goat-skin would seem to call for Embarus' pointing to his goat and saying, "This is my daughter", then pointing to his daughter and saying, "This is my goat".

Brauron. (At Aulis, Calchas the priest of Apollo was consulted and reported that Artemis demanded the sacrifice of a daughter, according to the *Cypria*, and to Aeschylus Agamemnon 126–36, 198–201, etc.). And L 2 says in so many words that Agamemnon sacrificed Iphigenia at Brauron; change the names, and we have detail VI of the Embarus story, except that Embarus – the proverbial clever man – knows that he is not sacrificing his daughter, while Agamemnon thinks that he is. L 2 says that a bear was given instead of Iphigenia; detail VII above says that a goat was given instead of Embarus' daughter. Now it is a curious fact that a goat really was sacrificed at Brauron (Hesychius s.v. *Brauroniois*). It is quite likely that this goat was dressed as a bear – as were the *arktoi* maidens – in order that the worshippers might be able to sacrifice a “bear” without going to the expense and trouble of capturing and slaughtering a real bear. On this conjecture, the “bear” sacrifice will be reflected in the myth of the substitution of the bear for Iphigenia. Even if we are sceptical about such a conjecture, we are entitled to claim that Munychian myth parallels Brauronian rite. The last two points of comparison are pretty straightforward. Detail VIII above says that the daughter becomes a priestess of Artemis; and Iphigenia became priestess of Artemis at Brauron (Euripides IT 1463) – after a period of service as Artemis' priestess among the Taurians. Finally, detail IX above makes the Embarus story the aition for the Arkteia; and L 2 does the same for the story of Agamemnon and Iphigenia.

We are therefore confronted with the astonishing facts that details I through IV and detail IX of the Munychian temple-legend of the Arkteia are identical with details of the Brauronian temple-legend of the Arkteia as given by S (mostly supported by L 3), while details V through IX of the Munychian legend are closely paralleled by the other Brauronian story implied or told by L 2. The Arkteia itself appears to have been the same ritual, a bear-maiden mystery-rite, at both places (so we are left to infer from L 1 and from Harpocration). And at both places we have reason to think that the ritual included the sacrifice of a goat: Hesychius says as much for Brauron, while the story that Embarus sacrificed a goat instead of his daughter certainly looks like the explanation of a ritual fact at Munychia. It is almost certain, therefore, that the Arkteia began at one of the two Attic localities and spread to the other. And as it spread, it must have carried its aition or aitia with it. Either the Agamemnon-Iphi-

genia story (L 2) and the slaying of the tame bear (S-L 3) were brought from Brauron to Munychia and combined into the Embarus legend, or the Embarus legend came from Munychia to Brauron and was reshaped into two aitia.

So far we have walked on ground that is pretty secure. What follows is more conjectural. We argued above that the presence of two apparently contemporaneous aitia at Brauron, though possible, is embarrassing (p. 273). It does not make matters any easier to speak, as I have just spoken, of two aitia going with the Arkteia from Brauron to Munychia and being combined, or of one aition going from Munychia to Brauron and breaking into two. Now it is a curious fact that the two Brauronian aitia can be combined into a single tale, and that the result is startlingly similar to the Embarus story. Here is how that combination looks, using the same Roman numerals as were used for the corresponding details in the Embarus story (and keeping in mind that L 2 says that „what happened at Aulis was said to have happened at Brauron”, with the exceptions noted by L 2 itself, so that it is reasonable to borrow cautiously from the standard Aulidian accounts in making this Brauronian reconstruction):

I. In the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron there lives a sacred bear (So S and L 3. At Aulis the animal is a deer which, according to Sophocles' *Electra* 556-7, inhabits a sacred grove).

II. One day the bear is playing with a maiden, and scratches her; for this her brother(s) kill it. (S and L 3. In the *Cypria* and the versions deriving from it the deer is killed by Agamemnon.)

III. Disaster falls upon the land. (Plague in S; famine in Aeschylus' Aulidian version, *Agamemnon* 188, 194 [and in L 1, which may however derive it from Munychia], though for Aeschylus and the other Aulidian sources the chief disaster is *aploia*.)

IV. Apollo is consulted. (S. At Aulis, the god is consulted through his priest Calchas.)

V. The god says that a maiden, Iphigenia, must be sacrificed to Artemis by her father. (Not in S, a surprising omission which weakens the hypothesis that S and L 2 have the same single original – but see below. L 2 specifies Agamemnon as the man who makes the sacrifice in Brauron, and allows us to think that he was Iphigenia's father; but Euphorion and others made The-

seus the true father, Agamemnon the adoptive father and sacrificer; see *Et. Mag.* s.v. Iphis)

VI. The father consents, and appears to perform the sacrifice. (L 2 and all the Aulidian accounts.)

VII. But in the upshot he sacrifices the animal whose death precipitated the disaster, another bear. (The bear-sacrifice is given by Phanodemus, *Et. Mag.* s.v. *Tauropolon*, and by L 2; at Aulis it is a deer which is substituted, just as it was a deer whose death began it all. Again, the reader should remember that in the actual rite, a goat was probably the sacrificial animal.)

VIII. The daughter, Iphigenia, becomes a virgin priestess of Artemis (Euripides *Iphigenia in Tauris* 1463 and *passim*: first among the Taurians, later at Brauron) and a goddess (in the Aulidian accounts; that she was an independent divine being at Brauron has long been known: cf. Condis *passim*. Euphorion's "cenotaph of Iphigenia", cited by L 2, also points to her apotheosis).

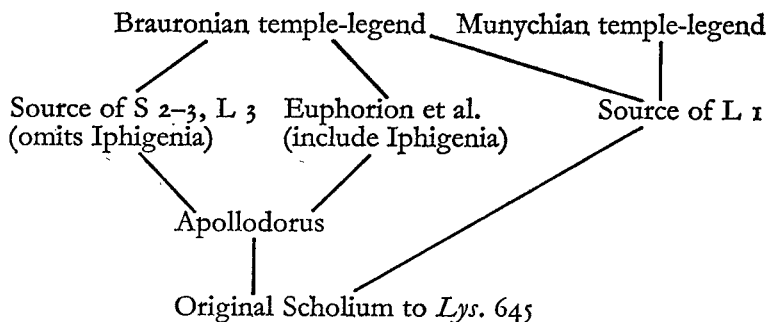
IX. And virgins thereafter have performed the Arkteia (S, L 3, and L 2).

On the basis of such a myth we should naturally associate the Arkteia with *both* Iphigenia and Artemis (see above, p. 274). The excerpts in L 2 and S 2-3 will each be misleading on this point, simply because each will *be* an excerpt, one dealing with Artemis and the other with Iphigenia.

This tale, if it existed, must have been recounted in two different ways in antiquity. Euphorion's version, for instance, is probably the one summarised in L 2: "Euphorion: 'Brauron near the sea, cenotaph of Iphigenia'. And Agamemnon is thought to have sacrificed Iphigenia in Brauron, not in Aulis, and a bear, not a deer, to have been given in her place."²⁰) But someone else, believing more prosaically that Iphigenia had been sacrificed at Aulis, reported only what seemed to him credible: the killing of the sacred bear, the plague, the Arkteia. We are faced with two *aitia* again, but with a vital difference: they come from two or more distinct sources, not one: and none of the sources is known to have been among the faithful at Brauron.

20) Wilamowitz gives a full discussion of Euphorion's version (above, note 1), 258-60. An earlier likely source of L2 is Phanodemus (above, p. 273).

Both versions found their way into the ancient commentary, probably through the intermediary of Apollodorus. We therefore have the following stemma for the roots of our scholium:



The original scholium will look much like L 1-2 together with S 2-3, with the same indications of differing versions that we see in L.

That a temple-legend should have been reported in two different ways is not improbable; that these two ways should complement each other so neatly may be less credible. The closeness, however, of this construction to the Munychian Embarus story is very striking: take away the names of father and daughter, remove the apotheosis, and there is virtually no difference. Indeed, the sceptical reader is invited to explain just how else to account for the similarities between the familiar *Aulidian* tale of Iphigenia and the story of Embarus: the disaster, the consultation of Apollo, the father being told to sacrifice his daughter to Artemis, the father's consent, the animal substitute, the daughter becoming priestess of Artemis²¹). Can we call this coincidence? With Brauron as the link between Aulis and Munychia staring us in the face? Even one of the weaknesses of the Brauronian reconstruction, the unexpected disappearance of the brothers from the story and the introduction of the father, has its parallel in the Munychian version: certain young men, or "the Athenians", kill the bears, but the father must sacrifice, or appears to sacrifice, his daughter. (Certain other problems –

21) Clement (above, note 1), p. 408, sees some of the likenesses between the Aulidian legend and "the story derived from the *arkteia*" – some, for he overlooks the fact that in both cases a father makes the sacrifice. But he fails to distinguish Brauronian from Munychian legend.

Iphigenia's sojourn among the Taurians, her culmination as both priestess and divinity – are inherent in the Iphigenia saga and say nothing against the reconstruction.) And there are two other advantages to be gained from accepting it. First, it specifies a reason why Iphigenia was sacrificed. The myth-makers throughout the history of the saga were much vexed by this question. Was she killed because of a vow made by Agamemnon, because a sacred animal was slain, because Calchas said that Artemis was angry, because of an omen, or what? L 2 says nothing definite, only that what happened at Aulis was thought by some to have happened at Brauron. Still, from this we might easily have guessed that the reason for Iphigenia's sacrifice at Brauron was what it was in one familiar Aulidian version – the killing of a sacred animal. And at Brauron, that animal will of course have been a bear. But with our reconstruction, we need not guess, for it specifies that a slain bear was the reason for the sacrifice. Second, some scholars hold that the story of Iphigenia was transplanted from Brauron to Aulis²²). We have seen that the myths at Brauron and Munychia are unquestionably related, and that almost certainly the relationship is that of parent to offspring, though we did not decide which locale was the parent. Now if Brauron got the idea of a father apparently sacrificing his daughter from Aulis, it is overwhelmingly probable that Brauron, in turn, gave the idea to Munychia. And if it did, it is certainly easier to imagine that one aition accompanied the Arkteia and was adapted to suit local circumstances at Munychia, than that two aitia took the journey and were combined and edited by the Munychian priesthood.

Suppose, on the other hand, that Brauron did not get its mythology from Aulis²³). Suppose that Aulis was the recipient,

22) Grégoire (above, note 1), p. 91, believes that the entire Brauronian myth was an adaptation with modifications of the story in the *Cypria* (he does not realize that S₂, S₃ = R₁ and L₃ give us Brauronian legend). The Brauronians will have said, "correcting" the common account, that Theseus was really Iphigenia's father, that she was given to Clytaemnestra and Agamemnon, and Agamemnon sacrificed her at Brauron. Clement (above, note 1) agrees that all of Brauron's Iphigenia legend comes from or is invented in reaction to Aulis' (p. 401).

23) In Wilamowitz' view there was an old independent Attic-Diacrian-legend of Iphigenia, in which Theseus was her father; the bringing in of Agamemnon is the result of contaminations (Wilamowitz [above, note 1] pp. 258, 259–60, 261–3). Unfortunately Wilamowitz does not state who he thinks is the man who sacrificed Iphigenia in the early Attic version, though it can hardly have been Agamemnon.

and Munychia the donor via Brauron. Then Embarus' story, but not his name, will have travelled with the Arkteia to Brauron. There it will have adjusted to local conditions by putting Iphigenia into the role of the potential sacrificial victim and the first priestess, and by making the father who sacrifices his daughter into either Theseus or Agamemnon. Again, the probable result will be a single Brauronian aition. (The Munychian story *might* have split into two – but why?) And this aition will have journeyed thence to Aulis, become attached to the Iphigenia cult there, and been taken up by the Cypria – if indeed, it was not the author of the *Cypria* who was the first to locate the sacrifice at Aulis, thus combining the Brauronian daughter-sacrifice motif with the events at Aulis as given in *Iliad* 2.

But if we feel that it is safer, after all, to reject the above reconstruction, and to preserve two aitia for Brauron, we are still obliged to do justice to the mythic similarities. And this is no easy task. Suppose we conjecture that Brauron got one story – the sacrifice of Iphigenia – from Aulis, and the other – the slain-bear version of L 3 and S – from Munychia. Then how do we account for the resemblances stressed above (p. 282) between Embarus and Agamemnon *at Aulis*? Suppose instead that Brauron got the story of Iphigenia from Aulis and gave it, *mutatis mutandis*, to Munychia. Why were there two Brauronian aitia, one of which (S–L 3) must have had the slain bear, the other of which (L 2) very well might have (on the theory that it got from Aulis the motif of the slain sacred animal)? But I do not wish to insist on the truth of my reconstruction, only to record my inability to find a better solution. Note that if the reconstruction is accepted, it by no means follows that the origin of the Iphigenia legend must be sought in the obscure annals of Munychian cult, interesting as that possibility is. The movement can still have been from Aulis to Brauron to Munychia, with Iphigenia herself never reaching Munychia for reasons not vouchsafed us. Or Brauron's myth might have been the parent of the myths at both the other locales – *non liquet*.

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