Tragic Troy and Athens: heroic space in Attic drama
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3. Troy

3.1 The city

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

3.1.1 Wall

Homer

The wall around Troy defends the city against hostile attacks and is therefore integral to its welfare. The safety that the wall provides is explicitly noted by the Trojan hero Polydamas, who states that the wall will guard the city if the Trojan warriors withdraw from the battlefield to Troy (18.274-6 ἄστυ δὲ πύργοι ... εἰρύσσονται). Its importance for the welfare of the city is suggested by the proximity of all scenes concerning the safety of Troy to the wall.1 Examples of such scenes are the meeting of Hector and Andromache (6.392-502) and the dialogue between Hector, Priam and Hecuba just before Hector’s battle with Achilles (22.37-130). The wall is a massive structure. This is indicated by its ability to accommodate a great multitude of Trojans who watch the battle in the plain (e.g. 3.141-55).2 Its magnitude is also suggested by a series of epithets. Troy is presented as ‘well-walled’, ‘well-towered’, and ‘high-gated’ (1.129 ε ὐτείχεον, 7.71 ε ὰπυργον, 16.698 ὑψίπυλον), the city wall as ‘well-built’ and ‘high’ (16.700 ἐ υδμήτοι, 16.702 ὑψήλοι). These epithets particularly appear in speeches of Greek warriors. This shows that they regard Troy as an almost insurmountable and impregnable object.3 In spite

1 Scully 1990, 42-3.
3 Scully 1990, 76-8. For an analysis of the epithets used of Troy see e.g.: Bowra 1960, 16-23. De Jong (2009, 281-2) suggests that the presentation of Troy as an insurmountable object implicitly flatters the Greek audience of the Iliad. They know that their forebears have captured this ‘impregnable’ city in the end and can therefore be proud of them. The epithets of Troy and the wall are also used by the narrator in the second half of the Iliad, almost always in combination with the future fall of the city (e.g. 16.698) (Scully 1990, 78). This increases the pathos surrounding the capture of Troy and reminds the narratees that it is a magnificent city that will be captured.
of its massive structure, Homer does not specify the materials of which the wall is made. He might have envisioned it as consisting of stone, wood and/or mud-brick, if he lived around 700. These materials had been used in city walls for centuries by then.

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

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

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

4 Scholars have nevertheless attempted to identify the materials of the Trojan wall. (1) Albracht ([1886] 2005, 121) suggests that it is made of mud-brick, since most walls in the ‘time of the poet’ were made of this material. The ‘time of the poet’ may be the late eighth or early seventh century, although Albracht does not state this explicitly.

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

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

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

6 This follows from the scene in which Hector is pursued by Achilles and tries to flee to the Dardanian Gate (ll. 22.194). The Scaean Gate cannot be opened to admit the Trojan hero, since the battlefield is filled with Greek warriors who would then be able to enter the city. It is thus likely that Hector seeks the defence of a gate that is out of sight of the Greek soldiers (Mannsperger 1993, 194: lufre s.v. πύλαι). Contra Kirk ([1985] 1990, 282-3), who suggests that the Dardanian and Scaean Gate are identical and are only used as metrical variants by the poet.
According to Biehl, Euripides models the stone wall of Troy after those of his own time. In other words, Biehl regards the wall as a *contemporary* element in the construction of the past.\(^7\) In my view, this need not be the case. Cities had been fortified by stone walls for centuries in Euripides’ time. For example, the Bronze Age citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns were fortified by walls of limestone, constructed in the so-called Cyclopean masonry style, in the thirteenth century. Stone walls were also built after the Bronze Age, that is, in the Early Iron Age and the Archaic-Classical Age.\(^8\) Examples of such walls are those of Zagora on Andros (after 850, made of schist and marble) and Phocaea in Ionia (ca. 600-550, tufa).\(^9\) Thus, since stone walls had been built for centuries in Euripides’ time, their presence in the heroic world cannot be considered a specific contemporary element. They should rather be regarded as belonging to a long-established tradition.

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

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

\(^{8}\) For the sub-Mycenaean period (eleventh century) no fortifications are attested. In other words, there is a gap in the archaeological record of this period. The end of the Bronze Age witnessed the destruction of several Mycenaean citadels, probably as a consequence of enemy invasion (although this is debated). It is possible that new communities, which came after the Mycenaens, inhabited the Bronze Age citadels again and re-used their fortifications. It is also possible that these communities founded their own settlements. If so, the lack of attested fortifications may suggest that these villages were not fortified. It is also possible that archaeologists have not yet found the fortifications of this period (Frederiksen 2011, 102-4).
\(^{9}\) Frederiksen 2011, 93; 182; 199. It must be noted, however, that walls wholly made of stone became rare after the Bronze Age. Most city walls were made of mud-brick on a *stone foundation*, such as, for instance, those of Salamis on Cyprus (eighth century) and Eleusis (late sixth century) (Frederiksen 2011, 55; 136; 184).
\(^{10}\) Klinkott and Becks 2001, 408-9.
\(^{11}\) Hertel 2003, 228 n68.
\(^{12}\) ... τεῖχος λάινον ἐν τῷ Ἰλίῳ ἐπ’ ἀκροτάτῳ τῶν κολωνῶν ... ὅτι νῦν Πέργαμος καλεῖται. ‘The stone wall in Troy on the highest of hills, which is now called Pergamus.’ If this wall was already visible in the early archaic period, Homer may have been acquainted with it too. For the relation between Homeric Troy and the visible ruins of Bronze Age Troy around 700 sec: e.g. Luce 1998; Korfmann 2002.
not only Troia VI, but also other Greek cities were fortified by a stone wall. In other words, stone walls were a generic feature of a Greek city. Thus, it is also possible that Euripides presents Troy as a ‘common’ Greek city, without modelling it after the remains of Troia VI.

The wall as symbol

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

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

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

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

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13 David 2009, 265.
14 The role of the gods in the capture of a city is a theme that regularly appears in tragedy. For example, in Aeschylus’ Agamemnon, the herald says that the Argive king has uprooted the land of Troy by the pick of Zeus (526 Διὸς μακέλλῃ). This implies that Agamemnon had divine support in sacking the city. Similarly, in the Seven against Thebes, Eteocles prays to the gods ‘that guard the city’ (69 πολισσοῦχοι θεοί) not to pull up Thebes by its roots (71-2 πρυμνόθεν ... ἐκθαμβίσητε), when the Argive army arrives. Cf. David 2009, 274.
ὁρῶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὡς τὰ μὲν πυργοῦσ’ ἄνω
τὸ μηδὲν ὄντα, τὰ δὲ δοκοῦν’ ἀπώλεσαν.

I see the work of the gods – how they
build high what is nothing and how they
destroy what seems powerful.

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

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

Gates

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

ἔναντα δ’ ήλθεν Πυλάδης ἄλιαστος
οἷος οἷος Ἕκτωρ ὁ Φρύγιος ἢ τρικόρυθος
Αἴας, ὅν εἶδον εἶδον
ἐν πύλαισι Πριάμισιν.

Against me came Pylades undaunted
like Phrygian Hector or triple-plumed
Ajax, whom I saw
at Priam’s gates.

(E. Or. 1478-81)

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

David 2009, 267.
Willink 1986, 325.
West 1987, 282.
role, took place at the Scaean Gates (II. 22.359-60, cf. Apollod. Epit. 5.3a). Although West may be right, I would not leave it at this. The gates are also presented for a dramatic reason. They have a characterising function because they add to the Phrygian’s characterisation as a cowardly and frightened figure. His statement that he saw Ajax fighting at the gates implies that he stayed in the city and did not leave the protection of the ramparts. He might have witnessed Ajax from the top of the wall, for instance. This behaviour corresponds to the Phrygian’s character throughout the play, which reflects Eastern stereotypes such as cowardice (1375-9, 1498-9) and effeminacy (1112).18

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

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

18 Mattison 2009, 132; 136.
20 Hedreen 2001, 116-9. By way of example Hedreen refers to two vase paintings, one in which Ajax and Achilles play a board game (LIMC I.1 97; I.2 97 (no.397)) and one in which Ajax and Odysseus await the outcome of the voting on the granting of Achilles’ arms (LIMC I.1 327; I.2 244 (no.86)). What connects these episodes is that Ajax loses in both scenes. (The fact that Ajax calls ‘three’ and Achilles ‘four’ during the game implies that Ajax loses). According to Hedreen, the link between these episodes is made clear by a table that appears in both scenes, first as a game table and then as a voting table.
21 ‘Visual artists had fewer means than an oral or literary storyteller for suggesting that one event occurred as a consequence of another. It appears that one of the devices employed by artists to suggest such narrative interconnections was setting ...’. Unfortunately, Hedreen gives no example of vase paintings that have such a cause-and-effect relation.
To round off this section, I want to note that the Scaean and Dardanian Gate are not mentioned in tragedy. This suggests that the tragedians do not imitate the Trojan wall in the *Iliad*, but instead envisage a generic city wall with nameless gates.

**Conclusion**

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

3.1.2 Temples

**Homer**

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

1. stone threshold (*Il. 9.404*). This implies a stone foundation.23
2. thatched roof. This follows from a prayer of Chryses, who reminds Apollo that he has repeatedly ‘roofed’ his temple (*Il. 1.39 ε ἰ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ’ ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα*).24 According to Goossens and Markwald, εἰ ποτέ implies multiple renovations of the same roof.25 Thatched roofs were also used in other contexts. For instance, the roof of Achilles’ barrack in the Greek camp is made of thatch (*Il. 24.450-1*).
hearth and pit inside (?). The Trojan women say that they will sacrifice twelve year-old heifers to Athena ἐνὶ νηῷ (Il. 6.308). It is possible that they imagine the sacrifice as taking place within the temple building, which would imply the presence of a hearth and pit inside. It is also possible that the word naos refers to the temple domain and that the sacrifice is supposed to take place at the altar in front of the building.

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

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

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

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

**Temple of Zeus**

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

The temple has a thematic function in the play. _Trojan Women_ shows that humans can lose their faith in traditional, religious notions due to war. Before the fall of Troy the Trojans supposed that prayers and sacrifices would propitiate the gods and bring about their favour. This was a traditional religious notion in archaic and classical Greece. The capture of Troy, by contrast, makes clear that the gods...
do not always answer human prayers and sacrifices. For example, after the execution of Astyanax, Hecuba realises that she has sacrificed ‘in vain’ (1242 μάτην ἐβουθυτούμεν). Similarly, when Troy is burnt to ashes, the queen understands that the gods did not listen to her prayers in the past (1281 οὐκ ἤκουσαν ἀνακαλούμενοι). The traditional, religious notion of reciprocity between gods and humans is thus questioned in the play. The presence of Zeus’ temple in Troy adds to this theme. Although the Trojans devoted a temple to the god (and were thus very devout), Zeus did not support them in return. By consequence, the chorus say that Zeus has ‘betrayed’ the temple where he was worshipped.

**Temple of Artemis**

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

> ἐγὼ δὲ τὰν ὀρεστέραν At that time I was celebrating
tότ' ἀμφὶ μέλαθρα παρθένον with song and dance the daughter
Διὸς κόραν ἐμελπόμαν of Zeus, the virgin of the mountains,
χοροῖσι. around her house.

(E. Tr. 531-5)

The chorus’ account of the fall of Troy contains traditional elements, such as the dragging of the Wooden Horse (515-41) and the ‘liberation’ festivities during the night (542-50). Their account also contains some new elements resulting from the female perspective of the play; the voices of women prevail because the Trojan men have been killed by the Greeks. A typically female aspect of the ode is the focus on the individual households of the Trojans: the chorus describe how frightened children clung to their mothers’ skirts (557-9) and how Trojan husbands were beheaded in their beds (563-7). Women typically care for the welfare of the oikos, whereas men are concerned about public issues of the polis (e.g. Il. 6.407-32, 441-6) (cf. 3.1.5). The presence of the temple of Artemis also results from the female perspective of the play. Artemis is a pre-eminently female goddess: she is the patron of wild nature and virginity and her retinue is completely made up by women (e.g. Od. 6.105; h.Ven. 16-20). Wild nature and virginity were related in Greek thought, since both virgins and wild animals had to be brought under the yoke. Thus, the

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30 For an analysis of the questioning of traditional religious notions in this play see: Croally 1994, 71-85.
31 Lebeau 2009, 251-3; Mattison 2009, 42.
32 Skafte Jensen 2009, 55. Burkert (1977, 235) draws attention to the ‘double nature’ of Artemis. On the one hand she is the goddess of virginity, on the other she is overloaded with eroticism.
chorus not only present the events from a female perspective, but also evoke an exclusively female space: the temple of a paramount female goddess. The presence of the Artemis temple in Troy can thus be considered gender-defined.\(^{33}\)

**Temple of Athena**

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

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

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\(^{33}\) Lebeau 2009, 252.

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

\(^{35}\) In the *Odyssey*, however, the Horse is placed on the agora of the Trojans (8,503 ἐνὶ Τρώων ἀγορῇ). Homer does not state that the Horse is dedicated to Athena, although the goddess helped the Greeks with building it.

\(^{36}\) Coldstream 1985, 73. The Greeks of the classical period and later were probably not acquainted with these archaic temples. When Pindar (fr. 52i Maehler) and Pausanias (10.2.9-13) describe the history of the temple of Apollo in Delphi, they do not mention such a temple. According to Pausanias, the first temple of Apollo was made of laurel branches and the second of feathers and bee wax. These temples are unhistorical; laurel and bee wax are symbols of Apollo. The laurel was the sacred tree of the god and his priestesses were regularly called ‘Bees’ (Pl. *P.* 4,60-1). The third temple, which both authors mention, was made of bronze. This temple may have been motivated by real Greek temples that were covered with bronze plates, such as the temple
not resemble this type of temple but rather the monumental kind that appeared from the sixth century.

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

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

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

Both authors mention a stone temple as the final temple in the row, which corresponds to the situation in Delphi in their own time.

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

Coldstream 1985, 73.

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

Coldstream 1985, 73. The presence of triglyphs suggests that the temple in E. IT is a Doric temple (Kyriakou 2006, 37). Such temples were common in archaic and classical Greece. According to Wright (2005, 185-200), the presentation of the Taurian temple as a typically Greek (instead of Taurian) building is part of Euripides’ strategy to endow the land and people of Tauris with Greek characteristics. He claims that the Taurians are not presented as barbarians and that their environment is not ‘barbarian’ either. In Wright’s opinion, it is the Greek woman Iphigenia who is barbarised; she sacrifices shipwrecked Greeks to Artemis, which is a typically barbarian custom. Wright concludes from this that Euripides questions the conventional polarity between Greeks and barbarians because barbarians are presented as Greeks and Greeks as barbarians. I agree with Hall (1989, 112), however, who contends that the ethnic polarity is maintained in the play and that it is the Taurians who are presented as barbarians. King Thoas, for example, wants to throw the fleeing Greeks (Iphigenia, Orestes, and Pylades) from a cliff or impale them, which is a distinctively barbarian habit. Wright’s suggestion that Iphigenia is presented as a barbarian woman does not hold: Iphigenia explicitly says that it is the laws of the Taurians that force her to sacrifice the Greeks (35). In my opinion, the presentation of the Tau-
decked’ suggests that it has sculptural decoration: it was, after all, sculptural relief that could be decorated with gold. Gilding of temple sculptures first occurred in the fifth century, for instance in the Athenian Parthenon frieze. 41

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

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

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

Arian temple as a Greek building need not indicate a questioning of ethnic polarities. All temples in tragedy (whether Greek, Trojan, or Taurian) have the design of a ‘generic’ Greek temple. This is thus a general tendency in tragedy. A reason why Euripides models Taurian buildings after Greek equivalents, may be that he did not have a clear image of Taurian architecture. Hall (1989, 10-2) claims that Euripides used Herodotus’ description of Tauris (4.99; 103) for his presentation of the land, but no features of Taurian buildings are mentioned in his account.

41 Palagia 2006, 261. In the temple of Aphaea at Aegina (500-480) the weapons of the warriors in the pediments were gilded (Brinkmann 2006, 42).
42 Rose 2001, 180-1.
43 ΗΕ s.v. Troy; Rose 2001, 180-1.
Temple of Apollo

In Euripides’ *Alexandros*, Cassandra is said to come from the adyton of the temple of Apollo (fr. 9a Page). Homeric Troy also contains a temple of this god. Does the *Alexandros* passage suggest, then, that Euripides imitates the layout of Homeric Troy? In my view, this is not likely. Euripides evokes the temple of Apollo to give physical expression to Cassandra’s status as priestess of the god. The temple thus has a characterising function. Cassandra’s role as priestess of Apollo may be an innovation of Euripides. It is nonetheless based on the tradition in which Cassandra already has a connection with Apollo. Euripides’ predecessors, for example, speak of her mantic qualities, which are related to Apollo as the god of prophecy.

The first explicit reference to Cassandra’s role as seer may be Pindar’s Pythian 11, where she is called ‘prophetic maiden’ (μαντιν … κόραν). Aeschylus is the first who explicitly presents Cassandra’s mantic qualities as a gift of Apollo (*Ag.* 1264-76). Cassandra’s priesthood of Apollo in the *Alexandros* had not been previously attested, but is nonetheless linked to these precedents.

Due to the fragmentary status of the play, it is difficult to determine the dramatic function of Cassandra’s priesthood in the *Alexandros*. The motif nevertheless returns in the *Trojan Women*, which belongs to the same trilogy. Hecuba says that Cassandra has to cast off the ‘holy wreaths’ (325-8), which are the tokens of her priesthood. Since Troy has fallen, Cassandra is no longer able to perform her religious duties. This contributes to the theme of the breakdown of religion as a result of war. The play repeatedly shows that when a city is captured, rituals can no longer be performed (cf. 3.4.3, 3.2.1).

A city filled with temples

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

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44 It must be stated that parts of this passage are restored. Two readings have been proposed. I prefer the reading of Webster (1967, 167) to that of Page. Webster reads καὶ μὴν δὲ βορκα παῖδα Κασσάνδραν σέθεν μολοῦσα ἀδύτων ὧδε Φοιβείων ἄπο. Page reads the second line as follows: ἥκουσαν ἀδύτων ὧδε Φοιβείων σέθεν. This reading implies that the action of the *Alexandros* takes place before the temple of Apollo. Nevertheless, Webster (1967, 167) has demonstrated that the setting of the play is the palace in Troy.

45 It is debated when Cassandra is first presented as a seer. For an analysis of the possible presence of Cassandra’s mantic qualities in Homer and the Epic Cycle see: Mazzoldi 2001, 115-20.
The temple is thus a prototypical feature of the tragic city. This is in contrast with Homeric epic, in which the number of temples is limited and the altar is the focal point of cult activities. This corresponds to the early archaic period, in which many sanctuaries did not yet contain a temple building (see above). That tragic Troy (like other cities in tragedy) is filled with temples accords with the situation in the late archaic and classical period, in which temples had become a common feature of the Greek city.

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

3.1.3 Altars

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

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\(^{46}\) Cf. note 34 and 35.
\(^{47}\) LfgrE s.v. βωμός; Townsend Vermeule 1974, 105. In Homer, βωμός can also indicate a raised platform. For example, in Iliad 8, it is used of the stand of Zeus' chariot (441), and in Odyssey 7, it refers to the bases of Alcinous' golden kouros-statues (100).
\(^{48}\) Rupp 1983, 101-7; Höcker 2004, 5-6. Altars are only erected for ouranic deities, since sacrifices to these gods have to be led up to the sky. Chthonic divinities, on the contrary, receive libations
Homer locates altars near temples (II. 1.440, 1.39), on sacred temenoi (open air sanctuaries) (II. 8.48) and on profane ground, such as the agora of the Greek camp or the courtyard of Odysseus’ house (II. 11.808, Od. 22.334-5). Homer presents a limited number of altars in Troy: he mentions the presence of altars only dedicated to Zeus (4.48-9).

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

*Altar of Zeus Herkeios*

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

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

Murder at the altar entails an affront to the god. Although Priam enjoys the protection of Zeus (by taking refuge at his altar), Neoptolemus kills the king without mercy. The murder of Priam was a canonical episode in the tradition of the fall of Troy. The location of the murder nevertheless varied in the tradition. The story was not only set at the courtyard altar (e.g. *Iliupersis*, cf. Procl. Chr. 257-8), but also at the gates of the palace:

(1) In *Iliad* 22, Priam envisages the fall of Troy, when he stands on the Trojan wall and incites Hector to withdraw from battle with Achilles. Priam attempts to arouse Hector’s compassion by predicting what will happen if he dies in battle. Priam says that he himself will be murdered at the gates (66 πρῶτῃσι θύρῃσι; 71 ἐν
through trenches. These are dug into the ground so that liquids can seep down (Od. 10.517 ὑδάτινος).

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

50 Cf. *LIMC* VII.1 56-7, VII.2 405-6 (no. 87-97). In Pindar’s *Paeon* 6 the murder of Priam is also located at the altar of Zeus Herkeios (fr. 52F114 Maehler). Pindar states that Neoptolemus arouses the anger of Apollo by the murder. Due to the structure of the ode, it is this god (not Zeus) who becomes angry. Apollo’s anger at Neoptolemus is used to mirror the god’s anger at Neoptolemus’ father Achilles, which was recounted earlier in the ode (78-91). Apollo swears that Neoptolemus will not return to his homeland Phthia anymore (115-7). This comes true when Neoptolemus arrives in Delphi, where he is killed by the god’s attendants (117-20). Cf. Rutherford 2001, 312-3.
προθύροισι) and that his corpse will be devoured by dogs. Anderson claims that the poet of the *Iliad* was acquainted with the version of the murder at the altar but suppressed it because it did not correspond to the character of his story. The *Iliad*, after all, is in general averse to sacrilegious acts. The gates of the palace are substituted for the altar to remove the sacrilege. Anderson also suggests that the poet has chosen the gates as location of the murder so that Priam's position mirrors that of Hector, who finds himself at the Scaean Gates. As the son has taken position near the gates of the city, the father imagines himself to be murdered at another set of gates, those of the palace.

(2) In the *Little Iliad*, Neoptolemus drags Priam away from the altar, where the king has taken refuge, and kills him at the gates (fr. 25 West). This story removes the sacrilege as well. Anderson states that by mentioning both the altar and the gates, the poet combines the traditions presented in the *Iliad* and the *Iliupersis*. In the *Trojan Women* Euripides adopts the tradition of the murder at the altar. Since Priam is not dragged away to the gates, the sacrilege is shown in full force. This corresponds to the needs of the plot. Euripides puts the Greeks in a bad light in the play: they have caused a massacre in Troy and committed many sacrileges. Other examples of sacrileges are the desecration of Athena's statue by the lesser Ajax and the murders of the Trojans in the temples of the city (cf. 3.1.2, 3.1.4).

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


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

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

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

(2) Van Erp Taalman Kip (1987, 414-9) rejects this view. She suggests that the time span between the capture of Melos and the staging of the play was too short for Euripides to compose the play and to train a chorus and actors. In her view, Euripides had already finished the drama before the capture of Melos.
Although the presence of the courtyard altar in the palace follows from the tradition, its construction seems rather ‘modern’.\textsuperscript{55} It has a pedestal (κρηπίς) and steps (βάθρα).\textsuperscript{56} Altars with a stepped pedestal appeared in the sixth century, when altars in general became more ornate. Altars with steps represent a developed stage of the built stone altar, which did not appear with any frequency before the second half of the seventh century (see above).\textsuperscript{57} The stepped altar of Zeus can be compared with the stone temple of Athena in the first stasimon of \textit{Trojan Women}. The presence of the temple is likewise motivated by the tradition (story of the Wooden Horse), although its construction is relatively ‘modern’ (3.1.2).

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

\textit{Agyieus altar}

In Sophocles’ \textit{Laocoon}, which is preserved only in fragments, the city of Troy contains an altar of Apollo Agyieus (fr. 370.1 ἀγυιεὺς βωμὸς). This altar is absent in Homer. The \textit{agyieus} was an aniconic pillar with a pointed top that stood on a base. It is unclear whether the base of the pillar functioned as altar or whether a separate altar coexisted with the pillar.\textsuperscript{58} The \textit{agyieus} was thought to have talismanic powers: it was placed at the entrance of houses to keep evil out. The cult of Apollo
Agyieus was introduced in Attica in the fifth century (although it had existed earlier on the Peloponnesse). Thus, the agyieus altar in the Laocoon can be added to the list of ‘modern’ altars presented above. It is particularly the fifth-century character of this altar that suggests that the tragedians envisaged the altars of the heroic past as those of their own age.

Altars of Poseidon

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

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

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

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

Sacrificial offerings

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

(1) Pelanos is a semi-fluid mixture of flour, oil, and honey that can be poured into the sacrificial fire. The term pelanos first appears in fifth-century sources (e.g. Ar. 59 On the origins of the agyieus see: Fehrentz 1993, 134-5. 60 For a more elaborate analysis of the theme of ritual disorder see: Croally 1994, 70-84. 61 DNP s.v. pelanos.
Pl. 66; Plat. Leg. 782c4), although the substance itself is older. It was already used as a sacrificial offering in Homer (Od. 10.519-20). Thus, pelanos may be a classical term for a traditional offering.

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

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

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

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62 Townsend Vermeule 1974, 95-100.
63 Kearns 1994, 65-70 (with further epigraphical evidence).
64 In classical Greek cult many types of sacrificial cake were used. Religious norms existed for the correct size and number of the specific cakes that were used in a particular sacrificial rite. Each type of cake belonged to a particular deity and cult: the ἀμφιφών, for example, was dedicated to Artemis and the ὀβελίας to Dionysus. The specific type of cake indicated the individuality of each sacrifice. Few variants are found when it comes to animal sacrifice, since animal species are few compared to the large amount of sacrifices that were arranged by the different Greek communities. The use of cakes, on the contrary, permits a large range of variants – not only in the ingredients used, but also in the shape into which the cakes are moulded. Literary sources (such as Euripides’ Trojan Women), however, do not clearly distinguish between the different types of cake that were used in real sacrifices (Kearns 1994, 65-70).
3.1.4 Statues

Homer

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

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

Palladium

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

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

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

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

67 Boardman 2006, 4-12.
Is this statue of Athena identical with that in Homer? In my view, this is unlikely. Since Odysseus is able to carry it through the city without being noticed, the statue is presumably relatively small; that in Homer was at least life-size. It is more likely that the statue in the Rhesus is adopted from the non-Homeric tradition. The theft of Athena’s statue by Odysseus was a canonical episode in the tradition of the Trojan War, told, for example, in the Little Iliad (Procl. Chr. 228). Later sources call this statue the Palladium and state that it had protective powers (e.g. Apollod. Epit. 5.10). It had to be stolen by the Greeks to facilitate the capture of Troy. As long as the statue was in Troy, the city would remain safe.

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

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

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

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

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

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68 Cf. LIMC III.1 401-2; III.2 286-7.
70 Feickert 2005, 240. For the Little Iliad see: Procl. Chr. 228. For vase paintings in which Diomedes accompanies Odysseus see: note 68.
71 It should be noted that the observations in this paragraph are based on a restored passage: ... ἀκέλλητον βρέ[τας | κρηπῖδος ἐξέστρεψεν ... (S. fr. 10c.8-9). Conjectures are made by Lloyd-Jones 1996.
72 Anderson 1997, 201-2. The story is also presented in vase paintings. For archaic depictions see: LIMC I.1 339-341; I.2 253-8 (no. 16-41). For classical depictions see: LIMC I.1 344; I.2 263-4 (no. 44: 60-7). Archaic vases portray the Athena statue in a promachos (striding) position. Ajax and
not only adopted the event from the tradition (Ajax’ attack on Cassandra), but also the location (the statue). These were inherently connected to each other.

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

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

2. Statues could be fixed to their base by tenons. This technique was particularly used for wooden statues.

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

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

**Bronze casting**

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

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

73 Sturgeon 2006, 40-3.

74 Bald Romano 1980, 275.

75 For the meaning of λίγδος compare: Poll. 10.189
The comparison of a perforated shield with a clay mould is based on the technique of hollow bronze casting. This technique, which was used for the production of hollow bronze statues, is absent in Homer. It was introduced on Samos at the end of the seventh century, under influence of the Egyptians. The Samians at first used this technique for the production of appliques of bronze tripods, but later for statues as well. In the sixth century the technique was adopted by the Greeks on the mainland. In the first step of the process, a clay mould of the statue was covered with a layer of wax and a second layer of clay, the whole of which was held together by pins. The wax was then melted and let out through a network of hollow channels in the outer layer of clay. (It is these channels to which the holes in the shield in Sophocles’ Captive Women are compared.) There-upon, molten bronze was cast in the newly arisen hollow part of the mould. After cooling, the clay shell (the outer layer) was removed whereupon the bronze was polished. If the statue was made in parts, the clay core (the inner layer) could be removed as well.

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

Golden statues
In Euripides’ Trojan Women, the city of Troy contains golden statues. In the third stasimon, the Trojan women criticise Zeus for having betrayed their city to the Greeks, although they had always piously observed their religious duties (cf. 342). They state that since the city is destroyed, the gods can no longer be worshipped. Not only are their sacrifices and festivals gone (1073), but also their ‘golden statues’ (1074 χρυσέων ... ξοάνων).

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

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

77 Spivey 2013, 76.
78 DNP s.v. technique of sculpting.
79 Mattush 2006, 11-6; Spivey 2013, 76-9.
80 Χοανόν can refer to any kind of statue, regardless of size and material. In the fifth century, however, xoanon is not only used of statues, but also of other ‘carved’ objects. For example, in Euripides’ Ion, xoanon refers to the carved ornaments of an altar (1403 βωμοῦ ... ξόανα). Similarly, in Sophocles’ Thamusyas, it is used of carved musical instruments (fr. 298.2 ξόαν ... ἡδυμέλη). From the fourth century, xoanon exclusively refers to statues (Donohue 1988, 9-32).
(1) The smithy of Hephaestus contains golden statues that have the semblance of girls and can even move (Il. 18.417-8). They are present among other eccentric objects, such as tripods which of themselves enter and leave the gatherings of the gods (373-7). All these objects are not historical, but expressive of the outstanding craftsmanship of Hephaestus. That the statues are made of gold relates to Hephaestus’ divine nature. The gods in the Iliad are generally presented as living in a ‘golden environment’ (e.g. 5.722-32, 743-4).

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

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

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

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

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81 E.g. Van Wees 1992 has shown that Homeric epic contains many fantastic elements, which reflect the ideals of the early archaic society. For the palace of Alcinous as a fantastic setting see: Van Wees 1995, 149 n3.
82 DNP s.v. technique of sculpting.
83 Hurwit 2004, 240 (statues of solid gold); Palagia 2006, 261 (statues of gilded marble). As for terminology, the Greeks do not seem to have distinguished between ‘golden’ and ‘gilded’ statues (Donohue 1988, 141 n336).
84 Hall 1989, 128.
were also present in fifth-century Athens (as I described above), the audience would not have regarded them as typical of the East. Golden or luxurious elements can in my view only be regarded as barbarisations if they are not present in the world of the audience and occur in a context with other barbarian/Eastern elements, such as effeminacy and servility.

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

**Wooden Horse**

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

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

1. The designation of the horse as ‘polished ambush’ (534 ξεστὸν λόχον) must have reminded the audience of the statue on the acropolis, since ξεστός applies to a bronze sculpture, not to a wooden one.
2. The hapax χρυσεοφάλαρον suggests that the statue of Strongylion contained golden ornaments. This word cannot ‘have earned legitimacy’ if the spectators did not have had a concrete, clear example in their minds, which must have been Strongylion’s bronze decked with gold. 85

I do not consider Stieber’s arguments convincing:

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

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

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85 Stieber 2011, 190-1.
ornaments; then, she contends that Euripides borrowed the image of the gold-decked horse from Strongylion. This is circular reasoning. Since Stieber’s arguments are not compelling, we cannot determine whether Euripides modelled his gold-decked horse after Strongylion’s bronze.

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

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

3.1.5 Houses

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

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

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

3. **portico.** This structure is indicated by the words αἰθωμή and πρόθιμος (Od. 4.297-302, 20.1-6). That beds for guests are placed here suggests that Homer has in
mind rather small houses with few rooms. At the same time, he also presents magnificent houses with a large number of rooms. An example of these is the palace of Odysseus in Ithaca. The minor rooms, such as bedrooms and storerooms, are called (4) thalamos. These are presumably located behind or next to the megaron. This is suggested by the presence of the corridor (Od. 22.128), which probably gives access to these rooms. Some houses have an upper storey with rooms (Od. 4.787 ὑπερωίῳ), some of which are only accessible to women.

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

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

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86 HE s.v. houses. Van Wees (1992, 332-3 n54) explains: ‘The shade (aithousa) projecting over the door, together with the pillars or beams that presumably support it, forms the ‘porch’ (prodomos); there is nothing to suggest that the porch is a separate room attached to the front of the hall (contra Plommer 1977, 80-1). There are also aithousai along the courtyard wall: “colonnaded walls” (Plommer: ibid.) may be too grand a term for them. The space in front of the courtyard gate is called prothyron [Od. 4.40]. It is not clear whether there is a shade here too, but there is no reason to think that the prothyron is a “roofed building” (ibid.).’

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

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

89 Likewise, the Odyssey does not offer a look in the houses of the ‘ordinary’ Phaeacians (6.9 ἔξωῳ) when Odysseus reaches Scheria. The story only presents the interior of the palace of
The palace on the Trojan citadel is extensive: it is able to accommodate the fifty sons of Priam and their wives as well as his twelve daughters and their husbands. 90 Hector and Paris have their own houses on the acropolis. 91

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

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

The presentation of the capture of Troy through the eyes of ordinary women can be linked to a general tendency in Euripidean tragedy. The tragedian is famous for having ‘vulgarised’ tragedy. In addition to the ‘Homeric’ heroes, he has Alcinous, which is the setting of Odysseus’ encounter with the rulers of the land (7.82-132). Cf. Drerup 1969, 30; Rougier-Blanc 2009, 472.

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

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

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

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

*A bridal chamber*

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

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

ἀλλ’ ὁ μέν τις Λέσβιον φατνώματι κῦμ’ ἐν τριγώνοις ἐκπεραινέτω ρυθμοῖς.

(A. fr. 78.1-2)

Let someone complete a Lesbian wave with its triangular pattern on the coffered ceiling.

The chamber has (1) a coffered ceiling that is (2) decorated with a Lesbian wave. Both elements are absent in Homer.

(1) Coffered ceilings usually consisted of beams (στρωτῆ ρες) supporting a trellis (φάτνωμα) with decorated slabs (καλύμματα). The trellis and slabs could be made in one piece or in separate parts. The first coff ered ceilings appeared in temples on the Cyclades in the sixth century, for instance in the temple of Demeter in Sangri (Naxos). These temples were the first in Greece that had stone ceilings.

(2) The Lesbian wave was an ornamental ribbon consisting of painted or moulded leafs and darts. The leafs were more or less of a triangular shape, as their S-shaped rims converged into a sharp point (hence the reference to the ‘triangular pattern’ in the fragment). This decoration is usually called the ‘Lesbian cymatium’ by archaeologists. It is first attested in temple architecture in Neandria (Asia Minor) at the end of the seventh century. In Attica it appeared for the first time in the second half of the sixth century, for instance on the altar of Twelve Gods on the agora.

Thus, the ceiling of the bridal chamber seems to have a rather ‘modern’ design. This can be compared to other houses in tragedy:

(1) The palace in Argos in Euripides’ Orestes contains a pastas (passage) (1371 παστάδων). This was a prototypical element of the so-called ‘courtyard house’, which appeared in Greece in the seventh century. The central space of these houses was the courtyard, around which the other rooms were located. This is in contrast with the Homeric house, where the minor rooms are positioned around the megaron (see above). The pastas connected the courtyard to the rooms behind it. It first appeared in houses in Megara Hyblaea (Sicily).

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

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

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

99 Höcker 2004, 123.
(2) The house of Heracles in Thebes has an andrōn (HF 954 ἀνδρῶν’) and stone pillars (979-80 λαίνους ὀρθοστάτας). The andrōn was the men’s room of the Greek house, where symposia were held. The first andrōnes appeared in houses in the seventh century (in Athens around 640). In some places, such as Zagora (Andros) and Xoburgo (Tenos), they were attached as a separate room to existing houses of the Geometric period (which consisted of one or two units). With the appearance of the Greek courtyard house, the andrōn became one of the standard rooms of the house. Stone pillars appeared for the first time in temple architecture of the early sixth century (temple of Artemis in Cercyra). It is likely, then, that they were employed in houses even later. Columns are present in Homeric houses, too, although their material is not specified (Od. 17.29). If Homer lived in the early seventh century, he may have envisaged columns of wood.

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

Symposium in the andrōn

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

The symposium was a Greek drinking party with a ritualised ceremony. Participants lay on couches, which were placed along the walls of the andrōn. The practice of reclining at table was adopted from the Near East probably in the eighth century and became part of the luxurious lifestyle of the archaic aristocracy. The symposium as such is absent in Homer. Epic feasts take place in the megaron, where participants sit on chairs, placed along the wall (e.g. Od. 7.95-6).
The practice of the symposium is also presented by the chorus in the Rhesus. After the announcement of Rhesus’ arrival in the Troad, the chorus sing a song of joy. His arrival raises their hopes of a speedy end of the war. They express their longing for the revival of symposia in Troy:

ἄρα ποτ’ αὖθις ἁ παλαιὰ Τροία
τοὺς προπότας παναμερεύ-σει διάσοις ἐφώτων
ψαλμοίς καὶ κυκλίκων σινοπλανήτοις
ἐπιδεξίοις ἁμίλλαις ...

(Ε. Rh. 360-4)

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

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

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

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

105 Feickert 2005, 201.
106 More differences between the Homeric feast and the archaic-classical symposium can be detected. (1) Before the symposium, the participants had to anoint themselves by way of purification. This practice may have been adopted from the Near East. (2) The symposium was only open to men. During the Homeric feast, by contrast, the wife of the host could be invited. Her role was restricted to conversation and handiwork (Od. 4.137-46, 6.305-9); eating and drinking was reserved for men (Van Wees 1995, 155-63; 177-9; cf. Murray 1990, 6-7).
107 Kurke 1999, 278-9. The game of kottabos had erotic associations. During a throw the symposiast called the name of a beloved. A good throw promised the fulfilment of erotic desires. The target (also called kottabos (Ath. 666d)) sometimes involved a soundboard, called the manes (μάνης), which rang when a winner shot the disk from the stand (Ath. 667a). Manes was also the designation for a slave from a foreign country, especially from Phrygia. The sound of the sound-
All in all, the practice of feasting in the *Rhesus* does not resemble that in Homer, but instead contains elements of the archaic-classical symposium. Other tragedies contain references to symposia, too (e.g. A. *Ag.* 244-6).

Gymnasium

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{τὰ δὲ σὰ δροσόεντα λουτρά} & \quad \text{Your fresh bathing places and} \\
\text{γυμνασίων τε δρόμοι} & \quad \text{the racetracks of the gymnasium} \\
\text{βεβάσι, σὺ δὲ πράσωπα νεα-} & \quad \text{are gone, but you keep your face} \\
\text{ρά χάρισι παρὰ Διὸς θρόνοις} & \quad \text{youthful and serene because of} \\
\text{καλλιγάλανα τρέφεις.} & \quad \text{your services at the throne of Zeus.}
\end{align*}
\]

(E. *Tr.* 833-7)

The gymnasium in Troy contains (1) a *dromos* and (2) *loutra*. Gymnasia are absent in Homer. They appeared in Greece in the sixth century.

(1) The *dromos* was the open, uncovered racetrack of the gymnasium. At first, the gymnasium was an area that was little developed architecturally, consisting of a racetrack located in a park outside the city. Archaeologists call such gymnasia ‘park-gymnasia’. Around 550, the *dromos* was enclosed by a low wall so that it became a demarcated area in the landscape. When in the fifth century the gymnasium developed into a full-scale building, the racetrack was surrounded by colonnades, behind which rooms were located for exercise and instruction. At that board when hit resembled the cry of a slave when struck by his master. Hence, the game of *kottabos* symbolised the hierarchy in Greek society, the pre-eminence of Greeks over barbarians, and the domination of master over slave. This is illustrated in Aeschylus’ *Bone Gatherers* (fr. 179). The suitor Eurymachus throws his wine dregs to the head of Odysseus, who is disguised as a beggar. Odysseus, thereupon, describes his head as a *kottabos*-target (3 χότταβος). By his act, Eurymachus emphasises his supremacy over Odysseus and reduces him to the status of a slave (Kurke 1999, 280-3).

\* *DNP* s.v. *kottabos.*
time, the gymnasium was transferred into the urban area due to its increasing role in civic instruction.\textsuperscript{109}

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

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

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

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

\textbf{Conclusion}

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

\textsuperscript{109} For the development of gymnasia see: Yegül 1992, 9; Mango 2003, 18-9; Höcker 2004, 114-5.
\textsuperscript{110} Yegül 1992, 9; Mango 2003, 18-9. Mastronarde (1994, 252) contends that the \textit{loutra} refer to a swimming pool in the Trojan gymnasium. Although Greek gymnasia could contain a swimming pool (such as for instance the gymnasium in Olympia), these are usually called \textit{xelosμηθηρα} (e.g. Pl. \textit{R.} 453d). \textit{Loutron} is always used for a bathing place.
\textsuperscript{111} 1977, 304.
\textsuperscript{112} Other cities in tragedy, such as Thebes and Troezen, contain gymnasia, too (E. \textit{Ph.} 368, \textit{Hipp.} 239). In Euripides’ \textit{Andromache}, the \textit{palaestra} of a gymnasium is mentioned (599 παλαιστρας). Peleus emphasises the transgressive character of Spartan women, by saying that they leave their thighs uncovered and share the \textit{palaestra} with men. The \textit{palaestra} was an approximately peristyle court used for exercises such as wrestling and boxing. It was incorporated in gymnasia in the fifth century (Höcker 2004, 115).
period. The same holds true of the gymnasium, which is absent in Homer. The non-Homeric elements are all motivated by the needs of the plot.

3.2 The Troad

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

3.2.1 Trojan plain

_Homer_

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

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

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

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

115 The oak is used as a symbol of safety for the Trojans. For example, Achilles states that when he still fought among the Greeks, Hector did not move beyond this point (Thornton 1984, 151; Trachsel 2007, 83).

116 The position of the fig tree near the weakest part of the wall is characteristic of its symbolism. The tree repeatedly appears in situations of danger for the Trojans (Thornton 1984, 152). For example, the Trojan warriors flee past this tree when Agamemnon pursues them (11.167); and
(22.147-8 πηγαὶ δοιάς). This is the place where the Trojan women wash their clothes in times of peace.

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

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

Sacred groves

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

The groves have a thematic function in the Trojan Women. One of the themes of the play is the breakdown of religious practice as a consequence of war. The play shows that when a city has been captured, people cannot perform rituals anymore, whereupon the gods leave the city. For example, the chorus say that the Hector passes it during his flight for Achilles (22.145). In book 11, the fig tree seems to be further away from the wall than in other passages. Clay (2011, 102-6) connects this 'inconsistency' to the oral tradition. She states that oral poets visualise the literary world in their minds and construct so-called mental maps. These mental maps consist of the landmarks of the literary world with ever fluctuating distances in between. This means that the poet only remembers the landmarks themselves without the distances between them. This tendency is also visible in the case of the wall and ditch of the Greek camp. The poet repeatedly presents these landmarks as the defence line of the camp, but the distance between them varies each time (9.85-8, 12.66).

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

* Desolation (ἐρημία) is a recurrent word in the play. For example, Hecuba calls herself a 'mother whose city is left desolate' (ὁδὸν ἐρημόπολις μάτη). Similarly, the Trojan women say that they are 'desolate' since their husbands have been beheaded by the Greeks (γὰρ καράτομος ἐρημία). Cf. Tr. 26.
gods can no longer be worshipped, since the Trojans have been killed by the Greeks (599-600). Poseidon states that he is leaving the city because his worship is no longer honoured (25-7). The abandoned groves in the Trojan plain highlight the theme of religious breakdown by war. Sacred groves are normally used as sites of worship and are supposed to be residences of the gods. Since the country has been taken, the groves cannot perform these functions anymore: people do not worship the gods any longer, whereupon they abandon their residences.

The isolation of Ajax

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

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

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

120 Ajax’ recovery from insanity is probably an innovation in the Ajax-story (Garvie 1998, 5). In the Little Iliad, judging by its summary, Ajax became insane (ἐμμανὴς γενόμενος) and killed himself together with the cattle, presumably without becoming sane in between (Procl. Chr. 209-10). Similarly, in the Aethiopis, Ajax is said to have killed himself ‘towards dawn’ (περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον) (sch. in Pi. I. 4,58), that is, possibly, after the killing of the cattle at night (cf. S. Ai. 22 νυκτὸς). In Sophocles’ play, Ajax’ recovery from sanity makes his situation more tragic. He is able to recognise his deeds and to suffer from the mockery of his enemies.

121 For an analysis of the origin and nature of Athena’s anger (especially its ‘one-day limit’) see: Van Erp Taalman Kip 2007.
in his plan (371-8). Stubbornness is a characteristic feature of the ‘Sophoclean hero’, who is in general an isolated character.\textsuperscript{122}

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

(1) \textit{Untrodden grove}

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

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

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

(2) \textit{Springs}

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

\textsuperscript{122} Knox 1964, 15-7.
\textsuperscript{123} Kamerbeek 1963, 137.
\textsuperscript{124} Rehm 2002, 130. The first part of the \textit{Ajax} takes place in front of Ajax’ barrack in the Greek camp (1-814), the second part in the untrodden grove on the Trojan shore (815-1420). The change of setting is made clear by the evacuation of the chorus (\textit{metastasis}) and by verbal indications of the characters. Kamerbeek (1963, 168) claims that this change of setting was accompanied by a change of painted panels, indicating the places of action. Rehm (2002, 131-2) does not agree with Kamerbeek. This act, he claims, would reduce the dramatic effect. After the excited exits of Tecmessa and the chorus, the dramatic action would have to stop for stagehands to reset the scene. Rehm thinks that Tecmessa ripped down a fabric that indicated Ajax’ barrack while rushing off. This action prevents an interruption of the drama and could have revealed pre-set elements, indicating the shore. Rehm claims that the ripping down of the fabric has a symbolic function, too. It represents Tecmessa’s sense that Ajax’ absence from the barrack will cause the destruction of her oikos.
isolated from all the Greeks, only the natural elements of the landscape are left for
him to address. Apostrophe to the landscape is a dramatic technique that Sopho-
cles regularly employs to emphasise the isolation of his protagonist.\(^{125}\)

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

\(^{(3)}\) Pastures and caves

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

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

This is an instance of the pathetic fallacy, since Ajax attributes human em otions
to the inanimate space. That the hero feels hated even by the landscape enhances
his isolation. What is more, Ajax even implicates the landmarks of the plain in his
downfall. Since he has lost his heroic status in Troy, he blames the ‘caves by the
shore’ and the ‘pastures of the coast’ (413 πάραλά τ’ ἄ ντρα καὶ νέμος ἔπακτιον) for
having ‘detained’ him far too long there (415 κατείχετ’).\(^{126}\)

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

\(^{126}\) Elliger 1975, 220.
ὀρύξας). Tecmessa and the chorus suppose these words to mean that Ajax will not use his sword anymore and will hide it in the ground. Ajax, however, means that he will only place the hilt of the sword in the earth but will hide its blade in his body, by falling on it.127

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

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

ἠίονες δ’ ἅλιαι  The shores of the sea
ἴακχον οἰωνὸς οἷον τέκνων ὑπὲρ βοῶσ’ ... wail like a bird for its young.
(E. Tr. 827-30)

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

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

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

tributes to the atmosphere of misery that is created in the scene. The fate of the women is so unfortunate that even nature pities them.\textsuperscript{130}

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

\textit{Trophies}

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

\textit{Scamander and Simois}

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

\textsuperscript{130} The same sort of pathetic fallacy is also used in Aeschylus’ \textit{Prometheus Bound}. The Titan Prometheus is bound to a rock in Scythia since he has stolen the divine fire from Zeus (6-8). The Oceanids who lament Prometheus, present the entire world as bewailing the Titan. They state that the sea groans (431 βοᾷ ... πόντιος κλύδων), that the black recesses of the earth roar (433 κελαινὸς ... ὑποβρέμει μυχὸς γᾶς), and that the streams of rivers wail (434-5 παγαί ... ποταμῶν στένουν). Just like the shores in \textit{Trojan Women}, the lamentations of nature in \textit{Prometheus Bound} increase the atmosphere of pain and misery that surrounds the lamented subject (Griffith 1983, 156).

\textsuperscript{131} Krentz 2007, 173.

\textsuperscript{132} Krentz 2007, 173 n42. Cf. E. \textit{Heracl.} 937, where Hyllus and Iolaus erect a \textit{tropaion} in honour of Zeus after their victory over Eurystheus.
were continuously preserved in the tradition as identifiers of the city (2.1). Another example of a canonical Trojan landmark is Mount Ida (3.2.3).

The Scamander and Simois are often used as metonyms for Troy. For example, in Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon*, a messenger who tells about the Trojan War says that Apollo was ill-disposed towards the Greeks ‘at the Scamander’ (351). Similarly, in the *Andromache*, Peleus wishes that Neoptolemus had died ‘at the banks of the Simois’ instead of in Delphi (1183), so his death would have entailed glory.

Many tragedies highlight the misery that the Trojan War has caused. This misery is often connected to the Scamander and Simois. For example, in Euripides’ *Helen*, Helen complains that many lives have been lost ‘at the streams of the Scamander’ (52), and in the * Trojan Women*, the chorus state that Helen has brought wide suffering to ‘the streams of the Simois’ (116). It is possible that the Scamander and Simois are again metonyms for Troy. It is also possible that the misery is specifically connected to the rivers. The reason for this may be that the war, which has caused many victims, has mainly taken place in the plain, of which the Scamander and Simois are characteristic landmarks.133

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

**Weather of the Troad**

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

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

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133 Other passages in which the Scamander and Simois appear in a context of misery: A. *Ag* 696; Ch. 366; E. *Andr* 109; *Hec* 641; Tr. 29, 374; Or. 1310; *Hel* 609, 369; *IA* 750; 767; Rh. 546-7.

134 Trachsel 2007, 77

135 In the *Agamemnon*, drops and dripping liquids (in general) appear in a context of suffering and misery. For example, when Agamemnon is murdered, Cassandra screams that the palace in Argos breathes ‘blood dripping murder’ (1309 φόνον ... αἱματοσταγῆ). Similarly, the chorus state that the memory of miseries ‘drips’ before their heart (179 στάζει). The heart is considered the seat of thought and emotions. For further examples see: Sommerstein 1996, 241-7.
κοίταις ἀκύμων νηνέμοις εὔδοι πεπών … when the sea calmly fell asleep on its windless noontide couch.

(A. Ag. 563-6)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Villages**

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

Sommerstein does not say why Aeschylus would create a link between Andromache and Briseis. The highly fragmentary state of the *Phrygians* makes it difficult to provide an explanation. Nevertheless, I would like to venture a suggestion. The *Phrygians* presents the meeting between Achilles and Priam about the ransoming of Hector’s corpse. As Sommerstein suggests, it may have been Briseis...
who persuaded Achilles in this play to return the corpse of Hector. This would parallel the *Myrmidons*, the first play of the trilogy, in which Patroclus (another sexual partner of Achilles) had persuaded him to lend him his armour. One of the possible motivations for Briseis to persuade Achilles might be pity for Andromache. Characters in tragedy who come from the same city and have experienced the same misfortune often feel pity for each other. For example, the women of Troy pity their queen in Euripides’ *Hecuba* and *Trojan Women*. That Briseis has suffered the same misfortune as Andromache (both have lost their family) and comes from the same village might have aroused a sense of compassion for her.

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

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

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143 Sommerstein 2008b, 263. For Achilles’ sexual relationship with Patroclus see fr. 135-7.
145 Sigeum is also mentioned in Sophocles’ *Philoctetes* (355 Σίγειον).
146 Berlin 2002, 133-41. Herodotus says that Hippias took shelter in Sigeum in 510, when he was exiled from Athens (5.65). As Sommerstein (1989, 151) notes, he is likely to have held it as tributary to the Persian king.
Conclusion
The tragedians have not modelled the Trojan plain after Homer. Most elements of the Homeric plain, such as the oak tree, fig tree, and Pleasant Hill, are not adopted by them. They fill the plain with their own landmarks, according to the needs of the plot. These landmarks have a thematic (e.g. A. Ag., E. Tr.) or psychologising function (e.g. S. Ait.). Nevertheless, some landmarks, such as the Scamander and Simois, are present on both the tragic and Homeric plain. They do not necessarily imply an imitation of Homer but are canonical elements, which are continuously preserved in the tradition to distinguish the city.

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

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

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149 The practice of cremating weapons was familiar to the historical Greeks. Fragments of burnt armour have, for example, been found in Euboean and Athenian warrior graves from the Geometric period (Coldstream 1977, 120; 126; 350).
150 Human sacrifice occurs once in Homer, at the funeral of Patroclus. Achilles sacrifices twelve Trojans to the deceased hero out of revenge for Patroclus’ untimely death (Il. 23.175). According to some scholars (e.g. Andronikos 1968, 29; Finkelberg 2005, 14), the presence of human sacrifice in Homer indicates that this practice really existed in historical Greece and was preserved in oral tradition until Homer’s time. Archaeologists have found traces of a human sacrifice in a Cypriot tomb of the Middle Bronze Age (Coldstream 1977, 350).
151 The gifts are probably supposed to benefit the hero after his death and the animals to accompany his soul on his journey to the underworld (Andronikos 1968, 25-7).
152 E.g. Andronikos 1968, 34. Grethlein (2008, 28) points out that tombs and, consequently, the heroes who are buried within it, can fall into oblivion. This happens in the Iliad several times (e.g. Il. 8.1:4; 23.326-33).
Homerichic funerals largely correspond to those of the late eighth and early seventh century. Elements that are shared by both funerals are the practice of cremation, the burial of cremated remains, and the erection of mounds. Homerichic funerals do not resemble those of the Bronze Age, since at that time inhumation was common.\textsuperscript{153}

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

The plain in tragedy also contains graves. For the analysis of the supposed Homerichic character of the Trojan plain, two questions are important:
(1) Do the graves in tragedy resemble the Homerichic graves in design?
(2) Do the tragic and Homerichic plain have the same graves? If so, are these graves in the same location?

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

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

:\textsuperscript{154} HE s.v. geography, the \textit{Iliad}. According to Russo, Fernández-Galiano and Heubeck (1992, 368), the joint burial of the three heroes in the \textit{Odyssey} is a combination of two different traditions. According to one tradition, Patroclus was the closest friend of Achilles; according to another, it was Antilochus. The \textit{Odyssey} combines these traditions by having the three heroes buried in one tomb.
The location of the graves in Aeschylus differs from that in Homer. In the *Iliad*, the Greeks are not buried along the Trojan wall but in the vicinity of their own camp (7.435-6). The only landmarks that Homer locates along the Trojan wall are two springs, a fig tree, and an oak tree (3.2.1). Why, then, does Aeschylus locate the Greek graves on this spot in the *Agamemnon*?

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

A cemetery along the public road

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

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156 Thomson 1966, 45; Collard 2002, 130.
sents the graves of the dead as lying ‘scattered’ throughout the plain. The tomb of Ilus, for example, is located in the middle of the plain, whereas that of Achilles lies on a promontory of the Hellespont (Il. 11.166-7, Od. 24.82). What is the reason, then, for the location of the graves along the public road in the Rhesus?

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

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

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157 Morris 1987, 63.
158 Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 91-6; Frederiksen 2011, 76. Areas that were chosen for the location of cemeteries were often sites where burials had already taken place for a long time. The Ceramicus in Athens, for example, had served as a burial place since the early Helladic period, that is, from the end of the third millennium onwards (Knigge 1988, 14).
Tomb of Achilles

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

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

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

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

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

\(^{164}\) Petersmann 1977, 158.

\(^{165}\) The location of the tomb also corresponds to that in other accounts. For example, Proclus’ summary suggests that the tomb of Achilles is located in the Trojan plain in the Iliupersis (Chr. 274). Since Polyxena is sacrificed soon after the burning of Troy, the grave of Achilles must be located nearby, that is, in the plain.
been preserved in fragments, it is clear that Sophocles, too, located the tomb of Achilles in the Trojan plain (fr. 522; cf. Str. 10.3.14). 166

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

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

*Tomb of Hector*

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

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166 Calder 1966, 31; Pralon 2009, 192.
168 Arrian (An. 1.112.1) states that Alexander the Great and Hephaestion, who lived in the fourth century, sacrificed at separate tombs of Achilles and Patroclus in the Troad. According to Cook (1973, 160), this reference demonstrates that two separate tombs must have been pointed out in the landscape at that time. However, it is not certain whether Arrian, who lived in the second century AD, gives a correct representation of the fourth-century Troad. He might have projected the situation of his own time, that is, the existence of separate tombs (cf. Str. 13.1.32), into the past. He may have done this for literary reasons; by presenting the two Macedonians as sacrificing at the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus, he highlights their connection as friends and lovers (as were the two heroes).
according to a reference of the second-century BC historian Aristodemus (FGrH 383F7). It is uncertain, however, whether this tomb was pointed out in the fifth century. A series of coins with the image of Hector that was struck at Ophryneum in the fourth century suggests that the tomb had been identified by then.\(^{69}\) We have, however, no source that confirms the identification in the fifth century.

The tomb of Hector is presented in Euripides’ *Trojan Women*, in which it has a characterising function. In the fourth episode, Talathybius says that Andromache addressed the tomb of Hector when she was led to the ship of Neoptolemus (1132-3 τὸν Ἕκτορος τύμβον προσεννέπουσα). The text does not make clear whether Andromache actually saw the tomb while passing it or only apostrophised it in her thoughts. In both cases, that she addresses the tomb while being led to Neoptolemus’ ship is expressive of her devotion to Hector. Although she is forced to live with a new man, she clings to the memory of her former husband. This accords with Andromache’s characterisation as a loyal and virtuous woman throughout the play (e.g. 650-6). If Andromache actually passed the tomb (while being brought to Neoptolemus’ ship), it must be located in the Trojan plain. This was also its location in Homer (*Il. 24.799-802*) and in the actual Troad, if the tomb was identified in the fifth-century.\(^{70}\)

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

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

*Tomb of Ajax*

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

\(^{69}\) Head 1911, 547-8.
\(^{70}\) Other poets also locate Hector’s grave in the Trojan plain (e.g. *Aethiopis*). Cf. Burgess 2001, 140-2.
landscape is Strabo, who lived in the first century AD (13.1.30; cf. Paus. 1.35.4). He states that the tomb is located at Rhoeteum, a coastal town of the Hellespont. This location corresponds to that in Sophocles’ Ajax, where the tomb is erected on the Trojan shore. Teucer says (by way of aetiology) that Ajax’ grave will be remembered ‘for all time’ (1166 ἀείμνηστον). This may suggest that the audience were familiar with the existence of the tomb. Otherwise the words of Teucer would not have made sense. Nevertheless, we have no historical or archaeological source that confirms the presence of the tomb in the fifth-century Troad.

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

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

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172 The suggestion that cremation was common in the Little Iliad too, seems to be supported by Apollodorus’ statement that Ajax was the only Greek who was inhumed at Troy. Άγαμέμνων δὲ κωλύει τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ καθαίρει, καὶ μόνος ἐστὶς τῶν ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἀποθανόντων ἐν σόρῳ κεῖται. (Epit. 5.7). ‘Agamemnon forbids his [Ajax’] body to be cremated, so he is the only one of those who have died in Troy, who lies in a coffin.’ Had other inhumations been presented in the Little Iliad, Apollodorus would presumably not have made this statement.
176 Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 96-9.
Iliad. Agamemnon agrees with Ajax’ burial only after being reminded of ‘the divine laws’ by Odysseus (1343 τοὺς θεῶν νόμους), which prescribe burial. Initially he proclaimed that Ajax’ corpse had to be cast out on the shore (1064-5).177

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

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

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

What is the function of this fantasy element in the heroic world? Astyanax’ inhumation in his father’s shield adds to the pathos which surrounds the end of his life. The shield in which he is buried is precisely the object that should have protected him from death. Astyanax’ burial thus emphasises that the shield has not performed its proper function. Moreover, had Troy not been captured, Astyanax...
nax would have inherited his father’s shield (1192 πατρῴων) and taken it to the battlefield to imitate his father’s heroic deeds, as Hecuba says (1192-5). Although Astyanax obtains the shield of his father, he inherits it only in death. The burial in the shield emphasises that the boy will never gain the same martial glory as his father. This idea is a reversal of the situation in Sophocles’ Ajax in which Ajax’ son Euryptaces inherits the shield of his father so as to give the boy the same chance on heroic glory on the battlefield as his father (550-76).181

The shield in which Astyanax is buried is round, consists of wicker covered with bronze, and has a double arm-grip (1156 ἀμφίτορνον ἀσπίδα; 1196 πόρπακι).182 It differs from Homeric shields, which are made of leather and bronze and contain a shoulder strap (τελαμών) for carrying (Il. 12.239-47, 13.156-66, 17.290).183 The shield that Euripides presents belongs to the so-called ‘hoplite’ type. This follows from the combination of wood and bronze, the presence of the double arm-grip and the absence of the shoulder strap. Hoplite shields appear in the archaeological record from ca. 650.184 The design of hoplite shields, however, remained virtually unchanged through the archaic and classical periods.185 Thus, the shield of Hector in the Trojan Women resembles shields of the time of the audience. What is more, Hector’s shield is physically brought on stage. Boardman noted that the archaic and classical Greeks rarely attempted to recreate objects from a distant past (cf. 2.1). This observation bears on Hector’s shield as well because this kind of shield was in use in the fifth century.186

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

... τί καί ποτε γράψειν ἂν σοι μουσοποιὸς ἐν τάφῳ ... What could a poet write for you
γράψειν ἂν σοι μουσοποιὸς ἐν τάφῳ; on your grave?
Τὸν παῖδα τόνδ’ ἔκτειναν Ἀργεῖοι ποτε ἐκτεινον Ἀργεῖοι ποτε Argives once killed in fear?
δείσαντες; αἰσχρὸν τοῦπηγραμμα γ’ Ἑλλάδι. The inscription is a disgrace to Hellas.

(E. Tr. 1188-91)

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182 The double ‘arm-grip’ consists of the porpax in the middle of the shield (through which the left forearm was placed) and the antilabe at the right edge of the shield (which was grasped by the left hand) (Schwartz 2009, 32).
183 Scholars disagree whether Homer describes one specific shield or a combination of several shields from various periods. For an overview of this discussion see e.g. Van Wees 1992, 17-22; 2004, 250.
184 Snodgrass 1967, 57; Van Wees 2004, 48-50. Van Wees argues that Homeric shields had a shoulder strap as well as a double arm-grip, although the latter is not explicitly mentioned.
185 Schwartz 2009, 28.
Homer's heroes know the practice of writing does not contain written epigrams. It is even debated whether Homer's heroes know the practice of writing at all. In historical Greece, funerary epigrams appeared in the course of the seventh century. As Thomas notes, 'marked tombstones ... do not appear till the first half of the seventh century and then only sparsely: this may be related to the fact that inscriptions on stone only start appearing in earnest in the middle of the seventh century.

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

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

2. The main function of a funerary epigram is to commemorate and celebrate the person to whom the epigram is dedicated. Inscriptions, in other words, are generally endowed with encomiastic force.

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

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

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


190 Stieber 2011, xxi.

191 Thomas 1992, 63-5.

192 Day 1989, 18.

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

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

**Conclusion**

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

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

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

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

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99 Young 1983, 36; Day 1989, 19; Grethlein 2010, 78.
erties with actual geography, for example by locating Achilles’ grave in Thrace (E. Tr.), suppressing the existence of Hector’s tomb (E. Andr.), and (possibly) inventing the tomb of Astyanax (E. Tr.). In these cases the demands of the plot prevail over geographical accuracy.

3.2.3 Mount Ida

_Homer_

The Ida is a mountain in the Troad (Il. 21.558-9) with forests of fir and oak trees (21.449 ὑλῆσσης; 14.287 ἐλάτην; 23.118 δρῦς) and many springs, which are the source of several rivers (8.47 πολυπίδακα; 11.83 πιδηέσσης; 12.49).290 The Trojans use the mountain as pastureland for their flocks (11.105) and hide themselves in the thickets when they are in danger (21.559 ῥωπήια). The summit of the mountain, called Gargaron (14.292), contains a _temenos_ for Zeus, which is provided with a ‘fragrant’ altar and is taken care of by the Trojan priest Onetor (8.48 τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις; 16.604).291 When Zeus and Hera have sex on Gargaron, the soil provides a bed of blooming flowers, containing lotus, crocus, and hyacinth (14.348 λωτόν; κρόκον; ὑάκινθον).292 The village of Zeleia lies at the foot of the mountain (2.824) and the city of Dardania on its slopes (20.216).

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290 For a description of the Ida see also: _LfgrE_ s.v. Ἴδη; Luce 1998, 27-37. In Homeric similes, mountains are generally a symbol of danger. Mountains are the domain of wild animals, subject to stormy winds, and the place where pedestrians shrink back from threatening snakes (e.g. Il. 13.471-5; 22.189-92) (Elliger 1975, 89).
291 Zeus, who sides with the Trojans during war, protects Trojan warriors from the Ida. For example, when the Trojans advance to the Greek camp, Zeus sends dust from the mountain to impede the sight of the Greek warriors (Il. 12.252-3). Yet, as the supreme god, Zeus is also the executor of fate, which dictates that Troy will fall. This task he performs from the Olympus, where he makes battles end in accordance with fate. During the battle between Hector and Achilles, for example, Zeus stays on the Olympus. When he weighs the lives of the heroes in his balance, he resigns himself to the outcome – that is, the death of Hector (22.187; 209-13) (Woronoff 1983, 83-92; 2001, 37-44).
292 Herzhoff (1984, 257-71) has attempted to identify the specific species of the Homeric flowers on the basis of present vegetation in the Mediterranean. He argues that the Homeric κρέκς is the yellow _Crocus gargaricus_ or the white-blue _Crocus biflorus_, and that ὑάκινθος is the dark blue _Scilla bifolia:_ only these species of the crocus and hyacinth grow on mountaintops in the present Mediterranean. The term _λωτός_ is used of various plants in Greek botany (Theophr. _Hist. Plant._ 7.15.3). Herzhoff states that it stands for celandine in the Iliadic passage (_Ranunculus ficaria_ L.), since this is the only plant that grows with crocuses and hyacinths on Mediterranean mountaintops. In my opinion, it is problematic to identify Homeric vegetation on the basis of present flora, since modern and Homeric vegetation do not necessarily correspond. Vegetation might have changed in the course of the millennia, for example as a result of climate change or global warming.
The Ida is a canonical element of the Troad and was continuously preserved in the tradition as an indicator of Troy (e.g. *Cypria* fr. 6.6; *h.Ven.* 68).

*Paradise lost*

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

... Ἰδαῖα τ᾽ Ἰδαῖα κισσοφόρα νάπη  The vales of Ida, Ida, clad in ivy,  
χιόνι κατάρυτα ποταμίᾳ  watered with streams of melted snow,  
tέρμονα τε πρωτόβολον ἕῳ,  the boundary first struck by the light of day,  
tάν καταλαμμενέναν ζαθέαν θεράπν. the abode illuminated and sacred.  
(E. Tr. 1066-70)

The women present the Ida as an idyllic place: it contains vales rich in ivy and streams running with meltwater, and it is first illuminated by the sun at dawn.\(^{198}\)

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\(^{198}\) ‘Idyllic place’ is the English translation of Latin *locus amoenus*. Three scholars have tried to determine the ‘basic’ elements of this motif. A landscape can be called a *locus amoenus* when  
(1) it contains at least a meadow, a tree and a spring (Curtius [1948] 1954, 202);  
(2) it contains some of the following elements: soft wind (particularly *zeephyr*), water, human or animal life, movement, spring elements, garden elements, trees, and elements that lull someone to sleep, such as the chirping of crickets (Schönbeck 1962, 18-60); or  
(3) it is a clear-cut and surveyable piece of land, provided at least with water and a shelter (e.g. a cave or shadow), all of which is presented as admirable, for example by an adjective (Haβ 1998, 19-20).  

The three scholars all mention different ‘basic’ elements of the *locus amoenus*. They have deduced these from passages in which beautiful landscapes are described. However, it is problematic that they based their definitions on different passages, the selection of which seems to be random. For example, it is not clear why Haβ considers the cave of Polyphemus in the *Odyssey* a *locus amoenus* (9.181-9). Although it contains the elements of her formal prototype, the cave also has other, less charming elements, such as the dung of Polyphemus’ sheep and the entrails of Odysseus’ companions on the ground (290; 329-30). I would therefore not call this landscape a *locus amoenus*. Furthermore, I think that it is not very useful to establish ‘basic’ elements of the *locus amoenus*. Every place that is presented as idyllic can in my view be called a *locus amoenus*, regardless of the specific elements it contains. Every author probably included in the *locus amoenus* the elements that he needed for the plot. I therefore agree with Elliger, who calls the *locus amoenus* an ‘entirely undefined category’ (*recht unbestimmte Rubrik*) (1975, 275).  

\(^{199}\) According to Biehl (1989, 385), the remark πρωτόβολον ἕῳ (1069) refers to the notion of the Heraclitean philosophers that on top of the Ida sparks and bolts can be seen accumulating into the globe of the sun. I do not agree with Biehl. Firstly, this notion does not emerge from the words of the chorus. Secondly, it is doubtful that Heraclitean philosophers adhered to this theo-
All these elements are absent in Homer. Euripides gives the Ida an idyllic appearance to increase the horror of the destruction of the country and to intensify the chorus’ sense of grief. The loss of a country becomes more deplorable when it is a very beautiful region that is lost. Later in the ode, the women grieve more intensely when they visualise their future life in Greece. They present the landscape of Greece as the opposite of the idyllic Ida: they imagine it as a gloomy country, dominated by ‘walls of stone, built by Cyclopes, reaching to heaven’ (1087-8). The Ida is also presented as ‘sacred’ (1070). According to Biehl, this word is used only for a phonetic reason, that is, to make the a-sound dominant in the verse. In my view, ζάθεα also highlights the relation between the Ida and Zeus. Mountains were often sacred to Zeus, who was worshipped on summits in the guise of Hypatos (the ‘Highest’). This religious notion finds expression, for example, in the Iliad, where he has a temenos on top of the Ida (8.48). The Trojan women emphasise Zeus’ relationship to the Ida to criticise the god more sharply. Although the mountain was sacred to him and was a place where he received worship, he nonetheless abandoned it to the enemy.

_A fertile mountain_

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

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201 The Cyclopes were traditionally regarded as the builders of the walls of Mycenae and Tiryns (e.g. B. 11.76-8; Paus. 2.16.5).
203 To add an example from classical Greece: Zeus had a sanctuary on Hymettus, a mountain near the city-centre of Athens. For an overview of mountain cults to Zeus see: Dowden 2006, 57-61.
Ἴλιον Ἴλιον, ὄμοι μοι,    Ἴλιον, Ἴλιον, ah me, woe,
Φρύγιον ἄστυ καὶ καλλίβωλον Ἴδας ὄρος ἱερόν, ὥς σ’ ὀλόμενον στένω. Phrygian city and holy mountain of the Ida
with rich soil, how I bewail your fall.

(E.  Or. 1381-2)

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

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

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

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

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

204 Burkert 1977, 267-8.
205 De Jong 1991, 32. For example, in Euripides’ Medea, the Corinthian messenger starts his account with telling that Creon and the princess have been killed by Medea’s poison (1125).
206 Porter 1994, 208-11. In the end, the Phrygian announces that Helen disappeared when she was attacked by Orestes and Pylades (1493-7). Apollo then appears who states that Helen has become immortal and gone to heaven (1629-37).
207 LfgrE s.v. Φρυγία; Kirk 1985, 291.
208 DNP s.v. Phryges, Phrygia.
209 Hall 1988, 15-8; Berlin 2002, 141.
Thus, the designation of Troy as a ‘Phrygian’ city in *Orestes* is a reflection of the archaic-classical geography of Asia Minor.

*A bare mountain*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*The Judgement of Paris*

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

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214 Elliger 1975, 265; Allan 2008, 302. For the presence of the nymphs see below.
215 Kannicht 1969, 346. The chorus tell this story to illustrate for Helen the destructive powers of the goddess. They state that the goddess is angry with her (1355 μὴ ν ... μεγάλας Ματρός) and that Helen should carefully observe her rites to mitigate her wrath (1355-68). The reason for the goddess’ anger is not explicitly stated. According to Allan (2008, 294: 307), it may result from the fact that Helen behaves as a chaste and faithful woman – in this tragedy at least – whereas Cybele, with whom Demeter is equated, is associated with ecstasy and erotic licence.
216 The Judgement is presented, for example, in the *Iliad* (24.28-30) and the *Cypria* (fr. 5, 6; Procl. Chr. 84-90).
217 Pallantza 2005, 255; Mastronarde 2010, 123-4. To add another example: the Tantalids regard Pan’s gift of the golden lamb as the cause of the misery in their family; see E. El. 699-746, Or. 807-43, *IT* 191-201.
A lonely place

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

> ταὶ δ᾽ ἐπεὶ ὑλόκομον νάπος ἤλυθον οὐρείαν
> πιθάκων νύφαν αἴ-
> γλάντα σώματα ῥοαῖς …

*E. Andr. 284-6*

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

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

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

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188 E.g. *LIMC* II.1 993; II.2 751 (no. 414).
190 Homer presents the Ida as ‘woody’ (21.449 ὑλέεις).
191 Allan 2000, 206. The contest between the goddesses is a parallel for the strife between Andromache and Hermione in the preceding episode. Both the goddesses and the mortal women compete for the attentions of one man. The chorus describe the two conflicts in similar terms (122, 279 ἔριδι στυγεᾷ). There is also a difference between the contests. ‘Whereas the three goddesses are all eager to win … the contest between Hermione and Andromache is only seen as such by the former (Allan 2000, 206-7).’
biography of Euripides, the poet secluded himself in a cave on Salamis. Elliger, on the contrary, supposes that Paris’ loneliness is related to Euripides’ worldview. He thinks that Euripides wants to show by Paris’ seclusion that even the most secluded area is laden with tragic complication (tragischer Verstrickung).

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

A cold and ‘hot’ landscape

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

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

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

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

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223 *TrGF* 5.1 T A 1 III.1-2 (page 49). Letkowitz, however, has demonstrated that most details of the poet’s biography are not historical but based on his own poetry (1981, 91).
224 Elliger 1975, 264.
225 Euripides repeatedly attributes human activities to mountains (personification). For example, in Hercules, the Euboean mountain Dirphys is condemned for having raised the tyrant Lykos (185 ἔθρεψ’). In Bacchae, the Theban mountain Cithaeron is presented as joining in the revelries of the maenads (726 συνεβάκχευ’ ὄρος). In Phoenician Women, Mount Cithaeron is criticised for not having killed the foundling Oedipus (1606 οὐ διώλεσ’). Cf. A. *Suppl.* 117-8; 797; S. *OT* 464; 131-2 (Huys1986, 141-2).
The Judgement is set in an idyllic landscape. Springs with ‘bright water’ are a prototypical element of such a landscape: these often appear in contexts of pleasure. In the *Odyssey*, for example, Hermes is delighted when he sees the landscape of Ogygia, which contains springs of bright water (5.70 κρήναι ... ύδατι λευκῷ). Dark water, by contrast, is connected to contexts of grief. The idyllic scene on the Ida stands in contrast with the miserable fate of Iphigenia, who suffers the terrible consequences of the event on the mountain. This contrast adds to the pathos of her situation.

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

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

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

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226 To add another example: Demeter brings the flowing of bright water to a halt when she grieves at the loss of Persephone (*E. Hel*. 1336 λευκῶν ... ύδάτων).
227 In the *Iliad*, Agamemnon and Patroclus are compared to a spring that pours out dark water when they lament the defeats of the Greeks (9.14, 16.3 κρήνη μελάνυδρος).
228 Elliger 1975, 265; Stockert 1992, 562.
229 For more examples see: Heirman 2012, 86-112.
231 χλωρός (1293) can mean ‘fresh, green’ and be associated with fertility, but it can also mean ‘pale’ and have connotations of death. In this passage, the former meaning is more likely to be intended.
ment, and the flowers of which she wove garlands. Stinton may be right, but he overlooks that the flowers also have a dramatic function in the ode. In other words, they are not merely a borrowing from the Cypria. The flowers are used to add to the erotic character of the landscape. Flowers, such as roses and hyacinths, are often associated with eroticism. To give some examples: in a fragment of Anacreon, a girl called Herotime longs for ‘the fields of hyacinth’ (1.1.7 PMG τὰς ὑακινθίνας ἀρούρας), where Aphrodite tethers her mares, which is a metaphor for the sexual subjection of girls; in the Iliad, Zeus and Hera have a sexual encounter on the Ida, where they lie on a field of lotus, crocus, and hyacinth (14.348). What is more, a much-used literary motif is the abduction of a girl while picking flowers. The most famous example of this is the abduction of Persephone by Hades in the Hymn to Demeter (6-8).

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

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

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233 Bremer 1975, 269-70; Heirman 2012, 86-112. To add some more examples: in a poem of Sappho, paraphrased by Himerius (Or. 9.43), Aphrodite is led into the bridal room with hyacinths plaited in her hair. In Bacchylides’ Ode 17, Amphitrite receives a garland of roses from Aphrodite at her wedding (115-6). Cf. Hes. fr. 26.18-21 (Merkelbach and West).
235 Other examples of sexual encounters between nymphs and mortal men: FGrH 4F29; 45F2, 6; 262F12a, b. Stories about the abduction of men by nymphs, such as that of Hylas (A.R. 1.1228-39), reflect a male desire for passive sexual experience (Larson 2001, 89).
236 Larson 2001, 65. The designation nunpe is used of women who get married or are of marriageable age. That the term is used specifically at this time of a woman’s life points at her status as sexual being (Larson 2001, 3).
Dewy springs

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

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

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

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237 The sacrifice of Iphigenia takes place in a grove of Artemis, which contains ‘flowery fields’ (1544 λείμακας ... ἀνθεσφόρους) and ‘springs with plenteous dew’ (1517 εὔ δροσοί παγαί). I agree with Stockert (1992, 624), who states that these idyllic elements contrast with the ‘shocking’ events in the grove. Stockert overlooks that the flowers and dewy springs also have erotic connotations. These reflect the erotic character of the sacrifice. The death of a virgin, such as that of Iphigenia, was considered a deflowering and a marriage with Hades (E. IA 460-1). The erotic nature of the sacrifice is also emphasised by the fact that Iphigenia wears a garland during the ritual (1533). Garlands belonged not only to the ritual of death, but also to that of marriage (cf. Michelakis 2006, 70-1).

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

239 Boedeker 1984, 10-66. The productive powers of dew are mentioned by Homer. He presents dew as favourable to the fields of grain (Il. 23.558-9) and as the primary source behind the rich vegetation of Odysseus’ island Ithaca (Od. 13.244-5). Dew can also be a metaphor for sperm, which also has a ‘productive’ power. This idea stems from Greek cosmogony, according to which a male Sky once impregnated a female Earth by wetting her with ‘moisture’ (e.g. A. fr. 44).
Conclusion
Euripides changes the image of the Ida in every play. He presents the mountain as an idyllic (Tr., Andr.), fertile (Or.), erotic (IA), or inhospitable domain (Hel.). Some features of the Ida, such as the springs and flowers, had already been described by Homer. These might be specific borrowings but need not be, since they are also generic elements of a mountain. Since the characteristics of the Ida differ from Homer in most cases, the latter seems more likely. The image of the mountain is firmly linked to the context in every passage. It is connected to a theme of the plot, it corresponds to the emotions of a character, or it has symbolic overtones that reflect the nature of the event taking place on it.

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

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

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

Some canonical spaces of Troy are present in Homer as well as in tragedy. This need not imply that the tragedians imitated Homer. It is also possible that Homer and the tragedians each followed the same canonical traditions.
New spaces
The tragedians also add new spaces to Troy that they themselves invented. Examples include the temple of Zeus (E. *Tr*. 1061), the sanctuary of Artemis (E. *Tr*. 552), the groves in the plain (S. *Ai*. 892), the pastures and caves on the shore (S. *Ai*. 413), and the Greek graves along the Trojan wall (A. *Ag*. 452-5). Like traditional elements, the new elements are presented to serve the needs of the plot. They have a characterising, psychologising, thematic, or symbolic function.

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

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

At this point, I would like to refine the view of Grethlein presented in chapter 1.2. He states that the Greeks saw no qualitative differences between past and present. In my view, this is a step too far. The image of Troy in tragedy is also archaized to some extent. The tragedians do not incorporate buildings of the archaic-classical city of Troy (Troia VIII) in the heroic world, such as the sanctuary of Cybele and the *temenoi* with lions (3.1.2). These were probably regarded as too suggestive of the present world and therefore unfit for the heroic past. Moreover, the tragedians refer to landmarks of the actual, fifth-century Troad (*lieux de mémoire*) that were regarded as ‘heroic’, such as the tomb of Achilles. Since these landmarks were very old – some had existed since the Bronze Age – they may create an archaic patina for the heroic world.
To round off this conclusion, I would like to revisit the discussion between Easterling and Croally, presented in chapter 1.2. According to Easterling, tragedians attempt to tone down the conspicuousness of contemporary elements by using vague and poetic words. She called this convention *heroic vagueness*. For example, when the tragedians refer to the modern concept of money, they do not speak of δραχμή or στατήρ, which are too glaring and reminiscent of the contemporary world, but use the vague word ‘silver’ (ἄργυρος), which suits the heroic world better. In this way, the tragedians can refer to modern concepts and at the same time preserve the ‘integrity’ of the heroic world.

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