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КУЛЬТУРНЫЙ КОД ТЕАТРА В КОНТЕКСТЕ ИСТОРИИ

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История театра не ограничивается одним тысячелетием. За все время своего существования в контексте каждой отдельной эпохи формировался культурный код театра порой в совершенно разнообразных сферах жизни общества, от духовной культуры вплоть до политики. Несмотря на большое количество исследований, посвященных данной теме, международный коллектив авторов предлагает вниманию читателей взгляд на театр с учетом такого явления, как перформанс, проявляющийся не только в театральных постановках, но и в религии, философии и политике.

The history of theater is not limited to one millennium. Over the entire period of its existence, in the context of each individual era, the cultural code of the theater was formed, sometimes in completely diverse spheres of social life, from spiritual culture to politics. Despite the large number of studies devoted to this topic, an international team of authors offers readers a view of theater taking into account such a phenomenon as performance, which manifests itself not only in theatrical productions, but also in religion, philosophy and politics.

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Introduction

The history of theatre as a separate branch of the arts has been in existence for several thousands of years and, at first sight, it appears to be one of the most studied areas in the field of scholarship devoted to the history of literature, theatre architecture and so on. Despite this there are still gaps which call for closer detailed study. The present volume comprises a collection of works by an international group of researchers, the substance of which was initially considered in an international round table entitled 'Theatre through the Ages' which was part of a hybrid conference in the framework of the 'Semenov Readings', which took place on 20 March 2021 at Moscow State Pedagogical University.

The volume consists of an introduction, four chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter, 'Theater in Ancient Greece and Rome', includes studies of problems in the history of theater in antiquity.

Chapter one opens with research by M. De Poli 'The sense of silence. Five case studies of aposiopesis in ancient Greek tragedy.' The paper aims to give a contribution to the study of aposiopesis in ancient Greek tragedy, with the works of Euripides as the main focus. It deals with five case studies: Sophocles, *Oedipus the King* 1287–1289; Aeschylus, *The Libation-Bearers* 192–194; Euripides, *Electra* 581–584, *Helen* 230–240, and *The Trojan Women* 281–289. Aposiopesis is a rhetorical figure connected with oral communication, and the ancient playwrights used it in order to emphasise the particular emotion (e.g. horror, fear, hope, anger) of a character on stage.

The next contribution by E. Krikona 'Aristophanes, Cleon, and the Peloponnesian War', addresses the relationship of Aristophanes with Cleon, their rivalry, and its causes. The Peloponnesian War, during which most of the Aristophanic plays were written and presented, inevitably constituted the main background in that conflict. Through this struggle between Aristophanes and Cleon, the paper aims to reach some conclusions regarding the playwright's political ideology.

M. González González and I. M. Zorrilla in their research 'Fear and Supplication in the Choruses of Young Maidens in Aeschylus: *The Suppliants* and *Seven against Thebes*.' study the choruses composed, in both cases, of vulnerable maidens facing peril. Although their situations are different, both choruses adopt similar supplicant behaviour in response to probable sexual violence, which in turn is expressed in similar terms.

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§ 6. Iphigenia among the Taurians, a Homeless Iphigenia¹

Iphigenia among the Taurians was presented by Euripides in Athens between 414 and 413 BC. Although written and released before, this tragedy's plot is set prior that of *Iphigenia in Aulis*², which will have been presented in Athens already after the death of the poet, in 405 BC [13, p. 273]. While *Iphigenia in Aulis* focuses on the need to sacrifice the daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra to Artemis, so that the Achaeans can leave in the direction of Troy and thus make the war that will avenge the abduction of Helen, *Iphigenia among the Taurians* is set some years later, long after the Greek princess was replaced in the altar of the sacrifice by the goddess Artemis, who put there a female deer or a doe to be sacrificed. After the replacement, the goddess of hunt and lady of the animals took Iphigenia to a foreign country, the land of the Taurians, where she put the princess in charge of the celebration of human sacrifices in her honour. Iphigenia became then Artemis' priestess, whose job is to offer the goddess every foreigner who arrives in Tauris. It is by playing this role that Iphigenia learns about the arrival of two Greek men in the land.

The two men turn out to be Orestes, Iphigenia's brother, and Pylades, their cousin. After killing his mother, Orestes was haunted and persecuted by the Erynies, the ancient goddesses of revenge, who are particularly interested in punishing family blood crimes. After consulting the Oracle in Delphi, Orestes goes to Tauris, as Apollo ordered, to get the statue (*xoanon* or *agalma*) of the god's twin sister Artemis and take it to Hellas. Artemis is here presented as the goddess of Tauris and her cult is suggested to be particularly bloody, since foreigners are offered in sacrifice to her². Once in Tauris, Orestes and Pylades are discovered and taken to Iphigenia, who, as priestess, must sacrifice them. But the priestess soon realizes both men come from the Mycenaean region, namely from Argos, and starts

¹ This research was conducted within the aim of the following projects: UIDB/04311/2020 and UIDP/04311/2020 – Centre for History of the University of Lisbon; UIDB/00019/2020 and UIDP/00019/2020 – Centre for Classical Studies of the University of Lisbon; and UIDB/00196/2020 – Centre for Classical and Humanistic Studies of the University of Coimbra, sponsored by FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology).

² On Artemis cult and ritual, see e.g. Torrance, 2019. Pp. 79–98; Rebelo, 1992; Rebelo, 1996. Pp. 53–104. See also Hall, 2010. P. 161.

questioning him about her family. Meanwhile, Iphigenia and Orestes, with the help of Pylades, realize they are brother and sister, and the priestess starts planning an escape from Tauris. She tells the locals Orestes and Pylades are not a good sacrifice to Artemis, since the former is a matricide, and the latter is his accomplice. The foreigners are thus polluted with family blood and contaminated the temple and the statue of Artemis. Therefore, they must take the sculpture of the goddess to the sea and wash it with salty water, as well as wash themselves in the same water, so that they and the statue they touched can be purified after the crime they committed. Thoas, the king of the Taurians, believe in Iphigenia and she and her brother and cousin take the opportunity to escape from Tauris and go back to Argos.

This is, in summary, the plot of the play. As T. Wright has pertinently claimed some years ago, *Iphigenia among the Taurians* belongs to a group of Euripides' plays we can call "Escape-tragedies", in which the poet adapts inherited material in a new way [16, esp. 133]. Another feature of these plays is the fact they are set in exotic places, outside Hellas, such as Ethiopia (*Andromeda*), Egypt (*Helen*) and, of course, Tauris (*Iphigenia among the Taurians*)³. They also deal with different ethnicities and, consequently, languages other than Greek [Ibid., pp. 177–202]. Conditions are gathered to create imaginary places that fulfil what Wright calls "Escape-tragedies", although they are set in real territories. But the job of the playwright is also to recreate those places, unknown to the majority in the audience in Athens, and offer the Athenians a representation of foreign lands and alterity.

In one of her first interventions in the play, Iphigenia claims: "But now, as a stranger I live in an unfertile home on this sea that is hostile to strangers, without marriage, or children, or city, or friends" (vv. 220–221) [2; 6]. The words the poet uses are *agamos*, *ateknos*, *apolis*, *aphilos*. Part of this formula is used by Euripides in other plays, such as *Orestes*, where Electra claims to have been left by her mother unmarried (*agamos*) and childless (*ateknos*, vv. 206–207); *Ion*, where Creusa calls herself a childless (*ateknos*) woman in loneliness (*orphanos*, vv. 790–791); and in *Helen*, where the title character refers to her daughter as being motherless (*ateknos*,

³ Wright, 2005. Pp. 163–177; Hall, 2010. P. 87, 110, 272. On Herodotus possible influence in Euripides characterization of the Taurians, see Hall, 1989. P. 134.

v. 689), husbandless (*anandros* and *agamos*, vv. 283, 690), and brought up like a virgin (*partheneuo*, vv. 282–283)⁴.

But the formula used by the poet is also relevant since the words represent the opposite of a citizenship ideal⁵. That ideal can be perceived even in the feminine, as far as we can consider women to be citizens in 5th century Athens. In fact, an Athenian woman could be called *politis*. This did not mean that woman had the same political or civic rights as an Athenian man (*polites*). In fact, as known, women did not participate in the government of the polis. Still, they were called *politides* as members of the polis (essential for the reproduction of *politai* or male citizens) and as they had social and economic rights in the family and in kinship society, as J. Che pointed out [1]. Thus, not to marry, not to have children, not to have a city and not to have friends among fellow citizens is all an Athenian citizen aims not to be. It is to be excluded or casted out from the civic / political community to which she belonged earlier. It is like if she was ostracized. Therefore, being in exile, as an outcast at the country of the Taurians, Iphigenia represents a homeless character and is represented as someone with a feeling of not belonging to [12].

Although Euripides was accused of misogyny, the fact is that his Iphigenias, the one among the Taurians as well as the one in Aulis, are the evidence that the accusation was not only unfair but also false⁶. Euripides' women are strong characters, struggling against difficulties and obstacles. They are people facing and dealing with their problems and looking for solutions with enough courage to solve them, whenever it is possible to have those solutions, independently we agree with them or not. Euripides' Medea deals with ingratitude, rejection, and humiliation, coming from her own husband, whom she helped when needed. Euripides' Alcestis is capable of self-sacrifice, after facing selfishness and lack of altruism, coming from her own family. Euripides' Electra is obsessed with something we can place between justice and revenge against her own mother, whom she considers a murderer. Euripides' Hecuba is the personification of grief and pain and mourning for her own children, lost in hardships of war. Euripides' Creusa is a victim of sexual violence exercised on her

⁴ In E. *And.* 1216, Peleus also calls himself *ateknos*. See Kyriakou (2006), p. 103.

⁵ We have already dealt with this topic in Rodrigues (2015); and in Rodrigues (2014).

⁶ On Euripides alleged misogyny, see Silva (2007).

by someone more powerful than she and must deal with it. Euripides' Phaedra is trapped and taken by a mad passion for her stepson, dealing with it as she knows or can. Regardless the quality of the decisions they make, or the actions they are able to perform or carry out, or manage to achieve, all of them are powerful human characters searching and looking for ways out of the problems they face.

Some have even considered that these women's behaviour is in fact excessive for their condition. After all, they are representations of 5th century Athens women. Maybe it is so. But it definitively does not mean that Euripides hated them. Above all, it does not justify or support any alleged Euripides' hatred towards women in general or his female characters in specific.

We think we can consider Iphigenia as one of those women. We can place Agamemnon and Clytemnestra's daughter among them. Iphigenia's character when among the Taurians is particularly strong and all her movements and actions and first decisions, when the play begins, have one goal only: to survive and to live the best she can among strangers. As Hall has remarked, the tragedy opens with a heroine charming the audience with her personal story [4, p. 34, 193]. But that goal changes when she learns her brother, Orestes, and sister, Electra, are still alive and that her brother is one of the Greek foreigners in front of her and who is to be sacrificed by her own hands to Artemis. From then on, Iphigenia has a new purpose: to save her brother and to return home, to Hellas, safe, with Orestes and their cousin, Pylades.

Iphigenia is now ready to do anything it takes, even to lie and to deceive her hosts, as Thoas, the Taurians king, to get what she wants. Iphigenia is willing to be a kind of Odysseus in skirts to achieve her goal. One must remember that lying and deceiving are not citizenship qualities. A citizen who lies and deceives is not a good citizen, of course. In the case of Iphigenia, there is the aggravation of her being a kind of guest, a *xene*, enjoying the status of *xenia*, among the Taurians, a foreign people. As such, deceiving and lying to her host could attach to her an even worst *ethos*.

But is that so? We do not think it is. The key is in the higher values that arise. Iphigenia stands for Hellas and its values. More, Iphigenia represents Greek women and what they mean to Greeks. In a microcosmic reading, the Atreid princess is in fact a metaphor for Athenian women or *politides*, who have specific functions and duties, such as to marry, to give birth to future

citizens, to raise a family and to contribute to building a community. These are precisely the features she claims not to have or not to be in the beginning of the play (vv. 220–221).

Thus, Iphigenia's lies and deceit are undoubtedly forgiven by the Greeks. Not only are they forgiven, but they are recommended, desired, and encouraged. So, that is precisely what Iphigenia does. That's why Euripides gives her the main role in the play, becoming an active leading lady outside Athens. Perhaps that was not a suitable role for a woman in Athens. But it seems to be a totally suitable role for an outcasted Greek woman aiming to return home, i.e., to return Hellas.

Returning home, or returning her Greek polis, is now Iphigenia's main project and goal, it is the most important thing to do. Every Athenian in 5th century Hellas would agree with that. So, Euripides last message in *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, apart from the important coming of Artemis' statue to Hellas where the goddess will from now on be conveniently worshiped [15], is the success of the priestess' escape plan. Iphigenia, Orestes and Pylades do succeed in escaping from the Taurian country. The audience will not see it, but the public assumes brother, sister and cousin will reach home, Argos, safe and sound. And as Iphigenia is a metaphor for Athenian *politides*, Argos is also a typology for Athens. Therefore, if one prefers, the three Hellenes succeed in leaving a barbarian land and in returning home, Hellas, whichever the city or polis is.

This also means that Iphigenia regains her condition, becoming a citizen again. Therefore, she will be homeless no more.

The staying among the Taurians is like an upside-down experience. It is like to be in an upside-down world, which will give value to the world as it must be. And the Greek polis, as Argos (in myth and in tragedy) or Athens (in reality), and its order is the world as it must be.

As we have mentioned, one of the main topics and messages underlying *Iphigenia among the Taurians* is Artemis Tauropolos (meaning "bull-hunting") cult and its diffusion among the Greeks and in Greek land. The play is of course an aetiology to the cult in Greece (namely in Brauron [14, pp. 85–86]) and to the importance of Artemis in Greek religion and in popular rites [9; 15]. But it is also a way of showing and sharing messages about Athenians and the Others, or Hellenes / Greeks and the Others. It is a form of representing Otherness or Alterity.

The inhospitable land of the Taurians as well as their manners and mores, which are typified in the Human sacrifice topic Iphigenia is in charge of since she got in the country, are the main features that allow the audience to characterize the people and community of Tauris, i.e. the Barbarian, the Other⁷.

By contrast, cities as Argos or Athens mean hospitality, refusal to sacrifice Human beings, abhorring that kind of behaviour. Instead, Hellenes sacrifice animals, so that the gods may still be pleased with Human worshiping. One must remember Iphigenia's own replacement by a doe at the altar of sacrifice, as Euripides puts it in *Iphigenia in Aulis*. The sacrifice of Human beings is in fact understood by 5th century Athenians as a primitive practice, an old and outdated custom, inappropriate of a Greek city in the time the play is presented⁸.

Returning to Hellas also means that in Argos, as well as in Athens, Iphigenia will be able to marry, preferably to a citizen, and to be a wife; to have children, to the polis, and to be a mother; to have friends and to socialize; and to be part of a polis community or to have a home. In short, to be a *politiss*. As a matter of fact, by doing so, Iphigenia will come true as a full woman. A true daughter of Argos, which within the metaphoric code we have been discussing is the same as saying of Athens. By doing so, Iphigenia will succeed and fulfil her destiny as a real and true Greek.

Thus, Iphigenia becomes an example of what a woman can do for her city, for her polis: fight the Barbarian and help the Hellenes to be what they are. Showing and depicting these achievements or this ordered world is also one of the functions of Greek theatre. Therefore, theatre, and tragedy in particular, functions as an Identity medium for the Greeks.

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⁷ On this topic see mainly Hall, 1989. Pp. 110–112.

⁸ In our perspective, this allows to relieve the ironic idea that Taurian barbarians sacrifice foreigners while Hellenes offer to the gods their own daughters, as the situation at Aulis had shown. On that argument, see Hall, 2010. P. 112.

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