

O CHILDREN: PARENTAL REVENGE AND THE POWER DYNAMICS OF RAGE IN
AESCHYLUS'S *AGAMEMNON* AND WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE'S *TITUS ANDRONICUS*

BY

JENNIFER MAEVE MURPHY

(Under the Direction of Peter A. O'Connell)

Abstract: This thesis is a comparative analysis on the roles of women in Aeschylus's *Agamemnon* and William Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*. The first chapter focuses on Clytemnestra through Hélène Cixous's concept of "bisexuality," as described in her essay "The Laugh of the Medusa," which I rename the ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ, or man-willed heart. Clytemnestra has an ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ because she is an adult female character undergoing male rites-of-passage. This chapter contains a close reading on Homeric rites-of-passage such as speech and Greek weddings. The second chapter focuses on Tamora, Queen of the Goths, through the same lens with a close reading on the goddess, Artemis, in *Titus Andronicus*, in particular how Saturninus and Aaron view Artemis differently. The third chapter focuses on the violence and sexual violence inflicted upon the young female characters of Lavinia, Cassandra, and Iphigenia, and how they succeed or do not succeed in making their stories heard and believed by the male characters around them.

INDEX WORDS: Classical Literature, English Literature, Women's Studies

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JENNIFER MAEVE MURPHY

B.A., Knox College, 2020

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2022

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By

JENNIFER MAEVE MURPHY

Major Professor: Peter A. O'Connell

Committee: Christine Loren Albright

Fran Teague

Electronic Version Approved:

Ron Walcott

Vice Provost for Graduate Education and Dean of the Graduate School

The University of Georgia

May 2022

Dedication

ἐμῶι Ἀργοῖ

τῶι καλλίστῳ παιδί

Acknowledgements

My first encounter with Aeschylus was at the age of ten, when I read the epigraph at the start of *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows*:

“Oh, the torment bred in the race,
 the grinding scream of death
 and the stroke that hits the vein,
 the hemorrhage none can staunch, the grief,
 the curse no man can bear.
 But there is a cure in the house,
 and not outside it, no,
 not from others but from *them*,
 their bloody strife. We sing to you,
 dark gods beneath the earth.
 Now hear, you blissful powers underground —
 answer the call, send help.
 Bless the children, give them triumph now” (*Cho*. 466-478).

Since *Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows* has been published for fifteen years now, it should not be a spoiler to know that, in this book, Harry, Ron, and Hermione travel throughout Great Britain in search of Horcruxes, which are objects that conceal a part of Voldemort’s soul that has been split from him. Like Lord Voldemort’s soul, I split my thanks in seven ways.

I thank my parents, Bob and Maria Murphy, for supporting all of my endeavors, especially the endeavors which began as phases, such as the ancient history phase of fifth grade, which actually never ended. Thank you for encouraging me to read and question the world around me. Thank you for taking me to the St. Louis Art Museum all those Sunday afternoons so that I could

marvel at the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine art. Thank you for sacrificing so much that I could pursue a college degree. Overall, thank you for raising me.

I thank Peter A. O'Connell, my thesis advisor, for his endless patience, kindness, and encouragement. I also thank him for teaching me how to write and argue.

I thank my readers, Christine Loren Albright and Fran Teague, for their help and constructive criticism.

I thank my professors at Knox College: Roya Biggie (English), Larry Breitborde (Anthropology-Sociology), Brenda and Steve Fineberg (Classics); Mitchell Parks (Classics), Anne Steinberg Schaeffer (French), and Judy Thorn (Biology).

If reading Aeschylus has taught me anything, it is that the past impacts the future. I thank my following K-12 teachers: Cathy Renkins (Keysor Elementary School); Brandi Fink, Deb Cronin, and Bernadette Omri (North Kirkwood Middle School); Melissa Richardson, Brian Rockette, and Maria Stobbe (North Kirkwood Middle School); Janet DePasquale and Maddy Raimondo (Kirkwood High School); Tom Curran, Jim Gioia, and Brian Hohlt (Cor Jesu Academy); Judy Jones, Rita Ryan, and John Schalda (Cor Jesu Academy).

I thank Nick Cave and Marlon Williams for providing the soundtrack for my thesis. In fact, I named my thesis after the Nick Cave song "O Children," which was featured in the movie "Harry Potter and the Deathly Hallows: Part One."

I thank the television show *Smallville* for unleashing my long-forgotten adolescent self and leading her to Campbell's *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* and van Gennepe's *Les rites de passage*. I owe my ideas about coming-of-age plot structures to watching *Smallville* when I should have been doing Old English homework this past fall. Whoops.

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Introduction

The Transmission of Aeschylus from Classical to Medieval Times and the Classical Tradition in England

Jonathan Bate points out that thirteen of William Shakespeare's forty-or-so plays take place in the classical world, "covering a time-span from the Trojan War to fifth-century Athens to the early years of Rome to the assassination of Julius Caesar to the Roman Empire, with excursions into mythological narrative, Hellenistic seafaring romance, and more" (Bate 9). Studying the works of Plutarch, Ovid, and Seneca and their reception in Shakespeare's plays is quite straightforward. However, "no one knows exactly how and when Shakespeare read 'the classics,' or even what he might have thought they were" (Burrow 9). Thanks to parallels in form, content, and characterization, using Shakespeare's corpus as a framework for studying the plot structures and characters in classical theater is a productive approach. I will argue that *Titus Andronicus*, the quintessential Renaissance revenge play, has many parallels to Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*. I will focus on the characters of Clytemnestra and Tamora in order to explore the themes of gender, power, and violence. I will also consider the characters Lavinia, Cassandra, and Iphigenia and contrast them with Tamora and Clytemnestra.

Renaissance revenge plays are known for their "blood, poison, and melodrama, of crowd-pleasers teeming with corpses and dismembered body parts, steeped in occasionally black humor" (Pollard 2010, 58). This genre took the "higher and loftier" qualities of tragedy (Pollard

2010, 58). Early English revenge plays were in fact translations of Seneca. Even though revenge plays had “high and lofty” content, their characteristic sex, violence, and fury made them accessible to the masses. English playwrights at this time built “on the rich array of classical female avengers such as Medea and Clytemnestra” (Pollard 2010, 65). Aeschylus’s *Agamemnon* possesses violence and fury with sex in the background, while also making female characters crucial to the plot. By comparing the *Agamemnon* to *Titus Andronicus*, I can examine the female characters within the context of their pain and rage, rather than the context of Athenian law and society.

The popularity of Aeschylus’s plays waned in the Roman period, as both audiences and actors favored the works of Sophocles and Euripides (Nervegna 118). Sophocles, and especially Euripides, were also important to a rhetorical education in the classical world.

Quintilian writes

As to Tragedy, it was Aeschylus who first brought it into the world; lofty, dignified, and grandiloquent often almost to a fault, he is however often crude and lacking polish; hence the Athenians allowed later poets to enter revised versions of his plays in the competitions, and many won the crown in this fashion. But far more distinction was brought to this genre by Sophocles and Euripides. Their styles are very different, and there is much dispute as to which is the better poet. I leave this question unresolved, because it has nothing to do with my present subject. What everybody must admit is that Euripides will be much the more useful to persons preparing themselves to plead in court.

tragoedias primus in lucem Aeschylus protulit, sublimis et gravis et grandiloquus saepe usque ad vitium, sed rudis in plerisque et incompositus; propter quod correctas eius fabulas in certamen deferre posterioribus poetis Athenienses permiserunt, suntque eo modo multi coronati. sed longe clarius illustraverunt hoc opus Sophocles atque Euripides, quorum in dispari dicendi via uter sit poeta melior, inter plurimos quaeritur; idque ego sane, quoniam ad praesentem materiam nihil pertinet, iniudicatum relinquo. illud quidem nemo non fateatur necesse est, iis qui se ad agendum comparant utiliorem longe fore Euripiden (*The Orator’s Education* 10.1.66-67¹).

¹ Tr. Russell 2002

Harrison points out that “the first centuries CE were the most prolific period of theatre construction in Mediterranean antiquity and so it is somewhat surprising that Aeschylus is absent entirely in the correspondence between Fronto and Marcus Aurelius,” but then “Aeschylus is also entirely missing from Seneca’s *Epistulae Morales*, *Dialogi*, *Quaestiones Naturales*, *Apocolocyntosis*, and *Epigrammata*” (Harrison 131). Aeschylus dropped out of the school curriculum entirely by the third century CE (Harrison 132). In Late Antiquity, Aeschylus’s plays were read by Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus. They recommended that students study “pagan” texts, mostly the Homeric poems and tragedies (Simelidis 179). The inclusion of a text in the school curriculum would lead to its survival. Byzantine students learned from the “Byzantine triad” of *Prometheus Bound*, *Seven Against Thebes*, and *Persians*, which “may have developed by the time of Eugenius, a teacher in Constantinople in the fifth-sixth century CE” (Simelidis 180). This is perhaps why only seven of Aeschylus’s plays, including the *Oresteia* trilogy, have survived. Papyri containing the *Agamemnon* are scant (Harrison 168). The play remarkably survived antiquity.

The reception of ancient Greek literature in England is complex. The German poet Walter of Speyer prefaces his *Life of St. Christopher* with a list of the authors whom he read at school: the *Ilias Latina*, Horace, Persius, Juvenal, Boethius, Statius, Terence, Lucan, and Virgil (Copeland 22-23). Copeland assumes that classical education in Anglo-Saxon England was approached in a similar way. A seventh-century monastic curriculum at Canterbury does not mention specific authors, but rather describes “learning meter and poetics, Roman law, computation, and astronomy” (Copeland 23). Medievalists Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge surveyed manuscripts either produced or located in England up to 1100, which provide an “index of the range of authors whose works were available for study” (Copeland 23). For poetry, the

classical authors represented in these manuscripts are Horace, Persius, Juvenal, Statius, Avianus, Nemesianus, Quintus Serenus, and Ausonius (Copeland 23). For prose, Cicero, Sallust, Virtruvius, Frontinus, Valerius Maximus, Pliny the Elder, Hyginus, Justinus, Eutropius, Vegetius, Solinus, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, and Boethius (Copeland 23). The study of Greek did not take place in England until the 1480's at Oxford University (Lazarus 438). With Richard Fox's foundation of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1517, the college supported a daily public lecture in Greek, and authors such as Isocrates, Lucian, Philostratus, Aristophanes, Theocritus, Euripides, Sophocles, Pindar, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Plutarch were studied (Lazarus 441). Sophocles, Euripides, and Seneca continued to be the popular classical dramatists. In the 1570's, playwright George Peele studied Greek at Oxford. Inspired by Euripides's accounts of the Trojan War, in particular *Hecuba*, he composed the English epyllion *A Tale of Troy* in 1580 (Pollard 2017, 1-2). Peele may have collaborated with a young William Shakespeare on *Titus Andronicus* (Pollard 2017, 2). While Greek was slowly creeping into the English imagination, Latin still reigned supreme. Senecan tragedies were widely translated and performed (Winston 29-30). Much of the plot of *Titus Andronicus* is inspired by Seneca's *Thyestes*. However, I agree with Pollard that "rediscovered ancient Greek plays exerted a powerful and uncharted influence on sixteenth-century England's dramatic landscape" (Pollard 2017, 2).

There is something inherently female about the genre of tragedy. The most popular classical plays in the Elizabethan period were tragedies by Euripides that featured "grieving and raging female protagonists" (Pollard 2017, 2). There was interest in bereaved mothers and sacrificial virgins because these characters generated sympathy from audiences. The English were most interested in figures such as Hecuba, the mother of Hector and Paris, and Iphigenia, the daughter

of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra. This may have been because of Queen Elizabeth I, whom the English saw as a mother to the nation as well as a virgin. Figures such as Hecuba and Iphigenia were often associated with Mary, the virgin mother of Jesus Christ. While Hecuba, the mother, was more prominent in Catholic continental Europe, Iphigenia, the virgin, was a popular comparison to Mary in England (Pollard 2017, 45).

In the 16th century, England was the only country in which “women are known to have translated Greek plays” (Pollard 2017, 45). Lady Jane Lumley translated Euripides’s *Iphigenia at Aulis* into English in 1557. Queen Elizabeth I of England supposedly translated a play by Euripides in the 1540’s, when she studied Greek and Latin with English scholar Roger Ascham. According to Pollard, “religious, political, and humanist developments all contributed to the interest in Greek virgin daughters and their regal mothers, but playwrights seem to have taken a particular interest in these figures’ theatrical power” because these female figures “identified with the authority of the Greek tragic tradition and the affective receptivity attributed to virginal and maternal bodies” (Pollard 2017, 45-46). Tragedies about women were commercially successful in sixteenth-century England.

I have chosen to write about Aeschylus’s *Agamemnon* as opposed to more widely-read classical authors in the Elizabethan period because Aeschylus is the earliest extant Greek tragedian. His work influenced the plays of Sophocles and Euripides, and the poetry of Virgil, Ovid, and Seneca, all of whom were more popular in the Elizabethan period. I have also chosen Aeschylus because his portrayal of Clytemnestra resembles the portrayals of women in Elizabethan revenge drama. Comparisons between Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon* and Tamora in *Titus Andronicus* are particularly appropriate. *Titus Andronicus* is one of Shakespeare’s so-called Roman Plays. Shakespeare is liberal with his references to ancient history and classical

mythology. More importantly, the play addresses issues of gender, violence, and power that resonate with the central themes of the *Agamemnon*.

The first chapter of this thesis is a close reading of the character of Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon*. I use feminist criticism, most specifically H  l  ne Cixous’s concept of bisexuality, to analyze the   νδρ  βουλον κ  αρ, “man-willed heart,” which is term the watchman uses to describe Clytemnestra at the start of the play. Clytemnestra does not engage in traditionally feminine activities, like weaving. She is a tyrant rather than a royal spouse. Her actions in the play resemble a coming-of-age narrative for a male Homeric hero. She speaks up in front of a group of men, and her murderous reunion with Agamemnon resembles a distorted marriage ceremony.

The second chapter is a close reading of the character of Tamora in *Titus Andronicus*. Tamora also has an   νδρ  βουλον κ  αρ, but hers does not come from following a male coming-of-age plotline. Shakespeare’s male characters compare Tamora to female figures from classical mythology and ancient history, most often the goddess Artemis, who was seen as an androgynous goddess in the Greco-Roman world. Nevertheless, Tamora is still a tyrant like Clytemnestra. She abuses the power she has gained by being made empress of Rome.

The third chapter considers Lavinia from *Titus Andronicus* as well as Cassandra and Iphigenia from the *Agamemnon*. All three of these young female characters experience violence or sexual assault. Instead of using Cixous’s concept of bisexuality, I use the concepts of stories and storytellers as a framework for my discussion. Stories are the details used to describe the acts of violence and sexual violence. For example, Lavinia uses the story of Philomela to communicate to her family that she has been raped and mutilated. In a different sense, Iphigenia is only a story, since she is not a character in the *Agamemnon*, but rather the subject of the story

the chorus tells. Storytellers are those who find a way to tell or relay a story. Lavinia flips through her nephew's copy of the *Metamorphoses* to tell her story. Cassandra, however, tries to be a storyteller telling her own story, but is cursed with never being believed.

Chapter One: Clytemnestra Regina

Clytemnestra's ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ

Introduction

The *Agamemnon* begins with a palace guard musing about the Trojan War happening for ten years. He quickly changes thoughts and says, “She commands, full of her high hopes. / That woman—she maneuvers like a man” (ὤδε γὰρ κρατεῖ / γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ, *Ag.*10-11²). While Agamemnon fights in Troy, Clytemnestra rules Mycenae. The guard states that Clytemnestra possesses a man’s strength and sense of purpose. This chapter will explore how she does not express her gender the correct way. She is never seen weaving, she is unfaithful to her husband, and she speaks in the presence of men. All of these qualities are present through what the guard calls Clytemnestra’s ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ, which is her masculine and war-like mind. Clytemnestra does not live up to the ideal represented by Penelope, the wife of Odysseus. Instead, she follows a male rite-of-passage plot as an adult woman. Clytemnestra’s characterization throughout the *Agamemnon* is consistent with her ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ.

Androgyny and the ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ

My understanding of ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ draws on two concepts, one modern and one ancient, namely bisexuality and androgyny. In her essay “The Laugh of the Medusa,” Hélène Cixous proposes her idea of bisexuality. She defines bisexuality as, “each one's location in self

² All translations of the *Agamemnon* are from Fagles (1977), based on the text of Denniston and Page (1957).

(*reperage en soi*) of the presence—variously manifest and insistent according to each person, male or female—of both sexes” (Cixous 884). To Cixous, bisexuality is the embracing of the phallogocentric and the feminine in terms of writing and self-expression. This is helpful for understanding Clytemnestra because she embodies both phallogocentric and feminine qualities. She embodies phallogocentric, or masculine qualities, in her political power and the murdering of her husband, while she still has a female body. The idea of mixing masculinity and femininity goes all the way back to the ancient Greek word ἀνδρόγυνος. The term androgyny first appears in Plato’s *Symposium* during the speech of Aristophanes. Plato’s Aristophanes says that long ago the shape of humans was “rounded and whole, with back and sides forming a circle,” as well as two sets of hands, legs, and faces (ἔπειτα ὅλον ἦν ἐκάστου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ εἶδος στρογγύλον, νῶτον καὶ πλευρὰς κύκλωι ἔχον, *Symp.* 190A³). With human nature like this, there were actually three genders: male, female, and androgynous. The androgynous gender was half-man, half-woman, possessing both male and female genitals. “Now,” Aristophanes says the androgynous gender is nothing but the name, “which is used as an insult” (νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ’ ἢ ἐν ὀνειδίει ὄνομα κείμενον, *Symp.* 189e). “Androgynous” was used to refer to a cowardly or effeminate man. The mind is feminine, even though the body is male. In Aeschylus’s *Agamemnon*, Clytemnestra’s ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ, or man-willed heart, is an inversion of a man who is ἀνδρόγυνος. For the ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ, the mind is masculine and not cowardly, but the body is female.

In some instances, being ἀνδρόβουλος could be beneficial. The medieval notion of monarchy developed the theory of a monarch’s two bodies: the mortal body and the body politic. In the case of Queen Elizabeth I, her mortal body was female. The body politic, however, was

³ Tr. Gill (2003)

always masculine. Queen Elizabeth I of England “could dominate and challenge men by claiming a kingly heart and stomach” (Allman 28). Her position as sovereign allowed her to occupy the spaces of men. She also “could inspire chivalry when she claimed weakness” and “veneration when she claimed spiritual superiority” as a woman (Allman 28). On the other hand, Queen Elizabeth I was an example of a virtuous woman. She was married to her country and her duty, rather than a man. She was a wife to her countrymen. This inspired men’s chivalry towards her, as well as their veneration of her saint-like purity as an “unravished bride” (Allman 28). The Elizabethan monarchy “demanded the development of an elaborate ritual and ceremonial with which to frame and present the Queen to her subjects as the sacred virgin whose reign was ushering in a new golden age of peace and plenty” (Strong 114). Queen Elizabeth I balanced her ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ with her feminine qualities. Also, like Queen Elizabeth I, Shakespeare’s Tamora is able to be ἀνδρόβουλος yet keep her femininity. Throughout *Titus Andronicus*, she is still viewed as a woman. They both embody their ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ positively. Clytemnestra, on the other hand, can be seen as an object of confusion. Clytemnestra relies too heavily on her ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ. Since she acts upon her masculine side in the *Agamemnon*, she does not perform her gender or ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ in socially acceptable ways.

The Idealized Wife

The virtuous woman is created by men. Even though she is meant to praise and be an example to womankind, she is an unrealistic ideal. Womanly virtue is “the mirror image of misogyny” and “the virtuous heroine... is a male fantasy given material form by playwrights and foisted on women, real and fictional, who are esteemed only because they have internalized the script,” and “the presentation of praiseworthy women then becomes no more than male tyranny

exercising the ‘benign’ rather than the ‘violent’ option of patriarchy” (Allman 17). An example of such a fantasy is Penelope from the *Odyssey*. Penelope is an excellent weaver, a dutiful wife, and a woman who knows how to behave in the presence of men. Penelope is an unrealistic ideal. Penelope represents Clytemnestra’s failures as a wife and therefore as a woman.

One of the unrealistic ideals Penelope upholds is her constant weaving. Judith Butler argues, “The act that gender is, the act that embodied agents are inasmuch as they dramatically and actively embody and, indeed, wear certain cultural significations, is clearly not one’s act alone” (Butler 525). One cultural signification of womanhood in ancient culture is weaving. Weaving began early in the ancient Mediterranean world. Cloth evidence from Egypt dates back to 5500 BCE at least and from Anatolia to 6000 BCE. Spinning yarn to make cloth was work for women in Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty (Allgrove-McDowell 33). Written records from Mesopotamia and the Levant during the Bronze Age “refer to a strongly centralized textile industry based on main urban temples and controlled by temple officials” (Wild 2003a, 46). “The sheep maintained at Lagash in the early Bronze Age supplied wool to spinners and weavers in the local temple’s clothing factory who were mostly female slaves,” and at Ur around 2000 BCE, “165 women and girls wove in a single building” (Wild 2003a, 46). Linear B tablets at Knossos and Pylos state that “raw materials were supplied to dependent female textile workers who were provided rations from central stores” during the Aegean Bronze Age (Wild 2003b, 48). While techniques and materials differ across the Mediterranean, women are the ones who weave. Therefore, womanly virtue is not surprisingly defined by weaving in ancient Greek literature. In the *Odyssey*, Penelope “by day [would] weave at her great and growing web—by night, by the light of torches set beside her, / she would unravel all she’d done” (ἔνθα καὶ ἡματίη μὲν

ὕφαίνεσκεν μέγαν ἰστόν, / νύκτας δ' ἀλλύεσκεν, *Od.* 2.104-105).⁴ This cloth should one day become a shroud for her father-in-law, Laertes.

Penelope's perpetual weaving is her symbol of loyalty to Odysseus, and therefore of her chastity. She is a dutiful wife. Penelope unravels the shroud so that she does not have to be disloyal to Odysseus, whom she does not believe to be dead. For her, this is not a choice, but a duty. Penelope very much could have finished the shroud for Laertes after remarrying one of the suitors, as he is in her care. In fact, it seems odd that Penelope has not finished the shroud, as Laertes is very advanced into his old age. In the original version of the *Odyssey* myth, Penelope may have been weaving a wedding garment (Heubeck et al. 137). The evolution from a wedding dress to a funeral shroud increases Laertes's position in the plot of the *Odyssey*. It also emphasizes Penelope's marital loyalty to Odysseus. She has kept her promise of taking care of Odysseus's aging parents.

Penelope's chastity is linked to her ability to keep quiet in the presence of men.

Telemachus, now of age, begins the search for his father and becomes the head of his household.

Telemachus says:

So Mother,
go back to your quarters. Tend to your own tasks,
the distaff and the loom, and keep the women
working hard as well. As for giving orders,
men will see to that, but I most of all: I hold the reins of power in this house.

ἀλλ' εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ' αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε,
ἰστόν τ' ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε
ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· μῦθος δ' ἄνδρεςσι μελήσει
πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί· τοῦ γὰρ κράτος ἔστ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ (*Od.* 1.356-359).

Penelope “astonished, / withdrew to her own room” and “took to heart / the clear good sense in what her son had said” (μὲν θαμβήσασα πάλιν οἰκόνδε βεβήκει/ παιδὸς γὰρ μῦθον πεπνυμένον

⁴ All translations of the *Odyssey* are from Fagles (1996).

ἔνθετο θυμῶι, *Od.* 1.360-361). She then weeps for Odysseus. The language mirrors that of the *Iliad*, when Hector tells Andromache, “Please go home and tend to your own tasks, / the distaff and the loom, and keep the women / working hard as well. As for fighting, / men will see to that, all who were born in Troy / but I most of all” (ἀλλ’ εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ’ αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε / ἰστόν τ’ ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε / ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι· πόλεμος δ’ ἄνδρεςσι μελήσει / πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ’ ἐμοί, τοῖ Ἰλίωι ἐγγεγάασιν, *Il.* 6.490-493⁵). The language of Telemachus mirrors that of a husband to his wife (Clark 336). Telemachus has replaced Odysseus as the master of Penelope. This is part of Telemachus’ coming-of-age, and Penelope correctly responds to this sudden change in power. Judith Butler states, “Surely, there are nuanced and individual ways of doing one's gender, but that one does it, and that one does it in accord with certain sanctions and proscriptions, is clearly not a fully individual matter” (Butler 525). While Penelope acts on her own accord, her actions closely follow how good Greek women should act. She acts her gender correctly by weaving, remaining chaste, and obeying the master of the house, even if the master is her son.

Penelope has not entirely erased her own femininity and sexuality for the sake of duty. Penelope unravels her tapestry every night not only to see if Odysseus comes home, but also to keep her suitors in Ithaca without having to make a decision. She is considering her own future in case Odysseus does not come home or is in fact dead. Penelope still flirts with the suitors and wants to appear attractive in front of them. When Athena prepares Penelope to present herself to the suitors, she “cleansed her cheeks, / her brow and fine eyes with ambrosia smooth as the oils / the goddess Love applies, donning her crown of flowers / whenever she joins the Graces’ captivating dances” (κάλλει μὲν οἱ πρῶτα προσώπατα καλὰ κάθηρεν / ἀμβροσίωι, οἴωι περ

⁵ Tr. Fagles (1990).

ἔϋστέφανος Κυθήρεια / χρίεται, εὗτ' ἂν ἦι Χαρίτων χορὸν ἱμερόεντα, *Od.* 18.193-195). Athena makes Penelope sensual for her presence among the suitors by evoking Aphrodite. Shortly after, though, Penelope prays to Artemis for a sudden death: “Now, if only / blessed Artemis sent me a death as gentle, now / this instant—no more wasting away my life, / my heart broken in longing for my husband” (αἶθε μοι ὦς μαλακὸν θάνατον πόροι Ἄρτεμις ἀγνή / αὐτίκα νῦν, ἵνα μηκέτ' ὀδυρομένη κατὰ θυμὸν / αἰῶνα φθινύθω, πόσιος ποθέουσα φίλοιον / παντοίην ἀρετήν, *Od.* 18.202-205). Penelope struggles with the dichotomy of chastity and sexuality. When Odysseus enters Penelope’s bedroom in disguise, Penelope looks “for all the world like Artemis or golden Aphrodite” (Ἀρτέμιδι ἰκέλη ἢ ἐ χρυσέηι Ἄφροδίτῃ, *Od.* 19.54). Odysseus even notes this struggle in Penelope. Penelope is also an idealized woman because she acknowledges this struggle between chastity and sexuality, and she does not let her sexuality dominate her thoughts and decisions (Felson-Rubin 35-36). Clytemnestra, however, chooses her sexuality or her chastity while Agamemnon is in Troy. She takes Aegisthus as a lover and allows him into Agamemnon’s home. Moreover, Clytemnestra is focused on power and revenge. She wants to rule Mycenae, and she wants to take revenge on Agamemnon for murdering her daughter.

The character of Clytemnestra looms over the plot of the *Odyssey*, although she never appears in person. Her character is a constant concern for the men. In the *Odyssey*, Aegisthus pursues Clytemnestra. Nestor explains to Telemachus:

At first, true, she spurned the idea of such an outrage,
 Clytemnestra the queen, her will was faithful still.
 And there was a man, what’s more, a bard close by,
 to whom Agamemnon, setting sail for Troy,
 gave strict commands to guard his wife. But then,
 that day the doom of the gods had bound her to surrender,
 Aegisthus shipped the bard away to a desert island,
 and marooned him there, sweet prize for the birds of prey,
 and swept her off to his house, lover lusting for lover.

ἡ δ' ἦ τοι τὸ πρὶν μὲν ἀναίνετο ἔργον ἀεικὲς
 διὰ Κλυταιμνήστρη· φρεσὶ γὰρ κέχρητ' ἀγαθῆισι.
 πὰρ δ' ἄρ' ἔην καὶ ἀοιδὸς ἀνὴρ, ὅτι πόλλ' ἐπέτελλεν
 Ἀτρεΐδης Τροίηνδε κιὼν ἔρυσασθαι ἄκοιτιν.
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μιν μοῖρα θεῶν ἐπέδησε δαμῆναι,
 δὴ τότε τὸν μὲν ἀοιδὸν ἄγων ἐς νῆσον ἐρήμην
 κάλλιπεν οἰωνοῖσιν ἔλωρ καὶ κύρμα γενέσθαι,
 τὴν δ' ἐθέλων ἐθέλουσαν ἀνήγαγεν ὄνδε δόμονδε (*Od.* 3.265-272).

In the *Odyssey*, Clytemnestra represents the unfaithful wife who chooses a new suitor in her husband's absence. Even though she tries to remain faithful at first, Aegisthus takes her to his home. Penelope could potentially be like Clytemnestra and not only abandon her wifely duties, but also the household she is protecting for the sake of Odysseus.

In *Odyssey* 11, Odysseus encounters Agamemnon's ghost. Odysseus asks Agamemnon if Poseidon sunk his ships on his way home, but Agamemnon replies that "Aegisthus hatched my doom and my destruction, / he killed me, he with my own accursed wife... / he invited me to his palace, sat me down to feast / then cut me down as a man cuts down some ox at the trough" (μοι Αἴγισθος τεύξας θάνατόν τε μόρον τε / ἕκτα σὺν οὐλομένῃ ἀλόχῳ, οἰκόνδε καλέσσας, / δειπνίσσας, ὡς τίς τε κατέκτανε βοῦν ἐπὶ φάτῃ, *Od.* 11.409-411). Agamemnon then laments that many Greek soldiers died during the Trojan War, yet he was murdered by his own wife and her lover. Agamemnon even tells Odysseus that Clytemnestra did not have the grace to prepare his body for burial and his journey into the house of Hades. She has not done her womanly duties and has failed as a wife.

In the Underworld, Odysseus asks Anticleia if Penelope has still been waiting for him after twenty years. Anticleia responds to him "she's still waiting / there in your halls, poor woman, suffering so, / her life an endless hardship like your own" (καὶ λίην κείνη γε μένει τετληότι θυμῷ / σοῖσιν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν· οἰζυραὶ δὲ οἱ αἰεὶ / φθίνουσιν νύκτες τε καὶ ἡμέρατα δάκρυ χεούσῃ, *Od.* 11.181-183). With Anticleia's empathetic portrait of Penelope, Odysseus is reassured.

Penelope waits and weaves, yet Clytemnestra rules Mycenae. Clytemnestra is never depicted weaving in Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*. She presents a red carpet to Agamemnon, and attendants carry it to him. Clytemnestra commands, "Women, why delay? You have your orders. / Pave his way with tapestries" (δμωιαί, τί μέλλεθ', αἷς ἐπέσταλται τέλος / πέδον κελεύθου στρωνόναι πετάσμασιν; *Ag.* 908-909). Clytemnestra commands the household to bring out the carpet. She did not sit at the loom like Penelope, but rather took control of the household and the kingdom of Mycenae. She also took on a new lover, Aegisthus, and did not remain chaste. She even sent away her son, Orestes, so that he does not become the new master of the house once he comes of age and can control her. In fact, Orestes is only mentioned by name three times in the entire *Agamemnon*.⁶

Penelope is a foil for Clytemnestra. Penelope is presented as a good, clever, and virtuous woman. Before leaving for Troy, Odysseus told Penelope "I cannot tell if the gods will sail me home again / or I'll go down out there, on the fields of Troy, / but all things here must rest in your control. Watch over my father and mother in the palace" (τῶι οὐκ οἶδ' ἢ κέν μ' ἀνέσει θεός, ἢ κεν ἀλώω / αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ· σοὶ δ' ἐνθάδε πάντα μελόντων. / μεμνησθαι πατρὸς καὶ μητέρος ἐν μεγάροισιν, *Od.* 18.265-267). Penelope's duty is to keep the family together. She expresses this duty, as well as her loyalty to her husband, by weaving.

In the *Odyssey*, Agamemnon did not trust his wife, Clytemnestra, to be alone at Mycenae, so he had a bard watch over her. Clytemnestra does not seize power as queen, but she allows Agamemnon's cousin, Aegisthus, to begin commanding Mycenae. Not only disgusted by this usurping of power, but Agamemnon also recognizes the moral differences between Clytemnestra and Penelope. He tells Odysseus, "Not that you, Odysseus, will be murdered by your wife. /

⁶*Ag.* 879-881, 1643-1648 and 1667.

She's much too steady, her feelings run too deep, / Icarus' daughter Penelope, that wise woman" (ἀλλ' οὐ σοί γ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, φόνοσ ἔσσεται ἕκ γε γυναικός· / λήην γὰρ πινυτή τε καὶ εὖ φρεσὶ μῆδεα οἶδε / κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρων Πηνελόπεια, *Od.* 11.444-446). Agamemnon's fate is a warning for Odysseus. Agamemnon's assurance that Penelope will not murder Odysseus already sets the homecoming of both heroes as opposite outcomes.

Rites of Passage: Speech

Rites of passage are a separation from one's old status, an in-between space, and an incorporation into a new status. The rites of passage in the ancient world were birth, initiation, marriage, and death. On Crete, initiations involved training in singing, dancing, hunting, fighting, and literature (Brenner). Initiation also involved homosexual relationships (Brenner). Similar rituals took place in Sparta. Scholars have concluded that initiation rituals took place all over Greece by comparing the journeys and heroic careers of mythological figures such as Achilles and Theseus, (Brenner). French ethnographer Arnold van Gennep divides rites of passage into the following parts: separation, transition, and incorporation (van Gennep 14). For example, Telemachus is separated from his old life when he meets the goddess Athena in disguise at his home. He transitions when he leaves Ithaca and sails to Egypt, and he is incorporated back into his old life when he reunites with his father to defeat the suitors. In this section, I will focus on separations. In the *Odyssey* and the *Agamemnon*, separations occur through speech and the crossing of a liminal space.

In the *Agamemnon*, Clytemnestra is not a supporting character, like Penelope is in the *Odyssey*. She is the main character. Her character arc throughout the play is more similar to Telemachus' than Penelope's. In the *Odyssey*, Telemachus learns how to become a man like his father, the hero Odysseus. M.L. West points out, "Heroic battle narrative in the Indo-European

traditions is not just an account of tactical movements, blows delivered, wounds sustained, bloody deaths. It contains a considerable amount of dialogue. A significant encounter between two warriors normally begins with a spirited exchange of words” (West 2007, 476). Speech is a common feature of men. Speech also makes Clytemnestra the main character of the play. She is a female character following a male storyline.

Rites of passage in classical antiquity begin with an initiation, which often involves crossing a liminal space. Telemachus crosses this space with Athena’s visit. When Athena came down from Olympus, Telemachus saw her, and “straight to the porch he went, mortified / that a guest might still be standing at the doors (βῆ δ’ ἰθὺς προθύροιο, νεμεσσήθη δ’ ἐνὶ θυμῶι / ξεῖνον δηθὰ θύρησιν ἐφεστάμεν, *Od.* 1.118-120). Telemachus greets Athena at the gates, which are a liminal space. Athena, under the disguise of Mentès, informs Telemachus that his father is still living. This encounter brings Telemachus into the affairs of the Trojan War and the politics of Mount Olympus. After he has determined that he was visited by a goddess, Telemachus returns to the palace. Here, he tells Penelope to be quiet and return to her rooms. The first words Telemachus speaks after his transitional encounter with Athena are:

Why deny
our devoted bard the chance to entertain us
any way the spirit stirs him on?
Bards are not to blame—
Zeus is to blame. He deals to each and every
laborer on earth whatever doom he pleases.
Why fault the bard if he sings the Argives’ harsh fate?

μητρὲρ ἐμή, τί τ’ ἄρα φθονέεις ἐρίηρον ἀοιδὸν
τέρπειν ὅππῃ οἱ νόος ὄρνυται; οὐδὲ νύ τ’ ἀοιδὸι
αἴτιοι, ἀλλὰ ποθὶ Ζεὺς αἴτιος, ὅς τε δίδωσιν
ἀνδράσιν ἀλφειστῆσιν, ὅπως ἐθέλησιν, ἐκάστωι.
τούτῳ δ’ οὐ νέμεσις Δαναῶν κακὸν οἶτον ἀεΐειν (*Od.* 1.348-351).

Telemachus then goes on to announce that Odysseus was not the only Greek hero whose journey home was disrupted by the gods. Once he has crossed his liminal space, he uses speech to prove that he met Athena and that he has become a man. He goes through an initiation with the epiphany of Athena, and becomes a new person—a speaker, like his father.

Clytemnestra’s liminal space is her arrival on stage. She has gone from an unseen and unheard—but much spoken-of—woman to the main character of the play. On the stage, her character would have come from a door of a house. Clytemnestra is the one to announce the news that the Greeks have sacked Troy. The chorus asks her “Daughter of Tyndareus, queen Clytemnestra, / what now, what news, what message drives you through the citadel / burning victims?” (σὺ δέ, Τυνδάρεω/ θύγατερ, βασίλεια Κλυταιμίστρα, / τί κρέος; / τί νεος; *Ag.* 84-85). The chorus addresses Clytemnestra as βασίλεια. This is a title used for women who are the wives of kings. In the *Odyssey*, Penelope is addressed as βασίλεια by the suitors. Penelope prays to Athena to help Odysseus and protect Telemachus. The suitors, however, become excited and say, “Listen, / our long-courted queen’s preparing us all a marriage— / with no glimmer at all / how the murder of her son has been decreed” (ἤ μάλα δὴ γάμον ἄμμι πολυμνήστη βασίλεια / ἀρτύει, οὐδέ τι οἶδεν ὃ οἱ φόνος οὔ τέτυκται, *Od.* 4.770-771). Penelope is called βασίλεια within the context of her losing control over her household. Another instance of the word βασίλεια in the *Odyssey* is during Odysseus’s trip to the Underworld. It refers to Tyro, who established the royal families in Iolcus and Pylos. Tyro is also the grandmother of the hero Jason, who lived a generation before Odysseus and Agamemnon. She is called “a queen of women” (βασίλεια γυναικῶν, *Od.* 11.258). Her children are Pelias and Nereus, both fathered by Poseidon. Tyro is a βασίλεια because of the fame of her sons. I conclude that, for mortal women, βασίλεια is used in

regard to women whose power comes from their royal children, and female children of royal lines. Penelope is about to lose her power that comes from her marital equality to Odysseus and her maternal status with Telemachus. Clytemnestra, like Penelope and Tyro, is about to lose her power to a man. By speaking the word βασιλεία, the chorus may be inferring that she will stop being the ruler of Mycenae and become the queen consort after the arrival of Agamemnon. This address is bad news for Clytemnestra. Nonetheless, Clytemnestra sounds pleased by the arrival of Agamemnon. She manipulates the chorus with her tone. She is a clever speaker, like Telemachus and Odysseus.

Clytemnestra's first lines of dialogue are "Let the new day shine—as the proverb says— / glorious from the womb of Mother Night. / You will hear a joy beyond your hopes. / Priam's citadel—the Greeks have taken Troy!" (Ag. 264-268, εὐάγγελος μὲν, ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία, / ἕως γένοιτο μητρὸς εὐφρόνης πάρα· / πεύσῃ δὲ χάρμα μείζον ἐλπίδος κλύειν· / Πριάμου γὰρ ἠιρήκασιν Ἀργεῖοι πόλιν). She speaks to the chorus of old Mycenaean men. When she announces the news about the end of the Trojan War, her speech solidifies her control over Mycenae. Clytemnestra has taken her place as the head of her household. She is not simply the wife of a king, even though the chorus addresses her as βασιλεία. She has become a king.

Rites of Passage: Weddings

Another liminal space for Clytemnestra is the arrival of Agamemnon. This series of scenes plays out like an ancient Athenian wedding with the roles reversed. Agamemnon partly resembles a bride and Clytemnestra a groom. The arrival of Agamemnon at Mycenae and his murder use elements of the ancient Greek wedding ritual but then shuffle them. The sequence of events in the wedding are the wedding contract, a sacrifice, a bath, adornments, a procession, a

feast, and then the consummation of the marriage. In the *Agamemnon*, the events are ordered the procession, the marriage coverlet—which is standing for the decoration of the home—the bath, and then the consummation of the marriage.

Weddings in the ancient Greek world began with the contract between the potential groom and the father of the bride. The Ancient Greek word for this contract is ἐγγύη. Since the father was the legal guardian of the bride, he made ἐγγύη on her behalf, sometimes without even consulting her. The preparations for the wedding began with sacrifices to the gods, “since their future happiness and their safety during this dangerous time of passage depended upon divine help” (Oakley and Sinos 11). This indicated a departure from childhood into adulthood. The bride often had to propitiate Artemis, the protector of children, “whose sphere [the bride] would leave,” in order “to complete the passage to the sphere of Aphrodite” (Oakley and Sinos 12). Then, the bride would offer her toys or old items of clothing, or even a lock of her own hair, to Aphrodite (Oakley and Sinos 14). Next, a nuptial bath purified the bride. This also separated her childhood from her adulthood. The bath of the bride began with a procession of women carrying bathwater in urns. The bride then dressed for the wedding. The groom would also bathe before the wedding; often his bath also began with a procession. Then, the homes of both the bride and the groom were decorated.

The actual wedding began with a feast and dancing. At nightfall, the father of the bride “gave his daughter to the groom in full view of the assembled guests, bringing the bride and groom together for the first time” (Oakley and Sinos 25). This is the ἀνακαλυπτήρια, the unveiling of the bride. A procession of the couple and the wedding guests followed, which transferred the bride from her parents’ home to the home of her new husband. The marriage would then be consummated in the bridal chamber of the groom’s home. The bed would be

adorned for this occasion. An example of such adornment for a bed comes from the *Odyssey*. In the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, aristocratic women often weave what Lynda McNeil calls story-cloths, “most likely for important rites of passage (births, marriages, funerals) that depict family history or mythological events” (McNeil 9). The story-cloths are used as the adornment for the marriage bed. According to McNeil, “the act of slipping under [the] nuptial bedcovers served as a *topos* for Homeric (and later) couples for restoring marital harmony,” such as Zeus and Hera in the *Iliad*, Helen and Menelaus in the *Odyssey* and Theocritus *Idyll* 18, and of course, Penelope and Odysseus in the *Odyssey* (McNeil 9-10). In Aeschylus’s *Agamemnon*, the arrival of Agamemnon rearranges the ancient Athenian wedding rituals. First comes the procession, then the marriage coverlet, and then the bath. Clytemnestra consummates the marriage with herself. They are out of order, which represents the fact that this couple is not only already married, but also that Clytemnestra, a woman, is acting as the groom and Agamemnon, a man, is acting as the bride.

The *Agamemnon* begins with the light of torches that signify that the Greeks have won the Trojan War. At the beginning of the play, the watchman laments “Oh for a blessed end to all our pain, / some godsend burning through the dark” (νῦν δ’ εὐτοχῆς γένοιτ’ ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων/ εὐαγγέλου φανέντος ὀρφναίου πυρός, *Ag.* 20-21). The light the watchman mentions is πῦρ, fire. When the fires go up, the watchman says

I salute you!
 You dawn of the darkness, you turn night into day—
 I see the light at last.
 They’ll be dancing in the streets of Argos
 thanks to you, thanks to this new stroke of—
 Aieeeeeee!
 There’s your signal clear and true, my queen!
 Rise up from bed—hurry, lift a cry of triumph
 through the house, praise the gods for the beacon,
 if they’ve taken Troy...
 But there it burns, fire all the way.

ὦ χαῖρε, λαμπτήρ, νυκτὸς ἡμερήσιον
 φάος πιφάυσκων καὶ χορῶν κατάστασιν
 πολλῶν ἐν Ἄργει τῆσδε συμφορᾶς χάριν.
 ἰοὺ ἰοῦ.
 Ἀγαμέμνωνος γυναικὶ σημαίνω τορῶς
 εὐνής ἐπαντείλασαν ὡς τάχος δόμοις
 ὀλολυγμὸν εὐφημοῦντα τῆιδε λαμπάδι
 ἐπορθιάζειν, εἴπερ Ἴλίου πόλις
 ἐάλωκεν, ὡς ὁ φρυκτὸς ἀγγέλλων πρέπει (*Ag.* 23-30).

The watchman uses various words for firelight: λαμπτήρ, the light of a beacon-fire, φάος, light, λαμπάς torch, and φρυκτός, torch or beacon. The firelight is how the people of Mycenae know that the Greeks have defeated the Trojans. The Athenian wedding ceremony began with a procession, leading the bride to her new home. This procession included torches, dances, and songs, which “protected the couple during this most critical passage between the two homes” (Oakley and Sinos 26). The torches were most significant, and weddings without torchlight were thought to be illegitimate (Oakley and Sinos 26). The firelight in the watchman’s speech also recalls the use of torchlight in a wedding. As well as announcing that the Trojans are defeated that Agamemnon is coming home, the firelight also signifies Agamemnon’s transition from Troy to his new home, Clytemnestra’s Mycenae. He is acting as the bride being led into a new life.

Agamemnon’s effeminate status is clear in the tapestry scene. Once he arrives, Clytemnestra lays out a ruby-red carpet for Agamemnon. Clytemnestra then insists that Agamemnon walk on it when he enters the palace. He likens Clytemnestra to a barbarian king, not unlike Priam. Agamemnon is groveling as a woman to Clytemnestra as a man. He then goes on to say:

This—
 you treat me like a woman. Groveling, gaping at me—
 what am I, some barbarian peacocking out of Asia?
 Never cross my path with robes and draw the lightning.

Never—only the gods deserve the pomps of honor / and the stiff brocades of fame. To walk on them...

I am human, and it makes my pulses stir
with dread.

καὶ τᾶλλα μὴ γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις ἐμὲ
ἄβρυνε, μηδὲ βαρβάρου φωτὸς δίκην
χαμαιπετὲς βόαμα προσχάνης ἐμοί,
μηδ' εἴμασι στρώσασ' ἐπίφθονον πόρον
τίθει· θεοὺς τοι τοῖσδε τιμαλφεῖν χρεῶν·
ἐν ποικίλοις δὲ θνητὸν ὄντα κάλλεσιν
βαίνειν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἄνευ φόβου, (Ag. 918-925).

Agamemnon calls the carpet εἶμα, garment (Ag. 921) ποικίλος, which means woven or embroidered with many colors (Ag. 923). This is not a carpet that is meant to be walked on. This carpet is “tapestry-like” (McNeil 4). According to McNeil, “Agamemnon's resistance to trampling on the cloth suggests that he took it to be important ritually and economically,” and “from a ritual perspective, he refers to it as if it were a sacred garment or as having a sacred significance” (McNeil 11). The tapestry which Clytemnestra has laid out for Agamemnon resembles both a wedding robe and a coverlet for the marriage bed, which were two separate garments in an ancient Athenian wedding. Agamemnon finds it sacrilegious to walk on this tapestry. It should be a symbol of his marriage to Clytemnestra and therefore a protected family heirloom. Clytemnestra could have offered the ruby-red cloth to restore her marriage to Agamemnon, but she has her husband step on it, showing that she has no hopes of reuniting with Agamemnon sexually. The tapestry is another contrast the marriage of Odysseus and Penelope. McNeil points out “Homer describes how Odysseus and Penelope's marriage is restored after a twenty-year separation through metaphorical allusions to ‘weaving’ in several senses: textile, sexual, and narrative” (McNeil 10). The couple is united under a coverlet, just as they would have been during the consummation of their marriage. According to McNeil, Aeschylus’s intended audience would have realized “that the cloth symbolizes their marriage bed; to defile

one is to defile the other” (McNeil 9). This tapestry represents the failed marriage of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra.

Clytemnestra murders Agamemnon in the bath. This event happens offstage and is narrated by the seer Cassandra, whom Agamemnon brings to Mycenae from Troy. Cassandra says:

You, you godforsaken—you’d do *this*?
 The lord of your bed,
 you bathe him... his body glistens, then—
 how to tell the climax?
 comes so quickly, see,
 hand over hand shoots out, hauling ropes—
 then lunge!

ἰὼ τάλαινα, τόδε γὰρ τελεῖς,
 τὸν ὀμοδέμνιον πόσιν
 λουτροῖσι φαιδρύνασα—πῶς φράσω τέλος·
 τάχος γὰρ τόδ’ ἔσται· προτείνει δὲ χεῖρ ἐκ
 χερὸς ὀρέγματα (Ag. 1107-1111).

Cassandra adds:

No no, look there—!
 What’s that? Some net flung out of hell—
 No *she* is the snare, the bedmate, deathmate, murder’s strong right arm!”
 Let the insatiate discord in the race
 rear up and shriek ‘Avenge the victim—stone them dead!’”

ἔἔ, παπαῖ παπαῖ, τί τόδε φαίνεται;
 ἦ δίκτυόν τί γ’ Ἴαιδου;
 ἀλλ’ ἄρκυς ἢ ξύνευνος, ἢ ξυναιτία
 φόνου, στάσις δ’ ἀκόρετος γένει
 κατολολυξάτω θύματος λευσίμου (Ag. 1107-1116).

The bath does not purify Agamemnon, nor does it signify his new life. The bath signifies Agamemnon’s death. Clytemnestra does not adorn his corpse. Not only are these improper funeral rites, but also the bride was adorned and dressed for her wedding feast after her bath. Instead, Clytemnestra shows the bloody corpse to the chorus of old men. She says, “he goes

down, and the life is bursting out of him— / great sprays of blood, and the murderous shower / wounds me, dyes me black and I, I revel / like the Earth when the spring rains come down”

(οὕτω τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ὀρμαίνει πεσῶν· / κάκφουσιῶν ὄξειαν αἵματος σφαγὴν / βάλλει μὲν ἑρεμνῆι ψακάδι φοινίας δρόσου, *Ag.* 1388-1390). Clytemnestra has been bathed in Agamemnon’s blood. This bath of blood transitions her into a new life—she is no longer the wife of Agamemnon and the regent of Mycenae, but the queen of Mycenae and an avenger of her daughter, Iphigenia. In addition, the language Aeschylus uses to describe Agamemnon’s blood on Clytemnestra is erotic. The murder of Agamemnon can be thought of as a marriage consummation for Clytemnestra. The spurting of blood on her body is her sexual climax.

The wedding ritual continues to be distorted with the relationship of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus. Ancient Greek marriages were patrilocal. Clytemnestra does not move into Aegisthus’s home. Instead, Aegisthus moves into the home of Clytemnestra, the woman. Aegisthus appears onstage well after the murder of Agamemnon. He exclaims “O what a brilliant day for vengeance!” (ὦ φέγγος εὖφρον ἡμέρας δικηφόρου, *Ag.* 1577). He takes credit for the death of Agamemnon, because Agamemnon’s father, Atreus, murdered Aegisthus’s brother and served him as a feast to his father, Thyestes. The chorus leader tells Aegisthus, “You, woman—/ the king had just returned from battle. / You waited out the war and fouled his lair, / you planned my great commander’s fall” (γύναι, σὺ τοὺς ἦκοντας ἐκ μάχης μένων / οἰκουρὸς εὐνήν ἀνδρὸς αἰσχύνων ἅμα / ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῶι τόνδ’ ἐβούλευσας μόρον, *Ag.* 1625-1627). The leader calls Aegisthus a woman. Aegisthus, looking at Agamemnon’s corpse, calls the murder “the woman’s work” (τὸ γὰρ δολῶσαι πρὸς γυναικὸς ἦν σαφῶς, *Ag.* 1636). While Aegisthus believes that he has the right to rule Mycenae, he is emasculated by both Clytemnestra, who committed the murder, and the chorus leader, who has just called him a woman.

The wedding rituals with the reunion of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra are out-of-order. The bath should be first, then the procession, then the consummation of the marriage. Since Clytemnestra is acting as the groom and Agamemnon as the bride, it makes sense that the sequence of events is inverted as well. In addition, Clytemnestra takes Aegisthus as bride into her home. These are steps in Clytemnestra's male rite-of-passage.

Rites of Passage: Revenge

The role of Telemachus in the *Odyssey* is not that of the hero but of the hero's son. M.L. West proposes "where a son does have a role, it is generally as a substitute for the hero, a replacement, or an avenger" (West 2007, 440). Telemachus "stands up for his absent father's interests, doing his best to keep Penelope's suitors in check, though not yet capable of overcoming them" (West 2007, 440). In *Odyssey* 22, Telemachus helps Odysseus murder Penelope's suitors.

He went on the run, reached his father at once
and halting right beside him, let fly
"Father—now I'll get you a shield and a pair of spears,
a helmet of solid bronze to fit your temples!
I'll arm myself on the way back and hand out
arms to the swineherd, arm the cowherd too—
we'd better fight equipped!"

βῆ δὲ θέειν, μάλα δ' ὄκα φίλον πατέρ' εἰσαφίκανεν,
ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰστάμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
ὦ πάτερ, ἤδη τοι σάκος οἶσω καὶ δύο δοῦρε
καὶ κυνέην πάγχαλκον, ἐπὶ κροτάφοις ἀραρυῖαν
αὐτός τ' ἀμφιβαλεῦμαι ἰών, δώσω δὲ συμβώτη
καὶ τῷ βουκόλῳ ἄλλα· τετευχῆσθαι γὰρ ἄμεινον (*Od.* 22.98-104).

When Odysseus agrees to Telemachus' plan, "Telemachus moved to his father's orders smartly"

Τηλέμαχος δὲ φίλωι ἐπεπείθετο πατρί, *Od.* 22.108). Even though Telemachus has the idea, he must obey Odysseus. Telemachus is bound by filial duty to aid his father in vengeance. The discovery and helping of his father are the climax of Telemachus' coming-of-age. Telemachus is an extension of his father. In the *Odyssey*, Telemachus asks himself “is he or is he not the *worthy* son of Odysseus (He does not really doubt that Odysseus is his father)” and “is he or is he not an extension (almost an instantiation of his father, as his very name, *Telemachos* [sic], would suggest” (Petropoulos 9-10). According to Petropoulos, these are standard questions for Greek heroes to ask. Telemachus spends the duration of the *Odyssey* answering these questions about himself. A parallel to Telemachus and Odysseus is Orestes and Agamemnon in the *Libation Bearers*, when Orestes avenges his father by murdering Clytemnestra.

In the *Agamemnon*, Clytemnestra distorts this structure as a woman who is avenging her daughter, not a young man avenging his father. She murders Agamemnon as an act of vengeance for Iphigenia. The leader of the chorus is appalled by Clytemnestra's joy in the act of murdering her husband and king. Clytemnestra responds “you treat me like some desperate woman. / My heart is steel, well you know. Praise me, / blame me as you choose. It's all one. / Here is Agamemnon, my husband made a corpse / by this right hand—a masterpiece of Justice. Done is done” (περᾶσθέ μου γυναικός ὡς ἀφράσμονος, / ἐγὼ δ' ἀτρέστοι καρδίαι πρὸς εἰδότας / λέγω· σὺ δ' αἰνεῖν εἴτε με ψέγειν θέλεις, / ὁμοῖον· οὗτος ἐστὶν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἔμος / πόσις, νεκρὸς δέ, τῆσδε δεξιᾶς χερὸς / ἔργον, δικαίας τέκτονος. Τάδ' ᾧδ' ἔχει, *Ag.* 1401-1406). Clytemnestra says that Agamemnon's murder is the act of a maker of justice. Like Telemachus killing the suitors alongside Odysseus, Clytemnestra uses violence to avenge her dead daughter. Clytemnestra goes on to tell the leader of the chorus that Agamemnon “sacrificed his own child, our daughter, / the agony I labored into love / to charm away the savage winds of Thrace” (ἔθυσεν αὐτοῦ παῖδα,

φιλάτην ἐμοὶ / ὠδῖν', ἐπωιδὸν Θρηκίων ἀημάτων, *Ag.* 1417-1418). Labor pains are a metonym for Iphigenia. In the same way that Telemachus is an extension of Odysseus, Iphigenia was an extension of Clytemnestra. However, Iphigenia resembles Clytemnestra in appearance or speech in no textual evidence. Iphigenia is an extension of Clytemnestra because Clytemnestra carried her in her womb and then gave birth to her. Clytemnestra is avenging her daughter in order to avenge herself, because her daughter came from her body and her pain.

Conclusion

In Book 6 of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid presents another weaver: Arachne. Arachne performed her skill and therefore gender so well that she challenged Athena, the goddess of weaving. Arachne said, “Let her but strive with me; and if I lose there is nothing which I would not forfeit” (“certet” ait “mecum: nihil est, quod victa recusem!” *Met.* 6.25). Arachne’s skills as a weaver have led her to masculine rivalry and therefore masculine pride. Arachne has won the weaving contest, but her victory came at a cost. Athena striped Arachne of her femininity. Athena:

Sprinkled her with the juices of Hecate’s herb; and forthwith her hair, touched by the poison, fell off, and with it both nose and ears; and the head shrank up; her whole body also was small; the slender fingers clung to her side as legs; the rest was belly.

...Hecateidos herbae
sparsit: et extemplo tristi medicamine tactae
defluxere comae, cum quis et naris et aures,
fitque caput minimum; toto quoque corpore parva est:
in latere exiles digiti pro cruribus haerent,
cetera venter habet (*Met.* 6.139-144⁷).

Athena transformed Arachne into a spider, but she took away Arachne’s hair and female form.

Clytemnestra is similar to Arachne not because her body withers into a spider’s but because she

⁷ Tr. Miller and Goold (1977)

performs a feminine act so well that the act becomes excessive and masculine. Clytemnestra is a terrifying character because her femininity evolves into masculinity. Clytemnestra fulfills her duty of protecting her husband's household and kingdom so well that she becomes a tyrant. The watchman notes ὄδε γὰρ κρατεῖ γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ (*Ag.* 10-11).

Clytemnestra's ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ, man-willed heart, rules Mycenae. She is not a wife who protects the home in her husband's absence. Instead, Clytemnestra maneuvers like the husband and rules his kingdom.

Chapter Two: Artemis in Gold

Tamora's ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ

Introduction

Like Clytemnestra in Aeschylus's *Agamemnon*, Tamora in William Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* possesses an ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ. Unlike Clytemnestra, Tamora's merging of masculine and feminine qualities falls within social conventions. Tamora does not rely too heavily on her masculine qualities in order to obtain social and political power. She is able to balance her masculine intelligence, which she uses to acquire authority, with being seen as a sexual object. My argument will be divided into several parts. First, I will examine the female monarchs with whom Shakespeare was familiar. Second, I will focus on the metaphors Saturninus and Aaron use to describe Tamora. Finally, I will look into how Tamora portrays herself throughout *Titus Andronicus*.

Gender roles in early modern Europe depended on age, marital status, social rank, and economic resources. Tamora, queen of the Goths and later empress of the Romans, reflects the early modern period's notion of gender more than that of ancient Rome. Shakespeare's audience would have understood her in terms of their contemporaries, Queen Catherine de Medici of France, or Queen Elizabeth I of England. Catherine de Medici died in 1589 and the play *Titus Andronicus* is thought to have been written between 1588 and 1593 (Shakespeare 2008, 6), Queen Catherine was the subject of two major works of English literature: Anne Dowriche's poem *The French Historie* (1589) and Christopher Marlowe's tragedy *The Massacre at Paris*

(1593) (Carney 421-425). These works were contemporary to Shakespeare and may have been circulating or performed around the time Shakespeare was composing *Titus Andronicus*. If Catherine de Medici was the inspiration for Tamora, then Tamora would not have been restricted by the same gender roles as commoners. Queens did not necessarily submit to their kingly spouses in the same way that most women submitted to their husbands. “Queens generally acquired power and exercised authority as wives, mothers (sexual beings), tutors and guardians (natural governors), through their personal piety and patronage, and by becoming the subjects of literary or visual arts,” as well as having “access to extensive personal and family networks” (Rohr 25). They “could and did exercise considerable political authority to great effect; but they needed to have a talent for the game and substantial intellectual dexterity and stamina” (Rohr 25). It is not correct to think that queens exercised power only sometimes while the kings’ powers were “uninterrupted and constant” (Rohr 25). Queenship was inseparable from monarchy. Theresa Earenfight proposes that we should:

Consider a rulership as a partnership...[for it] reveals a malleable, permeable and multivocal political institution that can be envisioned, metaphorically speaking as a flexible sack. It is capacious enough to accommodate both the king and the queen – their personalities, circumstances and a fairly wide variety of political theories and attitudes towards women in governance – without rupture. Its potential to expand explains the variation in practice (Earenfight 10).

Earenfight’s insight of monarchy as a partnership helps explain the power dynamics between kings and queens in the early modern period. The queen had to be knowledgeable about politics and power. She would support her kingly husband, and then support her kingly son once he came of age. Queenship was a necessity for monarchies. Queens could unofficially rule in the place of an incompetent king, and they guaranteed the future of a dynasty by giving birth to royal offspring. Rohr and Earenfight are writing about Catholic countries in late medieval Europe.

Personal piety and marriage were different for queens in Protestant countries, such as Shakespeare's England.

In early modern Europe, a queen fulfilled different roles. She could have been a queen consort, which is the wife of a king. Alison Basil points out, "the king used the body of his wife both to fulfill his dynastic and conjugal requirements" (Basil 175). The queen would carry and give birth to the next monarch. Even though she would have to submit to her husband in the marriage bed, she had power by being the mother of the future king. Young, aristocratic women were raised and trained to become queen consorts or to fulfill similar aristocratic roles. While a queen did not have the same political power as her husband, she could have had sexual power or even dominance over her husband.

Yolande of Aragon, the duchess of Anjou, is the example of a successful consort. Rohr states:

By the time of her marriage in 1400, Yolande of Aragon had benefited from great exposure to the business of co-government and the phenomenon of absent or reluctant kings, unable or disinclined to involve themselves in the trickier political issues of their rule. Absent, ill or incapable, Iberian kings understood that they needed the open involvement of their queens in order to rule effectively (Rohr 29).

Yolande of Aragon was knowledgeable enough to run a country, even though she technically did not have political authority. She used the skills she learned from the state of the Iberian kingdoms and applied them to her new home of France.

A queen could have also been a queen regent, which is the role of a woman whose husband passed away, and whose oldest child was just made king; she would rule in his place until he came of age. An example of a queen regent is Catherine de Medici, queen of France. She was the wife of King Henri III until he died, and her son, King François II, became king at the

age of fifteen. Catherine de Medici ruled in his place, and she ruled in place of her second son, King Charles IX, who became king at the age of nine after the death of his older brother. She eventually became queen mother, also called queen dowager, the title for the mother of the current reigning monarch, during his reign. Catherine de Medici is often associated with the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in 1587. She is traditionally believed to have instigated the Catholic mob who murdered thousands of French Huguenots just days after the wedding of her daughter, Princess Margaret, and Prince Henry of Navarre. The English associated Catherine de Medici with violence and militant Catholicism, both of which were threats to their Protestant society. Anne Dowriche wrote about Catherine de Medici in her poem *The French Historie*, and Christopher Marlowe depicted Queen Catherine and the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in his tragedy *The Massacre at Paris* (Carney 417). Both of these English works villainized Catherine de Medici. French Huguenots at the time and years following also depicted her as a villain. Their "characterization parallels depictions of Catherine in contemporary English discourse and in Dowriche and Marlowe's works; it just as pointedly encapsulates the character of Tamora in *Titus Andronicus*" (Carney 417).

The other role a queen could fulfill was that of an absolute monarch. Queen Elizabeth I of England fits this role. While "it was generally believed that women were inferior to men and so subject to them by divine law," Queen Elizabeth "ignored religious precepts and did not submit to male authority" to retain her political authority but was "potentially a source of disorder and sexual license" (Whitelock 207-208). Queen Elizabeth portrayed herself as a virgin. This meant that she had to keep up a youthful appearance even into the later years of her reign (Whitelock 213). Due to the year in which *Titus Andronicus* was first performed, Carney writes, "Critics have associated Tamora with many classical tyrants or vengeful women the play invokes,

including Semiramis and Hecuba; with Shakespeare's current monarch, Elizabeth I, whose subjects were often threatened by the anomaly of a woman on the throne; or with the widespread cultural unease about female unruliness that marked the sixteenth century" (Carney 415). Since a gynocracy was so unusual in the late sixteenth century, Tamora's unusual wickedness can be associated with the wrongness of a woman being on the throne. In fact, just three decades before Shakespeare composed *Titus Andronicus*, essayist John Knox was adamantly against women monarchs. In his 1558 book, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, Knox blasted Mary Tudor for ruling England and Marie of Guise for being Scotland's regent, and he blasted England and Scotland for accepting queenships (Healey 376). Knox's main arguments were "(1) God's commands had made it a virtue for woman to serve man, and (2) God's punishment of Eve had put woman in subjection to man," so "a woman, therefore, had no natural right to rule any realm, even when the royal line of succession included no male heir" (Healey 376).

Queens in early modern Europe exhibited an ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ by virtue of their positions. Their existence as the wife of the king and the mother to the future king gave them a social and political advantage. They had to demonstrate traditionally masculine qualities because of their social position.

The character of Tamora also may have been inspired by queens who reigned in antiquity. Tamora bears a striking resemblance to Tomyris, the queen of the Getae in Herodotus's *Histories*. Jane Grogan points out, "at least one early reader of the text [*Titus Andronicus*] seems to have made the connection between Tomyris and Tamora: in the First Folio Tamora is misprinted on one occasion (3.2.74) as 'Tamira,'" which is an alternate spelling of Tomyris (Grogan 36). The first two books of the *Histories* had been translated by Richard

Taverner in 1584 and were available to Elizabethan readers (Grogan 33-34). Even though she may have been inspired by Tomyris, the queen of the Getae in Herodotus's *Histories*, Tamora also has the qualities of an early modern queen through her ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ. She advises Saturninus in pardoning the Andronicus family, and both Aaron and Saturninus revere her masculine intelligence, even though Tamora possesses a female body. She has power by being a woman because she would have been the mother of the future emperors of Rome. In some ways, Tamora follows the ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ of an early modern queen correctly.

Tamora and the ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ

In *Titus Andronicus*, the male characters give descriptions of Tamora. These descriptions liken her to figures from classical mythology and ancient history, and they highlight the masculine aspects of Tamora's nature. When Saturninus takes Tamora as his bride, he likens her to "the stately Phoebe 'mongst her nymphs" who "dost overshine all the other women of Rome (*Titus Andronicus* 1.315-317). Phoebe, a goddess of the moon, is associated with the goddess whom the Greeks called Artemis and the Romans called Diana. She overshines her attendant-nymphs in Thomas Phaer's 1558 translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* (Shakespeare 2008, 98). In the first book of his *Aeneid*, from which Shakespeare may have borrowed vocabulary, Phaer writes "Much like unto Diana bright when she to hunt goth out / Upon Eurotas bankes, or through the cops of Cynthus hill / Whom thousands of the ladie Nimphees await to her will. / She on her armes her quiver beres, and all them ouershines, / And in her brest the tikling joy her hart to

mirth enclines” (*Aen.* 1.474-479⁸). The link between the name Phoebe and shining is already evident in the Book I of the *Georgics*.⁹ Virgil writes:

Soon as the moon gathers her returning fires, if she encloses a dark mist within dim horns, a heavy rain is awaiting farmers and seamen. But if over her face she spreads a maiden blush, there will be wind; as wind rises, golden Phoebe ever blushes.

luna revertentis cum primum colligit ignis,
si nigrum obscuro comprehenderit aëra cornu,
maximus agricolis pelagoque parabitur imber:
at si virgineum suffuderit ore ruborem,
ventus erit; vento semper rubet aurea Phoebe (*G.* 1.427-431¹⁰).

Phoebe is also the feminine form of Phoebus, which comes from the Greek word, φοῖβος, meaning bright or radiant (LSJ: φοῖβος). Phoebus is an epithet of Apollo, Artemis’s brother.

Artemis is an unusual goddess to be compared to Tamora. Artemis is a maiden. Tamora was once married to the king of the Goths and now has Aaron as her lover, and she has three sons who are nearing adulthood. By examining the character of Artemis in classical literature, we can begin to understand why Saturninus compares her to Tamora. Even though his work was not circulating in early modern England, the Greek poet Callimachus provides a complete description of Artemis’s attributes, which are helpful for recognizing the significance of the goddess. In the *Hymn to Artemis*, young Artemis says to her father, Zeus,

Gimme virginity, Daddy, to preserve forever, and to be called by many names, so that Phoebus may not rival me. And gimme arrows and bows— let me, Father, I do not ask you for a quiver or a large bow: for me the Cyclopes will fashion arrows in an instant, and, for me, a supple bow— and to be a light-bearer and to

⁸ Tr. Fagles (2006): “Like Diana urging her dancing troupes along / the Eurotas’ banks or up Mount Cynthus’ ridge / as a thousand mountain-nymphs crowd in behind her / left and right—with quiver slung from her shoulder, / taller than any other goddess as she goes striding on / and silent Latona thrills with joy too deep for words” (Qualis in Eurotae ripis aut per iuga Cynthi / exercet Diana choros, quam mille secutae / hinc atque hinc glomerantur oreades; illa pharetram / fert umero, gradiensque deas supereminet omnis: / Latonae tacitum pertemptant gaudia pectus, *Aen.* 1.498-502)

⁹ Virgil calls Artemis “Phoebe” in *G.* 1.431, *Aen.* 3.371, 3.637; 4.6, 6.18, 6.56; 10.216, 10.316.

¹⁰ Tr. Fairclough and Goold (1999).

hitch up my tunic with a fringed border as far as my knees, so that I may kill wild beasts.

δός μοι παρθενίην αἰώνιον, ἄππα, φυλάσσειν,
καὶ πολuwονυμίην, ἵνα μή μοι Φοῖβος ἐρίζῃ.
δός δ' ἰοὺς καὶ τόξα—ἔα, πάτερ, οὐ σε Φαρέτρην
οὐδ' αἰτέω μέγα τόξον· ἐμοὶ Κύκλωπες ὀιστοὺς
αὐτίκα τεχνήσονται, ἐμοὶ δ' εὐκαμπὲς ἄεμμα·
ἀλλὰ φασσφορίην τε καὶ ἐς γόνυ μέχρι χιτῶνα
ζώννυσθαι λεγνωτόν, ἴν' ἄγρια θηρία καίνω, (*Hymns* 3.5-13¹¹).

Callimachus's Artemis can be thought of as having an ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ. She is associated with archery and hunting, which are masculine pursuits, and she is a perpetual virgin. Since she will not marry, she is still the property of her father. Artemis is an extension of Zeus. Engaging in masculine rivalries, Artemis has also asked her father to give her just as many names as her brother, Apollo. As an extension of her father and a rival to her brother while still being female in body, Artemis demonstrates an ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ.

Even though Saturninus compares Tamora to Artemis, he still misunderstands the power of her ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ. Tamora's ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ is politically strategic. Like Queen Elizabeth I, she can claim a kingly heart yet inspire veneration with her spiritual superiority. Unlike Queen Elizabeth I, Tamora does so through her husband, not herself. In the first act of *Titus Andronicus*, Tamora claims veneration upon her marriage to Saturninus. Immediately after Saturninus proposes to her, she responds:

And here in the sight of heaven to Rome I swear,
If Saturnine advance the Queen of the Goths,
She will a handmaid be to his desires,
A loving nurse, a mother to his youth (*Titus Andronicus* 1.330-334).

¹¹ Tr. Stephens (2015).

Tamora says she will do what a good queen consort must: aid the king and give birth to royal children. She goes further into inspiring veneration by saying, “I am incorporate in Rome / A Roman now adopted happily / And must advise the Emperor for his good” (*Titus Andronicus* 1.1.462-464). Tamora claims veneration because she wishes to advise Saturninus for his “good.” She holds herself out as his moral compass. She creates for herself an ethical character full of wisdom and mercy. Not only is Tamora a handmaid for Saturninus’s desires, but she influences his judgment. The Romans have taken Tamora as a prisoner, and now she is the most powerful woman in the empire. She uses this power to demand that the Andronicus family beg for pardon. Tamora also asks the Andronicus family to kneel before her and Saturninus. She says, “By my advice, all humbled on your knees, / You shall ask pardon of his majesty” (*Titus Andronicus* 1.1.472-473). Lucius responds, “We do, and vow to heaven and to his highness / that what we did was mildly as we might” (*Titus Andronicus* 1.1.474-475). The Andronicus family then kneels before Saturninus and makes a vow to both the gods and Saturninus. Tamora claims veneration for herself through the honor they give to her husband. The name Saturninus is important here. Saturninus’s name comes from Saturn, the Latin name for Kronos, the father of Zeus and the grandfather of Artemis. Kronos’s relationship to Artemis can illuminate aspects of Saturninus’s relationship to Tamora. Like a Roman *pater familias*, Saturninus treats Tamora like a possession, and he has control over her life and well-being. She is his Artemis, who outshines all of the nymphs. Saturninus is forgetting the ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ of Artemis, to whom he has compared Tamora, thinking of his wife within the confines of a grandfather-granddaughter power dynamic. He ignores that Tamora is his equal in terms of intelligence. Like Artemis, Tamora is ready to be his rival in the masculine activity of governing.

Aaron appears to understand Tamora's ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ more correctly. He compares her in Act II to two prominent male gods in Greek mythology, Zeus and Apollo. In his speech at the beginning of Act II, Aaron says:

Now climbeth Tamora Olympus' top,
 Safe out of Fortune's shot, and sits aloft,
 Secure of thunder's crack or lightning flash,
 Advanced above pale Envy's threat'ning reach.
 As when the golden sun salutes the morn
 And, having gilt the ocean with his beams,
 Gallops the zodiac in his glistening coach
 And overlooks the highest-peering hills,
 So Tamora (*Titus Andronicus* 2.1.1-9).

Aaron says that Tamora climbs to the top of Mount Olympus and is safe from thunder and lightning. Zeus, the king who rules on Mount Olympus, is the god of thunder and lightning. He is called νεφεληγερέτα, "cloud-gatherer" (*Od.* 1.63), ἀργικέραυνος, "of the dazzling bolt" (*Il.* 19.121), ἐρίγδουπος, "loud-thundering" (*Od.* 8.465), and τερπικέραυνος, "delighting in thunder" (*Od.* 7.164). To Aaron, Tamora is Zeus. She has gone from Artemis, a daughter, to Zeus, a father.

After comparing Tamora to Zeus in lines 1-4, Aaron compares her to the sun. Aaron describes the sun with the masculine possessive pronoun "his." In Greek mythology, the sun was associated with either the god Helios or the god Apollo. The earliest attestations of Helios and the chariot of the sun are in the *Iliad*¹² and the *Homeric Hymn to Helios*¹³ (Gantz 30). Aaron could have compared her to Eos, the goddess of dawn. Aaron may be making a conscious choice to compare Tamora to a god instead of a goddess. Eos, the sister of Helios, would have been appropriate for a sun metaphor. Eos is "rather more active in the romantic sphere," and "Homer mentions several of her amours, including Orion, of whose favored status the gods were jealous

¹² *Il.* 8.86

¹³ *Homeric Hymn to Helios* 9-15.

until Artemis slew him on Ortygia (*Od.* 5.121-124: cf. *ApB* 1.4.5), and Kleitos, grandson of Melampous, whom she snatched away to live among the gods because of his beauty (*Od.* 15.249-251)” (Gantz 36). The description in the *Homeric Hymn to Helios* where Helios rides a golden chariot across the sky resembles the metaphor Aaron uses to describe Tamora. *The Homeric Hymns* were not familiar to Shakespeare, so they could not have been the inspiration for this passage. Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* would have been circulating in early modern England and is a more likely direct influence. Aaron’s description of Tamora resembles this depiction of Helios. In Book II of the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid describes the sun’s chariot as:

That high chariot, the work of Vulcan. Its axle was of gold, the pole of gold; its wheels had golden tyres and a ring of silver spokes. Along the yoke chrysolites and jewels set in fair array gave back their bright glow to the reflected rays of Phoebus.

Vulcania munera, currus.
Aureus axis erat, temo aureus, aurea summae
curvatura rotae, radiorum argenteus ordo;
per iuga chrysolithi positaeque ex ordine gemmae
clara repercusso reddebant lumina Phoebus (*Met.* 2.104-110¹⁴).

Ovid calls the god of the sun Phoebus, as we have seen, which is a name for Artemis’s brother, Apollo. This is a contrast from Saturninus’s comparison of Tamora to Artemis, a moon goddess. This parallels Aaron having chosen to compare Tamora to the masculine sun and not the feminine dawn, his sister. Tamora, with her ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ, intertwines qualities of both siblings. In addition, both siblings are forever young: Artemis is a maiden and Apollo an ephebe. While it makes sense for Saturninus to see Tamora as a young girl since she is his wife and therefore property, Aaron suddenly and oddly switches his perception of Tamora from a stern, kingly figure to a young man. Not only does Tamora possess an ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ, but also her

¹⁴ Tr. Miller and Goold (1984).

masculine qualities range from a boy's to a man's. The two different ages may reflect two different power dynamics within the relationship between Aaron and Tamora. Tamora switches from being Zeus, the mature king in charge, to Apollo, the younger man who is at the age when people fall in love and have their first sexual experiences. Aaron does not settle for one vision of Tamora. He cannot decide whether to describe Tamora as his king or a beautiful ephebe to whom he has a same-sex attraction.

The description of the chariot of the sun is followed by another allusion to Zeus. Aaron addresses himself:

Then, Aaron, arm thy heart and fit thy thoughts
 To mount aloft with thy imperial mistress,
 And mount her pitch whom thou in triumph long
 Hast prisoner held, fettered in amorous chains
 And faster bound to Aaron's charming eyes
 Than is Prometheus tied to Caucasus" (*Titus Andronicus* 2.1.12-17).

Tamora is now both Zeus, Aaron's "imperial mistress" who dwells "aloft," and Prometheus, chained as a prisoner on a mountain top. Prometheus is a divinity in Greek mythology who was punished because he betrayed Zeus by stealing fire from the gods in order to help humankind (*Theog.* 565-567). The power dynamic between Aaron and Tamora is erotic: Aaron's love for Tamora dominates and imprisons her. The name Prometheus is interpreted by Hesiod as "forethought" (West 1966, 309). Aaron is so obsessed with Tamora that he becomes engaged in her revenge plot. Aaron is the one who first brings up the idea of Chiron and Demetrius raping Lavinia. When Demetrius expresses his love for Lavinia, Aaron responds "Why then, it seems some certain snatch or so / would serve your turns" (*Titus Andronicus* 2.1.96-97). However, Tamora gives the command. She tells Lavinia to "let them [Chiron and Demetrius] satisfy their

lust on thee” (*Titus Andronicus* 2.3.180). Tamora is now Aaron’s forethought. He is thinking with her in mind.

Aaron also compares Tamora to female figures from history and mythology who hold power through masculine traits, thus revealing Tamora’s ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ. When Aaron reflects on Tamora’s marriage to Saturninus, Aaron calls her “this goddess, this Semiramis, this nymph / this siren, that will charm Rome’s Saturnine, / and see his shipwreck and his commonweal’s” (*Titus Andronicus* 2.1.20-23). He likens her to feminine figures from history and mythology. The word νύμφη means bride or young wife as well as nymph. Aaron is seeing Tamora as a bride of Saturninus. In addition, the goddess Artemis is surrounded by nymphs. She specifically asks her father for Oceanids, the nymph daughters of the god Oceanus, to be her hunting companions (*Hymns* 3.13). Aaron recalls Saturninus’s comparison of Tamora to Artemis. Now that Tamora is married to Saturninus, Aaron uses Saturninus’s imagery for her. Saturninus misunderstands Artemis as merely a daughter or granddaughter, but Aaron acknowledges that Tamora resembles a fiercely intelligent and dangerous figure. Semiramis was an Assyrian queen known for her beauty, military conquests, and lust (Waith 107). In Greek memory, Ninus, the king of the Assyrians, married her because of her godlike beauty, “and since the other qualities of Semiramis were in keeping with the beauty of her countenance, it turned out that her husband became completely enslaved by her, and since he would do nothing without her advice he prospered in everything” (τῆς δὲ Σεμιράμιδος ἐχούσης καὶ τᾶλλα ἀκόλουθα τῆι περὶ τὴν ὄψιν εὐπρεπείαι, συνέβαινε τὸν ἄνδρα τελέως ὑπ’ αὐτῆς δεδουλωθῆναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνης γνώμης πράττοντα κατευστοχεῖν ἐν πᾶσι, *Diod. Sic.* 2.5¹⁵). Semiramis then helped Ninus conquer Bactria. Like Ninus, Saturninus is enslaved by Tamora’s beauty and judgment.

¹⁵ Tr. Oldfather (1933)

By having married Saturninus, the Roman emperor, Tamora is about to conquer Rome. Aaron notes Tamora's capabilities of conquest by comparing her to Semiramis. This comparison to Semiramis, another woman with an ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ, foreshadows Tamora's place in Rome's politics and her influence over Saturninus.

Aaron takes his comparison even further by calling Tamora a siren. In the *Odyssey*, the sirens were female monsters who lured sailors with their beautiful singing so that they would crash their ships (*Od.* 12.158-183). Early Christian writers interpreted the sirens as temptations. In Clement of Alexandria's version of the *Odyssey* myth, he wrote,

Sail past the song; it works death. Only resolve, and you have vanquished destruction; bound to the wood of the cross you will live freed from all corruption. The Word of God will be your pilot and the Holy Spirit will bring you to anchor in the harbors of heaven.

παράπλει τὴν ᾠδήν, θάνατον ἐργάζεται· ἐὰν ἐθέλῃς μόνον, νενίκηκας τὴν ἀπώλειαν καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ προσδεδεμένος ἀπάσης ἔσῃ τῆς φθορᾶς λελυμένος, κυβερνήσει σε ὁ λόγος ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ, κὰν τοῖς λιμέσι καθορμίσει τῶν οὐρανῶν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, (*Exhortation of the Greeks* 12.18¹⁶).

The idea of Odysseus strapped to the mast of his ship as an allegory for Christ on the cross, as well as the idea of the sirens representing the lusts of the flesh, had a lingering effect in art and literature all the way to the early modern period (Goodman 257). Tamora is lusted after by Aaron and Saturninus. She has seduced Saturninus and becomes his wife. He is enthralled by his lust for Tamora, which allows her to rule Saturninus and therefore rule Rome. Yet, she keeps up her affair with Aaron. This leads to the downfall of Saturninus. Like Clytemnestra murdering Agamemnon, Saturninus's unfaithful wife will undo him.

In the second scene of Act II, the Andronicus family goes hunting with Saturninus and Tamora. This happens early in the morning. Titus greets Saturninus and says, "I promised your

¹⁶ Adapted from Butterworth's translation (1919)

grace a hunter's peal," to which Saturninus replies, "And you have rung it lustily, my lords / Somewhat too early for new-married ladies" (*Titus Andronicus*, 2.2.12-14). The hunter's peal is the horn-blowing to cause the barking of the hunting dogs. Saturninus uses the word "lustily" to describe how Titus and his attendants have rung it. This may have erotic overtones, since Saturninus thinks that Titus could be attracted to Tamora, and he sees that this could be a potential threat. Saturninus calls Tamora a new-married lady alongside Lavinia. This is not Tamora's first marriage. She is not a young virgin, like Lavinia, but Saturninus prefers to see her this way. This could be a reference to Queen Elizabeth I, who was depicted as a virgin well into her old age. However, I propose that the combination of hunting as well as Saturninus's viewing of Tamora as a young virgin is yet another reference to the goddess Artemis. Saturninus even says to Tamora, "Come on, then; horse and chariots let us have, / And to our sport. Madam, now shall ye see / Our Roman hunting" (*Titus Andronicus* 2.2.18-20). He is showing Tamora how to hunt like a Roman. His patronizing tone is like Zeus giving Artemis her bow and arrows in the *Hymn to Artemis* (*Hymns* 3.8-9). Saturninus is perpetuating his own idea of being a paternal figure to Tamora.

After the hunt, only Aaron and Tamora take the stage. Tamora says:

And after conflict such as was supposed
 The wand'ring prince and Dido once enjoyed,
 When with a happy storm they were surprised,
 And curtained with a counsel-keeping cave,
 Our passtimes done, possess a golden slumber,
 While hounds and horns and sweet melodious birds
 Be unto us as is a nurse's song
 Of lullaby, to bring her babe asleep (*Titus Andronicus* 2.3.21-29).

Tamora compares herself and Aaron to Dido and Aeneas. In *Aeneid* Book IV, Dido and Aeneas have sex in a cave after going hunting (*Aen.* 4.129-172). Tamora does not state explicitly who is

Dido and who is Aeneas in this relationship. I propose that Aaron more closely resembles Dido because he is North African, while Tamora resembles Aeneas because, like Aeneas, she has just left a fallen kingdom and has found herself in Italy. She will establish a dynasty of Roman emperors, just like Aeneas is prophesized to do in *Aeneid* Book I (*Aen.* 1.5-7). Aaron then responds, “Madam, though Venus govern your desires, / Saturn is dominator over mine” (*Titus Andronicus* 2.3.30-31). Venus, the Roman goddess of love and sexuality, is also the mother of Aeneas. She influences Tamora and her decisions, but Saturn influences Aaron. Here, Saturn does not refer to Saturninus. Waith explains “Saturnine men, according to Elizabethan astrologists, are melancholy and ‘will never forgive till they be revenged (*Kalendar of Shepherds* pp. 141-142)” (Shakespeare 2008, 115). Aaron is influenced by revenge, specifically by the god Saturn, who castrated his own father in the succession myth (*Theog.* 173-183). Ironically, Aaron and Tamora’s relationship is emasculating for Saturninus, who views himself as the grandfather as well as her husband.

Aaron then reveals that “this is the day of doom for Bassianus” (*Titus Andronicus* 2.3.42). When Bassianus and Lavinia come into the forest, Aaron exits in order to retrieve Tamora’s sons. Bassianus, seeing Tamora alone, says:

Who have we here? Rome’s royal Empress,
 Unfurnished of her well-beseeming troop?
 Or is it Dian, habited like her,
 Who hath abandoned her holy groves
 To see the general hunting in this forest? (*Titus Andronicus* 2.3.56-58).

Bassianus compares Tamora to Diana, the Latin name for Artemis. Like Saturninus, he does not seem to understand how dangerous the goddess Artemis is. Tamora responds,

Saucy controller of my private steps,
 Had I the power that some say Dian had,
 Thy temples should be planted presently

With horns, as was Actaeon's, and the hounds
Should drive upon their new-transformed limbs,
Unmannerly intruder as thou art! (*Titus Andronicus* 2.3.60-66).

Tamora's speech references Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, when Artemis transforms Actaeon into a deer so that he can be torn apart by his own dogs because he saw her bathing (*Met.* 3.165-252).

This foreshadows that Bassianus will soon be killed. Lavinia then adds:

Under your patience, gentle Empress,
'Tis thought you have a goodly gift in horning,
And to be doubted that your Moor and you
Are singled forth to try thy experiments.
Jove shield your husband from his hounds today!
'Tis pity they should take him for a stag (*Titus Andronicus* 2.3.66-71).

Lavinia believes that Saturninus is Tamora's Actaeon, and that she and Aaron are plotting to kill Saturninus tonight. Even though she misunderstands who is about to be murdered, she does understand that Artemis is not a young maiden who is meant to be patronized, but a dangerous, violent goddess. She therefore understands the ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ of Tamora.

After this encounter, Demetrius kills Bassianus, and then he and Chiron rape Lavinia. They also cut off Lavinia's hands and her tongue. Upon seeing Lavinia, Titus notes "'Tis well, Lavinia, that thou hast no hands, / For hands to do Rome service is but vain" (*Titus Andronicus* 3.1.97-80). The stumps on Lavinia's arms resemble hooves, as Artemis gave Actaeon feet in place of hands (*Met.* 3.195). In the *Metamorphoses*, Artemis tells Actaeon, "Now you are free to tell that you have seen me all unrobed—if you can tell" (nunc tibi meposito visam velamine narres, / sit poteris narrare, licet, *Met.* 3.192-193). Then, Artemis transforms Actaeon into a deer.

Ovid's narrative thus continues:

No more than this she spoke; but on the head which she had sprinkled she caused to grow the horns of the long-lived stag, stretched out his neck, sharpened his ear-tips, gave feet in place of hands, changed his arms into long legs, and clothed his body with a spotted hide. And last of all she planted fear within his heart. Away in

flight goes Autoonoe's heroic son, marvelling to find himself so swift of foot. But when he sees his features and his horns in a clear pool, "Oh, woe is me!" he tries to say; but no words come. He groans—the only speech he has—and tears course down his changeling cheeks.

Nec plura minata
 dat sparso capiti vivacis cornua cervi,
 dat spatium collo summasque cacuminat aures,
 cum pedibusque manus, cum longis bracchia mutat
 cruribus et velat maculoso vellere corpus
 additus et pavor est: fugit Autoonoeius heros
 et se tam celerem cursu miratur in ipso.
 ut vero vultus et cornua vidit in unda,
 "me miserum!" dicturus erat: vox nulla secuta est!
 ingemuit: vox illa fuit, lacrimaeque per ora
 non sua fluxerunt; (*Met.* 3.193-203¹⁷).

A key aspect of Actaeon's transformation into a deer is the loss of his voice (*Met.* 3.201-203). Of Lavinia's inability to talk, Marcus says,

"O, that delightful engine of her thoughts,
 That blabbed them with such pleasing eloquence
 Is torn from forth that pretty hollow cage,
 Where like a sweet melodious bird it sung
 Sweet varied notes, enchanting every ear" (*Titus Andronicus* 3.1.82-86).

Lavinia has become Tamora's Actaeon. Marcus then uses hunting imagery to describe how he found Lavinia:

"O, thus I found her straying in the park,
 Seeking to hide herself as doth the deer
 That hath received some unrecurring wound" (*Titus Andronicus* 3.1.88-90).

The idea of Lavinia wandering alone and hiding herself would have been deliberately sensational to grip the original audience's attention and draws on Seneca's *Thyestes*, which was performed in Latin in the Elizabethan period (*Thyestes* 623-788), I propose that Lavinia's rape and mutilation is proof of Tamora's revenge on the Andronici. As

¹⁷ Tr. Miller and Goold (1984).

established in Chapter One, taking revenge is something which Homeric heroes do and therefore a traditionally masculine action. Tamora's vengeance has transformed Lavinia into a deer similarly to Artemis's vengeance transforming Actaeon.

Conclusion

In Act IV of *Titus Andronicus*, Titus's grandson says, "I have read that Hecuba of Troy / Ran mad for sorrow" (*Titus Andronicus* 4.1.20-21). Early modern Europeans had a fascination with the character of Hecuba. She represented sorrow and empathy but also grief and fury (Pollard 13). Some associated her with the Virgin Mary (Pollard 2017, 13). Hecuba has been thought to be the likely classical inspiration for Tamora. However, Hecuba is only mentioned once in *Titus Andronicus*. She is mentioned within the context of Lavinia's rape, when the Andronicus family is trying to figure out what happened to Lavinia. At this point in the play, the Andronicus family does not know that Tamora was behind the rape of Lavinia. Titus's grandson does not compare Tamora to Hecuba, but instead says "My lord, I know not, I, nor can I guess, / Unless some fit or frenzy do possess her; / For I have heard my grandsire say full oft, / Extremity of griefs would make men mad" (*Titus Andronicus* 4.1.16-19). The grandson, who is just named "Boy" in the *dramatis personae*, is not talking about Tamora, but rather Lavinia. Lavinia is the one who is experience maddening grief.

Shakespeare could have mentioned Hecuba as a way of saying that Euripides's *Hecuba* was the inspiration for *Titus Andronicus*. Unlike several scholars, I do not think that Hecuba was the main inspiration for Tamora. Hecuba is an elderly woman, while Tamora is still of child-bearing age and very sensual. Tamora resembles Artemis more than Hecuba. Aaron, Bassianus,

and Saturninus compare her to Artemis. While Artemis is a virgin and Tamora is an empress and mother, Tamora has an ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ that can rival Artemis's. She too is dangerous.

Chapter Three: Sing Me a Song of a Lass That Is Gone
Lavinia, Cassandra, and Iphigenia as Storytellers and Stories

Introduction

Clytemnestra in the *Agamemnon* and Tamora in *Titus Andronicus* share tyrannical tendencies. Both Clytemnestra and Tamora have seized power, politically and socially, by unconventional means. They are the opposites of the young female characters in their plays, who have limited to no power or agency. This chapter will focus on Lavinia, Cassandra, and Iphigenia, their experiences with violence and sexual assault, and how they are able to communicate these acts of violence and sexual assault through stories. Thinking in terms of stories and storytelling can help illuminate young female power and agency. I use the label storyteller for the young female characters who find a way to tell or relay a story. They narrate and describe what has happened to them, and they have agency as the communicator. I use the label story for the characters who remain just a description. In narratological terms, the storyteller is the tertiary narrator, and the story is embedded narrative. An example of this is in *Odyssey* I, when the bard tells the story of the Greek soldiers going home (*Od.* 1.325-327). The bard, already a character in the *Odyssey*, is telling the story-within-the-story. The Greek soldiers are the story since they are the subject about whom the bard is telling. Lavinia, Cassandra, and Iphigenia do not narrate the main story but a tale within a tale (de Jong 26-35). Lavinia, Cassandra, and Iphigenia need to become both the story and the storyteller in order to have power and agency.

Lavinia illustrates these concepts well. As a storyteller, she uses Ovid's account of the Greek myth of Philomela to communicate the story of her own rape and mutilation by Chiron and Demetrius. As both the story and the storyteller, she is successful in communicating to her family. Philomela is also an aspirational figure for Lavinia because Philomela takes revenge on her rapist. While Titus believes Lavinia, he compares Lavinia not to Philomela but to Lucretia and Virginia, thus reducing his daughter from both a story and storyteller to just a story. Then, he kills her.

Cassandra and Iphigenia cannot be heard or believed. In the case of Cassandra, she tries to tell her story by predicting her own death, but she is not believed by the chorus of old men. Cassandra is just a storyteller because she is a voice whose narrative the chorus ignores. She has the potential to have agency in her situation, but she cannot control her future. Iphigenia is only named twice in the entire *Agamemnon*. She had to die for the events of the play to occur.

Part One: Lavinia, Philomela, and Lucretia

In Act IV Scene I of *Titus Andronicus*, Marcus and Titus mention four female figures from classical literature: Cornelia, Hecuba, Philomela, and Lucretia. Cornelia is the mother of the Gracchi brothers, and Hecuba is the mother of Hector. I will focus on Philomela and Lucretia, because they are both young women who are not yet mothers, like Lavinia in *Titus Andronicus*. Philomela and Lucretia are significant to Lavinia's character arc. Lavinia wants to be like Philomela and take revenge on her rapists, but her father wants her to be like Lucretia, whom he sees as the model dutiful Roman woman.

Lavinia is made voiceless by Chiron and Demetrius. They have cut out her tongue so that she cannot speak, and they have cut off her hands so that she cannot write. Lavinia seems to have

no way of communicating to her family. This provides security for Chiron and Demetrius. If Lavinia cannot communicate, then no one will discover the crimes they have committed. This also gives Tamora the upper hand. If no one can discover what Chiron and Demetrius have done, Tamora has power over Lavinia because she cannot take revenge against Tamora. Tamora is wrong. Lavinia can successfully communicate that she has been raped and mutilated, and her father and uncle believe her. She uses the story of Philomela from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in order to be believed. As Lavinia turns over the copy of the *Metamorphoses* that her nephew has dropped, Titus says:

Soft, so busily she turns the leaves!"
 Help her; what would she find? Lavinia, shall I read?
 This is the tragic tale of Philomel,
 And treats of Tereus' treason and his rape;
 And rape, I fear, was the root of thy annoy (*Titus Andronicus* 4.1.45-49).

It is Marcus who discovers that Lavinia is using the book to communicate: "See, brother, see; note how she quotes the leaves" (*Titus Andronicus* 4.150). Titus summarizes the myth while he figures out what Lavinia is trying to say. He says:

Lavinia, wert thou thus surprised, sweet girl,
 Ravished and wronged as Philomela was,
 Forced in the ruthless, vast, and gloomy woods?
 See, see! Ay, such a place there is where we did hunt—
 O, had we never, never hunted there!—
 Patterned by that the poet here describes,
 By nature made for murders and rapes (*Titus Andronicus* 4.1.53-59).

Lavinia sees herself as Philomela and the pages of the *Metamorphoses* as Philomela's tapestry. Philomela wove a tapestry to describe her rape and mutilation, and Lavinia uses the same story to relay what Chiron and Demetrius had done to her. By flipping through her nephew's copy of the *Metamorphoses*, Lavinia simultaneously takes on the roles of the story and storyteller. She is the storyteller because she finds a way to communicate to her father and uncle, and she is the

story because she is the victim of violence and sexual assault like Philomela in the *Metamorphoses*.

Titus reframes the story of Lavinia by referencing another figure from classical mythology whose story ends differently from Philomela's. After Lavinia flips through the pages of the *Metamorphoses*, Titus tells her:

Give signs, sweet girl, for here are none but friends,
 What Roman lord it was durst do the deed.
 Or slunk not Saturnine, as Tarquin erst,
 That left the camp to sin in Lucrece's bed? (*Titus Andronicus* 4.1.60-63).

Titus wants to be certain that Saturninus was not the man who raped and mutilated Lavinia. He uses the story of Lucretia to ask this question. In Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, Lucretia is a Roman maiden of aristocratic birth, like Lavinia. The Roman king's son Sextus Tarquinius, or simply Tarquin, is "seized with a wicked desire to debauch Lucretia by force; not only her beauty, but her proved chastity as well, provoke[s] him" (ibi Sex. Tarquinius mala libido Lucretiae per vim stuprandae capit, cum forma tum spectata castitas incitat, Liv. 1.57). The following night, "drawing his sword, he [comes] to the sleeping Lucretia. Holding the woman down with his left hand on her breast, he [says], 'Be still, Lucretia! I am Sextus Tarquinius. My sword is in my hand. Utter a sound, and you die!'" (stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit sinistraque manu mulieris pectore oppresso "Tace, Lucretia," inquit; "Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est; moriere, si emiseris vocem," Liv. 1.58). Sextus Tarquinius silences Lucretia before he rapes her, but Lucretia still tells her father and husband what Tarquin had done to her. She says, "my body only has been violated; my heart is guiltless, as death shall be my witness," and then "taking a knife which she had concealed beneath her dress, she plunge[s] it into her heart, and sinking forward upon the wound, die[s] as she [falls], "ceterum corpus est tantum violatum, animus insons; mors testis erit... Cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit

prolapsaque in vulnus moribunda cecidit, Liv. 1.58). Even though Lucretia dies on her own terms, she dies because she has spoken. Tarquin had taken her voice and her life. By admitting that something has happened, she is confirming that she has been assaulted. Lucretia is both the storyteller and the story in this situation, since she is communicating what has been done to her through telling the story of her rape. However, Lucretia believes that, if she tells her father and husband that she has been raped, she is confirming that she, in her own eyes, is no longer chaste. Even though she has some agency in this situation, Lucretia uses it to kill herself.

Titus wants Lavinia to be like Lucretia. Lucretia has an idea that she has been defiled and is guiltless, so she dies by suicide. Titus wants his daughter to take her own life so that neither he nor she will have to live in shame. Karen Bamford points out that, in Livy's account of Lucretia, "male valor triumphs over tyranny" (Bamford 63). Lavinia was raped on Tamora's command, so Tamora is the tyrant over whom Titus must triumph, but Lavinia is his Lucretia who does not want to die. His Lucretia wants to be a Philomela, who takes revenge on her rapist.

Part Two: Lavinia and Virginia

In Act V of *Titus Andronicus*, Titus tells the story of Virginia, another young woman from classical mythology. Virginia appears in Book III of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*. Virginia, the daughter of the centurion Lucius Virginius, was raped by Appius Claudius, a Roman senator. In *Ab Urbe Condita*, Virginia appears in only one sentence as the subject of a passive verb.¹⁸ She has no agency in this myth because she is not the storyteller but only the story. Bamford calls *Titus Andronicus* Shakespeare's "Virginia" play, since "the heroine's rape and death have a political rather than a religious significance" (Bamford 64). In Titus's mind, Lavinia is already

¹⁸ Liv. 3.46

dead as a result of being raped, even though she is still alive. When Marcus brings Lavinia to Titus, he tells him “This was thy daughter” (*Titus Andronicus* 3.1.63). Marcus uses the past tense when presenting Lavinia, with her tongue cut out and her hands cut off, to Titus. Titus then asks Lavinia, “what accursed hand / Hath made thee handless in thy father’s sight?” (*Titus Andronicus* 3.1.66-67). This question “signals [Titus’s] appropriation of his daughter’s suffering” that he believes “her wounds are primarily significant as an image of his grief, a map of his woe” (Bamford 65). Lavinia, with neither tongue nor hands, becomes a grotesque and shameful figure for Titus, thus representing his own shame. His embarrassment and shame deny Lavinia any power or agency in taking revenge on Chiron and Demetrius. It is Titus who speaks for Lavinia in Act V, and he changes Lavinia’s story. Even though she found her voice by communicating through the *Metamorphoses*, her father takes away her voice by telling the story of Virginia. Lavinia’s rapists do not take away her voice and ability to communicate, but her father’s shame does.

In Act V Scene III, Titus and Lavinia enter Saturninus’s dining room with Titus dressed as a cook and Lavinia covered by a veil. Titus says to Saturninus, before he feeds him and Tamora the flesh of Chiron and Demetrius, “My lord the Emperor, resolve me this: / Was it well done of rash Virginius / To slay his daughter with his own right hand, / Because she was enforced, stained, and deflowered?” (*Titus Andronicus* 5.3.35-38). Saturninus replies, “Because the girl should not survive her shame, / And by her presence still renew his sorrows” (*Titus Andronicus* 5.3.40-41). This is a reference to the story of Virginia in the third chapter of Livy’s *Ab Urbe Condita* (Liv. 3.44-58). Titus uses the story of Virginia to tell Saturninus that Tamora’s son raped and mutilated his daughter. Titus says:

A reason mighty, strong, and effectual;
A pattern, precedent, and lively warrant

For me, most wretched, to perform the like.
 Die, die, Lavinia, and thy shame with thee,
 And with thy shame thy father's sorrow die (*Titus Andronicus* 5.3.43-47).

Like Virginius, Titus murders his daughter with his right hand, since Titus no longer has a left hand. Also, like Virginius, Titus murders his daughter to end his shame. Titus takes away Lavinia's agency as the storyteller when he tells the myth of Virginia to Saturninus before he murders Lavinia. Since Titus had taken on Lavinia's pain as his own, she had become his story. Titus, the storyteller, ended Lavinia's story in order to end his own pain and shame. Bamford points out that "the death of a sexually threatened/violated female becomes instrumental in liberating her communicating" and "in contrast to the martial heroism of the avenging males, the role of the female is primarily sacrificial" (Bamford 61). Lavinia is significant because she releases Titus from both his shame and his desire for revenge against Tamora. Lavinia had become a symbol of Tamora's tyranny because she abused her power as empress and commanded her sons to rape and mutilate Lavinia. By killing Lavinia, Titus is triumphing over Tamora's tyranny.

Part Three: Cassandra

In the *Agamemnon*, Cassandra is initially presented as a mute character. She waits on Agamemnon's chariot, and she does not respond to Clytemnestra when she asks her a question. When Cassandra finally speaks, she "bursts into utterance" (Raeburn and Thomas 180). "Cassandra expresses herself in a combination of sung lyrics, mainly in the jerky dochmiac rhythm, and a few spoken iambic trimeters, while the Coryphaeus [chorus leader] speaks more measured responses in iambic couplets" (Raeburn and Thomas 180). Cassandra's speech seems purposefully chaotic and difficult to understand. The chorus's "inability to comprehend

Cassandra may seem strange,” but their inability to understand her “generates sustained dramatic irony, as the audience understands Cassandra’s words better than the chorus” (Raeburn and Thomas 181).

Cassandra takes on the role of the messenger in the *Agamemnon*. “A messenger enters the stage, often in a hurry or in great agitation, blurts out his news, and is then asked by the chorus and/or one of the protagonists to recount what has happened in greater detail” (de Jong 198). Often, the messenger describes acts of violence and murder that are occurring offstage, since “murder could not be depicted on stage because it was associated with *miasma*¹⁹ in Greek society and Attic drama was performed in a religious context (at the Great Dionysia), but messengers could recount it” (de Jong 199). Cassandra recounts the murder of Agamemnon and predicts her own murder. de Jong points out that messengers are typically “of low social status (servants, herdsmen, sailors) who do not play a role in the action of the play itself but whose sole function is to act as messenger” (de Jong 199). Cassandra, although born a princess, is now enslaved after the sack of Troy. By being the messenger, Cassandra can be both the story and the storyteller. She can be the story because she tells the chorus about her own death, and she can be the storyteller because she is the one speaking. Even though Cassandra functions as the messenger in the *Agamemnon* and is therefore both the story and the storyteller, she fails at being the story. The gods cursed Cassandra so that her prophecies have no credibility. She is just a storyteller.

Cassandra first appears on stage with Agamemnon, yet she does not speak until Agamemnon enters the palace. Cassandra is paraded to Mycenae on the chariot that bears Agamemnon’s spoils of war. He says, “No one chooses / the yoke of slavery, not of one’s free will— / and she least of all. The gift of the armies, / flower and pride of all the wealth we won, /

¹⁹ Μίαισμα: stain, defilement (LSJ)

she follows me from Troy” (ἐκὼν γὰρ οὐδεὶς δουλίῳι χρῆται ζυγῶι· / αὕτη δέ, πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐξάριετον / ἄνθος, στρατοῦ δῶρημ’ ἐμοὶ ξυνέσπετο, Ag. 953-955). The word ζυγόν is translated as yoke, but as Rush Rehm points out, “Cassandra is not simply yoked to slavery, for, as Agamemnon admits, she is his ‘select flower,’ a familiar trope for a Greek bride” (Rehm 44). Agamemnon’s enslavement of Cassandra uses images from an Athenian wedding, similarly to Agamemnon’s entrance into the palace, as discussed in Chapter One. In this instance, Agamemnon is the groom and Cassandra is the bride. Cassandra’s “entrance with Agamemnon in his cart resembles the journey a bride and groom take to their new home” (Rehm 44). The fanfare which Agamemnon gives his sex-slave is like a wedding. Cassandra is a young woman of royal birth. She can be molded into Agamemnon’s ideal wife. Cassandra is the replacement for Clytemnestra.

Clytemnestra offers hospitality to Cassandra. She says “won’t you come inside? I mean you, Cassandra. / Zeus in all his mercy wants you to share / some victory libations with the home” (εἴσω κομίζου καὶ σύ, Κασάνδραν λέγω, / ἐπεὶ σ’ ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀμηνίτως δόμοις / κοινωνὸν εἶναι χερνίβων, Ag. 1035-1037). While this appears as Clytemnestra obeying the rules of ξενία, which is ritualized guest-friendship and a bond of trust, she adds that “the slaves are flocking” and that Cassandra must “lead them up to the altar of the god who guards [her] dearest treasures” (...πολλῶν μέτα / δούλων σταθεῖσαν κτησίου βωμοῦ πέλας, Ag. 1037-1038). When Clytemnestra tells Cassandra to lead the slaves to the altar, she means that Cassandra is to be the sacrificial victim. This foreshadows that Clytemnestra will murder Cassandra. Cassandra refuses Clytemnestra by keeping silent. The leader of the chorus compares Cassandra to a “wild creature, fresh caught” (τρόπος δὲ θηρὸς ὡς νεαιρέτου, Ag.1063). Cassandra is not even human to Clytemnestra. She is compared to a wild animal having been captured. Similarly, Marcus

compares Lavinia to a wild deer in *Titus Andronicus*, after Chiron and Demetrius take away her voice. These similarities matter because Cassandra is another voiceless young woman. Cassandra is the opposite of Clytemnestra. Since she cannot be believed, she has no power nor agency.

In addition, Cassandra alludes to the myth of Philomela, like Lavinia. Cassandra cries:

The nightingale—O for a song, a fate like hers!
 The gods gave her a life of ease, swathed in her wings,
 no tears, no wailing. The knife waits for me.
 They'll splay me on the iron's double edge

ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας βίος ἀηδόνοσ·
 περέβαλον γάρ οἱ πτεροφόρον δέμασ
 θεοὶ γλυκύν τ' αἰῶνα κλαυμάτων ἄτερ·
 ἐμοὶ δὲ σχιμὸς ἀμφήκει δορί (Ag. 1146-1149).

The nightingale is the bird into which Philomela transforms. This makes Cassandra envious of Philomela. She does not die after being raped and mutilated, but she gets her revenge and lives on as a nightingale. Cassandra can foresee that Clytemnestra will murder her once she enters the house. Since her sister, Procne, was able to believe her from the tapestry which she had woven, Philomela was able to avenge herself by punishing Tereus. The gods protected Philomela. Philomela does not die, but she gets to live a new life. Philomela is rewarded by the gods for being the story and the storyteller. Cassandra, however, is cursed by the gods with the gift of prophesy.

Clytemnestra becomes frustrated with Cassandra, so she leaves her with the chorus of old men. She tells the story of how she received the gift of prophesy:

CASSANDRA. Apollo the Prophet / introduced me to his gift.
 LEADER. A *god*—and moved with love?
 CASSANDRA. I was ashamed to tell this once, / but now...
 LEADER. We spoil ourselves with scruples, / long as things go well.
 CASSANDRA. He came like a wrestler, / magnificent, took me down and
 breathed his fire / through me and—
 LEADER. You bore him a child?
 CASSANDRA. I yielded, / then at the climax I recoiled—I deceived Apollo!

μάντις μ' Απόλλων τῶιδ' ἐπέστησεν τέλει.
 μῶν καὶ θεός περ ἰμέρωι πεπληγμένος;
 πρὸ τοῦ μὲν αἰδῶς ἦν ἐμοὶ λέγειν τάδε.
 βρύνεται γὰρ πᾶς τις εὖ πράσσων πλέον.
 ἀλλ' ἦν παλαιστῆς κάρτ' ἐμοὶ πνέων χάριν.
 ἦ καὶ τέκνων εἰς ἔργον ἠλθέτην ὁμοῦ;
 ξυναινέσασα Λοξίαν ἐψευσάμην (Ag. 1202-1208).

Cassandra's situation is the opposite of Lavinia's. Lavinia is raped and mutilated, but she finds a way to tell her family what has happened to her through Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Cassandra refuses Apollo's sexual advances, and Apollo punishes her. Cassandra tells the chorus, "Once I betrayed him I could never be believed" (ἔπειθον οὐδέν' οὐδέν, ὡς τάδ' ἤμπλακον, Ag. 1212). By taking away her credibility, Apollo keeps Cassandra powerless. Since no one will believe her prophecies, no one will listen to her, and therefore her speech is ignored. The hinderance of her speech prevents her from gaining power and possibly seeking revenge against Apollo.

Cassandra's refusals of Clytemnestra and Apollo do not work in her favor. Apollo cursed her so that no one would ever believe what she prophesies. Cassandra predicted Agamemnon's death as well as her own, but the chorus of old men did not believe her. Cassandra did not follow Clytemnestra's command and enter the home. She did not obey Clytemnestra like a slave, and Clytemnestra viewed her as Agamemnon's new wife and therefore her competition. In Clytemnestra's mind, if Agamemnon took Cassandra as a wife, then he would be taking the kingship of Mycenae away from Clytemnestra. She does not fear Agamemnon's sexual preference for Cassandra, but the loss of power Cassandra may bring. Clytemnestra is engaging in a masculine rivalry with Cassandra. She kills Cassandra before she can reciprocate this rivalry. Cassandra's death shows her failure as a storyteller, since her story is not believed.

Part Four: Iphigenia

In the *Agamemnon*, Iphigenia never appears on stage. She is only mentioned by name twice in the entire play.²⁰ She is not a character in the play, but a story who looms over the decisions of the characters. She is just a story because she is a voiceless ghost.

There are parallels between the story of the eagles and the hare about which the chorus tells a story, and Iphigenia. The eagles “plung[e] their claws in a hare, a mother / bursting with unborn young—the babies spilling, / quick spurts of blood—cut off the race just dashing into life!” (φανέντες ἴκταρ μελάθρων χερὸς ἐκ δοριπάλτου / παμπρέπτοις ἐν ἔδραισιν, / βοσκόμενοι λαγίναν, ἐρικούμονα φέρματι γένναν, / βλαβέντα λοισθίων δρόμων, *Ag.* 117-120). The female hare dies, and her young are never given a chance to live. The chorus sees “pure Artemis bristle in pity—own victim...a woman / trembling young, all born to die” (...οἴκτωι γὰρ ἐπί/φθόνοσ Ἄρτεμις ἀγνὰ / πτανοῖσιν κυσὶ πατρὸς / αὐτότοκον πρὸ λόχου μογερὰν πτάκα θυομένοισιν / στυγεῖ δὲ δεῖπνον αἰετῶν, *Ag.* 134-138). The hare is a victim for the goddess Artemis, like Iphigenia. The chorus says that “Calchas cried, / ‘My captains, Artemis must have blood!’— / so harsh the sons of Atreus / dashed their scepters on the rocks / could not hold back tears” (...πρόμοισιν / μάντις ἐκλαγξεν προφέρων / Ἄρτεμιν, ὥστε χθόνα βὰκ/τροὺς ἐπικρούσαντας Ἀτρείδασ δάκρυ μὴ κατασχεῖν, *Ag.* 200-202). While Artemis takes pity on the hare, the Greek soldiers believe that this goddess needs blood in order for the winds to blow their ship across the Aegean Sea. Iphigenia is like the unborn hares. She is cut off from life before it can even begin.

Iphigenia is not a character in the *Agamemnon*. She does not appear on the stage nor speak to the audience. The chorus of old men relay her dialogue to the audience. She does not speak for herself. David Armstrong and Elizabeth Ratchford point out that Aeschylus uses silent

²⁰ *Ag.* 1526 and *Ag.* 1555

figures during points of great tension (Armstrong and Ratchford 6). “Iphigenia, though she appears only in the chorus's narration, is to be thought of as the counterpart of Cassandra, Niobe, or the Achilles of the last play of the Myrmidon tetralogy: the Aeschylean silent figure”

(Armstrong and Ratchford 6). Iphigenia represents great tension as:

Her father called his henchmen on,
 on with a prayer,
 “Hoist her over the altar
 like a yearling, give it all your strength!
 She’s fainting—lift her, but slip this trap in her gentile curving lips...
 here, gag her hard, a sound will curse the house”

φράσεν δ' ἄόζοις πατήρ μετ' εὐχάν
 δίκαν χιμαίρας ὑπερθε βωμοῦ
 πέπλοισι λαβεῖν ἀέρ-
 δην στόματός τε καλλιπρώι-
 ρου φυλακαῖ κατασχέειν
 φθόγγον ἀραῖον οἴκοις (Ag. 231-237).

Before sacrificing her, Agamemnon silences Iphigenia with a gag. Iphigenia has no way of relaying this violent act. It is the chorus of old men who tell her story years after she died.

Conclusion

Tamora and Clytemnestra feel justified in their revenge plots because they are acting on behalf of their murdered children. For Clytemnestra, her desire for vengeance makes her a tyrant. She takes control of Mycenae while Agamemnon fights in Troy, sends her son and the rightful heir to Phocis, and murders her husband to secure her reign. Tamora is able to take vengeance on the Andronici because of how the male characters around her view her. She is seen as a maidenly Artemis by Saturninus, and a violent Semiramis by Aaron. While the acts of vengeance by mothers are directed at men, the young female characters are the ones who face the consequences the most. They are victims of rape and brutal violence. Lavinia communicates nonverbally to her

family that Chiron and Demetrius have raped and mutilated her through the myth of Philomela, who was also raped and mutilated and could only tell her story nonverbally through a tapestry. Lavinia has agency by using the story of Philomela to communicate to her family as both the story and the storyteller, but her father instead compares her to Lucretia and Virginia, and he kills her out of shame. Cassandra attempts to communicate to the chorus of old men that Clytemnestra will kill her, but since she is cursed so that no one will believe her prophecies, she predicts her own death and walks right into it. Cassandra is only a storyteller since her prophecies hold no credibility for the chorus. Iphigenia does not communicate at all in the *Agamemnon*, since her story is told by the chorus of old men, and they cannot change what has happened in the past before the events of the play. Iphigenia is only a story.

Conclusion

Revenge and Motherhood

Clytemnestra and Tamora seek power to the point of tyranny befitting their ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ. Anton Bierl lists the following characteristics of a tyrant:

(1) Preoccupation with wealth, luxury, and money; (2) obsession with sex and desire; (3) kin-murder, endogamy, incest; (4) abuse of power, manipulation of politics and ritual; (5) mania, violence against, and elimination of, the people and of the tyrants own (aristocratic) fellows, and hybris ; (6) attempts to secure royal power through his own progeny; (7) unlimited rule, autarchy and autonomy from the divine; (8) corporeal deficiencies; and finally (9) the notorious fear of losing control of the state and enduring conspiracies (Bierl 531).

Clytemnestra and Tamora display various combinations of these characteristics. Both women are obsessed with sex and desire, Clytemnestra from her relationship with Aegisthus and Tamora from her relationship with Aaron. Clytemnestra murders her own husband and has an affair with his own cousin, which is somewhat incestuous. Tamora is violent against her aristocratic fellows by commanding Chiron and Demetrius to rape Lavinia because her father sacrificed her oldest son. Clytemnestra is also afraid of losing control of the state and fakes relief when Agamemnon returns to Mycenae to rule.

Clytemnestra has seized political power by ruling Mycenae during her husband's absence. She is also afraid of losing this political power. Anton Bierl proposes that, in the *Agamemnon*, Clytemnestra is “the female version of Oedipus in Sophocles's *Oedipus Tyrannus*” (Bierl 532). The account in Aeschylus differs from earlier Greek traditions, where Aegisthus is the one who murders Agamemnon. Clytemnestra “takes over the male avenging role and

painstakingly devises the terrible murder in the female bath, while Aegisthus remains a feeble male weakling in the background, eventually sharing the royal power as a ‘prince consort’” (Bierl 529). What Bierl calls Clytemnestra’s “male avenging role” is the culmination of her ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ. In Chapter One, I argued that Clytemnestra has an ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ because she is a female character following a male coming-of-age plotline. In addition, her seizing of political power in Mycenae goes against Greek gender roles. Ideally, Clytemnestra should not have been the one to rule on Agamemnon’s behalf. The kingship should have been passed onto Orestes. She tells Agamemnon, “And so / our child is gone, not standing by our side, / the bond of our dearest pledges, mine and yours; / by all rights our child should be here... / Orestes. You seem startled. / You needn’t be. Our loyal brother-in-arms / will take good care of him, Strophios the Phocian” (ἐκ τῶνδέ τοι παῖς ἐνθάδ’ οὐ παραστατεῖ, / ἐμῶν τε καὶ σῶν κύριος πιστωμάτων, / ὡς χρῆν, Ὀρέστης· μηδὲ θαυμάσις τόδε. / τρέφει γὰρ αὐτὸν εὐμενῆς δορύξενος, / Στροφίος ὁ Φωκεύς, *Ag.* 877-880). Clytemnestra sent away their only son so that her power could not be contested. Clytemnestra also seizes power through speech. As established in Chapter One, speech is a form of power. Homeric heroes often engage in lengthy dialogues. Telemachus addressing the suitors and silencing his mother is a sign of him maturing. His use of speech represents his transition from a boy into a man. Clytemnestra speaking up in front of the chorus of old men to announce the end of the Trojan War shows that she has also transitioned from a queen consort to a king (*Ag.* 264-268). She is not a βασίλεια, but a tyrant.

Tamora seizes power differently from Clytemnestra. She uses her sexuality to achieve power. Even though she has to marry Saturninus, the emperor of her enslavers, she uses her position as his wife to influence his decisions and seek revenge against the Andronici. Tamora abuses her position as queen consort. She is supposed to support Saturninus since she is his

queenly wife, but instead, she overpowers him by instigating violence against the Andronici. Tamora also finds freedom in her sexual relationship with Aaron. Tamora is Aaron's forethought, as established in Chapter Two. Many of the acts of violence and sexual violence committed in *Titus Andronicus* are instigated by Aaron with Tamora in his mind. Another indicator of power is the engagement in a rivalry. Rivalries are masculine pursuits. Clytemnestra engages in a rivalry against her husband, Agamemnon. Since he killed her daughter before the events of the play, Clytemnestra becomes his rival, which leads her to murdering him in the *Agamemnon*. Tamora engages in a rivalry against Titus. Titus sacrifices her oldest son, Alarbus, so Tamora commands her sons to rape and mutilate Titus's daughter, so Titus has her sons murdered. As tyrants, Clytemnestra and Tamora exercise power through combination of speech, overt sexuality, and masculine rivalry. These also reflect their ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ.

Lavinia, Cassandra, and Iphigenia do not possess these characteristics because their plays never allow them the opportunity to do so. They suffer violence as young women, and their lives are cut short. Cassandra lacks agency and is not believed by the chorus of old men. A failed storyteller, she willingly meets her death at the hand of Clytemnestra. Iphigenia never has a chance to speak. She was sacrificed before the events of the *Agamemnon* occur and becomes just a story that is told by the chorus, not herself. Lavinia comes closest to possessing some tyrannical characteristics, as she manages to retain some agency by communicating her sufferings to her family. She accompanies her father when he murders Chiron and Demetrius, but then he murders her out of shame. In *Titus Andronicus* and the *Agamemnon*, the silencing and killing of young women freezes them before they can reach maturity, seek revenge, or act on their own accounts.

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