



Sightseeing at Colonus: Oedipus, Ismene, and Antigone as *Theôroi* in Sophocles’ *Oedipus at Colonus*

This paper examines the appearance of *theôria* (sacred sightseeing) as metaphor in Sophocles’ *Oedipus at Colonus*. Once Oedipus arrives in Colonus, the local site on the outskirts of Athens becomes, in effect, theoric space, as travelers converge upon the site, drawn there to visit the old man, whose narrative is known to all Greeks. Oedipus, as panhellenic figure, serves simultaneously as spectacle and *theôros* (sightseer), attaining inner vision as he goes to his death at the end of the play. Oedipus offers salvation (*sôtêria*) to Athens within the logic of the play, but in order to confer benefits upon Athens, he requires the travel and vision of his daughters, Antigone and Ismene, who serve as supplementary *theôroi*. The essay concludes with a glance at outsiders-as-saviors in *Oedipus at Colonus* and beyond, with an emphasis on the contribution of female travelers to *sôtêria* in classical Athenian drama.

A significant motivation for travel in archaic and classical Greece, in addition to travel for reasons of commerce or war, was *theôria*, often translated “sacred sightseeing,” or “pilgrimage.”¹ *Theôroi*, “sacred spectators” or “religious sightseers,” might journey to witness a festival at a panhellenic site (e.g., the festivals at Olympia,

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1. See Rutherford 1995, 1998, 2000, 2004, and 2013; Dillon 1997; Ker 2000; Elsner and Rutherford 2005. For discussion of the use of the term pilgrimage to refer to *theôria*, see the introduction in Elsner and Rutherford 2005: 1–38. Scullion 2005 argues that the term and concept “pilgrimage” do not accurately capture Greek practice and should only be used with qualification. He suggests that sometimes viewing is not sacred, but rather gawking or sightseeing, pointing out, for example, that no translator refers to the highly sexualized character *Theôria* in Aristophanes’ *Peace* (discussed below) as Pilgrimage. Instead, she tends to be called Holiday or Showtime in translations

Nemea, Delphi, and the Isthmus), or to consult an oracle.² *Theôroi* might also travel to expand their worldview, as in the case of Solon, who famously left Athens “for the sake of *theôria*” (Herodotus 1.29–30.1; [Aristotle] *Ath. Pol.* 11.1) and traveled to Egypt and Sardis. Related to the sort of travel in which one voyaged to investigate foreign lands and cultures is the philosophical notion of *theôria* as “contemplation,” promulgated by Plato and Aristotle.³

From the itinerant sage (like Solon) to the official delegate representing the *polis* at a panhellenic site, the primary function of the *theôros* was to watch and observe—unfamiliar customs, foreign lands, sanctuaries, sacred spaces, and sacred buildings.⁴ In Euripides’ *Andromache*, for example, Neoptolemus arrives at Delphi as *theôros*, and he and his travel companions see the sights for several days before engaging with official theoric business: “when we came to the famous land of Phoebus, for three shining circuits of the sun, we feasted our eyes, giving them over to the sights” (ἐπεὶ τὸ κλεινὸν ἤλθομεν Φοίβου πέδον/ τρεῖς μὲν φαεννὰς ἡλίου διεξόδους/ θέα διδόντες ὄμματ’ ἐξεπίπλαμεν, 1085–87).⁵ The sacred aspect of *theôria* is also significant.⁶ The Greeks themselves understood a double etymology for *theôria*, from both *theos* “god” (and thus a *theôros* serves as “god-watcher”) and *thea* “spectacle” (*theôros* as “sight-watcher”).⁷ Such an understanding of *theôria* blends together two important elements of the cultural practice, the sacred and the visual.

Given the importance of *theôria* as a cultural practice—Socrates was thought strange because he was not accustomed to leave the city of Athens for sacred sightseeing (Plato *Crito* 52b)—it is not surprising that theoric themes commonly appear in fifth-century Athenian tragedies and comedies, as in *Andromache*, mentioned

of the play. If the term is used, we must keep in mind that the Greeks were not familiar with the penitent and ascetic Christian variety of pilgrimage.

2. For oracular *theôria*, see, e.g., Sophocles *Oedipus the King* 114, and see Rutherford 2013: 93–109. *Theôroi* might also travel to deliver dedications meant for the gods, or to a sanctuary for healing. See Naiden 2005 for *hiketai* and *theôroi* at Epidauros.

3. For the philosophical sense of the term *theôria*, meaning “contemplation,” see Nightingale 2001, 2004, and 2005; Rutherford 2013: 324–38.

4. Rutherford 2013: 6, 148.

5. For *theôria* and Euripides’ *Andromache*, see Rutherford 1995: 289; Rutherford 1998: 146–48.

6. For a fairly recent discussion of issues relating to the distinction drawn (and not drawn) by the Greeks between sacred and secular as well as the relationship between the sacred and secular and *theôria*, see Scullion 2005, with bibliography. Scullion cautions against an overemphasis on the sacred, remarking, “far too often nowadays the truism that in Greece sacred and secular tend to be linked turns into a sort of omnisacralization that borders on the absurd,” 125. Scullion’s points are well taken; nevertheless the Greeks certainly had a notion of *theôria* that included travel to panhellenic sites that included sacred space (even if some of the space was considered less sacred, or even secular). For recent discussion of the problems associated with the use of the term “panhellenic,” see Kindt 2012: 123–54.

7. See Rutherford 2013: 5 (and see especially n.13 for bibliography, and 144–46 for discussion of the term by Atticist lexicographers from the Roman period). See also Ker 2000: 309; Kurke 2010: 114n.63. The ancient dispute over the etymology has given rise to division among modern linguists concerning the correct analysis of the term. By contrast, Nightingale 2004 makes a distinction between sacred *theôria* and secular sightseeing (63–70).

above. There is, in effect, a sub-genre of Attic drama that we might call “pilgrimage drama.”⁸ In Euripides’ *Ion*, for example, Creusa and Xuthus travel to Delphi to consult the oracle; a chorus of women accompany them and remark on the pedimental sculpture of the temple of Apollo. Creusa, Xuthus, and the chorus all function as sacred sightseers.⁹ In Euripides’ *Bacchae*, Dionysus presents himself and his band of female devotees as *theôroi* as they travel to Thebes. Pentheus is explicitly described as a “leader of the *theôria*” (1047) when he travels to witness the maenads on Mt. Cithaeron.¹⁰ In comedy too, theoric themes appear: a personified *Theôria* appears onstage in Aristophanes’ *Peace*.

Despite the prevalence of theoric themes in Attic comedy and tragedy, the appearance of *theôria* in *Oedipus at Colonus* has largely gone unnoticed. This paper offers an investigation into the ways in which *theôria* functions as metaphor in *Oedipus at Colonus*. Over the course of the tragedy, I suggest, readers and spectators witness the creation of a curious sort of tourist attraction at Colonus, as the local site on the outskirts of Athens becomes, notionally at least, theoric space, significant not only to Attica, but also arguably for the whole of Greece. I suggest that Oedipus is figured as *theôros*, and his daughters, Ismene and Antigone, also play a crucial and unexpected role in Oedipus’ theoric journey, themselves acting as *theôroi*.

Of course, Oedipus hardly seems akin to a *theôros* at first glance and is more commonly described as a suppliant.¹¹ Yet, elements of the two cultural practices overlap, inasmuch as both supplication and *theôria* involve the reception of an outsider: the *theôros* is received temporarily; the suppliant, if successful, is received long-term.¹² Both *theôria* and supplication typically occur at a sacred space. In still other respects, however, Oedipus is an unlikely *theôros*. *Theôria* tends to include three basic components: (1) an extended journey away from the home community; (2) travel to a destination often defined by panhellenic sacred space that includes an emphasis on viewing the sights; (3) a return to the home community.¹³ The return,

8. For “pilgrimage drama,” see Rutherford 1998, and for *theôria* in Greek comedy, see Rutherford 1998: 135–37 and 2013: 341–45.

9. Rutherford 1998: 138–41. For Creusa and the chorus as sightseers, see also Zeitlin 1994: 147–56. See Gibert forthcoming on lines 184–218.

10. Rutherford 1998: 148–51. Not only are the maenads the spectacle (*theôria*) but so too is Pentheus’ destruction. See also Dillery 2004 and 2007 on spectating in *Bacchae*. For the audience as *theôroi* in *Bacchae*, see Barrett 1998: 356–57.

11. Nearly all scholars remark on Oedipus’ status as suppliant, e.g., Burian 1974; Bakewell 1999; Naiden 2006: 71; Tzanetou 2012: 105–26.

12. The suppliant is, of course, not always an outsider or foreigner (e.g., in the *Odyssey*, Phemius supplicates Odysseus, 22.333–37), but in tragedy suppliants tend to be outsiders, e.g., Aeschylus *Suppliant Women*, Euripides *Children of Heracles*. In *Oedipus at Colonus*, near the start of the play, the unnamed foreigner remarks to Oedipus that the men of Colonus will determine whether Oedipus is to remain (μῦναι) or go back πορεύεσθαι πάλιν (80), a formulation that captures the differences between supplication and *theôria*, inasmuch as the suppliant remains (if successful); the *theôros* returns home.

13. Rutherford 1995 remarks, “the panhellenic significance of the great sanctuaries is so central that we should think of the underlying structure of much Greek pilgrimage as a symbolic movement not so much from ‘secular space’ to ‘sacred space’ and back again, but rather between ‘local space’ and ‘panhellenic space,’” 276.

at times, is not achieved; it is, however, presupposed.¹⁴ In *Oedipus at Colonus*, Oedipus has made a journey, but he is blind; he hardly functions as a sightseer in any conventional manner. The setting on the outskirts of Athens boasts no temple, no sacred way lined with treasures. Instead, Colonus is dominated by an unhewn stone (19, 101) and a *skênê* that represents a grove.¹⁵ Yet as soon as Oedipus arrives in Colonus, individuals from all over Greece converge on the site, drawn there by the presence of this panhellenic figure, as Colonus, in effect, is transformed into theoric space before the eyes of the audience.

The *theôros* travels, sees the sites, and returns home, but for Oedipus what constitutes “home” has always been something of a problem. Oedipus, of course, believed his home to be Corinth; too late he discovered that he was in fact native to Thebes, having been expelled as a baby. As *Oedipus at Colonus* begins, Oedipus has once again been driven from his birthplace of Thebes, after committing parricide and incest. Yet, despite Oedipus’ previous problems with “home,” Colonus becomes Oedipus’ new dwelling place, as Theseus welcomes him to Attica. At the end of the play, Oedipus moves offstage to die in a place that is characterized as the threshold to the Underworld, traveling to the “house” of Hades, a place all mortals claim as their final “home.”

No matter how the ending of *Oedipus at Colonus* is interpreted—some suggest that Oedipus undergoes a kind of apotheosis, others rightly emphasize instead that the end of the play emphasizes the death of Oedipus, a mysterious event with unclear implications for the future¹⁶—Oedipus becomes a savior for Athens within the logic of the play.¹⁷ “If you are willing, along with these holy goddesses of this deme, to protect me,” Oedipus explains to the chorus, “you will acquire a great preserver (σωτήρ) for this city” (457–60). The chorus respond using the same word and referring to Oedipus as “savior (σωτήρ) of this land” (462–63). The play asserts that Oedipus functions as a deliverer, offering military protection to Athens.¹⁸ His tomb, he explains to Theseus, will be worth more protection than many shields or spears (1524–25) and, because of the presence of his corpse, Athens will remain a land free from troubles (χώραν . . . ἄλυπον, 1765).

14. Rutherford 1995 discusses historical examples of individuals dying while on *theôria*, as well as literary examples of unsuccessful *theôria* in tragedy (1998).

15. For the symbolic meanings of the uncut rock, see Budelmann 2000. On the staging of *Oedipus at Colonus*, see, e.g., Seale 1982; Edmunds 1996; Wiles 1997: 146–51.

16. For suggestion of apotheosis, see, e.g., Burian 1974: 418, 423, 428; Segal 1981; Markantonatos 2002: 154. Often scholars assert that even before death Oedipus achieves quasi-divine status with his curse on Polyneices; see, e.g., Knox 1964: 148, 153, 161–62; Burian 1974; Rehm 2004: 48. Yet, Linforth 1951 and Easterling 2006 caution against the notion of Oedipus’ apotheosis, with their emphasis on the ambiguity of the ending. On Oedipus’ status as cult hero, see, e.g., Visser 1982; Kearns 1989: 50–52; Lardinois 1992, and see below.

17. For Oedipus as savior, see Burian 1974, who remarks, “the central paradox of the play is that the suppliant is destined to be savior,” 410. See also Bakewell 1999; Rehm 2004: 38. On *sôtêria* more generally, see further below.

18. Cf. 577–78, 621–22, 629–30. Oedipus will bring “benefits to these citizens” (ὄνησιν ἄστοις τοῖσδ’, 288) and “gains” (κέρδη, 92, 578); the city of Athens will remain unravaged (ἀδῆλον, 1533) by the Thebans.

Yet, Oedipus' offer of safety for Athens is balanced by destruction for Thebes. In the above-mentioned passage, Oedipus explains, "if you . . . protect me, you will acquire a great preserver for this city, *and trouble for my enemies*" (τοῖς δ' ἔμοις ἐχθροῖς πόνους, 459–60). So too, earlier in the play, Oedipus prays to the Semnai Theai, explaining that he knows he has found the place where Apollo told him he would bring "benefit as an inhabitant to those who had received me, and ruin to those who sent me forth, who drove me out" (κέρδη μὲν οἰκήσαντα τοῖς δεδεγμένοις,/ ἄτην δὲ τοῖς πέμψασιν, οἳ μ' ἀπήλασαν, 92–93).¹⁹ I suggest that in *Oedipus at Colonus*, salvation for Athens and destruction for Thebes requires *theôria*, that is, Oedipus' own travel, observation, and "return" to his new home of Colonus, but also, surprisingly, the travel, observation, and return of Antigone and Ismene to Oedipus' home community of Thebes. Furthermore, Oedipus' narrative as presented in *Oedipus at Colonus*, as we shall see, shares similarities with the life cycle of the archaic sage, since Oedipus' *theôria*, like Solon's, serves the Athenian *polis*.

Scholarship has recently advanced our understanding of *theôria*, with two books devoted entirely to the cultural practice. Andrea Nightingale emphasizes aspects of *theôria* as philosophical contemplation, focusing primarily on *theôria* in the works of Plato and Aristotle. Ian Rutherford examines historical manifestations of *theôria*, namely, "all forms of extraterritorial religious activity in which a city-state or other political entity sends sacred delegates to act on its behalf."²⁰ Although the models of *theôria* that Rutherford and Nightingale offer influence my thinking, my approach is slightly different. I am concerned with literary representations of *theôria* and, in particular, the appearance of *theôria* as theme in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, and I offer here a close reading of the play. While I do not suggest that we are to see the action of the play as *theôria* in any strict or literal sense, I argue that the cultural practice of *theôria* serves as a template that underlies the drama and that is signaled at key moments. Aspects of *theôria* would have resonated with an Athenian audience, familiar as it was with the cultural practice.²¹

In what follows, I first look carefully at how the space of Colonus is described to argue that it shares characteristics with theoric space. Next, I compare aspects of Oedipus' narrative to the life cycle of the theoric sage. Finally, I examine the role of Antigone and Ismene in *Oedipus at Colonus* to argue that they too contribute to *theôria*. Viewing Antigone and Ismene as supplementary *theôroi*, as I suggest,

19. The Thebans will have to reckon with Oedipus' curses and his avenging spirit (χώρας ἀλάστορ οὐμὸς ἐνναίων ἀεί, 788).

20. Rutherford 2013: 4.

21. It may be objected that nowhere in the play is the audience told explicitly that Colonus is a theoric site, and that explicit language of *theôria* is largely absent. *Theôria*, however, is such a pervasive and familiar cultural pattern that an abundance of explicit language is not necessary to alert an audience to allusions to it within the play. In Plato's *Republic*, for example, the Myth of Er evokes the cultural practice (Nightingale 2004, 76–77), even though explicit language of *theôria* does not appear. The situation in *Oedipus at Colonus* is similar.

prompts us to view differently other female figures who travel in Athenian drama as unexpected saviors of the *polis* (e.g., Lysistrata and her allies in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*), and I conclude with a brief discussion of such female figures.

TRAVEL TO THE THEORIC SPACE OF COLONUS

In *Oedipus at Colonus*, Colonus is figured as a sleepy backwater, a provincial locale, where one can just barely make out the towering architecture of Athens in the distance.²² Yet because of Oedipus' presence, the local site quickly becomes a hub for travelers. Once Oedipus has taken his seat, individuals make their journey there, all intent on speaking with him, as he remains relatively immobile: the chorus of demesmen of Colonus, Ismene, Theseus, Creon, and Polyneices.²³

Oedipus has been an exile for many years when the play begins, and one of the central issues of *Oedipus at Colonus* is to put a stop to the wandering of Oedipus.²⁴ Like Odysseus, the quintessential wanderer, who awakes on Ithaca and asks, "to the land of what mortals have I come?" (τέων αὖτε βροτῶν εἰς γαῖαν ἰκάνω; 13.200, cf. 6.119), so too Oedipus begins *Oedipus at Colonus* by asking his daughter Antigone, "to what places have we come or city of what men?" (τίνας/ χώρους ἀφίγμεθ' ἢ τίνων ἀνδρῶν πόλιν; 1–2).²⁵ "You were sent forth on a long road," (μακρὰν . . . προὔστάλης ὁδόν, 20), explains Antigone, and Colonus is where Oedipus' long road ends.²⁶ Soon after he arrives, Oedipus recalls an oracle of Apollo that indicated he would find his final resting place and "lodging for a traveler" (ξενόστασις, 90), in a space sacred to the Semnai Theai (87–95).²⁷ After the realization that he has arrived at just such a sacred space, Oedipus refuses to leave.

In *Oedipus at Colonus*, what begins as wandering quickly becomes redefined as travel. In the opening lines, Oedipus emphasizes that he is a wanderer by describing himself as such (πλανήτης, 3; ἀλήτης, 50).²⁸ Although Theseus does

22. At the start of the play, Antigone explains to Oedipus that she recognizes Athens but she is not familiar with the place (χώρον, 24).

23. Cf. Rehm 2004: 32, who explains that Oedipus is "parked" onstage at line 202, remaining there for 1300 lines. Of course, other tragedies feature characters approaching a stationary figure, e.g., Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* and Sophocles' *Philoctetes*.

24. See, e.g., Segal 1981: 365–69; Montiglio 2005: 27; Bowlby 2010: 194.

25. Cf. Jebb 1907: 10–11.

26. Segal 1981 suggests that "the road is the single most dominant spatial metaphor of *Oedipus at Colonus*," 368.

27. In *Oedipus at Colonus*, the Semnai Theai, the Eumenides, and the Erinyes are, in effect, interchangeable divinities, as they are by the end of the fifth century BCE in literary contexts. Cf. 42–43, where the unnamed foreigner explains to Oedipus that in Colonus the divinities in whose grove Oedipus has trespassed are called the all-seeing Eumenides, but other names are good in other places (ἄλλα δ' ἀλλαχοῦ καλά). See, e.g., σεμναὶ Ἐρινύες, Sophocles *Ajax* 837 and *Electra* 112. For discussion, see, e.g., Henrichs 1991: 163–69; Lardinois 1992: 316–18; Mills 1997: 163. And for more on the Eumenides/Erinyes, see below.

28. The verbs πλανᾶσθαι and ἀλᾶσθαι (and cognates) emphasize wandering as opposed to travel to a specific destination. See Montiglio 2005: 2–3. Other characters also call Oedipus a wanderer (ἀλήτης or πλανήτης): the chorus 122, 123, 165, 1096; Creon 746, 949.

not officially integrate Oedipus into Attica until much later (636–37), as soon as Oedipus recognizes the “watchword of his fate” (46), he emphatically proclaims that he will not move from his seat (οὐχ ἔδρας γε τῆσδ’ ἄν ἐξέλθοιμ’ ἔτι, 45). Oedipus realizes that what has brought him to Colonus is far from aimless meandering; instead, he has traveled there led by divine sign. He prays to the Semnai Theai:

ἐγνώκα μὲν νυν ὥς με τήνδε τὴν ὁδὸν
οὐκ ἔσθ’ ὅπως οὐ πιστὸν ἐξ ὑμῶν πτερὸν
ἐξήγαγ’ ἐς τόδ’ ἄλσος. οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε
πρώταισιν ὑμῖν ἀντέκυρσ’ ὁδοιπορῶν.

96–99

I realize that there is no way that it was not a trustworthy divine sign from you [Semnai Theai] that led me along this road into this grove, for if not I would not ever have happened upon you first while traveling.

The verb ὁδοιπορεῖν (99) often means simply to go or to come, but it may also carry a sense of clear destination, of travel with a purpose. Oedipus’ use of the participle here underscores the beginning of his transformation from wanderer to traveler, since, after this pronouncement, Oedipus does not use words that connote wandering (πλανάομαι or ἀλάομαι, or related terms) to describe himself.²⁹ Oedipus realizes upon his arrival that he has traveled to Colonus for a purpose, since, long ago, Apollo had told him that he would find rest, bringing benefits to those who would receive him and ruin to those who drove him out (84–95). Oedipus will function as a force of salvation for Athens and destruction for Thebes in Colonus, as he helps friends and harms enemies.³⁰

Oedipus at Colonus is a play about the space of Colonus. Words for place and locality (such as γῆ, χώρα, χθών, χῶρος, and τόπος) are heavily emphasized, far more than in any other extant play.³¹ It has been suggested that, “unlike other tragedies, this one begins not by describing the scene but by asking what it is,” making a problem of the setting.³² In contrast to other plays, “definition of the setting is postponed and becomes a central concern of the action itself, when the full meaning of

29. To be sure, other characters employ words related to wandering to describe Oedipus, as mentioned above, but Oedipus no longer uses such terms to describe himself. In tragedy, ὁδοιπορεῖν is frequently a synonym for βαδίζειν (to proceed), but it often has the sense of “to travel with a goal in mind,” as when Polyneices proceeds toward Oedipus in *Oedipus at Colonus* (ὁδοιπορεῖ, 1251). In *Oedipus the King*, the verb is used in contrast to wandering to describe the activities of the shepherd who found Oedipus on Mt. Cithaeron. Oedipus asks the messenger “why were you traveling (ὁδοιπόρεῖς, 1027) in those regions?” The messenger responds that he was taking care of his flocks. Oedipus then responds, “so were you a shepherd, a wanderer (πλάνης, 1029), in your servitude?”

30. See Blundell 1989 for a thorough examination of this ethical code, especially her chapter on *Oedipus at Colonus*, 226–59.

31. Allison 1984: 69.

32. Dunn 1992: 2–3. For the setting, see also Allison 1984; Birge 1984; Markantonatos 2002: 171n.8.

the setting is clear, the *Oedipus at Colonus* is over.”³³ I suggest that one reason that this play is so concerned with place and locality is that Colonus is in the process of becoming a kind of temporary tourist attraction before the eyes of the audience.

The space of Colonus is underscored as sacred from the beginning. “This place is holy (ἱερός, 16),” asserts Antigone immediately. The unnamed foreigner exclaims when he sees Oedipus, “before you ask me any more questions, leave this seat! You occupy a place that is not holy to tread upon” (36–37). He continues, “it is inviolable and not inhabited for it belongs to the dread goddesses, daughters of Earth and Darkness” (39–40). He amplifies this notion, explaining that the entire area is not only sacred to the Eumenides, but also to other divinities, Prometheus, Poseidon, and the eponymous Colonus.

The sacred space of Colonus is also defined as rustic and regional. The cults of Colonus, says the unnamed foreigner, are “honored not in stories, but in worship” (οὐ λόγοις/ τιμώμεν’, ἀλλὰ τῇ ξυνουσίᾳ πλέον, 62–63), a remark that indicates that in Colonus the cults “are not the subject of poetic tradition; knowledge of them is purely local.”³⁴ In the first *stasimon*, the well-known ode to Colonus (668–719), the chorus sing that Oedipus has come to the “mightiest rural dwelling” (κράτιστα . . . ἔπαυλα 669), employing a word (ἔπαυλα) that often refers to a fold for cattle or sheep.³⁵ At first glance, Colonus looks nothing like theoric space, in the sense of *panhellenic* sacred space.

But Oedipus has arrived, a panhellenic figure, known to the Greeks in stories as early as Homer.³⁶ As Oedipus explains to Theseus, all of Greece cries aloud (πᾶς . . . Ἑλλήνων θροεῖ, 597) the ancient misfortune of his family (τὴν παλαιὰν ξυμφορὰν γένους, 596). Earlier in the play, Oedipus is reluctant to reveal his identity to the chorus. When pressed, he relents:

Οἱ. Λαῖου ἴστε τιν’— Χο. ὦ· ἰὸν ἰοῦ.
Οἱ. τό τε Λαβδακιδᾶν γένος; Χο. ὦ Ζεῦ.
Οἱ. ἄθλιον Οἰδιπόδαν; Χο. σὺ γὰρ ὅδ’ εἶ;

220–22

Oedipus: Do you know of a son of Laius? Chorus: Oh, alas!
Oedipus: . . . and of the race of the Labdacids? Chorus: Oh Zeus!
Oedipus: . . . the miserable Oedipus. Chorus: Are you he?

Everyone is familiar with the stories of the Labdacids. All Oedipus has to say is “Laius” and the story is known. While Colonus is “honored not in stories, but in worship” (οὐ λόγοις/ τιμώμεν’, ἀλλὰ τῇ ξυνουσίᾳ πλέον, 62–63), the converse may be said of Oedipus, who at the start of the play is known to all in *logoi*, but not by communion with him (ξυνουσία), not by his presence. Ultimately, Oedipus offers

33. Dunn 1992: 6–7.

34. Krummen 1993: 195. Cf. von Reden 1998: 181.

35. E.g., Homer *Odyssey* 23.358; Sophocles *Oedipus the King* 1138. Cf. Kirkwood 1986: 106.

36. Cf. von Reden 1998 who also calls Oedipus a “panhellenic figure,” 180.

the gift of his presence (δῶρημα τῆς ξυνουσίας, 647), and as a result, Colonus becomes significant for Attica, and even for the whole of Greece, as this well-known figure dies there.³⁷

Colonus is understood to receive military protection from Athens, and is therefore dependent upon the Athenian *polis*.³⁸ Yet, as the play progresses, the local space also becomes essential to Attica, inasmuch as the death of Oedipus and the proper care of his body and tomb after death will contribute to the welfare of the Athenians. Athens and Attica will depend upon Colonus. The unnamed foreigner explains to Oedipus that Colonus is the “prop/stay/support of Athens” (ἔρεισμι’ Ἀθηνῶν, 58), a phrase that makes little sense at the start of the play. By the end of the play, however, readers and spectators alike understand the remark, namely, that Colonus truly is the bulwark of Athens, as Oedipus’ body will offer the Athenians military protection.³⁹ In a fragment of a dithyramb, Pindar famously describes Athens as the “bulwark of Greece” (Ελλάδος ἔρεισμα, fr. 76 Maehler),⁴⁰ evoking Athens’ successful response to the Persian invasion.⁴¹ Sophocles puts a different spin on Pindar’s phrase, and while it has been suggested that Sophocles offers a “‘localist’ reworking of an established literary motif, here used in an Attic, rather than a Hellenic, context,”⁴² we might also take the opposite view of Sophocles’ phrase.⁴³ It is no longer Athens that protects Greece, but Colonus that secures Hellas, as Greece comes to the suburb.⁴⁴

Although nowhere in *Oedipus at Colonus* is Oedipus called a “hero,” and the end of the play emphasizes mystery above all, nevertheless theatergoers would certainly have in mind the notion of the hero, helping friends and harming enemies, and potent after death. Ultimately, Oedipus receives the “props” of a hero: “the tomb and the memory that goes with it.”⁴⁵ In a discussion of *Oedipus at Colonus* and other tragedies that feature non-Athenian figures who receive hero cult in Attica,

37. Cf. Allison 1984: 77.

38. See *Oedipus at Colonus* 884–86 and 897–903, and see Krummen 1993: 196, 199.

39. Edmunds 1996: 101. See also Kirkwood 1986: 56–58. The Athenians defeated the Boeotians in 407 BCE near the Academy; the play may bear some relationship to this defeat (Diodorus Siculus 13.72.4–73.2). See Edmunds 1996: 96.

40. Cf. Aeschylus’ *Eumenides*, where the council of the Areopagus is described as “defence to keep safe the land and the *polis*” (ἔρυμά τε χώρας καὶ πόλεως σωτήριον, 701).

41. See van der Weiden 1991: 209–13. In response to Pindar’s poetic formulation, the Athenians were said to have granted Pindar *proxenia* and a financial reward (Isocrates 15.166, citing Pindar fr. 76 Maehler). See Walbank 1978: 77; Rodighiero 2012: 61–62.

42. Rodighiero 2012: 61. Kirkwood 1986 remarks, “just as Sophocles has in this play transferred the Erinyes/Eumenides from their Aeschylean and traditional abode on the northeast slope of the Areopagus, so he has transferred the notion of protection and power conveyed by the word *ereisma* from Athens to Colonus,” 105. Cf. von Reden 1998: 180.

43. Von Reden 1998 explains, “what referred once to Athens as a whole and her role in the defeat of the Persians was now applied to the spot at Colonus which, if becoming the grave of Oedipus, would confirm the Athenian hegemony within Greece,” 180. And further, 180n.43: “the *OC* envisages internal unity, that is the cooperation of the Coloneans, as a vital condition for Athens’ panhellenic aspirations.”

44. Allison 1984: 76.

45. Kowalzig 2006: 82.

Barbara Kowalzig emphasizes the tendency of Athens to acquire heroes and to “Athenianize” them.⁴⁶ Such heroes had the effect of connecting Athens to the existing network of panhellenic myth, connections that Athens’ insistence on autochthony makes challenging.⁴⁷ She explains: “acquiring heroes from elsewhere . . . was an essential tool for maintaining the commodity that imperial Athens chose to parade as a distinctive trademark: its panhellenic spirit and status as liberator of Hellas.”⁴⁸ The allusions to hero cult in *Oedipus at Colonus*, then, contribute to what Kowalzig calls Athens’ “aetiology of empire.”

Colonus becomes theoric space as individuals from all over Greece arrive, drawn there by the presence of Oedipus. Thebans, Athenians, Argives, Creon, Eteocles, Polyneices, the sacred hearth of Delphi—all take an interest in the old man who has settled on the outskirts of Athens.⁴⁹ Meanwhile, Oedipus remains stationary. Near the end of the play, the chorus sing of the troubles of old age and evoke an image of Oedipus as an immobile part of the landscape, a cape buffeted by waves of ruin coming at him from all sides, from the west, east, north, and south (αἱ μὲν ἅπ’ ἀελίου δυσμᾶν,/ αἱ δ’ ἀνατέλλοντος,/ αἱ δ’ ἀνὰ μέσσαν ἀκτῖν’./ αἱ δ’ ἐννοχιᾶν ἀπὸ Ῥιπᾶν, 1245–48). Such an image of Oedipus at the center of the four points of the compass is fitting, as Oedipus receives travelers from all over Greece attempting to wrest him from his seat. Creon wishes to return Oedipus to Thebes; Polyneices begs Oedipus to join him, along with the Argives, in his attack on Thebes; Theseus suggests that Oedipus come to Athens to live.

Travelers come and go, arriving and departing. They all have the same desire: to journey to Colonus, speak to Oedipus, and return safely home: “They say that

46. To a certain extent whether or not these heroes actually received cult is beside the point. As Kowalzig (2006) explains, “their heroization is made real in the minds of the participating audience through the integration of aetiology and cult-heroic ritual on the stage,” 97.

47. The Athenians alone of all the Greeks were not immigrants, according to an Athenian speaker in Herodotus (7.161). See How and Wells 1961: 198 for similar claims by other Greeks.

48. Kowalzig 2006: 97. Two traditions exist regarding Oedipus’ death: in one, Oedipus dies at Thebes and is buried there; in another, Oedipus leaves Thebes, embarks on a life of wandering, and is later buried elsewhere. For Oedipus’ death at Thebes, see *Iliad* 23.679 with scholia and cf. *Odyssey* 11.271–80; Hesiod fr. 192 M-W. Pindar *Pythian* 4.263–69 (Maehler) likely refers to Oedipus’ exile (see Slatkin 1986 on the passage). For traditions concerning Oedipus’ death and burial, see, e.g., Robert 1915: 1.1–47; Edmunds 1981 and 1996: 95; Cingano 1992; Rodighiero 2007: 7–22. Colonus is first (securely) attested as Oedipus’ final resting place in Sophocles. See Edmunds 1996: 97–98, who comments that the play may reflect “contemporary uncertainty or even ignorance of the grave of Oedipus at Colonus.” Cf. Kearns 1989: 52. A reference in Euripides’ *Phoenician Women* (1703–1707) is considered by some to be an interpolation (see, e.g., Edmunds 1996: 98); others accept the lines (see Mastronarde 1994: 626–27; Mills 1997: 162; Calame 1998: 331). Later tradition certainly has Oedipus venerated in Colonus. See, e.g., Androtion *FGrH* 324 F62 (cf. Istros *FGrH* 334 F17; Ael. Arist. 46 Dindorf 2 p. 230); Pausanias 1.30.4. Sophocles, thus, may or may not have been the first to situate Oedipus’ grave at Colonus. Scullion 1999–2000 suggests, “surely the safest conclusion, here as so often in Euripides, is that the secret tomb of Oedipus protecting Kolonos is a dramatic postulate rather than an attestation of cultic history, an imaginative vision linking Sophocles’ greatest tragic hero with his own home town,” 232.

49. Allison 1984: 76. When Ismene arrives, her Thessalian hat and the Sicilian colt upon which she is mounted serve further to underscore the convergence of the wider Greek world upon Colonus.

he requests only to come speak to you and to return safely from his journey here” (σοὶ φασὶν αὐτὸν ἐς λόγους μολεῖν μόνον/ αἰτεῖν ἀπελθεῖν <τ’> ἀσφαλῶς τῆς δεῦρ’ ὁδοῦ, 1164–65). Although this line is spoken by Theseus to describe Polyneices’ desire to approach Oedipus, the theoric journey sketched here is applicable to every traveler to Colonus.⁵⁰

Theoric space is primarily associated with the visual, with *theōria* functioning as a partial synonym of *thea* (spectacle), and *theōros* functioning as a partial synonym of *theatēs* (spectator).⁵¹ So too in Colonus, the emphasis is on vision—literal and metaphorical vision.⁵² Oedipus and Antigone have arrived at a space sacred to the *all-seeing* Eumenides (42).⁵³ When Antigone beseeches the chorus to permit Oedipus to stay (the chorus have just realized who Oedipus is, and they are reluctant to allow the polluted man to dwell in their midst) she appeals not only to their common humanity, but also to their shared *vision*: “I appeal to you looking upon your eyes with eyes that are not blind” (ἄντομαι οὐκ ἀλαοῖς προσορωμένα/ ὄμμα σὸν ὄμμασιν, 244–45). When Ismene appears, Antigone describes her approach by explaining, “she greets me gleaming from her eyes as she arrives” (φαιδρὰ γοῦν ἀπ’ ὀμμάτων/ σαίνει με προστείχουσα, 319–20).⁵⁴

The characters of this play signal to one another and appeal to one another by means of their eyes—all, that is, except Oedipus, who is set apart by his blindness. And what the characters see is Oedipus: “Ah! Ah! Terrible to see!” cry the chorus when they first catch sight of Oedipus (δαινὸς μὲν ὄρᾱν, 141). “I can scarcely look upon you because of grief” (326), exclaims Ismene, “oh father you are a sad sight to see” (327). It is the bloody destruction of Oedipus’ eyes that allows Theseus to recognize Oedipus immediately (551–56). Polyneices too emphasizes the spectacle of Oedipus: Oedipus is filthy, dressed in rags, with uncombed hair (1254–63).

Oedipus is fully seen in Colonus. The chorus—a particularly inquisitive chorus, frequently described by scholars as “prurient”⁵⁵—wish to learn the details of

50. After the choral ode, Polyneices himself expresses his desire to speak with Oedipus and his wish for a safe return (ἀσφαλεῖ σὺν ἐξόδῳ, 1288).

51. Rutherford 2013: 51.

52. For the theme of vision in the play, see Shields 1961; Buxton 1980; Seale 1982.

53. Oedipus prays to the “terrible-eyed mistresses” (πότνια δαινῶπες, 84). See also Sophocles *Ajax* where the Erinyes are described as “always witnessing all the sufferings of humankind,” (ἀεὶ θ’ ὀρώσας πάντα τὰν βροτοῖς πάθη, 836). Nightingale 2004 explains that, “at religious festivals and oracular centers, the *theoroi* viewed the rituals, spectacle, and sacred images even as their own religious activities were ‘viewed’ by the presiding god or goddess,” 45. In *Oedipus at Colonus*, we might think of the Eumenides as presiding divinities, watching over the activities of the characters, when, for example, Oedipus prays to them that they permit him to curse Creon: “let these goddesses no longer make me silent about this curse,” 864–65.

54. In *Oedipus the King*, Creon is λαμπρὸς ὄμματι (radiant in his face) as he approaches (προστείχω) returning from his *theōria* to Delphi (78–81). In his commentary on *Oedipus the King*, Dawe (1982: 94) points out that λαμπρὸς is used in connection with various oracles “with reference to their clarity or truth,” and notes the parallel with the passage describing Ismene (319–21) in *Oedipus at Colonus*. Perhaps we have here a theoric trope.

55. See, e.g., Knox 1964: 152; Burian 1974: 414; Wilson 1997: 63; Markantonatos 2007: 89; Kelly 2009: 55.

Oedipus' sordid past. First, they demand that Oedipus reveal his identity, despite his repeated appeals to remain silent. "Well, I will speak," replies Oedipus, "for I do not have a means of concealment" (ἀλλ' ἐρῶ· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω κατακρυφάν, 218). They question him further during the *kommós* (510–48)—again, despite Oedipus' protestations. When Creon arrives, he emphasizes the sordid details of Oedipus' plight. Oedipus is a miserable exile and Antigone, a maiden denied marriage, travels with him in unseemly fashion, vulnerable to abduction. Later Creon insists that the hill of Ares could not possibly receive such a polluted man. Creon fittingly remarks to Oedipus, "it is not possible to hide what is exposed" (ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔστι τὰ μφανῆ κρύπτειν, 755). Oedipus is on view, vulnerable, and exposed.

Over the course of the play, Colonus is transformed into theoric space as travelers from all over Greece assemble there in search of Oedipus, who serves as the spectacle. But Oedipus is also traveler to Colonus. Although Oedipus is blind, and thus in no way a typical sightseer, he attains inner vision, or metaphorical sight. Oedipus arrives onstage a helpless, sightless beggar and is transformed into one who exhibits surprising familiarity with the topography of Colonus, leading Theseus, Ismene, and Antigone offstage: "I myself will lead you now, unaccompanied by a guide, to the place where it is necessary for me to die" (χωρὸν μὲν αὐτὸς αὐτίκ' ἐξηγήσομαι, ἄθικτος ἡγητῆρος, οὗ με χρὴ θανεῖν, 1520–21). Although little is known today about the places described with great precision by the messenger—the threshold with brazen steps, the memorial to Perithus and Theseus, the Thorician rock, and hollow pear tree (1590–97)—the details in the messenger's speech indicate Oedipus' control over specific features of the landscape (what we might think of as Colonus' preexisting tourist attractions) despite Oedipus' blindness.⁵⁶ In this sense, then, Oedipus not only serves as the spectacle, he also functions as *theōros*, "seeing" the sights along with the other visitors to Colonus. Yet, to understand with more precision in what sense Oedipus functions as *theōros* in this play and in what ways Oedipus' death in Colonus is part of his theoric journey, it is necessary to consider the tradition of the archaic sage who participates in *theōria*.

OEDIPUS AND THE LIFE CYCLE OF THE ARCHAIC SAGE

As early as the archaic period, travel is associated with wisdom, and the wanderer or exile has unique knowledge.⁵⁷ To be sure, in *Oedipus at Colonus*, Oedipus, as foreigner to Colonus and exile from Thebes, possesses uncanny knowledge. Near the start of the play, he cryptically remarks: "All of the words I speak will have sight" (ὅς' ἂν λέγωμεν πάνθ' ὀρῶντα λέξομεν, 74). The blind

56. On these topographical markers and on the topography of Colonus more generally, see, e.g., Burkert 1985; Kearns 1989, appendix 2, 208–209; Easterling 2006: 140–43; Saïd 2012: 91–92.

57. See, e.g., Dougherty 2001: 3–14; Martin 1992 discusses the figure of the *metanastês* in connection with Hesiodic poetry. For poets and travel, see, e.g., Hunter and Rutherford 2009.

Oedipus means that his words will have truth, they will express his knowledge and inner vision concerning the benefits he brings to Athens known to him through an oracle of Apollo.⁵⁸

Archaic and classical Greeks were familiar with the narrative of the lawgiver or the archaic sage (e.g., Solon, Lycurgus), who carries out political activity and then leaves town to travel (*theôria*). Such narratives are structured similarly, and numerous scholars (for example, Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, James Ker, and Leslie Kurke) have emphasized the near-formulaic nature of the life cycle of the archaic sage.⁵⁹ For example, Solon left Athens after giving laws, embarking on a theoric journey.⁶⁰ Herodotus describes his visit to Croesus at Sardis:

And Solon the Athenian [came], who having made laws for the Athenians at their request, went abroad for ten years, sailing off for the sake of *theôria* (κατὰ θεωρίας) as he said. He did this so that he might not be compelled to repeal any of the laws he had made. For the Athenians themselves could not do that because they were bound by solemn oaths to employ the laws which Solon should make for ten years. For these reasons and for the sake of *theôria* (θεωρίας . . . εἵνεκεν), Solon left Athens and visited Amasis in Egypt and Croesus at Sardis.⁶¹

1.29–30

Herodotus repeats the reason for Solon's travel—*theôria*—twice in this short passage.⁶² Herodotus also has Croesus emphasize *theôria* as the reason for Solon's departure from Athens when he remarks: "Athenian foreigner, many stories have come to us about you because of your wisdom and your wandering, how you have traveled, engaging in contemplation, across much land for the sake of *theôria*" (θεωρίας εἵνεκεν, 1.30).

Narratives associated with the legendary Spartan lawgiver, Lycurgus, are structured similarly, with political activity followed by *theôria*. Before leaving Sparta, Lycurgus has the Spartans swear not to change his laws until his return from Delphi to consult the god—an example of oracular *theôria*.⁶³ Lycurgus arrives at Delphi, receives a reply, and sends a written copy of the oracle back to

58. For similar phrasing, see, e.g., Aeschylus *Suppliants* 467, and see Friis Johansen and Whittle 1980: 369.

59. See Szegedy-Maszak 1978, Ker 2000, and Kurke 2011. For travel of the sage, see also Montiglio 2005: 91–117.

60. For accounts of Solon's travel, see, e.g., Linforth 1919: 297–302; Ker 2000. Most accounts suggest Solon traveled *after* giving the law code. See also Plutarch *Solon* 25.6; Diogenes Laertius 1.50. In [Aristotle] *Ath. Pol.* 11.1, Solon left to engage in commerce and *theôria*: κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἅμα καὶ θεωρίαν.

61. For discussion of the word *prophasis* in the phrase "for the sake of *theôria*, as he said," see Ker 2000: 316.

62. See Rutherford 2013: 149, 324, 335, on the Herodotus passage.

63. Although the word *theôria* does not appear in connection with Lycurgus' travel, Lycurgus makes a trip to the oracular site of Delphi—a clear case of oracular *theôria*. See Plutarch *Lycurgus* 29.2. See also Szegedy-Maszak 1978: 207–208; Svenbro 1993: 129–33; Ker 2000; Kurke 2011: 113.

Sparta. He does not return to Sparta but starves himself to death. Herodotus explains that, after Lycurgus died, a temple (*hieron*, 1.66.1) was built in his honor, and Lycurgus received cult.⁶⁴ Other archaic sages are associated with a similar pattern, dying at the theoric site and sometimes receiving hero cult. Thales dies while watching an athletic contest (ἀγῶνα θεώμενος, Diogenes Laertius 1.39; the participle evokes *theôria*).⁶⁵ The Spartan sage Chilon dies in Pisa on a theoric trip (Diogenes Laertius 1.72, citing Hermippus), and, according to Pausanias, was granted a heroon (3.16.4).⁶⁶

Far from a Solonic figure, Oedipus has not acted as lawgiver in Thebes; instead, by his parricide and incest, he has broken the most fundamental laws of Thebes and, indeed, all of Greece. Yet elements of Oedipus' story resonate with aspects of the narrative of the archaic sage. The *absence* of Solon and Lycurgus from their home community—their anti-*nostos*—is important. Oedipus' narrative modifies this *topos* inasmuch as the absence of Oedipus from his home community of Thebes secures not Thebes but Athens. It has been suggested that Solon's *theôria* “firmly establishes and purifies the city by his absence, replacing the lawgiver's physical body with the henceforth immutable body of his lawcode at the center of the city.”⁶⁷ *Oedipus at Colonus* offers a twist on such a narrative as the presence of Oedipus' body near Athens as well as the absence of his body from his home community of Thebes safeguards Athens.

Greek travelers (*theôroi*) are engaged in observing customs (*nomoi*) of unfamiliar places, and comparing these *nomoi* to those of their home *polis*.⁶⁸ As a traveler (*theôros*), Oedipus arrives in Colonus, and, after a bit of a rough start, quickly becomes an excellent observer of the customs of Colonus, in particular, the customs that pertain to the sacred grove. It is precisely because Oedipus is not familiar with the practices of Colonus that he walks into the sacred space of the Eumenides in the first place: “He is not native (οὐδ' ἔγχωρος), for he would never have entered the inviolable grove of these awful maidens” (124–27). Antigone counsels Oedipus to abide by the customs of the land: “O father we should act in accordance with the citizens, yielding and obeying when we must” (ὦ πάτερ, ἀστοῖς ἴσα χρὴ μελετᾶν/εἴκοντας ἃ δεῖ κακούοντας, 171–72). The chorus also urge compliance: “Miserable man, stranger in a strange land, undertake to hate what the city is accustomed to loathe and to revere what it considers dear” (184–87). Oedipus eagerly assents: “lead me where we, entering lawful and pious ground, may speak and listen and not war with necessity” (188–91). At this moment, Oedipus moves out of the area where it is not permitted to walk and is positioned upon a non-sacred stone during a highly choreographed scene in which the chorus attends to the minutiae of his movements and he assents to be positioned by them.

64. Herodotus explains that they “worship him greatly” (σέβονται μεγάλως, 1.66.1).

65. Kurke 2011: 113.

66. Kurke 2011: 113. Pherecydes too is granted hero-cult (Diogenes Laertius 1.118).

67. Kurke 2011: 113 in a discussion of Ker 2000: 317–22.

68. Redfield 1985: 99, 102, 107.

The scene in which the chorus explain to Oedipus how to propitiate the Eumenides is the lengthiest description of a libation ritual that survives in all of Greek tragedy (and even all of Greek literature), and various explanations of its purpose have been proposed.⁶⁹ It has been suggested, for example, that the passage emphasizes that the chorus finally accept Oedipus,⁷⁰ or that the scene (eventually) serves to remove Ismene from the stage so that the third speaking actor may appear as Theseus.⁷¹ While these explanations are, at least in part, correct, I suggest that, like the scene in which Oedipus agrees to be properly positioned within the sacred space of Colonus, the description of the ritual also serves to underscore Oedipus' willingness to follow the *nomoi* of the land in which he finds himself.⁷² Certainly, from the start of the play, Oedipus emphasizes this willingness, when he remarks to Antigone, "for we, as foreigners, have come to learn from the citizens (*astoi*), and to accomplish whatever we hear" (12–13).

As the ritual description begins, the chorus suggest that they would like to offer some advice. Oedipus replies: "Dearest sir, serve as *proxenos* for me, as I will carry out all that you request" (ὃ φίλταθ', ὥς νῦν πᾶν τελοῦντι προξένει, 465). The phrase "serve as *proxenos*" is significant, inasmuch as a *proxenos* was someone appointed to serve as representative for any foreigner, such as the local authorities (*proxenoi*) with whom *theōroi* met when they arrived at their destination.⁷³ The instructions of the chorus are punctuated by Oedipus' requests for further clarification, as Oedipus repeatedly urges them to "teach him" (διδάσκειν, 468, 480). Oedipus asks in what manner he is to carry out the ritual, how to begin, what to do with the liquid, how to crown the basin, how to finish, how to pour the final libation, whether or not to use pitchers, what sort of liquid to use, and what to pray (471–85). During this scene, Oedipus is educated concerning the *nomoi* of Colonus.

When Theseus arrives, Oedipus learns still more about the *nomoi* of nearby Athens. Athens is figured as an ideal, law-abiding *polis*, a place that exemplifies reverence for suppliants and respect for oaths. As Theseus points out, the city practices justice (δίκαι' ἀσκοῦσαν, 913) and decides everything according to law (κᾶνευ νόμου κραίνουσιν οὐδέν, 914). As nearly all readers of the play recognize,

69. Henrichs 2004: 195.

70. Burton 1980: 260–61; Krummen 1993: 197; Jouanna 1995: 47.

71. See Kamerbeek 1984: 82–83; Burkert 1985: 12; Gardiner 1987: 111; Jouanna 1995: 48. For Ismene's important role, see further below. The scene also serves a dramatic function, inasmuch as it removes Ismene so that Creon may capture her (Knox 1964: 151). Although the ritual is described as a purification ritual (καθαρμός, 466), it is directed toward the Eumenides and is to serve as purification for Oedipus' trespass into the grove, not for his past crimes. Oedipus admits that he is unable to touch Theseus because pollution dwells within him (1132–34).

72. Cf. Knox 1964: 151–52.

73. See Euripides *Andromache* 1100–1105, where *proxenoi* appear in a passage in which Neoptolemus is figured as a *theōros*. On the passage, see Rutherford 1995: 289 and Rutherford 1998: 146–48. See Rutherford 2013: 194–95 for *proxenoi* and *theōroi*. For other examples of the verb *proxenein*, see, e.g., Euripides *Medea* 724, *Helen* 146; Aristophanes *Thesmophoriazousae* 576. For *proxenoi* in general, see, e.g., Wallace 1970; Walbank 1978; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2004.

Creon and Theseus serve as opposing figures. Creon claims he comes to Colonus without intending to use force (“I have not come wishing to do anything since I am old,” ἤκω γὰρ οὐχ ὥς δρᾶν τι βουλευθείς, ἐπεὶ/ γέρων μὲν εἰμι, 732–33). Instead, Creon insists that he will employ persuasion (πείσων, 736) to convince Oedipus to leave Colonus and return to Thebes. Creon, however, is not true to his word; he has already kidnapped Ismene. Theseus, by contrast, is a magnanimous ruler, who immediately receives Oedipus as suppliant without asking any questions of him, instead emphasizing the shared human bond between Oedipus and himself.⁷⁴

Oedipus insists that he will dwell in the space of Colonus, a place influenced by the proper law and rule of Athens, not in the dysfunctional *polis* of Thebes as represented by Creon and Oedipus’ sons.⁷⁵ Oedipus is at pains to clear his name and past crimes to the chorus of elders of Colonus as well as to Theseus, as representative of Athens, launching a legalistic defense of his actions. He repeatedly defends himself by insisting that he killed his father in self-defense and married his own mother in ignorance. Although the chorus insists that pollution dwells in Oedipus (1134), and Oedipus himself admits that he cannot touch Theseus, Oedipus also asserts that he is clean according to the law (νόμῳ δὲ καθαρός, 548).

Like a Greek traveler (*theōros*), Oedipus observes the *nomoi* of Colonus and Athens and compares these with those of his home *polis* of Thebes. When Ismene arrives, Oedipus suddenly remarks upon the customs of his family, likening them to practices in Egypt:

Οἱ. ὦ πάντ’ ἐκείνω τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νόμοις
φύσιν κατεικασθέντε καὶ βίου τροφάς·
ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄρσενες κατὰ στέγας
θακοῦσιν ἰστουργοῦντες, αἱ δὲ σύννομοι
τᾶξω βίου τροφεῖα πορσύνουσ’ ἀεὶ.
σφῶν δ’ ὃ τέκν’, οὓς μὲν εἰκὸς ἦν πονεῖν τάδε,
κατ’ οἶκον οἰκουροῦσιν ὥστε παρθένοι,
σφῶ δ’ ἀντ’ ἐκείνοι τὰμὰ δυστήνου κακὰ
ὑπερπονεῖτον.

337–45

Oedipus: Oh in every way those two [Polyneices and Eteocles] resemble the customs in Egypt, in their nature and in their way of life. For there the men stay in the house weaving, and their female partners always provide the means of life outside. And in your case, children, the ones who ought to perform these labors reside at home, like *parthenoi*, and the two of you, in place of them, toil on behalf of your unhappy father.

74. Theseus’ response to Oedipus is in marked contrast to the curiosity of the chorus about Oedipus’ past.

75. Theseus’ distinction between Creon and the Thebans, however, is noteworthy (919–31). The Thebans would not praise Creon, according to Theseus, if they knew what he was doing.

According to Oedipus, gender roles have been inverted in his family, as in Egypt. There, Oedipus explains, the men remain inside, while the women go outdoors to take care of external responsibilities that were, for the Greeks, associated with the masculine sphere. Such inversions hold in the case of Oedipus' own family: while Eteocles and Polyneices ought to leave the house and travel to him, as Ismene has done, they sit at home like *parthenoi*, while the girls take on male roles. Oedipus continues, remarking that Antigone has, in the past, been a wanderer with him (πλανωμένη, 347), providing sustenance. Meanwhile Ismene has been bringing all of the prophecies (μαντεῖ' ἄγουσα πάντα, 354) to Oedipus in secret, and has functioned as his guard (φύλαξ, 355). Later in the play, when Oedipus is speaking to Polyneices, he returns to this theme of gender inversions when he says of Antigone and Ismene, "these girls are *men*, not women with regard to working with me" (1368).

Oedipus' remarks here echo Herodotus 2.35, where, along with a mention of the way Egyptians knead dough and how they wear their hair, Herodotus describes typical male and female roles. Although Oedipus does not mention it explicitly here, Herodotus includes another gender inversion, as the historian explains that, while Greek sons were obliged to care for their parents—an important duty emphasized in archaic and classical literature—Egyptian sons were not required to support their parents.⁷⁶ Instead, Egyptian *daughters* were required to do so, even if they were unwilling (τρέφειν τοὺς τοκέας τοῖσι μὲν παισὶ οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη μὴ βουλομένοισι, τῇσι δὲ θυγατράσι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ βουλομένῃσι, 2.35.4). In *Oedipus at Colonus*, Eteocles and Polyneices do not carry out the fundamental Greek duty of caring for their father. As a result, Antigone and Ismene perform what should be their brothers' roles, traveling for and with Oedipus and acting as his support. Oedipus explains to Polyneices:

εἰ δ' ἐξέφυσα τάσδε μὴ ἴμαντῶ τροφούς
 τὰς παῖδας, ἧ τὰν οὐκ ἂν ἦ, τὸ σὸν μέρος·
 νῦν δ' αἶδε μ' ἐκσώζουσιν, αἶδ' ἐμαὶ τροφοί,
 αἶδ' ἄνδρες, οὐ γυναικες, ἐς τὸ συμπονεῖν.

1365–68

But if I had not begotten these daughters as support for me, I would not be alive for all you care. But as it is, these daughters protect me, these daughters are my nurses, these daughters are men, not women, with regard to working with me.

Just as daughters support their parents (τρέφειν) in Herodotus' Egypt, so too Oedipus' daughters serve as support (τροφοί, "nurses") to Oedipus. As Ismene leaves the stage to carry out the ritual for the Eumenides, she formulates the notion that children have an obligation to their parents in language that resembles a platitude for a dutiful Greek son ("if one toils for one's parents, one must not remember

76. See West 1998 on Herodotus 2.35. For the obligation, see also Daly 1986. See Hesiod *Works and Days* 185–88, where *θερεπτήρια* denotes the duty of sons (the Attic equivalent is *τροφεῖα*).

that it is toil,” 508–509). Polyneices admits he has not complied with this basic *nomos* when he addresses Oedipus and says: “I bear witness to the fact that I am the worst of men in regard to your support (τροφαῖς),” 1265.

Oedipus travels to Colonus where the civilized *nomoi* of Theseus and Athens hold sway. Here he realizes how unGreek the customs of his Theban family are, how similar to those in Egypt. Not only does the role of Ismene and Antigone reflect an Egyptianesque inversion of conventional practice, but the narrative of the archaic sage also helps make sense of the “strange intrusion” of the “Egyptian digression.”⁷⁷ The archaic sage typically makes a journey abroad, often to Egypt. Solon, for example, travels to Amasis in Egypt before going to visit Croesus (Herodotus 1.29–30.1, cf. 2.177–78; [Aristotle] *Ath. Pol.* 11.1), and other sages, such as Lycurgus, also made trips to Egypt.⁷⁸ Oedipus’ remarks comparing the customs of his family to those that hold sway in Egypt, then, not only echo Herodotus and draw upon the Greek obligation for sons to care for their parents,⁷⁹ but the passage also evokes the life cycle of the archaic lawgiver or sage, inasmuch as Oedipus “visits” Egypt in the course of his speech. I do not suggest that we are to imagine that Oedipus actually visited Egypt; nevertheless, like the theoric sage who draws upon ethnographic comparanda thanks to his travels, so too near the end of his life and after extensive wandering and travel, Oedipus remarks on the “Egyptian” customs of his daughters.

The narrative of the archaic Greek sage tends to progress from *anomia* to *eunomia*, from crisis to social stability.⁸⁰ Solon, for example, leaves Athens in a state of *eunomia* when he departs on his *theôria*. Oedipus, by contrast, leaves Thebes in a state of *anomia* when he departs (or rather, when he is thrown out). Oedipus, then, inverts the typical trajectory familiar to the archaic lawgiver, as Oedipus leaves his *polis* in a state of instability. The instability and *anomia* at Thebes will endure, but Oedipus brings *eunomia* to Athens. To understand more clearly the endurance of instability and destruction in Thebes, as balanced by salvation and rule of law in Athens, I turn now to the role of Oedipus’ daughters. Because Oedipus’ sons refuse the basic Greek obligation of supporting their father, the daughters step into the role. The support that Antigone and Ismene provide, as we shall see, is theoric, contributing to Oedipus’ sightseeing at Colonus.

ISMENE AND ANTIGONE AS SUPPLEMENTARY *THEÔROI*

As Creon seizes Antigone (he has already taken Ismene), he explicitly characterizes the two daughters as a walking stick on which the aged traveler leans.

77. Travis 1999: 209 so characterizes the passage.

78. Lycurgus traveled to Crete, Egypt, and Ionia. See Ephorus *ap.* Strabo 10.14.9 (= *FGrHist* 70 F 149); Hecataeus of Abdera *ap.* Diod. 1.96.2–3 (= *FGrHist* 264 F 25); Plutarch *Moralia* 345e, *Lycurgus* 4.

79. See, e.g., Jebb 1907: 61–62; Segal 1981: 365; Daly 1986; Markantonatos 2002: 55–56.

80. Szegedy-Maszak 1978.

He threatens Oedipus: “you will no longer travel (ὁδοιπορήσης) with these two supports (σκήπτροις)” (848–49). Oedipus himself uses the same word to describe Antigone and Ismene later, as Theseus returns his daughters to him, exclaiming, “supports for a man!” (ὧ σκήπτρα φωτός, 1109).⁸¹ It is significant that the daughters are figured as an implement employed by a traveler to assist him in his journey.

Though described as a unit (a *pair* of children, τέκνων . . . συνωρίς, 894–95),⁸² Antigone and Ismene serve as Oedipus’ supports in distinct ways. Antigone watches and observes—the primary function of a *theōros*—serving literally as Oedipus’ eyes and offering important information about landscape, people, and customs. The opening lines of the play underscore this aspect of their relationship when Oedipus asks, “daughter of a blind man (τυφλοῦ), Antigone, to what place have we come?” (1–2). Antigone responds “the towers that surround the city [of Athens] are far away to judge by my eyes (ὡς ἀπ’ ὀμμάτων).” Oedipus describes Antigone as having sight for the two of them, when he remarks to the unnamed foreigner that she sees “both on behalf of me and on behalf of herself” (τῆς ὑπέρ τ’ ἐμοῦ/ αὐτῆς θ’ ὁρώσης, 33–34). Oedipus also refers to himself as proceeding by means of the eyes of others (ἄλλοτρίοις/ ὄμμασιν, 146–47), explaining that he is “anchored” upon Antigone. Most strikingly, he refers to Antigone as “the one poor eye” (ψιλὸν ὄμμα, 866) he has left, when Creon snatches her away, at that moment calling upon Helios, who sees all (ὁ πάντα λεύσσω “Ἥλιος, 869): “you most hateful man, having snatched away my only remaining eye by force, now lost to me in addition to the eyes I lost earlier” (866–67).⁸³

While Antigone never leaves Oedipus’ side (except when she is forcibly removed by Creon), and the two are physically united through much of the play, Oedipus relies on Ismene’s oracle-delivering. Ismene herself does not travel to Delphi to consult the oracle, but she conveys information gleaned from oracular *theōria*. In a truly surprising moment, when theatergoers are expecting Theseus to arrive, an unidentified individual appears. Antigone exclaims:

Αν. ὦ Ζεῦ, τί λέξω; . . .
 . . . γυναιῖχ’ ὀρῶ
 στείχουσιν ἡμῶν ἄσسون, Αἰτναίας ἐπὶ
 πώλου βεβῶσαν· κρατὶ δ’ ἡλιοστερῆς

81. For σκήπτρον as daughter supporting a parent, see also Euripides *Hecuba* 280. When Theseus returns his daughters to Oedipus after the kidnapping by Creon, Oedipus explains, “I have what is most dear to me (ἔχω τὰ φίλτατ’), and I would not be entirely wretched if I were to die with you two standing near me” (1110–11). Here, he emphasizes that the daughters are as dear to him as his own life. Oedipus’ reliance on Antigone is underscored when he explains that he is moored upon (ῥμουν) her (146–48).

82. συνωρίς may refer to any pair, e.g., a pair of horses.

83. The close connection between Oedipus and Antigone is also underscored when Antigone employs the dual to refer to the two of them (29). Their two bodies are physically intertwined (199, 200), as the chorus situate Oedipus near the grove. Antigone intervenes at important moments. She informs Oedipus when people are approaching; she makes suggestions about when to remain silent (111) and when it is safe to speak (82–83). She beseeches the chorus at a crucial moment when the chorus is preparing to expel them (237–54) (cf. Segal 1981: 373). Oedipus asks Antigone for advice (170, 213, 216). Cf. Scodel 1984: 109.

κυνῆ πρόσωπα Θεσσαλὶς νιν ἀμπέχει.
 τί φωνῶ;
 ἄρ' ἔστιν; ἄρ' οὐκ ἔστιν; ἢ γνώμη πλανᾷ;
 καὶ φημὶ κάποφημι κοῦκ ἔχω τί φῶ.
 τάλαινα,
 οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη.

310–19

Antigone: Zeus, what am I to say? . . . I see a woman coming near us, approaching on an Aetnaean horse. On her head she wears a Thessalian sun hat. What am I to say? Is it she? Is it not she? Is my mind wandering? I both assert it and deny it and I do not know what to say. O wretched one, it is no other.

Most scholars remark on the extraordinary nature of Ismene's arrival, certainly emphasized by Antigone's words, which provide an accumulation of detail, culminating at last with an identification, "head of Ismene" (Ισμήνης κάρα, 321).⁸⁴ Ismene's Thessalian hat, which shields the sun from her face, and her Sicilian horse further draw attention to the fact that she has journeyed a great distance.⁸⁵ The fact that Ismene arrives bringing oracles is curious, since many other motives for Ismene's presence readily come to mind; she might, for example, have brought Oedipus food or clothing.⁸⁶

Although early in the play Oedipus recognizes that he is meant to die at the grove of the Eumenides, he needs the crucial information about the oracles (μαντεύματα, 387) that Ismene brings, namely, the information that Oedipus will one day be sought living and dead by the Thebans for their safety (εὐσοίας, 390). Oedipus asks from whom Ismene heard this oracle. She responds, "from *theōroi* returning from the Delphic hearth (ἀνδρῶν θεωρῶν Δελφικῆς ἄφ' ἐστίας, 413) . . . so say the ones who returned to the plain of Thebes" (415). Ismene, furthermore, informs Oedipus that Creon is coming to Colonus in order to take Oedipus back to Thebes and place the polluted man within Theban territory but not Thebes proper.

Not only has Ismene come at this particular moment to deliver information from *theōroi* who have returned to Thebes from the oracle at Delphi, but she has also been coming in the past to Oedipus to deliver oracles (μαντεῖα, 354) in secret, though we do not learn what these other oracles were. When asked why she has come this time, she responds that she has traveled to be a "deliverer of news"

84. Burian 1974: 412.

85. For Ismene's hat and horse as markers of a traveler, see Segal 1981: 365. Ismene is wearing a Thessalian hat (κυνῆ, 314). The typical word for traveler's hat, πέτασος, is not here used to describe Ismene's headgear, but the κυνῆ (which can be a sort of military hat or helmet, as well as a special cap that allows one to become invisible) must have some sort of brim to block out the sun (and thus somewhat like a πέτασος) because it is modified by the phrase ἡλιοστερῆς . . . πρόσωπα). Oedipus wears a πέτασος in classical Athenian vase painting when confronting the Sphinx. For example, see *LIMC* Oidipous 19 (Attic red-figure kylix, ca. 480–470 BCE, Vatican, Mus. Greg. Etr. 16541, from Vulci, *ARI*² 451, 1).

86. Cf. Linforth 1951: 91.

(λόγων . . . αὐτάγγελος, 333).⁸⁷ Ismene herself interprets recent events for Oedipus. Confused by the information that Creon is on his way to Colonus, Oedipus asks Ismene to interpret this statement (ἐρμήνευέ μοι, 398), a verb that Cassandra uses in Euripides' *Trojan Women* (429) in connection with oracular *theôria* and Apollo.

The combined knowledge of the new prophecies received by the Thebans and delivered by Ismene, as well as the old prophecies Oedipus heard himself from Apollo, allows Oedipus to fully understand and act. Armed with Ismene's information, he is able to pronounce that his sons will not have him as ally, nor will they have the benefit of the kingship of Thebes (450–52): “This I know well (τοῦτ' ἐγὼ ἴδα)” Oedipus explains, “hearing the prophecies from this girl here, and understanding the ancient oracles which Apollo has finally fulfilled for me” (τῇσδὲ τε/μαντεῖ' ἀκούων, συννοῶν τε θέσφατα/παλαίφαθ' ἅμοι Φοῖβος ἤνυσέν ποτε, 452–54). Oedipus' use of the Greek verb οἶδα, “I know,” which carries the additional meaning “I have seen,” could not be more appropriate. Because of the information provided by Ismene's prophecies, Oedipus is able to attain full vision.⁸⁸

Although the chorus, Oedipus' daughters, and the audience all expect that Oedipus will perform the ritual for the Eumenides described at length by the chorus, Ismene carries it out in his stead.⁸⁹ After the careful description of the ritual and Oedipus' repeated requests for clarification, Oedipus remarks, “I cannot travel: for I fall short in that I lack strength and sight, two evils” (ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐχ ὁδωτά· λείπομαι γὰρ ἐν/τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι μηδ' ὁρᾶν, δυοῖν κακοῖν, 495–96). He then enjoins one daughter to carry out the ritual and the other to remain with him as guide (ὕφηγητής, 502). This passage with its evocation of the road (ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐχ ὁδωτά) succinctly represents Oedipus as incomplete *theôros*, who on his own falls short (λείπομαι). Relying on Ismene and Antigone, however, Oedipus is able to complete his theoric journey, as the two daughters are able to remedy his two deficiencies (δυοῖν κακοῖν). Throughout *Oedipus at Colonus*, Ismene and Antigone serve as supplementary *theôroi* for blind Oedipus, who describes himself as a mere “image” of a man (εἶδωλον, 110).

During much of the play, Ismene, Antigone, and Oedipus are together onstage, and such a visual tableau emphasizes their close connection: the three are together from the arrival of Ismene until her departure to carry out the ritual; they are onstage again, when they are reunited (after Creon's abduction of the daughters) until Oedipus proceeds offstage to die.⁹⁰ When Theseus restores Ismene and Antigone

87. Cf. Sophocles *Philoctetes* 568, where αὐτάγγελος is used of Odysseus to mean “one who delivers the message himself.” In Thucydides (3.33), αὐτάγγελος refers to one who reports on what one has seen.

88. By attaining full vision, I do not suggest that Oedipus becomes divine or superhuman during this play. For the connections between Oedipus' name and the verb οἶδα, see Goldhill 1986: 217–21.

89. Henrichs 2004 notes that this is a “rare instance of vicarious ritual performance,” 195, and calls it an “exceptional turn of events. Oedipus committed the trespassing and he should be the one who repairs the damage through performance of the ritual,” 196.

90. The three are united in misery, sharing the adjective δύσμορος at 331, and later, when Antigone exclaims that the two are “miserable staves (σκηπτρα) of a miserable man,” (δυσμόρου γε δύσμορα, 1109).

to their father, Oedipus exclaims, “Lean on me, daughter, each of you on either side of me, clinging to the one who produced you (ἐμφύντε τῷ φύσαντι),” 1112–14. Here, Oedipus, in effect, enjoins his daughters to merge with him physically so that the three may become one, inasmuch as the participle ἐμφύντε can mean literally “growing into.”⁹¹ The messenger’s description of their final moments offers the audience an additional image of the three of them in Oedipus’s last moments of life, clinging to one another (ἀμφικείμενοι, 1620). But Oedipus and his daughters must go their separate ways at the end of the play: Oedipus to his death in Colonus, the daughters back to Thebes.⁹²

TWO THEORIC RETURNS: SALVATION AND DESTRUCTION, COLONUS AND THEBES

At the start of the play, Oedipus employs the metaphor of a race to describe Colonus as his “goal”:

ὅς μοι, τὰ πόλλ’ ἐκεῖν’ ὅτ’ ἐξέχρη κακά,
ταύτην ἔλεξε παῦλαν ἐν χρόνῳ μακρῷ,
ἐλθόντι χώραν τερμίαν ὅπου θεῶν
σεμνῶν ἔδραν λάβοιμι καὶ ξενόστασιν,
ἐνταῦθα κάμψειν τὸν ταλαίπωρον βίον.

87–91

[Apollo] told me, when he predicted those many other evils, that this would be my respite after much time, when I had reached the land that would be my goal, where I would obtain the seat of the Semnai Theai and lodging for a foreigner and that here I would double back and reach the end of my long-suffering life.⁹³

Many Greek races had two equal “legs,” κῶλα—a “trip out” and a “trip in”—on a race-track shaped like a hair pin. When Oedipus employs the verb κάμψειν (91), “to bend” or “to make the last turn,” after the mention of his “goal,” (τερμίαν, 89), he evokes such a race, for example, the δίαυλος, which required travel around a post.⁹⁴ Oedipus’ words are reminiscent of Clytemnestra’s remark regarding the

91. For the use of the verb to mean “cling,” see, e.g., Homer *Iliad* 6.253, *Odyssey* 10.397, and Euripides *Ion* 891. The fact that Oedipus has just referred to his two daughters as “dearest shoots” (φύλατ’ ἔρνη, 1108) perhaps contributes to the vegetal imagery latent in ἐμφύντε.

92. After Oedipus’ death, the two emphasize their separation from Oedipus, each employing the adjective ἐρήμιος, 1714, 1717.

93. Because the same post in longer races will have also marked the end of the race, Barrett (1964: 175–76) explains that κάμψαι “to round (a turning post)” comes to mean “to reach the end” or “fulfill.”

94. Antigone earlier had enjoined Oedipus, “bend your limbs” (κῶλα κάμψον, 19), i.e., “sit down” at the place where they had arrived. Although the words are the same here as those used in the passage that contains the evocative imagery of the race later in the play, in this case κάμψειν retains its basic meaning, “to bend,” and κῶλα retains its basic meaning, “limbs.”

Greek return from Troy in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*: "to achieve a salvific home-coming they must round the post and fulfill the return journey" (δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς οἴκους νοστήμιον σωτηρίας/ κάμψαι διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον πάλιν, 343–44). Like the Greeks who return to Argos after the Trojan War, Oedipus must round the post and finish the return journey to receive a salvific return.

In Oedipus' case, the two "legs" of the race map onto the outbound and returning journeys of theoric travel. Although he set out from Thebes, Oedipus will receive his salvific "return" in *Colonus*, as *Colonus* becomes his adopted home.⁹⁵ Later in the play, Oedipus again mentions the "goal," in connection with *sôtêria*, when he remarks, "dearest elders, may the goal of safety (τέρμα τῆς σωτηρίας) now be shown to me by you," (724–25). Upon his arrival to *Colonus*, Oedipus has completed the trip out in the "race of life," and he has rounded the post. But he will not return to his wretched home (ἄθλιον δόμον, 370); instead he will "return" to *Colonus*.

Colonus is, then, simultaneously theoric space and new home for Oedipus, who, as we have seen, is both spectacle and *theôros*. That *Colonus* is Oedipus' new place of residence is underscored from the opening scene, which is peppered with words related to habitation. Oedipus wonders if the place is inhabited (ἐξοικήσιμος, 27). It is indeed inhabited (οἰκητός, 28), explains Antigone, for she sees a man approaching (cf. 39, 64–65). An agitated chorus arrive in the *parodos* singing, "where is he dwelling?" (ποῦ ναίει; 117). Here, the chorus' choice of the verb ναίειν, "to live," or "to dwell," is proleptic, underscoring the fact that Oedipus is not going to budge from his seat (45).⁹⁶ Oedipus remains, despite the fact that the chorus, Creon, and Polyneices, and even Theseus all try to convince him to leave. Oedipus insists, however, that "this is the place" (ὁ χῶρος ἐσθ' ὅδε, 644) where he will have power over those who threw him out of Thebes (644, 646), and he signals his intention to remain there as permanent resident (οἰκήσαντα, 92; οἰκητήρα, 627). Theseus too emphasizes that Oedipus will remain as he establishes Oedipus as a dweller in the land (χώρα δ' ἔμπολιν κατοικιῶ, 637) in a problematic and much-discussed line.⁹⁷ ἔμπολιν is a conjecture that most scholars accept, a word that can mean "dweller" or "citizen." Yet, even if the conjecture is rejected, the phrase χώρα . . . κατοικιῶ (I will settle him in the land) indicates that Oedipus is in some sense incorporated into *Colonus* and Attica.

Oedipus "returns" to his new home community of *Colonus* to go to his death there, and *Colonus* is, fittingly, figured as the threshold to the Underworld. Archaic and classical Greek literature commonly describes death as a pilgrimage, a journey

95. Oedipus is in need of safety and protection even as he bestows *sôtêria* on Athens; see 262, 276, 725, 1210. Cf. Burian 1974: 418.

96. Cf. Kirkwood 1986: 112. Before the chorus arrive singing "where is he dwelling?" (117), the verb is employed by Oedipus to mean (quite clearly) to inhabit (64), and it is so employed again later by the chorus (137). Cf. 812.

97. ἔμπολιν is Musgrave's conjecture. The manuscript reading is ἔμπαλιν. For a recent discussion, see Tzanetou 2012: 127–28, and see also, e.g., Jebb 1907: 108; Vidal-Naquet 1990: 342–47; Wilson 1997: 63–90; Bakewell 1999; Tzanetou 2009.

to a land faraway, imagined as another “home,” namely, the house of Hades, which receives those exiled from life.⁹⁸ Such a journey may be figured specifically as *theôria*. In Aeschylus’ *Seven Against Thebes*, Charon’s boat is a *θεωρίς* (857), a sacred ship that conveys *theôroi* to their destination. In such a formulation, an individual’s return trip marks the journey to death and Hades is the ultimate home community to which all mortals return after their theoric travel. While the Greeks did not imagine two-way journeys on Charon’s boat (poetry does not require exact, one-to-one correspondences every time it uses evocative imagery), when death is imagined as journey home to Hades, the implication is that the individual has taken an earlier outbound journey to life.

Inasmuch as death may be imagined as a theoric journey, it is appropriate, then, to find elements of *theôria*—an emphasis on vision and travel to a sacred space—in a play that underscores Oedipus’ transition from life to death. At the start of the play, the unnamed stranger explains to Oedipus, “the place where you walk is called the bronze-footed threshold of this land” (57), a line that seems to refer to the space mentioned later by the messenger, who reports that Oedipus led his daughters and Theseus to “the threshold that plunges down, rooted in the earth with bronze steps” (1590–91). Such a bronze threshold marks the entrance to Hades in Hesiod’s *Theogony* (811). In *Oedipus at Colonus*, the bronze threshold is also situated near what appears to be a memorial of Theseus and Perithus, whose descent to the Underworld is thereby recalled (1593–94).⁹⁹ As Oedipus goes to his death, he remarks that Hermes and Persephone lead him (1547–48). After Oedipus has died and Antigone and Ismene have returned onstage, Antigone remarks that she wishes to follow Oedipus to Hades: “a longing possesses me . . . to see the home beneath the earth (τὰν χθόνιον ἐστίαν ἰδεῖν, 1726) . . . our father’s home.”

Oedipus’ death, then, evokes a theoric passage to the Underworld, his new and final “home,” drawing on associations in Greek literature between *theôria* and death. Pythagoras is said to have promulgated the notion that human life is like the Olympic festival, where all of Greece gathers.¹⁰⁰ At such a festival, three kinds of people are present. One group comes to win athletic glory, another comes to buy and sell; a third group, the noblest men, are the *theôroi* who come solely for the sake of spectating. Later philosophers, like Aristotle (*Protrepticus* Düring B44), using the same festival image and perhaps drawing on Pythagoras, define *theôria* in opposition to practical

98. For associations between death and *theôria* in Plato, see Rutherford 1995: 290 and 2013: 328–29; Nightingale 2001. Hades is always short for “the house of Hades” in Homer and tragedy. In *Oedipus at Colonus*, the metaphor of death as journey appears, inasmuch as Hades has “gates frequented by strangers” (πόλαισι . . . πολυξένοις, 1569–70). The gates are thus imagined to receive foreigners. Cf. Rehm 2004: 34. In other texts, the dead are imagined to be “immigrating” to the Underworld. See, e.g., Euripides *Hippolytus* 836–37; Plato *Phaedo* 117c.

99. Cf. Σ 1593 (Elmsley-Dindorf), which implies that this has to do with a memorial and their *katabasis*.

100. Attributed to Pythagoras by Heraclides of Pontus (fourth century BCE), according to Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 5.3. See Rutherford 2013: 325–26. Cf. Iamblichus *Life of Pythagoras* 58. On the passage, see, e.g., Burkert 1960; Gottschalk 1980: 29–33; Rutherford 1995: 289; Nightingale 2004: 17–19.

activities, such as athletics or money-making, using *theôria* as a model for philosophical contemplation. The passage attributed to Pythagoras suggests that we are born, participate in the festival of life in one of three ways—the most worthy way is participation in *theôria* or contemplation—and then die. In *Oedipus at Colonus*, the chorus explain, it is best not to be born, but if one does enter mortal existence, as soon as one appears it is best to return whence one came as quickly as possible (τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ φανῆ/βῆναι κεῖθεν ὅθεν περ ἤ/-κει πολὺ δεύτερον ὡς τάχιστα, 1225–27). The chorus' remarks can be seen to evoke the philosophic notion of *theôria* as metaphor for the journey to life as well as the journey to death, figuring Oedipus as *theôros*, who returns to death whence he came. The chorus sing of Oedipus' journey to death as he goes offstage, departing Colonus, which over the course of the play has become, in effect, the theoric site of life, to travel to the Underworld, praying that he may arrive without struggle and with no painful fate to the plain of the dead and the house of Styx (Στύγιον δόμον, 1564).

Oedipus has been expelled twice from his home by the time he arrives in Colonus—once from Thebes by his father because of a prophecy, again from Thebes at some point after the revelation of his parricide and incest.¹⁰¹ And still again, at the start of the play, Oedipus is expelled from the sacred grove of Colonus, when he inadvertently treads where he must not and the chorus must reposition him.¹⁰² At long last, however, Oedipus “returns home,” when he dies in Colonus, and Theseus insists he will not expel Oedipus (ἐκβάλλειν, 631, 636). By contrast, Oedipus insists that in Colonus he will have power over those who threw him out (ἐν ᾧ κρατήσω τῶν ἔμ' ἐκβεβληκότων, 646).

While Oedipus' death in Colonus (his return to his “home” of Colonus) brings *sôtêria* to Athens, the salvation that Athens receives from Oedipus' theoric journey is balanced by the death and destruction that Thebes receives. “By your words,” Oedipus explains angrily to Creon, “you will get more evils than salvation” (ἐν δὲ τῷ λέγειν/ κάκ' ἂν λάβοις τὰ πλείον' ἢ σωτήρια, 795–96). Oedipus has destructive power over his home *polis* by remaining in Colonus. Yet the play insists that a return journey to the home community of Thebes must be undertaken as Oedipus remains in Colonus, and it is Oedipus' daughters who carry out this return.

Inasmuch as Ismene and Antigone are necessary to the successful completion of Oedipus' *theôria* and to his ability to confer benefits on Athens, as I have argued, the kidnapping of the daughters and Creon's attempt to remove Oedipus forcibly from Colonus represents a threat far more dire than merely the theft of a father's beloved daughters and the involuntary return home of an exile. Because Oedipus must die near Athens for Attica to receive salvation and for Thebes to receive destruction, the removal of the daughters from their father's side before

101. See 1257 where the verb *ekballein* is used by Polyneices to describe how Oedipus has been thrown out of Thebes; cf. 646. Cf. Bowlby 2010: 191. At the end of *Oedipus the King*, despite the talk of exile, Oedipus goes into the palace. On the inconclusive ending of the play, see, e.g., Burian 2009.

102. The chorus force Oedipus to travel again (μεταναστάς, 175). Once he is situated, they realize who he is and nearly expel him again, but they ultimately allow him to remain.

Oedipus has completed his theoric journey, which includes dying just outside of Athens, puts the entire project in jeopardy.

Oedipus is able to confer *sôtêria* on *either Athens or Thebes*. Oedipus, Ismene explains, is sought “for the sake of the well-being [of the Thebans]” (εὐσοίας χάριν, 390). And Polyneices explains that whomever Oedipus joins will be powerful (οἷς ἂν σὺ προσθῇ, τοῖσδ’ ἔφασκ’ εἶναι κράτος, 1332). Later, Polyneices remarks: “without you I do not have the strength even to be saved” (σωθῆναι, 1345). Salvation comes to the *polis* that Oedipus joins. As they imagine the battle between Thebans and Athenians, the chorus sing, “terrible is the martial strength (Ares) of the natives, and terrible is the might of Theseus’ men” (δαινὸς ὁ προσχώρων Ἄρης/ δαινὰ δὲ Θησεῖδ᾽ ἀκμά, 1065–66). The repetition of the adjective “terrible” (δαινός) to describe both Thebes and Athens emphasizes the equivalence of the two *poleis*. Yet Oedipus makes clear that he chooses Athens.

When Oedipus left Corinth to travel to Thebes, he believed he was participating in an outward movement away from his home. He was mistaken. Oedipus’ life was disastrously affected by this departure that was instead a return. Similarly, Oedipus’ family, the Labdacids, are associated with *theôria*—a journey out and a return home—that brings destruction, inasmuch as oracular *theôria* plays an important and destructive role in their family history. All of Sophocles’ plays contain some reference to oracles, yet not all oracles are associated with *theôria*. For example, Tiresias’ pronouncements in *Oedipus the King* and Helenus’ prophecy in *Philoctetes* are not theoric.¹⁰³ The oracles connected with the Labdacids, however, specifically involve travel.¹⁰⁴ In *Oedipus the King*, Creon explains that it was during Laius’ trip as *theôros* (114) to consult the oracle at Delphi that he was killed: “he set out from home as *theôros*, as he said, and did not return” (θεωρός, ὥς ἔφασκεν, ἐκδημῶν πάλιν/ πρὸς οἶκον οὐκέθ’ ἔκεθ’ ὥς ἀπεστάλη, 114–15).¹⁰⁵ Laius embarked on a theoric journey and failed to make the return trip. At the end of *Oedipus the King*, Oedipus imagines the miserable future life of his daughters. Because of their father’s crimes, Oedipus explains that Ismene and Antigone will return home weeping instead of participating in *theôria* (1490–91).¹⁰⁶

So too in *Oedipus at Colonus*, *theôria* results in destruction—for *Thebes*. At the end of the play, Ismene and Antigone indicate that they are returning home. “Send us to Thebes, in the hope that we may prevent the slaughter approaching our brothers,” they beg (1769–72). Theseus agrees, and as the play ends, we are to understand that Antigone and Ismene will complete their theoric journey, returning home to Thebes after their visit to the sacred site of Colonus. Much foreboding hangs over the sisters’ return journey since, as theatergoers were aware, Polyneices’ expedition against

103. Cf. Calchas’ (non-theoric) prophecy in Sophocles *Ajax* (745–83).

104. Cf. Sophocles *Women of Trachis*, where Heracles goes to Dodona to consult the oracle (169–72).

105. See Rutherford 2013: 98 and 98n.34, on the passage.

106. ποίας γὰρ ἀστῶν ἤξετ’ εἰς ὁμιλίας/ ποίας δ’ ἐορτάς ἔνθεν οὐ κεκλαυμέναι/ πρὸς οἶκον ἔξεσθ’ ἀντὶ τῆς θεωρίας; “to what assemblies, what festivals will you go, whence you will not return home weeping instead of participating in spectacles,” 1490–91. On the passage, see Rutherford 2013: 52.

Thebes will be unsuccessful and both brothers will die. Antigone will die soon after, having carried out burial ritual for Polyneices. Polyneices alludes to these future events (and indeed alludes to Sophocles' earlier play, *Antigone*) when he refers to Antigone's and Ismene's return to Thebes (ἐς δόμους . . . νόστος, 1408–1409) and asks for appropriate funeral rites.¹⁰⁷

But while the other Labdacids' *theōria* brings destruction and will continue to do so, Oedipus' *theōria* in *Oedipus at Colonus* brings salvation—at least salvation for Athens. Just as Laius departed as *theōros* and died, never returning to Thebes, so too Oedipus in *Oedipus at Colonus* departs as *theōros* and dies, never returning to Thebes. In so doing, however, Oedipus safeguards Athens, his new home.

At the end of *Oedipus at Colonus*, the theoric space of Colonus disappears, as the place that will memorialize Oedipus becomes no place, for everyone, that is, except Theseus. Colonus is returned to its local, regional identity, even as Oedipus' body is imagined to have protecting force. Oedipus does receive a tomb, but only Theseus (μόνος, 1527) is permitted to know the location. And Theseus alone, Oedipus insists, will hand this information down to a single descendent, and so on. Oedipus does not reveal the location of his tomb to the citizens of Colonus, or to his children, or, for that matter, to the audience. Ismene and Antigone accompany Oedipus and Theseus offstage to bathe and dress him, but the messenger reports that the sisters were not present during Oedipus' final moments. After his death, Antigone's request to view the tomb of Oedipus (“we wish to see [προσιδεῖν] with our own eyes the tomb,” 1756–57) is met with refusal. Once their father has died, Antigone laments to Ismene, “deadly night has come upon our eyes” (1683–84), underscoring their metaphorical blindness. Even Theseus' ability to see what ultimately happens to Oedipus is compromised: the messenger reports that when he looked back, Oedipus was gone, and Theseus was holding his hand to his face to shield his eyes, as if from a fearful vision, unbearable to look upon (1650–52).¹⁰⁸

The audience is ultimately grouped in with the characters who are not permitted the knowledge of the location of the tomb. The spectators watching *Oedipus at Colonus* in the *theatron* (place for viewing, in this case the Theater of Dionysus) and sharing in the spectacle may also be seen to be participating in *theōria* along with the other characters. The audience's theoric travel to Colonus is metaphorical,

107. Polyneices' “theoric” journey to Colonus results in disaster too. Oedipus curses Polyneices, exclaiming that he will not return to Argos (μήτε νοστήσαι ποτε/ τὸ κοῖλον Ἄργος, 1386–87). (Polyneices has married an Argive woman and is gathering forces to attack Thebes from there.) Instead, Oedipus calls on dark powers to give Polyneices a new home in Hades (ὥς σ' ἀποκίση, 1390). The chorus says that they do not find pleasure in Polyneices' travels (ὁδοῖς, 1397) and urge him to return as quickly as possible (νῦν τ' ἴθ' ὥς τάχος πάλιν, 1398). As Polyneices departs, knowing that his father has cursed him, he characterizes his travel as catastrophic and ruinous, exclaiming, “alas for my journey!” (οἶμοι κελεύθου, 1399), and crying, “what an end for our travel from Argos! I am wretched” (οἶον ἄρ' ὁδοῦ τέλος/ Ἄργους ἀφωρμήθημεν, ὦ τάλας ἐγώ, 1400). Cf. 1432–33, where he refers to his journey (ὁδός) as ill-fated and evil (δύσποτμός τε καὶ κακὴ).

108. See Easterling forthcoming on lines 1649–52.

involving imaginative participation in the theatrical festival in Athens.¹⁰⁹ And indeed, we might see the disappearance of the theoric space of Colonus as similar to the disappearance of theatrical space at the end of all plays, since, at the end of every comedy and tragedy, the imagined space where the drama takes place gives up its special quality and disappears.

Oedipus at Colonus, a play that is filled with allusions to the cultural practice of *theōria* and that underscores the theme of vision, ultimately denies the characters and audience participation in this final spectacle and concludes with the disappearance of theoric space. Oedipus' tomb will exist paradoxically as a memorial the precise location of which is unseen, secret, and hidden, and Colonus will no longer serve as a tourist attraction associated with Oedipus to which people will travel.¹¹⁰

Ultimately, it is memory, not vision, that is stressed once Oedipus' theoric journey has drawn to a close. Oedipus' final words underscore the importance of the act of civic memory in place of a visible grave: "Dearest of strangers, you yourself, and this land, and your attendants, may you be blessed, and in prosperity remember me after I am dead for your good fortune always" (φιλτατε ξένων,/ αὐτός τε χώρα θ' ἦδε πρόσπολοί τε σοὶ/ εὐδαίμονες γένοισθε, κάπ' εὐπραξίᾳ/ μέμνησθέ μου θανόντος εὐτυχεῖς αἰεὶ, 1552–55). The entire community—the land and the people—will participate in the memory of Oedipus,¹¹¹ and, in the future, the act of calling to mind Oedipus and his death will guarantee the prosperity of the Athenians.

A fragment of a paean of Pindar (*Paeon* 14.35–37 Maehler) emphasizes the connection between *theōria* and memory. The speaker indicates that the Muse will remind someone dwelling far away of the *theōria* of the hero (ἡρωϊδος θεαρίας), a formulation that seems to indicate, "the poet is saying that the song will remind of the festival . . . even people unable to visit it because they dwell far away. The song is thus represented as imitating the movement of *theōroi* returning to their home cities."¹¹² Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, like the Muse mentioned by Pindar, functions as

109. Goldhill 1996 takes a broad view of *theōria*, characterizing Athenian participation in the political process as *theōria*, and applying the cultural practice to the theater. For perceptive comments on theoric travel of the theater audience, see also Jacobson 2011: 170–72. The Theoric fund (*to theōrikon*), which paid for attendance at festivals in Athens, is likely so called because of the sense of *theōria* "to attend a festival" (Rutherford 2013: 6, 52).

110. Oedipus' tomb must remain hidden, underscored by Oedipus' repetition of the verb κρύπτειν, "to conceal" or "to hide" (1546, 1552). Although secret graves were not unknown to the Greeks, nevertheless the place of Oedipus' commemoration—a site that is unseen—marks it as unique. For secret tombs, see Kearns 1989: 51–52. For example, Plutarch describes a secret tomb of Dirke at Thebes (*Mor.* 578b). The hipparch is the only one with knowledge of the grave and, on his way out of office, he takes his successor to a secret place at night where rites are performed.

111. πρόσπολοι (1553) likely refers to the Athenians. The word is used at 1098 to refer to those accompanying Ismene and Antigone when they are reunited with their father, and at 897 when Theseus calls upon someone to gather the people to wage a military assault against Creon. Cf. 746, where the word is used of Oedipus as attendant with Antigone.

112. Rutherford 2001: 409. In other words, "reperformance . . . in other locations will disseminate knowledge of the festival." On the passage, see Rutherford 2001: 408–10 and Rutherford 2004: 74.

Oedipus' memorial, for characters and spectators alike.¹¹³ It has been suggested that theoric themes appear so frequently in tragedy because such themes serve as a substitute for those unable to undertake *theôria* themselves.¹¹⁴ Ultimately, the characters and spectators come away from *Oedipus at Colonus* reminded of the *theôria* of the hero, as in the Pindar fragment.¹¹⁵

Thus far, this essay has argued that, through his theoric travel and his death at the site of his adopted home community, Oedipus brings *sôtêria* to Athens. Yet I have also suggested that Antigone's and Ismene's participation is crucial to Oedipus' ability to confer benefits on Athens. Other classical Athenian dramas are also marked by female participation in *theôria*, as will become clear through an examination of the appearance of the theme of *sôtêria* at the end of the fifth century and its connections with *theôria*. The following concluding discussion is by no means a comprehensive examination of female characters and their involvement in *theôria* and *sôtêria*. Instead, what follows is meant to be suggestive and to draw out some implications concerning Oedipus'—and Ismene's and Antigone's—*theôria*.¹¹⁶

OUTSIDERS AS SAVIORS IN *OEDIPUS AT COLONUS* AND BEYOND

To recognize the broader cultural importance of *sôtêria*, one has only to consider its appearance in ritual contexts as well as Athenian funeral oration, where Athens is the salvation of Greece (and where Athens is also described as the ideal *polis*, as Athens appears in *Oedipus at Colonus*).¹¹⁷ Appeals for the safety and salvation of Athens were associated with the oligarchic coup of 411 BCE.¹¹⁸ It was at the precinct of Poseidon at Colonus (Thucydides 8.67.2) that Pisander had urged the attendees to consider the safety (σωτηρία) of Athens more than the form of its government.¹¹⁹ According to Thucydides, the *demos* had difficulty at first with the notion of oligarchy, but they were given to understand from Pisander that there was no other safety, and they agreed to the new form of rule.¹²⁰

113. Henrichs 1993 argues that in Sophocles' *Ajax* the chorus notionally constructs Ajax's "eternally memorable tomb" (ἄειμνηστος τάφος, 1166–67). Although Oedipus in *Oedipus at Colonus* does not receive a tomb, Henrichs remarks, "Oidipous's θάνατος will be as 'eternally memorable,' ἄειμνηστος, as Aias's τάφος," 177.

114. See Rutherford 1998: 135–53.

115. Cf. Scullion 1999–2000: 232–33 who mentions the consolation of memorialization that tragedies offer (even if they do not point to real cultic practices).

116. A full treatment of female travel in Greek drama will appear in Reitzammer forthcoming.

117. For ritual and *sôtêria*, see, e.g., Dover's 1993 commentary on Aristophanes *Frogs* 378. For *sôtêria* and funeral oration, see, e.g., Lysias 2.58; Demosthenes 60.10. For Athens as the ideal *polis* in *Oedipus at Colonus*, see Knox 1964: 154–56; Segal 1981: 362; Vidal-Naquet 1990: 329–59; Zeitlin 1990: 155–67; Blundell 1993: 287–306; Mills 1997: 167–85. On the (rarely depicted) female personification of *sôtêria*, see Smith 2011: 83–84.

118. Bieler 1951 suggests that *sôtêria* functioned as a political slogan during this time; cf. Jameson 1956.

119. μη περὶ πολιτείας τὸ πλέον βουλευόμεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἢ περὶ σωτηρίας, Thucydides 8.53.

120. σαφῶς δὲ διδασκόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πεισάνδρου μὴ εἶναι ἄλλην σωτηρίαν, 8.54.

Although the date of composition of *Oedipus at Colonus* cannot be determined (the play was produced posthumously in 401 BCE; Sophocles died in 406/05 BCE),¹²¹ nevertheless, many scholars have pronounced upon Sophocles' views concerning oligarchy, and more specifically the oligarchic coup of 411 BCE, based on an interpretation of *Oedipus at Colonus*, often emphasizing the fact that Colonus was Sophocles' hometown.¹²² While it is not possible to draw conclusions about Sophocles' political views based on his play, *Oedipus at Colonus* to be sure represents another occurrence of the *topos* of *sôtêria* in Greek literature near the end of the fifth century. Indeed, shortly after the events of 411 BCE, *Philoctetes*, which is securely dated to 409 BCE, emphasizes the theme of salvation.¹²³

Athenian *sôtêria* is a significant theme in tragedy,¹²⁴ and, despite the current of autochthony and xenophobia that runs through classical Athenian literature and culture, in some of these plays, Athens receives *foreign* protectors.¹²⁵ When Oedipus arrives in Athens he is clearly a foreigner, referring to himself and Antigone as *xenoi* (13).¹²⁶ Yet, as seen above, Oedipus' life of exile and wandering comes to a close in Colonus, as Theseus establishes him as a dweller in the land (637). At the same time, whatever Oedipus becomes as integrated figure (metic or citizen), at the end of the play he retains some of his foreignness.¹²⁷

Two other tragedies similarly feature outsiders who become protecting figures offering salvation and safety to Attica, namely, Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and Euripides' *Children of Heracles*. In all three suppliant dramas set in Attica a pattern recurs¹²⁸—the outsider-as-savior figure is incorporated into Attica.¹²⁹

121. See Nemeth 1983 for the dating of Sophocles' death. For a date of composition soon after *Philoctetes* in 409, between 409 and 406, see Markantonatos 2007: 36–37.

122. For discussions, see, e.g., Jameson 1971; Calder 1985. Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1419a6 has Sophocles reluctantly agreeing to the 400. It is likely that Aristotle is referring here to the playwright Sophocles and not a different Sophocles. Edmunds 1996 remarks, "it is difficult to see how a tragedy composed in this period, a tragedy that is set in Colonus, praises Colonus, praises Colonus with respect to Poseidon and horses, cannot be in some way apologetic," 92. See also Edmunds 1996: 142–48 on *sôtêria* and Oedipus at Colonus. Others have argued quite the opposite. See Jebb 1907: xlii; Kelly 2009: 20–21.

123. See, e.g., *Philoctetes* 109, and Schein 2013: 10–12. See also Jameson 1956.

124. For *sôtêria* in Euripides' *Iphigenia Among the Taurians*, see Burnett 1971: 47–48; Whitman 1974: 1–34.

125. Bakewell 1999.

126. Cf. ἀπόπολις, 207; ἄπολις, 1357. Cf. the emphasis on Oedipus as "wanderer" and traveler, discussed above. The word *xenos* appears dozens of times in the play (cf. Allison 1984: 69). All of the characters except his daughters call Oedipus *xenos*. Cf. Rehm 2004: 33.

127. Cf. Scodel 2006: 76.

128. Burian 1974 discusses the connections between *Oedipus at Colonus* and other suppliant plays (Aeschylus *Suppliants* and Euripides *Children of Heracles* and *Suppliants*), stressing the significant modifications to the familiar pattern in Sophocles' plays. See also Tzanetou 2012.

129. When Oedipus explains to the chorus, "you will acquire a great preserver for this city (τῆδε μὲν πόλει μέγαν/ σωτήρ' ἀρεῖσθε) and trouble for my enemies" (459–60), his language echoes that of Eurystheus in Euripides' *Children of Heracles*, who explains, "after I have died you will bury me . . . And I will always lie beneath the earth, a metic, well-minded to you and a savior for the *polis* (εὐνοῦς καὶ πόλει σωτήριος), but most warlike toward the offspring of these ones [the children of Heracles], whenever they come here with much force betraying this favor (1030–36)." Like Oedipus,

The outsiders—Eurystheus, the Erinyes/Eumenides, and Oedipus—are of vital import for the future of Athens. As Geoffrey Bakewell explains:

in each case the *polis* has done something truly extraordinary: it has taken frightful outsiders, respected them, and partially integrated them into Attica. And in so honoring them, the city receives something extraordinary in return: future protection and prosperity.¹³⁰

These three tragedies, then, emphasize *sôtêria*—and more specifically the outsider or foreigner as savior. *Oedipus at Colonus* thus suggests that Athens might incorporate potentially dangerous foreigners for its own good, and the play partakes of a broader tendency in tragedy to represent the integration of an outsider as savior.

Given the importance of the Eumenides in *Oedipus at Colonus*, it is worthwhile to take a closer look at Oedipus' relationship with these particular outsider-saviors. *Oedipus at Colonus* in no way suggests that Oedipus becomes one of the Eumenides; nevertheless, the combined actions of Oedipus and his daughters—that is, Oedipus as contributing to the salvation of Attica, the daughters contributing to the destruction of Thebes—are strikingly similar to the combined actions of the Eumenides/Erinyes as imagined elsewhere in Greek literature.

Oedipus' character and tomb share similarities with the Eumenides. Oedipus' tomb, like the sacred grove of the Semnai Theai (129–33), is characterized by no approach and no utterance (1760–65),¹³¹ and many other parallels between Oedipus and the Eumenides appear in the play. When Oedipus prays to the Eumenides at the start of *Oedipus at Colonus*, he explains that he comes “sober”

Eurystheus explains that he will remain after death a “savior,” offering help to friends and harm to enemies. Eurystheus states explicitly that he will lie beneath the earth as a *metic*. He even evokes the *prostatês*, the citizen representative whom all metics were required to have at Athens, when he remarks, “of such a sort are the foreigners you sponsor” (τοιούτων ξένων/ προύστητε, 1036–37). Similarly, in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, the placated Furies are incorporated beneath the earth, given seats (ἔδρας, 805), and described as metics (1011, cf. 869) who will function as a protecting force for the Athenians, offering *sôtêria* (909). Cf. *Eumenides* 833, 890, 916. The word seat (ἔδρα) appears many times in *Oedipus at Colonus* to describe Oedipus' place (e.g., 36, 45, 90). Although Oedipus is nowhere called *metic* in *Oedipus at Colonus* (instead, a certain amount of ambiguity surrounds his status), nevertheless, the Furies, Eurystheus, and Oedipus share a marked resemblance; see Bakewell 1999. For general discussions of metics, see, e.g., Whitehead 1977; Bakewell 2013; Kennedy 2014; Wijma 2014.

130. Bakewell 1999: 53. For discussion of (what most scholars take to be) Aeschylus' innovations connecting the Erinyes to the Semnai Theai, see, e.g., Sommerstein 1989: 6–12.

131. Easterling 1996: 176. Compare, e.g., the fragment from Euripides' *Erechtheus* (set in Athens) describing the sacred precinct of the Hyakinthides, identified with the daughters of Erechtheus (*TrGF* 5.1 *Erechtheus* fr. 370.87–89), discussed by Kearns 1989: 51. Here, the sacred precinct of the daughters of Erechtheus must remain unapproached (ἄβατον) to ward off enemies who might bring trouble upon the land. Of course, although parallels exist between Oedipus and the Eumenides, and between the tomb of Oedipus and the grove of the Eumenides, nevertheless, the demesmen of Colonus are fully aware of the location of the sacred grove of the Eumenides; it has clear boundaries that are known to them. Oedipus' tomb, then, although it shares similarities with the space of the Eumenides, is marked as distinct because the community is not aware of its precise location.

(νήφωv) to the goddesses who do not receive libations of wine (ἀοίνοις, 100). Oedipus and the Eumenides are characterized by εὐμένεια (the Eumenides, 486; Oedipus, 631).¹³² Both Oedipus and the Eumenides are described as saviors.¹³³ Finally, the double nature of the goddesses—vengeful and wrathful Erinyes, on the one hand, kindly, well-disposed Eumenides, on the other hand—is echoed in Oedipus’ wrathful curses upon Thebes and his sons, and his beneficent attitude toward Athens.¹³⁴

While Oedipus remains in Colonus, offering his beneficent powers to Attica, the daughters return to Thebes, and as they return, they embody the harmful aspects of the Erinyes. The Eumenides are explicitly connected with the curses Oedipus utters, when Oedipus exclaims, “let these goddesses no longer make me silent concerning this curse (τῆσδε τῆς ἀρᾶς),” (864–65). More generally, in archaic and classical literature, the Erinyes were imagined to be embodied curses.¹³⁵ Oedipus refers to his daughters as his “two destructions” (παῖδε, δύο δ’ ἄτα, 532), and, as the play ends, Oedipus’ daughters, a double ἄτη (ruin, destruction), are preparing to convey his curses to Thebes.¹³⁶ Archaic and classical literature emphasizes connections between ἄτη and the Erinyes, since an Erinys is one of the divinities (along with, e.g., Zeus) who may send ἄτη upon humans.¹³⁷

In *Oedipus at Colonus*, while the outsider Oedipus is incorporated into Attica, conferring benefits upon Athens, the daughters complete their theoric return, conveying

132. See Edmunds 1981: 227–29; Henrichs 1983: 96–97; Tzanetou 2012: 108.

133. The chorus remark, “just as we call them the kindly ones, [pray] that they, as saviors, receive the suppliant with kindly hearts” (ὥς σφας καλοῦμεν Εὐμενίδας, ἐξ εὐμενῶν/ στέρνων δέχεσθαι τὸν ἱκέτην σωτηρίους, 486–87). Lloyd-Jones and Wilson print Bake’s emendation, σωτηρίους. The ms reading is σωτήριον, which makes Oedipus the savior.

134. Henrichs 1993 remarks, “the dual power to harm one’s enemies and help one’s friends is conspicuously invested in the chthonian divinities in general and the cultic heroes in particular; in tragedy it is articulated in the form of blessings and curses,” 167. The Erinyes are explicitly mentioned in *Oedipus at Colonus* at 1299 and 1434. There is some indication that the Greeks thought of heroes as *watchers*, a notion that is implied in a fragment of Aristophanes (*Heroes*): “watching the unjust, the thieves, the robbers” κἀναθροῦντες τοὺς ἀδίκους/ καὶ κλέπτας καὶ λωποδύτας, *PCG* 3.2 fr. 322.5–6. Cf. Rutherford 2001: 409n.6. Such creatures, ever watching, call to mind the “all-seeing” Eumenides of *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Ajax* 836. Oedipus calls on the Eumenides as “helpers” (ἄρωγούς, 1012) and “allies” (ξυμμάχους, 1012); both words often refer specifically to helpers and allies *in battle*, language that echoes Oedipus’ role as military protector. Oedipus is “terrible to look upon” (δεινὸς μὲν ὄραν, 141); likewise, the goddesses are of dread aspect (δεινῶπες, 84).

135. See, e.g., *Eumenides* 417 (“we are called Curses in our homes beneath the earth,” Ἀπαὶ δ’ ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὑπαὶ κεκλήμεθα), and see Sommerstein 1989: 7. Cf. *Seven Against Thebes* 70.

136. Cf. Oedipus’ mention of “the destruction caused by the marriage” (γάμων ἄτα, 526) to his mother. The house of the Labdacids is characterized by inherited destruction (ἄτη). The daughters will serve to contribute to this continuous ruin.

137. In Homer’s *Odyssey*, for example, Melampus suffers because the Erinys sends ἄτη on Melampus’ *phrenes* (15.234). In Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon*, Clytemnestra explains that she sacrificed Agamemnon to Ἄτη and Erinyes (1431). In *Eumenides*, the chorus of Furies sing that they bring unendurable ruin (ἄτη, 376). Later in the same play, as they are placated, becoming “Kindly Ones,” they pray that ἄτη may not come upon the *polis* (982). Still more relevant to the mythological story at hand concerning Oedipus and his family, in Aeschylus’ *Seven Against Thebes* the chorus describe a trophy to Ἄτη at the gate where Antigone’s and Ismene’s brothers, Polyneices and Eteocles, died (ἔστακε δ’ Ἄτας τροπαῖον ἐν πύλαις, ἐν αἷς ἐθρίνοντο, 956–58).

destruction and ruin (ἄτη) back to Thebes. The daughters, in effect, serve as Erinyes figures, physical embodiments of Oedipus' curses, as they return to Thebes and help fulfill the prediction by Apollo described by Oedipus at the start of the play (92–93), where Oedipus explains he will be a benefit for those who receive him and ruin (ἄτη) for those who drove him out. By the end of the play, of course, the salvific potential is strongly associated with Oedipus (and Athens), while the destructive aspects are firmly linked with Ismene and Antigone (and Thebes). This essay, however, has focused on the contribution of the daughters *during the course of the play* and the crucial interventions by these mobile female figures, before the strong closural movement at the end of the tragedy, at which point, of course, the salvific potential is peeled away from the daughters, as it were, and firmly associated with Oedipus. Yet, it is the combined work of Oedipus, Ismene, and Antigone which is so similar to the beneficent/destructive work of the Eumenides/Erinyes. Ultimately, Oedipus, Ismene, and Antigone as outsiders are good for the Athenian state just as the placated Eumenides/Erinyes figures benefit Athens at the end of the *Eumenides*. Ismene and Antigone, then, may be seen as traveling female figures who, in conjunction with their father, offer benefits to the Athenian *polis*.

Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* also showcases connections between *sôtêria* and *theôria*, and, like *Oedipus at Colonus*, links female mobility to a positive political outcome for Athens. In *Lysistrata*, which was performed at the Lenaea in 411 BCE (just before the oligarchic coup),¹³⁸ women travel from all over Hellas to hear Lysistrata's plan. The salvation (*sôtêria*) of all of Greece is in the hands of women (ὅλης τῆς Ἑλλάδος/ ἐν ταῖς γυναιξίν ἐστιν ἡ σωτηρία, 29–30), explains Lysistrata at the start of the play.¹³⁹

Lysistrata's plan for the salvation of Greece involves a sex strike and the occupation of the Acropolis. But Lysistrata appeals to *theôria* as a practice that binds the Greeks together. She describes the ritual actions performed at various panhellenic sites near the close of the play:

λαβοῦσα δ' ὑμᾶς λοιδορῆσαι βούλομαι
κοινῇ δικαίως, οἱ μῖα γ' ἐκ χέρνιβος
βωμοὺς περιρραίνοντες ὥσπερ ξυγγενεῖς
Ὀλυμπίασιν, ἐν Πύλαις, Πυθοῖ—πόσους
εἵποιμ' ἂν ἄλλους, εἴ με μηκύνειν δέοι; —
ἐχθρῶν παρόντων βαρβάρῳ στρατεύματι
Ἑλληνας ἄνδρας καὶ πόλεις ἀπόλλυτε.

1128–34

Since I have you here, I want to reproach you, and rightly so. Do you not sprinkle altars from the same cup, like kinsmen, at Olympia, at Pylai, at

138. On the dating of *Lysistrata*, see Sommerstein 1977; Henderson 1987: xv–xvi; Slater 2002: 294–95n.5; Tsakmakis 2012.

139. Cf. 41, 46, 342–43, 497–501, 525. See Faraone 1997. And see also Dover's 1993 comments on *Frogs* 378 (cf. 1433, 1436, 1448, 1450, 1501).

Pytho—how many other altars I could name if there were need to lengthen my remarks. But when the enemy is present with their barbarian army, you destroy Greek men and *poleis*?

Although she does not use the word *theôria* here, Lysistrata explicitly refers to the activities of *theôroi*,¹⁴⁰ as she emphasizes panhellenic unity (against barbarians) by emphasizing the ritual actions at the most important sites of *theôria*, employing the cultural practice to emphasize political cohesion.¹⁴¹ *Theôria* was indeed connected to panhellenic peace, at least in theory, inasmuch as classical Greeks observed a “sacred truce” (*ekecheiria*) for the Olympic festival.¹⁴² The truce did not stop wars, nor was it always successful, although Thucydides provides an historical example of a time when the truce did function to allow safe passage, when he describes a treaty between Athens and Sparta in 421 BCE that permitted Greeks to visit sanctuaries and to perform sacrifice and *theôria* (5.18.2).

Aristophanes’ *Peace* emphasizes that panhellenic *theôria* has been affected by the Peloponnesian War, strongly connecting *theôria* and panhellenic peace.¹⁴³ In *Peace* (produced in 421 BCE), Trygaeus travels to a cave to retrieve personified Peace whom War has imprisoned. Peace is represented by a statue, and Trygaeus manages to bring Peace back to Athens, along with two female attendants, Theôria and Opôra, “Harvest” (523–24), both highly sexualized.¹⁴⁴ Trygaeus restores Theôria to the *boulê* (713–15) and marries Opôra.

It has been suggested that, “*theôria*, in so far as it is an instrument which fosters contact among *poleis*, readily suggests the idea of sexual promiscuity.”¹⁴⁵ Although *theôria* does not appear onstage as a personification in *Lysistrata*, it is the sexual desirability of the women in that play that ultimately fosters contact among the Greek *poleis*. And perhaps *Lysistrata* offers a form of *theôria* that might have appeared funny to the audience. After all, the play is set atop the Acropolis, a sacred space, and Lysistrata has long been seen to have connections to the priestess of Athena Polias, Lysimachê, who held office in 411 BCE.¹⁴⁶ In *Lysistrata*, women from all over Greece travel to Athens, a *polis* that, as a theoric center, was known for its festival culture, attracting visitors from other *poleis*.¹⁴⁷

140. Rutherford 2013: 266. For the surprising choice of Pylai for one of the common sanctuaries, see Rutherford 2013: 68, 266.

141. Henderson 1987 remarks, “the great panhellenic athletic-musical festivals, to which competitors enjoyed safe-conduct under sacred truce even during wartime, had come to symbolize Hellenic unity,” 199. (Cf. *Wealth* 583–34; Herodotus 8.144; Isocrates 4.43–46; Plato *Republic* 470e.)

142. See, e.g., Cartledge 1985: 113.

143. The Greeks begin to celebrate Peace before they have removed her from the cave and Trygaeus explains there will be time for that later on, as well as time “to sail off, stay home, screw, sleep, and make pilgrimages to festivals” (πλεῖν, μένειν, κινεῖν, καθεύδειν, εἰς πανηγύρεις θεωρεῖν, 341–42). Here, the verb *theôrein* coupled with *panêgureis* (international festivals) must refer to state delegations (and not *theôria* in the more general sense of the term). Cf. Scullion 2005: 120.

144. For discussion of Theôria in *Peace*, see Rutherford 1998: 141–45; Scullion 2005; Rutherford 2013: 343–45.

145. Rutherford 1998: 145.

146. For a recent discussion with bibliography, see Connelly 2007: 62–64.

147. Rutherford 2013: 319. For Athens as theoric center, see Rutherford 2013: 319–23.

As the women arrive in *Lysistrata*, descriptions of their bodies double as geographical descriptions. The representative from Boeotia looks Boeotian with her “lush bottomland” (87–88, Henderson trans.). The Corinthian woman has a substantial front and backside that evokes Corinth (91–92). It has been suggested that, “in journeying to the major festivals and oracular centers, the *theōros* departed from the social and ideological ‘space’ of his city and entered a panhellenic ‘space’ in which Greeks were encouraged to rise above their differences and join together as a people sharing a common language, religion, and culture.”¹⁴⁸ In *Lysistrata*, the women—in effect, theoric representatives of their respective *poleis*—travel to Athens, which becomes a panhellenic space where they join together.¹⁴⁹ After their visit with Lysistrata, while some women remain on the Acropolis, many of the women (we are to understand) return to their communities to carry out the sex strike, in a return theoric journey.

In both *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Lysistrata*, female characters on the move contribute to civic benefits for Athens. In each play, the women are characterized as participating in an expedition (στόλος), a word that tends to characterize male military activity.¹⁵⁰ In *Oedipus at Colonus*, Oedipus asks Ismene, “what expedition set you forth from home?” (τίς σ’ ἐξῆρεν οἴκοθεν στόλος; 358). Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* too features women engaged in an expedition, στόλος.¹⁵¹ Near the start of the play, Lampito asks, “who convened this troop of women?” (τίς δ’ αὖ συναλίαξε τόνδε τὸν στόλον/ τὸν τᾶν γυναικῶν; 93–94).¹⁵² The activities of the women of *Lysistrata* take on martial undertones as the women are characterized as figures from Greek military history. Ultimately, in both *Lysistrata* and *Oedipus at Colonus*, female figures on an “expedition” contribute to the safeguarding of Athens.

Lysistrata was produced less than two years after the disastrous events of the Sicilian Expedition and the play alludes to the military undertaking. On the eve of the Sicilian Expedition, Thucydides explains that the youth had a desire for “sightseeing” in Sicily: “those in the prime of life felt a longing for foreign sights and *theōria*, and were hopeful that they would be kept safe” (τοῖς δ’ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τῆς τε ἀπούσης πόθῳ ὄψεως καὶ θεωρίας, καὶ εὐέλπιδες ὄντες σωθήσεσθαι, 6.24.3).¹⁵³ Thucydides’ description of the Sicilian Expedition highlights a disastrous *theōria* that in no way provided Athens with safety. Instead, the individuals in the prime of life who longed to see Sicily and believed they would return home die in a brutal slaughter.

In *Lysistrata*, the unnamed Proboulos (an official whose position was created just after the events in Sicily) recalls a lone woman, Demostratus’ wife, lamenting

148. Nightingale 2004: 47.

149. A *theōros* is always a representative of his or her *polis* (even when the word just means sightseer). Cf. Ker 2000: 310. The role of the *theōros* is “to assert the voice of their own *polis* in the panhellenic community” (Rutherford 1995: 276).

150. See, e.g., Herodotus 1.4.3, where the Greeks gather a fleet (στόλος) for the sake of a woman (Helen).

151. Cf. Aeschylus *Eumenides* 1026–27, a στόλος of old women.

152. Lampito is Spartan, and her remarks are thus perhaps meant to indicate that she is more acquainted with masculine political activity than her Athenian counterparts. Cf. Henderson 1987: 79.

153. See Rutherford 2013: 150 on the passage.

Adonis atop a roof before the expedition departed, while simultaneously, in the Assembly, Demostratus was urging the fleet to sail to Sicily (387–98).¹⁵⁴ In hindsight, the audience of *Lysistrata* would have recognized that the wife of Demostratus was predicting the death and destruction that occurred in Sicily, as she sang dirges for the young Adonis, who, like the sons and young husbands who lost their lives in Sicily, meet an untimely demise.¹⁵⁵ But while Demostratus' wife was unsuccessful at preventing the Sicilian Expedition, Lysistrata has a plan for the salvation of Athens that she manages to carry out. Lysistrata describes her plan to the Proboulos, suggesting that there should be no war. He responds:¹⁵⁶

Proboulos: If not, then how will we be saved (σωθησόμεθ')?

Lysistrata: We will save (σώσομεν) you.

Proboulos: You?

Lysistrata: Yes, *we* will.

Proboulos: Horrible.

Lysistrata: You will be saved (σωθήσει), even if you don't want to be.

497–99

Demostratus' wife was unable to prevent the men from undertaking the Sicilian Expedition, which, as described by Thucydides, represented a kind of *theôria* that offered no safety. By contrast, the women of *Lysistrata*—who are, as I have suggested, associated with *theôria*—successfully stop the Peloponnesian War, offering salvation for Athens and Greece at least within the context of the play.

Like *Oedipus at Colonus*, Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* indicates that the incorporation of outsiders has the potential to contribute to *sôtêria* and, furthermore, that *theôria* associated with female figures has the potential to result in positive civic outcomes.¹⁵⁷ In her recommendations for the salvation of Athens that Lysistrata offers to the Proboulos—a speech in which she draws on woolworking imagery—Lysistrata suggests that metics and foreigners should be “mixed in,” as a cloak is created for the *demos*: “next, card the wool into a sewing basket of common goodwill mixing in everyone: the metics and any foreigner who is your friend, and anyone who owes money to the state, mix them all in too” (579–81). To be sure, by the end of both *Oedipus at Colonus* and *Lysistrata*, Antigone, Ismene, Lysistrata, and her allies are

154. For *probouloi*, see Thucydides 8.1.3; [Aristotle] *Ath. Pol.* 29.2; Androtion *FGrH* 324 fr. 43 and Philochorus *FGrH* 328 fr. 136. Cf. Henderson 1987: 117–18.

155. See Reitzammer 2008 and 2016.

156. Bieler 1951 notes that the *probouloi* were to submit proposals *περί τῆς σωτηρίας* (concerning safety), and in the assembly at Colonus the *prytaneis* were to put every motion *περί τῆς σωτηρίας* to the vote ([Aristotle] *Ath. Pol.* 29.4).

157. For a discussion of woman as foreigner, as an outsider who must be incorporated into the household, see, e.g., Vernant 1983: 127–76. Often in Greek tragedy incorporating women-outsiders proves disastrous. See, e.g., Seaford 1987 on the tragic wedding, where he emphasizes the ways in which such incorporation leads to destruction. *Lysistrata*, perhaps, offers a competing view, inasmuch as it highlights mobile female characters and seems to suggest that, if women are “mixed-in,” like metics and foreigners, they may contribute to the good of Athens.

no longer expected to participate in or contribute to the salvation of Athens. In *Oedipus at Colonus*, Antigone and Ismene are setting off for Thebes where Antigone's death will follow close on the heels of her brother's. In *Lysistrata*, although the wives are understood to reap the benefits of panhellenic peace, the reunion of husbands and wives marks a return to the status quo. Nevertheless, for a brief time, in both *Lysistrata* and *Oedipus at Colonus*, female figures associated with *theôria* work toward the good of Athens.

The themes of salvation and sacred sightseeing, *sôtêria* and *theôria*, in *Oedipus at Colonus*, then, appear within a distinct cultural milieu. It is a commonplace to say that at the end of the fifth century, Athens was politically unstable and feeling the strain of the Peloponnesian War along with the loss of allies revolting from the Delian league. No doubt Athenians were concerned about how best to keep their *polis* safe. At first glance, *sôtêria* appears to be decidedly in the hands of Oedipus in *Oedipus at Colonus*. Yet this essay has argued that Oedipus' ability to confer benefits on Athens is bound up with the travel and mobility of Antigone and Ismene. Oedipus cannot offer salvation to Athens apart from the interventions of his daughters—their travel, vision, and sightseeing at Colonus.

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