

Reproducing *Iphigenia at Aulis*

ALISON FINDLAY

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Lady Jane Lumley's Iphigenia at Aulis exemplifies the process of dramatic reproduction in the mid-sixteenth century and in 2014. Lumley's translation (ca 1554) of Euripides's tragedy is a text which revivifies the past to confront the emotional consequences of betrayal and loss. In the sixteenth-century context of Lumley's own family, her translation disturbs and manages the emotional consequences of her father's involvement in the sacrifice of Lady Jane Grey to fulfil the family's political ambitions. My historicist approach juxtaposes a consideration of the play's performances in the Rose Company Theatre in 2014. Drawing on interviews with the director and actors and my observation of spectators' reactions, I discuss the production's testing of the script's immediacy for audiences in a present which had its own preoccupations with the past; namely, the centenary of the outbreak of World War I.

Agamemnon's words 'I have prepared all things redie for the sacrafice' (l. 629) in Lady Jane Lumley's *Iphigenia at Aulis* are much more than a statement of fact.¹ Taken from Euripides's tragedy and translated by Lumley into English in her own dramatic version (ca 1554), they function as a palimpsest, a text from the past overwritten in the present that forces characters on stage, spectators, and readers to reflect on their local experiences as well as those of the drama. The immediate dramatic context already makes the line multi-layered. Agamemnon believes he is telling his wife Clytemnestra that he is going to make a sacrifice to the goddess Diana in preparation for the marriage of their daughter Iphigenia, but Clytemnestra has just learned that Iphigenia *is* the sacrifice to Diana, offered so that the Grecians can leave Aulis and sail to Troy. Euripides dramatizes an opposition between duty to the state and blood ties to one's family. Agamemnon is torn between love for his daughter and a sense of duty to the host of Greek soldiers that he has led to Aulis in a campaign to reclaim Helen (wife to his brother, Menelaus), from the Trojans. For Agamemnon, the line is a confession, even though it is one he does not want to be understood. Articulating the words 'I have prepared' forces him to acknowledge his responsibility for sacrificing his daughter; so,

Alison Findlay (a.g.findlay@lancaster.ac.uk) is professor of Renaissance drama in the department of English & creative writing at Lancaster University (UK).

however fact-like the line appears to be, it probably includes an emotional undertow expressing his own grief, his own sense of sacrifice.

This essay considers Jane Lumley's *Iphigenia* as a text that revivifies the past in order to confront the emotional consequences of betrayal and loss. Jonathan Gil Harris's book *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* has rightly criticized what he terms the 'national sovereignty model of temporality', where we understand texts, things, and objects as part of the given moment, attaining meaning only in relation to the people and practices of that period.² As a translation, Lady Jane Lumley's script inevitably reproduces Euripides's tragedy in the early modern present. Critics have noted the play's relationship to Lady Jane Grey's execution in the Tower of London in 1554³ and my essay explores how Lumley's translation functioned as a palimpsest through which her audience of readers, particularly those within her family circle, might recognise the emotional consequences of this traumatic event. To offer evidence of the play's affect I draw on a contemporary context and my experience of re-producing Lumley's *Iphigenia at Aulis* in 2013–14 as a member of Rose Company Theatre. The production, which used an eclectic mix of modern dress, allowed us to test the script's immediacy for audiences in a present which had its own preoccupations with the past: namely the centenary of the outbreak of World War I.⁴

Throughout 2014, ceremonies of remembrance allowed dormant emotions about war and loss to enter the public domain. One of the most spectacular, a flood of ceramic poppies overflowing from the walls of the Tower of London, evoked and physicalized an upsurge of mixed emotions: grief, pride, and shame at the shedding of blood in the trenches and beyond. The Tower of London's iconic significance inevitably coloured the need to remember and value the sacrifices made for the nation. Its history as a royal palace and as a site of imprisonment, torture, and execution (including that of Lady Jane Grey), raised disturbing questions about how those who fought were trapped physically and metaphorically, and about the justice of sacrificing so many lives. The Rose Company production costumed the sacrificial figure of Iphigenia in shining bright red silk, in contrast to the khaki military uniforms of the Greek soldiers and the green and black worn by the family group. It is impossible to define exactly how the culture of remembrance in 2014 worked alongside individual experiences to influence those performing, directing, filming, and watching Jane Lumley's *Iphigenia*. Practice-based research nevertheless testifies to the play's enduring affective power over practitioners and spectators, more than 450 years after Lumley composed the text.

Lumley's manuscript is undated but was certainly written after the author's marriage to John, Baron Lumley, in 1549–50. David Greene's view that Lady Lumley used Cranmer's copy of Erasmus's Latin translation as an aid and Marion Wynne-Davies's identification of the distinctive glove and flower watermark on the manuscript paper point to a later date of composition. Lumley's father, Henry Fitzalan, twelfth earl of Arundel, took possession of Cranmer's library no earlier than 1553 and members of the Fitzalan family coterie began to use the paper from November, 1554.⁵ The manuscript lists 'the names of the spekers in this Tragedie', implying the intent of a communal reading or performance. Parallels between the script and the performance venue offered by the Banqueting House and gardens at Nonsuch Palace suggest that the play might have been written, performed, or revived sometime after 1556 when the earl of Arundel, Lady Jane Lumley, and her husband moved there.⁶

Nonsuch was Henry Fitzalan's reward for supporting Mary Tudor's claim to the English throne in 1553. It involved a swift change of loyalties from his niece, the Protestant Lady Jane Grey (1537–54) who ruled for nine days as queen.⁷ From a religious and political perspective, it was a logical move as the anonymous manuscript biography of Henry Fitzalan shows. The Catholic earl of Arundel had been held in the Tower of London himself during 1551–2 at the instigation of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland.⁸ He thus had no reason to trust Northumberland's quick improvisation to put Jane Grey on the throne, apparently following the dying wishes of Edward VI. Although Jane was Arundel's niece, she had been preemptorily married to Northumberland's son, Guildford Dudley (an event echoed in *Iphigenia* in the expedient match to Achilles). After Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed, the earl of Arundel accompanied her from Syon House to the Tower where the mayor and aldermen of London greeted her as queen. Arundel sat on Jane's council alongside 'the Duke of Suffolke, her ffather' (Henry Fitzalan's brother-in-law) who 'took chardge of the Tower for her safety'. The biography reports that Fitzalan, his heart strengthened by God, subsequently risked 'his life, and losse of all he had' by confiding in the earl of Pembroke and persuading the leading lords of the council who met at Baynard's Castle (Pembroke's London residence), to declare Mary Tudor queen of England.⁹ Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion in early 1554 forced Queen Mary into removing her Protestant rival, and Lady Jane Grey was imprisoned in the Tower and executed on 12 February.

Since the evidence suggests that Lady Jane Lumley's translation followed the sacrificial execution of Lady Jane Grey, Lumley's choice of Euripides's text can be read as an active engagement with her family's political strategy. Marion Wynne-Davies's study of *Iphigenia* with reference to the writings of the family coterie strengthens the argument that Lumley 'turns her classical play into a close political allegory of her own age'.¹⁰ Fitzalan's recent political manoeuvrings were a direct application of William Perkins's definition of the relationship between family and state in the *oikonomia* or political economy: 'this condition of the Familie, being the Seminarie of all other Societies, it followeth, that the holie and righteous government thereof, is a direct meane for the good ordering, both of Church and Common-wealth.'¹¹ Sacrificing Lady Jane Grey for the good ordering of the Catholic church and state (to say nothing of Arundel's own dynasty), was in the public interest. At the pivotal meeting in Baynard's Castle he told his peers: 'I am onely hereto induced for the safety of the com'on wealth and liberty of this kingdome, wheare to we are bounde noe lesse then to ourselves, both by the laws of God and nature'. He went on to explain the proposed betrayal of Jane in equally pragmatic terms, as the necessary correction of an error in order to preserve the commonwealth:

And if happily yow thinke it a disparidgment to proclaime Mary Queene, having alreadye acknowledged Jane, shewing thearby your variableness in that kinde; I tell yow this ought not to prevaile with yow, for when yow have com'itted an error, you oughte to amend it and not maintaine it, especially nowe wheare you may purchase honour to youre selves, safety, liberty and quiet to your country, and content to all; whereas if yow should not strive to reform your error, yow should showe small regard of yowre owne good, making yowre selves slaves, unthankfull to yowre country, neglecting the lawes and libertyes thereof, giving occasion hereafter of continuall turmoiles in the state, wth infinite other inconveniences, that are like to growe from thence.¹²

Wynne-Davies has astutely pointed out that Henry Fitzalan's speech, rather than Lady Jane Grey's final words, informs Iphigenia's determination to sacrifice herself 'for the commoditie of my countrie' (809–10).¹³ Like Fitzalan, Iphigenia argues that she will die 'in a lawfull cause' for 'the welthe of grece, whiche is the mooste fruitful countrie of the worlde'. She will prevent turmoils in the state and preserve the Grecians' liberty 'since the grecians bi nature are free, like as the barbarians are borne to bondage' (821–3). For

both Henry Fitzalan and his daughter's tragic heroine the greater good of the Catholic church and state eclipse the traumatic effects of sacrifice.

Lady Jane Lumley could, arguably, have seen her namesake and cousin as no more than a political pawn in the aristocratic game of thrones where survival was paramount. Wynne-Davies argues that, while Lumley was sympathetic to her cousin, her translation choices, which shift speeches and blame from Agamemnon to his brother Menelaus, 'whitewash' her father Arundel's implication in the affair, and 'lay all the blame' firmly at the Duke of Suffolk's feet.¹⁴ Diane Purkiss notes that the sacrifice of Iphigenia would have made 'very uncomfortable reading for Arundel' but believes that such an intention is 'so far against the grain of the text' that it could not have been written after 1553.¹⁵ Lady Lumley's *Iphigenia* is, like her other translations, undeniably a gift from a loyal daughter to a father who took care to educate her. Nevertheless, I believe she wrote it precisely *to* disturb and to *manage* the after-effects of the family's contribution to Lady Jane Grey's death, the price paid for the success of their own political ambitions. To read the play as a political 'whitewash' of Arundel does not adequately account for its affective power as a means to process the guilt and fear induced by playing the political game. Unlike the anonymous autobiography which offers justification for all Henry Fitzalan's actions, his daughter's translation of *Iphigenia* dramatizes the conflict between the blood ties of family and duty to the state to open up a space for a more 'primitive' expression of pain and loss.

Page DuBois theorizes such raw emotion as an archaic power of the Eumenides or the Furies, fired by 'prehistoric' attachment to blood ties. In everyday life women who are buried or made insignificant in the political life of the city embody those ties. In the context of Greek tragedy, however, what was repressed erupts as 'women break their silence'.¹⁶ Lady Jane Lumley's choice to translate Euripides's tragedy is a woman's endeavour to break the silence cast by the exclusive focus on political strategy in her family. The spaces alluded to in the script set up an opposition between pragmatic politics and feminine affect. The camp at Aulida, temporary home of 'the whole hooste' (341) and the off-stage world of Greece are male-dominated environments while the onstage Chorus of women and Diana's off-stage altar, where Iphigenia is to be sacrificed, are feminine sites of emotional focus. In the Rose Company production we endeavoured to realize this opposition in concrete form by the staging. A square playing space with exits at the four corners was crossed by one diagonal axis occupied by Iphigenia and her mother at one corner and the Chorus opposite. The other axis (from which the male

characters entered and exited) represented the Greek camp and the nation. Audience surrounded the acting space where venues allowed for performance in the round, creating a sense of often claustrophobic complicity with the family drama.

Lumley's *Agamemnon* does not escape criticism or tragedy, in spite of the success predicted by the Chorus's final lines, 'O happie Agamemnon, the goddess[s] grante thee a fortunate journie unto Troye, and a mooste prosperous returne againe' (969–71). Indeed, the celebration of his political goals, the 'fortunate iournie unto Troy', sounds empty after the pain he has experienced and caused. The words are doubly ironic in the ears of listeners who knew he would return to be murdered by Clytemnestra in Aeschylus's *Oresteia*. In our production, Aliko Chapple, who played Clytemnestra, pointedly avoided Agamemnon's touch at the end, clutching a baby Orestes to her, while the Chorus turned their backs to Agamemnon for the final congratulations.

The cost of sacrificing his favourite daughter weighs heavily on Agamemnon, who cuts a lonely figure, alienated from his brother, his wife and family, and even from his soldiers. Rose Company's all-female cast, in which Ruth Gregson played Agamemnon, arguably helped to make the emotions felt by the Greek leaders more culturally accessible, opening a corporeal channel for the expression of common human feelings which conventional masculine behaviour has often suppressed or failed to recognize. The pain of saying goodbye, commonly experienced when fathers give their daughters away in marriage, may link to sacrifice in Lumley's translation as Purkiss has suggested.¹⁷ In this exchange Iphigenia's playful delight at the prospect of participating in her father's ritual preparations intensified the moment. In our production her innocent questions and his uncomfortable replies often provoked amusement at his expense amongst spectators which modified as he gave voice to his distress:

IPHIGENIA Shall I be at the sacrafice father?

AGAMEMNON Ye daughter, for you muste be one of the chiefeste.

IPHIGENIA Why? Shall I dawnce about it?

AGAMEMNON Truly I counte myself more happie because you do not understande me, goo your waye therfore and make you redie withe the other virgins. But let me firste take my leave of you, for this daye shall separate you and me farre asonder. Although this your mariage shalbe verie noble, yet trully it dothe greve me to bestowe you so far of[f], whom withe suche care I have brought up. (427–36)

Leave-taking, with an implicit stage direction for Agamemnon to block and delay Iphigenia's exit and to embrace her, is a prescient action loaded with responsibility for the tragedy to ensue. Of course Fitzalan and his family had no premonition that deposing Lady Jane Grey would lead to her execution but watching or reading these lines after the event would surely have evoked a range of feelings, perhaps including retrospective guilt at the parts they had played. In an early modern household performance Jane Lumley's *Iphigenia* would have enacted a form of remembrance that provided a powerful catalyst for the belated recognition of emotions.

Iphigenia's fate regularly provoked tears from spectators and actors in our production. A (literally) watershed moment was the leave-taking when she bade 'Farewell my beloved brother' to the young Orestes (868–70). Orestes was no more than a swaddled infant made out of a sheet but clearly Iphigenia (played by Catherine Bateman) had accepted primary responsibility for his care. She invokes Orestes's help in pleading for her life 'for I knowe he will be sorye to see his sister slayne' (711). The image of her cradling and kissing the baby goodbye thus emblemized the primacy of family values and nurture which she had decided to sacrifice. Iphigenia gained status through affect even while she was kneeling centre stage, to Agamemnon, slowly turning as he paced restlessly round the outside of the acting space, unable to look at her. Iphigenia's desperate, simple plea to survive 'for you knowe that all men are desirous of lyfe' (714) provoked Agamemnon to rush to her, kneel by her and protest angrily, 'I knowe in what things I ought to shewe pitie, and wherein I ought not and I love my children as it becommeth a father' (717–20). This desperate protest attempts to reconcile the incompatible claims of state and family and to convince himself that his actions are right. Gregson saw it as 'heartbreaking' for Agamemnon and for her as a performer. 'That is the part when I got really upset when we were rehearsing it and in performance because when Catherine [playing Iphigenia] looks up at you, it makes it real'.¹⁸ How much more 'real' might this moment have felt for members of Lady Lumley's family, especially if they were speaking the words in a shared reading or household performance? Our experience of staging the play suggests that the relatively simple language of Lumley's translation has an emotional honesty, even innocence, that often takes speakers and auditors unaware, encouraging an infectious compassion for Agamemnon.

Nevertheless, Lumley's female characters, especially Clytemnestra, also offer a rigorous critique of Agamemnon's political strategy, and, by implication in the early modern present, that of Henry Fitzalan. Karen Raber has

perceptively observed that early modern reworkings of Greek (and Roman) sources are much concerned with the changing functions of political theory in early modern England, especially the family / state analogy as a mechanism for the operation of government.¹⁹ Lumley's Clytemnestra deconstructs Agamemnon's strategy of placing state above family by showing how the two are intrinsically bound together at the essential level of life. The translation refocuses Clytemnestra's longest speech in Euripides's play, reducing her complaint about missing her daughter in the home to a single line. Instead, Clytemnestra decimates Agamemnon's position as father and paternal governor, giving voice to primal instincts based on blood ties, to caution that his unnatural behaviour will 'stir up the gods to anger against you for they do even hate them that are manquellers', that is man-killers or homicides (680–1). In addition, she self-consciously transgresses the silence maintained by a 'good wife' to offer reasoned political counsel (674). In murdering his daughter, she argues, 'you cannot enjoy the companie of your other children when you come home for they will even feare and abhorre you'. This act will have political consequences:

you shall not onlie fall into this mischiefe, but also you shall purchase your selfe the name of a cruell tyrant. For you were chosen the captaine over the Grecians to exercise justice to all men, and not to do both me and also your children such an injurie. (685–8)

Subjects and offspring are all 'children' whom Agamemnon ought to protect in a regime that is just.

Clytemnestra's careful critique of her husband's policy comments obliquely but trenchantly on Henry Fitzalan's pragmatism in betraying Lady Jane Grey. The nightmare of civil division under Northumberland imagined in Fitzalan's speech, with 'brother against brother, unckle against nephewe, ffather in lawe against sonne in lawe, cosen against cosen', is, in fact, the scene depicted in *Iphigenia*.²⁰ The Chorus, aggrieved that 'one shulde fall out with another', expresses 'specialle' concern 'that any contention should be among brethren' (243–4), namely Agamemnon and Menelaus. A further military conflict with 'ffather in lawe against sonne in lawe' occurs on stage between Agamemnon and Achilles in the play (offering a parallel to that between the older generation Fitzalan and Guildford Dudley). Fitzalan's horror that 'those enimies that be of the same bloude' would tear the kingdom apart was realized in his own aristocratic family and in the conflicts of the

play. Most tellingly, his admonition to his peers, 'Can yow imagine theare is any good in him, who durst so shameleslye presume to embrew his hands in the bloode royal?';²¹ turns back on him in the sacrifice of Iphigenia as a reimaged version of the death of Lady Jane Grey.

Hints in the manuscript suggest Lady Jane Lumley was aware of the critique she could make within the conventions of a translation exercise that expressed her loyalty to her father. She translates a fairly bland exchange between father and daughter as what we might see as a comment on her own translation strategy:

AGAMEMNON Trulye daughter the more wittely you speake, the more you
trouble me.

IPHIGENIA If it be so father, then I will strive to seme more folishhe that
you may be delighted.

AGAMEMNON Surely I am constrained to praise gretlye your witte, for I do
delite much in it. (398–403)

The father figure in Lumley's text accepts the consequences of educating his daughter to be eloquent and learned in matters of 'councell' (391). If Lumley spoke as Iphigenia in a household performance or reading, the lines would advertize the shared knowledge that this translation was not diplomatic in any sense, but a free interpretation designed to 'trouble' its recipient with reminders of the consequences of his previous actions. Iphigenia challenges her father by asking if she should appear more 'folishhe' in order to please him, which he denies. At a metatextual level, Lumley's witty translation here implicitly authorizes the learned critiques she offers of her father's political strategy. In spite of Iphigenia's superficial acceptance of her duty as a daughter of Greece, her words register deep scepticism about the principles of government which reduce her to an expendable commodity:

Surelie mother we can not speke against this, for do you not think it to be better that I shulde die, then so many noble man to be let of their journey for one womans sake? For one noble man is better than a thousand women. (813–17)

Given Lumley's learning and wit, she surely tinges these words with irony, questioning the value of a political theory that mistakenly sets family against state rather than uniting the forces of women and men in pursuit of a common good.

Iphigenia's determination to die for the good of her country like the Greek soldiers paradoxically threatens those very men whose honour she purports to be promoting. By actively embracing her death for the cause of the *polis* Iphigenia becomes a citizen of the state, challenging the exclusive masculinity of the public arena. Conventional constructions of male and female identities, public and private arenas, are vulnerable and open to radical reconfigurations in Aulis, which is a liminal space, geographically and temporally. As well as being a harbour or haven, it is a threshold between peace and war on which the Greek army are stranded, 'constrained to tary here idle' (76).

The extended argument between Menelaus and Agamemnon (161–276) dramatizes how this no-man's land threatens masculinity. Their brotherly squabble is a symptom of their frustrations at not being able to engage with the enemy in battle and the product of their training in the military tactic of manipulating gender in order to disempower the enemy. As Carol Cohn notes, war 'has the effect of making not just men but their *manliness* a target'.²² Menelaus taunts Agamemnon with his inconstancy about sacrificing Iphigenia, saying that this shameful act shows either 'fearefulness' or that Agamemnon is 'unmete' as a ruler of the 'common welthe' (254–6). Agamemnon is quick to recognize that 'a learned tonge disposed to evell is a naughty thinge' (193–4) but retaliates in the same vein, suggesting that Helen's abduction is due to Menelaus's 'fautes' (246) in manhood: 'For you your selfe have been the occasion of your owne trouble' (250–2). In our production the actors playing Agamemnon (Ruth Gregson) and Menelaus (Helen Katamba) enjoyed the opportunity to stretch different theatrical muscles in the performance of such aggressive masculinity. Aliko Chapple, responsible for coaching the all-female cast to play men, comments that while social conditions physically train women 'not to be heroic ... not to take up space', female actors enjoy the high status of the male heroes and the opportunity to play as 'powerful or aggressive or proud'. At the same time, cross-casting is 'about a belief in the mutability of theatrical performance, that anybody can play anything'.²³ Rose Company's all-female production emphasized the performativity of gender in the liminal space/time of Aulis.

Iphigenia's wish to die for the company of soldiers anticipates and upstages male sacrifices in war. Advising her mother to 'suffer this troble patiently for I needs must die and will suffer it willingly' (799–800), she appropriates the male discourse of service, specifically the protection of women and children. Iphigenia constructs herself as the 'destruction of Troie' (803), the enemy against whose 'wicked enterprise' she must defend the Grecians or they 'shall

not kepe neither their children, nor yet their wives in peace' (805–7). Reconfiguring the sacrifice to which she has been condemned as an active, traditionally masculine role is transgressive. The debate surrounding women's involvement in the military today shows it remains controversial. General Robert H. Barrow, the former Commander of UD Marine Corps explains:

War is a man's work. Biological convergence [ie, deploying women] on the battle-field ... would be an enormous psychological distraction for the male who wants to think he's fighting for that woman somewhere behind, not up there in the same foxhole with him. It tramples the male ego. When you get right down to it, you have to protect the manliness of war.²⁴

Iphigenia does not fight but her rhetorical intervention profoundly disrupts the all-male camp. Achilles's determination to fight for Iphigenia is psychologically motivated as well as being, superficially, a sign of bravado. Emma Rucastle's experience of directing an actor and then playing the role herself in the filmed production led to an understanding of the emotional depth of Achilles's motivation:

In early productions we'd been sending up the male characters a little, Achilles the most obviously, and I know when I had talked about the part with Elle, I used terms like Prince Charming and hero coming in to save the day but I found playing it myself, not to feel like that at all. Certainly he comes on as a hero but ... once Clytemnestra ... goes on her knees and begs him for help it felt like a very different matter. When I turned ... and made eye contact with Clytemnestra, it seemed like something that Achilles really wanted to do, he genuinely wanted to help this woman ... Similarly when he proposes to Iphigenia and she says no ... it did suddenly seem absolutely critical to me that Achilles's last three words are 'change your mind' and I desperately wanted her to at that moment.²⁵

Iphigenia's response is to stand firm and not relinquish her place as hero; rather, she turns the tables and offers to protect Achilles, bidding him 'not to put your selfe in daunger for my cause but suffer me rather to save all grece with my deathe' (837–9).

Achilles and Iphigenia are both preoccupied with how they will be remembered. Achilles fears 'it shoulde sounde to no little reproch to me', if Iphigenia is slain 'throughe my occation' (574–6). Iphigenia, by contrast, is confident that she will 'leave a perpetuall memorie of my deathe' (830).

Jane Lumley's translation engages actively with the process of remembrance, first in reviving Euripides's play as part of the renaissance of interest in ancient heroes and drama in sixteenth-century England. The female voice that vows to 'offer my selfe willingly to death for my country' reminds characters, readers, or spectators that the costs of conflict are not just borne by men. Pronounced in the early modern present of a household reading, or a performance at Nonsuch after 1556, the lines call to mind the fate of Lady Jane Grey. Even though she had not yet been commemorated as the first Protestant martyr by John Foxe, Lady Jane Grey's writings share Iphigenia's awareness of her role as sacrifice.

In a letter to her sister Katherine on the day before her execution, Lady Jane advised, 'Lyve still to deye', and 'trust not yt ye tenderness of yor age shall lengthen yor life: for assone, if god will, goith ye young as the old; and laboure always to lerne to deye'.²⁶ Since Miles Coverdale published the letter in 1564, copies of it were obviously in circulation. Lady Jane Lumley and her family would perhaps have recognized a secular echo in Iphigenia's final words, 'O father, I am come hether to offer my body willinglie . . . I will make no resistance againste you' (926–30). Lady Jane Grey's final letter to *her* earthly father demonstrates the same critical strength and wit as Iphigenia's words. Regretful that God has chosen 'to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened', she assures him she accepts her end with thanks. She urges his faith in Christ ('if it be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father') before signing off as 'Your obedient daughter till death, Jane Dudley'. Jane Lumley's translation, a gift from a dutiful daughter, likewise dared to counsel her father.

Jane Lumley's critical stance may also pick up on her cousin's earlier *Letter to a Friend Newly Fallen from the Faith*, which provides a striking contrast to Fitzalan's warning that families would be split apart. The Protestant Lady Jane Grey pointed out that 'Christ came to set one against another; the son against the father, the daughter against the mother'. With worldly and perhaps prophetic wisdom regarding her own fate, Jane cautioned that the Catholic doctrine of unity was no more than a deceptive 'glistening and glorious name' because 'the agreement of evil men is not an unity but a conspiracy'.²⁷ In *Iphigenia* Jane Lumley does not paint Agamemnon or even Menelaus as intrinsically evil but she does show how both men are trapped into committing an evil act by the conspiracy of the 'hoste' to win honour in Troy. What emotions and regrets these remembrances of the tragic figure Lady Jane Grey

would have conjured in a reading or performance by members of Jane Lumley's family, we can only conjecture.

Re-producing Lumley's *Iphigenia* in a year commemorating the outbreak of World War I raised our awareness of how the play could function as an act of remembrance. Michael Freedon argues that 'In all cultures, the war dead occupy a particular place' for reasons relating to both family and nation: first because of the 'difficulty in rationalizing sacrifice'; second 'because the bereaved need a rationale that explains the deaths of their relatives, transforming them into heroes'; third, 'because of the ostensible altruistic nature of such death'; and finally 'because a nation betrays the duty to protect all its members by sending some of them to their deaths, on what is sometimes merely the pretext that those who die are protecting the rest'.²⁸ Iphigenia's sacrifice for war parallels that of the war dead in each of these aspects. Neither Iphigenia, Clytemnestra, nor the Chorus of women can see any good reason for the sacrifice: 'for what have I to do with Helena?' Iphigenia asks (709). To provide a rationale, Iphigenia seizes on the idea of an altruistic death: 'remember how I was not borne for your sake onlie, but rather for the commoditie of my countrie' (809–10) and assures her mother, 'I shall get you moche honor by my deathe' (851–2). To further the view of her sacrifice as a heroic triumph for the nation, Iphigenia orchestrates the response of the women left behind. She forbids her mother, sisters, and the other virgins and the Chorus to mourn, instructing them:

I shall desire all you women to singe some songe of my deathe, and to prophesie good lucke unto the grecians: for with my deathe I shall purchase unto them a glorious victorie. (892–5)

The Chorus assures her: 'by this meanes you shall get your selfe a perpetuall renowne for ever' (903–4).

Freedon argues that such an act of commemoration converts genuine grief into a 'dignified act of public recognition' which can provide some comfort to the immediate mourners and simultaneously serve the national interest by 'channelling strong communal emotion over and above other loyalties and commitments'.²⁹ Lumley's *Iphigenia* is not so conventional. Running counter to the dignified, stoic celebration and the 'grete wonder' of Iphigenia's transportation into the heavens is a strong sense of abhorrence at the waste of life. Clytemnestra is 'in doughte' about the miracle, believing 'they have fained it to comforte me' (958–60). A 'white harte' on the sacrificial altar 'struggling

for life' (939–43), replaces Iphigenia — a tangible reminder of the continuing struggle on battlefields beyond the play. The harsh world of military and political conflict still makes sacrifices of those who 'hathe not deserved to dye' for a cause (326).

In our 2014 performances Iphigenia's words, 'I must goo from you unto such a place, from whence I shall never come again', recalled those who had been sent off by powerful military and spiritual leaders like Agamemnon, Menelaus, Ulysses, and Calchas, to die in the interests of national supremacy or religious fundamentalism. A staged progress to the altar accompanied the Chorus's speech 'yonder goeth the virgine to be sacrificed with a great companye of soldiers after her'. Clad in her poppy-coloured dress, Iphigenia, followed by Menelaus, made a slow march round the stage, evoking ceremonies of remembrance. A translated song, the Seikilos Epitaph (ca 100AD), punctuated the ceremony with a potent reminder of vivacious, young life lost: 'While you live, shine / Shine, let in no sorrow, / So little is life / An end imposed by time'. Reproducing *Iphigenia* in a year of remembrance demonstrates that Lady Jane Lumley's translation continues to function as a palimpsest that revivifies the past in order to disturb the present.

Notes

- 1 Lady Lumley's *Tragedie of Iphigenia* exists in a unique manuscript, British Library ms Royal 15. A IX Lumley. All quotations and line references are from Diane Purkiss (ed.), *Three Tragedies by Renaissance Women* (Harmondsworth, 1998), 1–35.
- 2 Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia, 2009), 2.
- 3 See, for example, Barry Weller and Margaret W. Ferguson, (eds), *The Tragedy of Mariam, The Fair Queen of Jewry with the Lady Falkland: Her Life* (London, 1994), 27; Stephanie Hodgson-Wright, 'Jane Lumley's *Iphigenia at Aulis: multum in parvo*, or, less is more', in S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (eds), *Readings in Renaissance Women's Drama* (London, 1988), 129–41 and Marion Wynne-Davies, *Women Writers and Familial Discourse in the English Renaissance: Relative Values* (Basingstoke, 2007), 63–88.
- 4 The production toured to Lancaster Castle; Homerton College, Cambridge; University College London; The Continental, Preston; King's Head Theatre, Manchester; and the Lantern Theatre, Liverpool; and was filmed in September 2014 as a DVD:

- Lady Jane Lumley's Iphigenia at Aulis*, dir. Emma Rucastle for Rose Company Theatre. For further details and photographs see <http://www.rosecompanytheatre.com/>
- 5 David H. Greene, 'Lady Lumley and Greek Tragedy', *Classical Journal* 36 (1941), 537–47; Wynne-Davies, *Women Writers*, 73.
 - 6 On performance at Nonsuch see Alison Findlay, *Playing Spaces in Early Women's Drama* (Cambridge, 2006), 74–9 and Wynne-Davies, *Women Writers*, 72–80.
 - 7 Lady Jane Grey was the daughter of Henry Grey, duke of Suffolk, whose sister Catherine was Henry Fitzalan's first wife and Lady Jane Lumley's mother. Catherine Grey/Fitzalan died in 1551.
 - 8 'Life of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel', British Library ms Royal 17 A IX, transcribed by J. B. Nichols in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 154 (1833), Part 2, 15). The biography was probably commissioned by John Lumley.
 - 9 'Life of Henry Fitzalan,' 118.
 - 10 Wynne-Davies, *Women Writers*, 65.
 - 11 William Perkins, *Christian Oeconomie: or, A short survey of the right manner of erecting and ordering a familie according to the scriptures...now set forth in the vulgar tongue, for more common use and benefit, by Tho. Pickering Bachelor of Diuinitie* (London, 1609)
 - 12 'Life of Fitzalan', 119.
 - 13 Wynne-Davies, *Women Writers*, 85.
 - 14 *Ibid*, 66
 - 15 Purkiss, *Three Tragedies by Renaissance Women*, xxv.
 - 16 Page DuBois, *Sowing the Body: Psychoanalysis and Ancient Representations of Women* (Chicago, 1988), 68–9. I thank Karen Raber for alerting me to this important work in her article 'Murderous Mothers and the Family/State Analogy in Classical and Renaissance Drama,' *Comparative Literary Studies* 37:3 (2000), 298–320, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1353/cl.2000.0029>
 - 17 Diane Purkiss, 'Blood, Sacrifice, Marriage: Why Iphigenia and Mariam Have to Die', *Women's Writing* 6:1 (1999), 27–45, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/109699089900200054> reads the sacrifice in relation to Jane's marriage to John Lumley.
 - 18 From interview on *Lady Jane Lumley's Iphigenia* (2015).
 - 19 Karen Raber, 'Murderous Mothers', 300.
 - 20 'Life of Fitzalan', 119
 - 21 *Ibid*.
 - 22 Carol Cohn, ed. *Women and Wars: Contested Histories* (Cambridge, 2013), 22.
 - 23 Interview from film *Jane Lumley's Iphigenia at Aulis*.
 - 24 Cited in Cohn, *Women and Wars*, 23.

- 25 Emma Rucastle, director of *Iphigenia* by Rose Company Theatre (2013–14) in interview from *Lady Jane Lumley's 'Iphigenia at Aulis'*, a film of the production (Rose Company Theatre and Lancaster University Television, 2015)
- 26 Nicholas Harris Nicolas (ed.), *The Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey with A Memoir of Her Life* (London, 1825), 46. First printed in Miles Coverdale, *Certain Most Godly, Fruitful, and Comfortable Letters of Such True Saintes and Holy Martyrs of God*. See also Lady Jane Grey's letter refusing the blood-drenched crown, xxxviii.
- 27 Nicholas (ed.), *Literary Remains of Lady Jane Grey*, 29.
- 28 Michael Freeden, 'The Politics of Ceremony: The Wootten Bassett Phenomenon,' *Journal of Political Ideologies* 16.1 (2001), 2. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13569317.2011.540937>.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 1.