

## THE TRAGIC WEDDING

### A. INTRODUCTORY

WEDDING ritual in tragedy tends to be subverted. In explaining and arguing for this generalisation I hope also to shed new light on some of the passages deployed.

My starting point is the actual wedding ceremony. How did the Athenians of the classical period imagine that it was celebrated? Our evidence derives largely from contemporary drama and vase-painting. The picture presented by this evidence coheres very well in certain respects with that derived from other periods and places: Sappho, Catullus' imitation of the Greek, the lexicographers, and so on. For example, one important element that is found in the Attic and the non-Attic evidence alike is the ambiguity, for the bride, of the transition. The abrupt passage to her new life contains both negative and positive elements. On the one hand it is like the yoking of an animal or the plucking of a flower.<sup>1</sup> It means isolation, separation from her friends and parents.<sup>2</sup> It is an occasion of resentment and anxiety,<sup>3</sup> comparable to death.<sup>4</sup> And on the other hand she is also subjected in the ceremony to praise and μακαρισμός.<sup>5</sup> The relationship between the negative and the positive tendency of the ritual is a delicate one: the negative tendency must not be denied, but it must of course eventually be overcome. For example, the negative image of nature destroyed may be met by the positive image of its taming and cultivation.<sup>6</sup> The 'death' of the girl (or her abandonment of virginity) may be expressed by the sacrifice of a substituted animal.<sup>7</sup> The wedding expresses not only the victory of a positive over a negative tendency, but also in a sense the victory of culture over nature.<sup>8</sup> The wild animal is tamed; sexual union is legitimised; the field is ploughed.<sup>9</sup> And because the wedding constitutes one of the two or three most fundamental transitions in the life of an individual, particularly perhaps for a woman,<sup>10</sup> the failure to complete the transition is profoundly anomic. This failure, which may occur in various ways, is constantly explored by tragedy.

The most obvious form of this failure is of course death before marriage. Such a death is constantly imagined, notably in epitaphs, as a kind of marriage, notably (for the girl) with Hades.<sup>11</sup> That is to say, a transition effected by nature (death) is enclosed by the imagination within a similar transition effected by culture (marriage). It is important to observe that this

<sup>1</sup> See nn. 58, 62, 63, 64 below.

<sup>2</sup> Sappho fr. 104(a) Voigt; Soph. *Trach.* 527–31, fr. 583; Theocr. 18.38–9; Poll. iii 42; Catull. 62.21–2, 32; Dracontius 6.92–5; Claudian *Epithal. in Pall.* 125; cf. e.g. N. Politis, *Λαογραφικά Σύμμεικτα* iii (Athens 1931) 281; J. K. Campbell, *Honour, family and patronage* (Oxford 1964) 121; Sourvinou-Inwood, below p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Sappho fr. 114; Poll. iii 42; Theocr. 8.91; Schol. Theocr. 18.34; Plut. *Lyk.* 15, *Mor.* 289a; and for fifth century Attic vase-painting see Ian Jenkins in *BICS* xxx (1983), 137–45; Sourvinou-Inwood, below pp. 139–141. Cf. also n. 2 above, and Claudian *Fesc. Honor.* 4.3–4, *de Cons. Stil.* ii 357–8; Auson. *Cento Nupt.* 91 ff.; Varro *Sent.* 11 Riese.

<sup>4</sup> See nn. 82–92 below; also Jenkins (n. 3) D. J. R. Williams in *Ancient Greek and Related Pottery* (Proc. Internat. Vase Symp. Amsterdam 1984), 279 (on *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 89.13); Antiph. Soph. fr. 49 (cf. G. Thomson, *The prehistoric Aegean* [London 1949] 338).

<sup>5</sup> Praise: Sappho fr. 108, 113; Ar. *Pax* 1350; Theocr. 18.20–38; Himer. *Or.* 1(9).19–20; Men. *Rhet.* 403.29 ff.; Ps. Dionys. *Epid.* 265, 270; Catull. 61.16 ff.; etc.; Politis (n. 3) 278–89. μακαρισμός: Hes. fr. 211.7; Sappho fr. 112; E. *Alc.* 918–19, *Tro.* 311–12, *Hel.* 375–6, 640,

1434–5, *IA* 1076–9, 1404–5, *Phaeth.* 240; Ar. *Pax* 1333, *Av.* 1722–5, 1759; Theocr. 18.16, 52; *Od.* iv. 208; Pi. *Pyth.* 3.88; Antoniad. *Cret.* 66 (Politis [n. 2] 284 n. 3).

<sup>6</sup> Notably at Catull. 62.38–56 (a poem largely Greek in inspiration); cf. n. 9 below.

<sup>7</sup> At the προτέλεια: W. Burkert *Homo necans* (Translation, Berkeley 1983) 62–3; cf. *IA* 433 with 718–19.

<sup>8</sup> See esp. James Redfield in *Arethusa* xv (1982), 192–4 (add e.g. Ps. D.H. *Epid.* 262 (Radermacher) τοῦ μὲν θηριώδους καὶ πεπλανημένου βίου ἀπαλλάγῃσαν, βίον δὲ ἡμερον καὶ τεταγμένον ἔσχον διὰ τοῦ γάμου).

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. V. Magnien in *AC* v (1936), 129–31, 133–4; J.-P. Vernant in *Myth and society in ancient Greece* (London 1982) 138–9, 150; M. Detienne, *The gardens of Adonis* (London 1977), 116–17; Redfield (n. 8); the formula γνησιῶν παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότωι (Men. *Dysk.* 842; etc.); Aelian *De Nat. An.* xii 24; n. 58 below.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Hipponax fr. 68 West: δὺ' ἡμέραι γυναικὸς εἰσιν ἤδιστα, / ὅταν γαμήι τις κάκφῆρη τεθνηκυῖαν.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. W. Peek *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* (Berlin 1955) 658, 1162, 1238, 1551, 1553, 1989; cf. e.g. S. *Ant.* 810; E. *IA* 461; cf. Aelian fr. 50 Hercher. For a striking recent example see TA NEA for 16.3.1987.

enclosure is facilitated by the presence in the wedding of elements associated with death, to some extent perhaps actual lamentation, but more importantly 'equivocal' elements common to the two rites of passage:<sup>12</sup> in both wedding and funeral the girl is washed, anointed, and given special πέπλοι and a special στέφανος in order to be conveyed on an irreversible, torchlit journey (on a cart)<sup>13</sup> accompanied by song, and to be abandoned by her kin to an unknown dwelling, an alien bed, and the physical control (χείρ ἐπὶ καρπῶι) of an unknown male.<sup>14</sup> The unmarried girl is buried in her wedding attire;<sup>15</sup> she is imagined as a bride taken off by Hades;<sup>16</sup> and so on.<sup>17</sup> The wedding attire is of course not a mere symbol. It would have been worn in the actual marriage that she has been denied: οἷς γὰρ ἔμελλον / κοσμεῖσθαι νύμφα, τοῖσδ' Αἴδαν ἔμολον.<sup>18</sup> The actual wedding may have been imminent.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, this interpenetration of the two basically similar transitions is sometimes intensified to the point at which the girl (or sometimes the man) dies after preparations for the wedding have begun or even during the ritual itself.<sup>20</sup> The surprising frequency (or at least the survival) of such cases is perhaps attributable to a tendency of the imagination to intensify the interpenetration.<sup>21</sup> In these cases it is as if one of the negative elements in the wedding ceremony (marriage as death) has triumphed over the positive, as if the pattern of the wedding ceremony has been disrupted so as to turn into its opposite.

Tragedy is intensely interested in this kind of disruption. I will begin by noting three examples of the death of an unmarried girl which is clearly associated with her imminent wedding (Antigone, Iphigeneia, Glauke). Secondly, as the centre-piece of the argument, I will discuss at length the case of the Danaids, in which the prevailing negative element is not the death of the bride but her hostility to the groom. Thirdly, in Section C, I will discuss examples of the death of a married woman imagined as the re-enactment of her marriage (Deianeira, Iokasta, Euadne, Medea). Finally, in Section D, I examine cases of extramarital sexual union imagined as marriage: i.e. a merely natural union is shaped by the imagination into a transition effected by culture<sup>22</sup> (Paris and Helen, Agamemnon and Cassandra, Herakles and Iole, Neoptolemos and Andromache). Reference will also be made to various other couples on the way. In all these categories the negative tendency of the ritual prevails.

## B. THE GIRL ABOUT TO BE MARRIED

§1. The death of *Antigone* is presented by Sophokles in a manner suggestive of a wedding, in part with Hades or Acheron, in part with her betrothed Haimon. The place of her imprisonment

<sup>12</sup> On wedding lamentation etc. see §4 below and n. 4 above; on equivocal elements (and wedding laments) in Greece today see M. Alexiou, *The ritual lament in Greek tradition* (Cambridge 1974), 120–22. Note that such ambiguity within the wedding does *not* for the audience underlie the lament of Capulet (Romeo and Juliet iv 5.84–90): All things that we ordained festival / Turn from their office to black funeral: / Our instruments to melancholy bells, / Our wedding cheer to a sad burial feast; / Our solemn hymns to sullen dirges change, / Our bridal flowers serve for a buried corpse; (quoted by M. Alexiou and P. Dronke, *Studi Medievali* xii [1971] 831).

<sup>13</sup> In fact the corpse might be carried either on foot or on a cart (see e.g. Beazley *ABV* 346.7 and 8, = E. Vermeule, *Aspects of death in early Greek art and poetry* [Berkeley 1979] 20, figs. 15 and 16). Equally unsurprisingly, the bridal pair sometimes went on foot (see e.g. Poll. ii 195).

<sup>14</sup> Description of the funeral: Vermeule (n. 13) 11–21; D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman, *Greek burial customs* (London 1971) ch. 7; Robert Garland, *The Greek way of death* (London 1985), ch. 3; of the wedding: W.

Erdmann, *Die Ehe im alten Griechenland* (Munich 1934), ch. 5; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités s.v.* 'Matrimonium.' On χείρ ἐπὶ καρπῶι see Jenkins, art. cit. n. 3.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. Peek (n. 11) 683, 1238; Alexiou (n. 12) 230 n. 63; cf. E. Tro. 1218–20.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Peek (n. 11) 658, 1238, 1553; Jenkins (n. 3).

<sup>17</sup> E.g. *Anth. Pal.* vii 185 (torches), 487 (bed), 489 (θάλαμος); Peek (n. 11) 1450 (house), 1823 (torchlit journey); cf. e.g. S. *Ant.* 806–16 (journey, bed).

<sup>18</sup> Peek (n. 11) 683.7–8.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 291, 568; Peek (n. 11) 988, 1976, 1989; Ach. Tat. i 13.

<sup>20</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii 182, 183, 188, 568, 610 (obviously imaginary), 711, 712; Peek (n. 11) 228, 1238, 1522, 1801, 1825, 1910, 1989.19, 2038, cf. 878; A.R. iii 656–61; Hor. C. iv 2.21; Heliod. ii 29.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. Peek (n. 11) 1238 is an epigram which illustrates how easily the idea of death just before the wedding might arise from the practice of burying the unmarried girl in bridal attire.

<sup>22</sup> I.e. the same shaping as operates on the natural event of death (see above).

is both a tomb and a bridal chamber (816, 891; cf. 804, 886, 947). Hades ὁ παγκοίτης is taking Antigone off alive (810 f.) Less obviously, it should be noted that the hymn to Ἔρως that introduced Antigone's burial lament is appropriate to a hymenaial context. In particular, its theme is the power of sex in nature and in the cosmos, which was a τόπος of the later wedding ceremony at least (see n. 117 below), constituting praise of the mighty power that has brought the couple together. But here inasmuch as Haimon and Antigone are brought together in death (described in terms of sexual and marital union: see §6), the τόπος is in part reversed. Failure to realise this point has produced among critics puzzlement about the introduction of the theme and misunderstanding of its significance.<sup>23</sup> As so often, deviation from what we expect arises from the presence of a τόπος. Another example of this phenomenon is in fact provided by the 'marriage' in the tomb of Antigone and Haimon, which produces certain inconsistencies of plot.<sup>24</sup>

§2. *Iphigeneia*. We know several cases of girls before marriage traditionally lamenting for, or offering sacrifice, their hair, or libations to, a mythical young person who had died a virgin.<sup>25</sup> Surely this mythical death is at least partly an expression of the death associated with the marital separation from maidenhood. The mythical figure embodies, albeit indirectly, the loss experienced by the bride, and provides an object for her emotions. It appears therefore that the subversion of the marital transition is a feature of myth. It is not invented by tragedy, though tragedy exploits it and probably extends its scope.

This is particularly clear in the case of Iphigeneia, who combines these two forms of substitute death (of a mythical maiden, of a sacrificial animal). In one version she is actually sacrificed to Artemis, in another she is replaced by an animal (a hind, or a bear). The substitution of (or perhaps the metamorphosis into) a bear is reported by Phanodemos of Athens,<sup>26</sup> and is clearly related to the importance of Iphigeneia and Artemis at Brauron, where young girls ritually imitated bears (ἀρκετεύειν). In the scholium on Ar. *Lys.* 645 we read that Iphigeneia was to be sacrificed at Brauron but was replaced by a bear, and that as a result μυστήριον ἄγουσιν αὐτῆι.<sup>27</sup> Ἀρκετεύειν was regarded as a preparation for marriage.<sup>28</sup> And so the death (or escape from death) of Iphigeneia seems to have been, at least in part, an expression of the association of death with the loss of girlhood in marriage. Wilamowitz regarded the luring of Iphigeneia to Aulis by the prospect of marriage as inessential to the story ('zuthat zu der eigentlichen Geschichte') and guessed that it was an innovation by the poet of the Kypria.<sup>29</sup> The question of who made the 'innovation' is unanswerable. But what we can say is that the 'innovation' was unlikely to have been absolute: like most unnecessary innovations, it was probably a development of an existing theme, namely that of Iphigeneia as bride. It is of interest here that in one version she was actually married to Achilles and had a son by him.<sup>30</sup>

In Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis* the marriage to Achilles for which she is summoned by her father is of course only a device to encompass her sacrifice. But the persistent presentation of this sacrifice in terms of marriage is due only in small part to the needs of the deception. The normal role of the προτέλεια, the sacrifice preliminary to marriage, appears to have been to give to the deity the life of an animal as a substitute for the life of the bride (n. 7 above). The rumour in the

<sup>23</sup> E.g. K. von Fritz in *Philologus* lxxxix (1934), 19–33, reprinted in *Antike und moderne Tragödie* (Berlin 1962), 227–40; R. P. Winnington-Ingram, *Sophocles, an interpretation* (Cambridge 1980), 92–8 (similar to the failure to see that Antigone laments because it is her funeral: Seaford in *CQ* xxxiv (1984), 254).

<sup>24</sup> Notably in the behaviour of Haimon: the inconsistencies are described by Tycho von Wilamowitz, *Die Dramatische Technik des Sophokles* (Berlin 1917) 21–3 ('... Man sieht also deutlich, dass es dem Dichter von vornherein feststeht, dass Haimon in Antigone's Grabe Selbstmord begehen wird. Er überlegt sich genau so wenig wie der Zuschauer, wie und wozu er hineinge-

kommen sein kann, und denkt nicht daran, das noch besonders zu motivieren'); and cf. 36 with 773–80.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. Hdt. iv 34; Pausan. i. 43.4; Plut. *Arist.* 20; Pausan. ii. 32.1–4 (and E. *Hipp.* 1425–7).

<sup>26</sup> *FGrH* 325 (F14(a) and (b)) (fourth cent. B.C.).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. e.g. E. *IT* 1450 ff., and in general Brelich (n. 109) 241–78.

<sup>28</sup> Krateros *FGrH* 342 F9; Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 645; Burkert (n. 107) 263.

<sup>29</sup> In *Hermes* xxviii (1883), 250 = *Kl. Schr.* vi 196.

<sup>30</sup> Nikander ap. Anton. Lib. 27 (cf. E. *IA* 1355–6, 940); Lykophr. *Alex.* 183, 324; Duris *FGrH* 76 F88.

Greek camp is that Ἀρτέμιδι προτελίζουσι τὴν νεάνιδα (433). And Agamemnon pretends that the impending sacrifice to Artemis is the προτέλεια . . . παιδός (718–19). The irony of the bride transformed from participant in the sacrifice to victim is sustained at 675 χερνίβων γὰρ ἐστήθη πέλας, which could apply equally to bride and to victim,<sup>31</sup> and at 1475–9 ἄγετέ με . . . στέφρα περίβολα δίδοτε, φέρετε—πλόκαμος ὄδε καταστέφειν—χερνίβων τε παγὰς (both bride and victim are adorned and led in procession).<sup>32</sup> She will be sacrificed as a μόσχος ἀκήρατος raised not by cowherds but παρὰ . . . μητέρι νυμφοκόμον Ἰναχίδαῖς γάμον (1080–88): here the irony deploys a traditional comparison of the bride to a young animal leaving her mother.<sup>33</sup> As in Aeschylus (see §9a), the death of Iphigeneia in her προτέλεια is not imagined but real. The negative element prevails.

Secondly, the arrival and final departure of Iphigeneia are presented in a manner evocative of the wedding. The elements of a normal wedding particularly relevant here are the μακαρισμός of the nuptial pair (n. 5 above) and their arrival at the house of the groom in a cart accompanied by the mother of the bride and other women.<sup>34</sup> The moment of this arrival was a poignant stage, often depicted in Attic vase painting,<sup>35</sup> in the transition of the bride to her new life, for it was here presumably that she was abandoned by her kin.

Klytimestra arrives as νυμφαγωγός (610) with Iphigeneia and her φερναί (611) in front of the μέλαθρα (685) of Agamemnon, in a cart or chariot (ὀχήματα, 611, 616), to the accompaniment of a choral μακαρισμός (590–97). Much concern is shown for the descent of Iphigeneia from the chariot (614–16).<sup>36</sup> In the subsequent dialogue Agamemnon speaks of a πλοῦς<sup>37</sup> which Iphigeneia is to undertake μόνη, μονωθεῖσ' ἀπὸ πατρός καὶ μητέρος (669), and which she takes to mean that she is to live in another household. He then bids her farewell, χῶρει δὲ μελάθρων ἐντός . . . φίλημα δοῦσα δεξιάν τέ μοι, μέλλουσα δαρὸν πατρός ἀποικῆσιν χρόνον (678–80), and disguises his grief as that felt by a father at the marriage of his daughter (688–90).

The next episode, in which Klytimestra meets with Achilles and discovers the truth from the old man, is followed by a choral song celebrating the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. The aptness of this theme is obvious. The offspring of the marriage was Achilles; and it forms a contrast with the present 'marriage' (note especially the reference to the μακαρισμός at 1075–80: μακάριον τότε δαίμονες . . . γάμον . . . ἔθεσαν κτλ . . . σὲ δ' ἐπὶ κάρᾳ στέψουσι κτλ). But it should also be noted that the practice of referring to a paradigmatic mythical or divine marriage seems to have been a practice of the contemporary wedding ceremony.<sup>38</sup>

The arrival of the Greeks to take Iphigeneia to her death produces the prospect of a scene familiar from certain descriptions of the wedding, the bride torn from the embrace of her mother (1367, 1460).<sup>39</sup> Finally, the very last words of Iphigeneia evoke the predicament of the bride: (1505–9) ἰὼ ἰὼ . . . λαμπαδοῦχος ἄμερα Διὸς τε φέγγος, ἕτερον ἕτερον αἰῶνα καὶ μοῖραν οἰκήσομεν. χαῖρέ μοι φίλον φάος. The faint suggestion in λαμπαδοῦχος of the wedding torches

<sup>31</sup> Cf. 1479, 1518, *IT* 58 etc., and a similar ambiguity at *A. Ag.* 1036–8 (cf. §10). Cf. also *IA* 1080–88.

<sup>32</sup> For other parallels between marriage and sacrifice see J.-P. Vernant (n. 9) ch. 7; H. P. Foley in *Arethusa* xv (1982), 159–80 (on the *IA*; a longer version in *Ritual irony* [Ithaca and London 1985] ch. 2).

<sup>33</sup> Seaford in *Hermes* cxiv (1986), 50–4; Sappho *fr.* 104(a); *S. Trach.* 527–30.

<sup>34</sup> *IA* 732; Schol. *E. Tro.* 315; *Ov. Ep.* 8.96; Nonn. *Dion.* 46.304; and the vase-paintings referred to in n. 27. I find that the evocation of the wedding by the chariot is suggested also by Foley, *Ritual irony* 70–1.

<sup>35</sup> Daremberg-Saglio (n. 14) s.v., 'Matrimonium' 1652–3.

<sup>36</sup> There may well be much (early) interpolation or rewriting in this scene (D. L. Page, *Actors' interpolations*

in *Greek tragedy* [Oxford 1934] 160–9); but even (early) interpolated lines are not necessarily thereby excluded from our argument, which is not concerned with the personality of Euripides.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. below §9a.

<sup>38</sup> *Ar. Av.* 1731–44; Sappho *fr.* 44 (if hymenaeal), cf. *fr.* 218 Voigt; *Men. Rhet.* 400–02 (includes Peleus and Thetis), etc.; *Ps. D.H. Epid.* 262; Claudian ix and Sidon. *Ap.* xiv (Peleus and Thetis); cf. Catull. 64. Note also the popularity of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis in vase-painting, e.g. on a nuptial *lebes*, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 585.33.

<sup>39</sup> Catull. 62.21–2 (surely based on a Greek model); cf. Sappho *fr.* 104; *S. Trach.* 527–31; *E. Hec.* 90–1, 207–9, 418, 611–12; *Plut. Lyk.* 15; *Politis* (n. 2) 281. cf. *IA* 1087.

of which Iphigeneia has been deprived<sup>40</sup> is strengthened by the subsequent suggestion of a change of dwelling place.<sup>41</sup>

§3. *Glauke* in Euripides' *Medea*. The πέπλοι and στέφανος sent by Medea to the princess Glauke are a wedding gift, contributing to the traditional εὐδαιμονία of the bride (952–8). They are donned by the bride, who then admires herself in the mirror.<sup>42</sup> But they turn out to be ἄιδα κόσμος (980), i.e. funerary dress.<sup>43</sup> The unmarried girl was buried in her wedding πέπλοι and στέφανος.

In the wedding of Glauke the association of the wedding κόσμος with death has become a reality. And the same is true of the journey: in 985 νερτέροις δ' ἤδη πάρα νυμφοκομήσει and in 1234–5 (significant even if interpolated) εἰς Ἄιδου δόμους / οἴχηι γάμων ἕκατι τῶν Ἰάσονος, the destination of the bride's journey is the house not of her husband but of Hades.<sup>44</sup> The association with death, one of the negative tendencies which in a normal wedding would be overcome in the rituals of transition and incorporation, has in the tragedy emerged as a triumphant reality.

§4. The *Danaids*. Aeschylus' *Suppliants* presents two central, closely related, and unresolved problems. Firstly, is the aversion of the Danaids to marriage in general or to marriage with their cousins in particular? Numerous passages may be deployed to support each alternative.<sup>45</sup> Secondly, on what is the aversion based? On the one hand, for Thomson,<sup>46</sup> the conflict is between the rule of exogamy and the principle embodied in the Attic law of the heiress, by which heiresses without brothers could be claimed in marriage by their kin, so as to keep the estate within the family. At the other extreme, Garvie<sup>47</sup> maintains that 'we must look for the Danaids' motivation purely in their own character, and not in any simple obedience to a supposed moral or social principle'. Most recently, Friis Johansen and Whittle (henceforward FJW), while accepting the importance of the Attic law for evaluating the action of the Aegyptiads, insist that the Danaids do not in fact invoke the principle of exogamy or denounce the principle of endogamy.<sup>48</sup> And so what motivates them? Here, FJW, while stressing the importance of the violence of the Aegyptiads, nevertheless implicitly admit puzzlement.<sup>49</sup>

It seems to me that progress on this front can be made only by the adoption of a new perspective. The attitude of the Danaids resembles in several respects the attitude associated with the Greek bride or her female companions, but taken to an exotic extreme. We are of course hampered in this comparison by the scarcity of direct evidence for the attitude and experience associated with the bride in fifth-century Attica. However, the coherence in various respects of the evidence for wedding ritual from different times and places<sup>50</sup> is such that the cautious use of evidence from one area to complement evidence from another is not necessarily illegitimate.

The Danaids, lamenting and fearful of isolation from their kin, claim to have a καρδία which

<sup>40</sup> The absence or the extinguishing of the wedding torch was a τόπος of the death-instead-of-marriage theme (see above; e.g. *Anth. Pal.* vii 185; Bion 1.87; Daremberg-Saglio [n. 14] s.v. 'Hymenaios'), and may be associated, as it seems to be here, with the darkness of Hades (e.g. Peek [n. 11] 804). On the association of φῶς, and especially torchlight, with σωτηρία, see Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 522, Thomson on *A. Ag.* 522, 935–71.

<sup>41</sup> Meaning lifetime, αἰών might easily refer to the (new) lifetime that begins at marriage: *E. Or.* 603, *Med.* 243, *Su.* 1005 (§7d), *Alc.* 475. For μοῖρα and marriage see *Ar. Av.* 1734; *Poll.* iii 38. And cf. *Antiph. Soph. fr.* 49.3; the wedding καινοῦ δαίμονος ἄρχει, καινοῦ πότμου.

<sup>42</sup> A scene depicted in Attic vase-paintings (e.g. Beazley *ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1476.3).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. e.g. *E. HF* 562, *Ba.* 857. Cf. also the attention paid to Pentheus's dress (*Med.* 1161–2 with *Ba.* 928–34, 1165–6 with 937–8). In *CQ* 37.1 (1987), 76–8 I suggest

that Pentheus too is looking at a mirror.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. nn. 11–17 above.

<sup>45</sup> A. F. Garvie, *Aeschylus' Suppliants: play and trilogy* (Cambridge 1969), 221; H. Friis Johansen and E. W. Whittle, *Aeschylus: the Suppliants* (Copenhagen 1980), i 30–4.

<sup>46</sup> *Aeschylus and Athens<sup>2</sup>* (London 1946), ch. 16.

<sup>47</sup> (n. 45) 221.

<sup>48</sup> (n. 45) i 34–7.

<sup>49</sup> 'The reader may, at his own risk, take the themes of general aversion to marriage, ὕβρις in the Aegyptiads and legally prescribed endogamy as suggesting various motives for the Danaids' flight from their cousins, but the function of these themes in *Supp.* (and perhaps in the trilogy as a whole) is only that of placing the action in a complex and shifting perspective.' ([n. 45] i 37.)

<sup>50</sup> See section A; also the general treatments of the ceremony mentioned in n. 14.

has been ἀπειρόδακρυς.<sup>51</sup> In a passage of Sophokles' *Trachiniai* heavily influenced by the wedding song<sup>52</sup> Deianeira expresses to the leader of the chorus of girls the hope that they will not suffer what marriage has brought her, νῦν δ' ἀπειρος εἶ, and proceeds to illustrate the point by comparing the unmarried girl to a protected or untroubled young animal or blooming plant. This image seems to have been a τόπος of the wedding song. For example, Sappho fr. 104(a), whatever precisely the original text, probably compares or contrasts the separation of the bride from her mother with the life of pastoral animals. Later in the *Trachiniai* Deianeira as a bride is compared to a πόρτις ἐρήμα suddenly separated from her mother.<sup>53</sup> In the *Suppliants* the Danaids call themselves (351–2) λυκοδίωκτον ὡς δάμαλιν ἄμ πέτραις ἠλιβάτοις, and associate themselves with the sufferings of their ancestor, the πόρτις Io (41), whom they twice call 'mother'.<sup>54</sup> To the pastoral scene of her sufferings they regard themselves as having returned.<sup>55</sup> Mention should perhaps also be made in this context of the image of the hawk preying on the nightingale (62) or dove (223–6; cf. *PV* 857). It is true that this image does not appear in the meagre remains of the ancient wedding-song; but it may be significant, in view of the demonstrable continuity of similar images in the wedding as well as of details of the ritual itself,<sup>56</sup> that the image of the bird of prey catching a weaker bird (e.g. the partridge) is a feature of the Greek wedding-song in the mediaeval and modern period.<sup>57</sup>

The grazing animal may have to face not only isolation and beasts of prey but also subjection by mankind. The verb ζεύγνυμι, in active or middle form, is regularly used in tragedy to express what a man does to a woman in marrying her.<sup>58</sup> Zeus in giving Thetis as wife to Peleus ἀνδρὶ δάμασσεν (*Il.* xviii 432). οὕτω, runs a bucolic simile, καὶ νύμφα δαμαθεῖσ' ἀκάχοιτο (Theocr. 8.91). The Danaids compare themselves to a δάμαλις (see above), a word cognate with δαμάζω and applied to an animal (generally female) not yet tamed or subdued. At 144–53 they involve Artemis to help ἄδμητος ἀδμήται,<sup>59</sup> and express the desire, as the offspring of Io, εὐνάς ἀνδρῶν, ἔξ ἑ, ἄγαμον ἀδάματον ἐκφυγεῖν. They do not want to be the δμῶις<sup>60</sup> of the sons of Aigyptos (335); and the threat of seizure makes them shout δάμναμαι (905). The image of the murderous Danaids as *nanctae vitulos leaenae* (Hor. C. iii 11.41) expresses not only savagery but also the reversal of the hymenaial image of the heifer subdued.

When Deianeira praises the life of the unmarried girl, she alludes to the hymenaial imagery not only of the untroubled animal but also of the protected, flowering plant.<sup>61</sup> We find plant images used on the one hand to praise bride or groom,<sup>62</sup> and on the other hand, like the animal imagery, to express the negative aspect of the loss of girlhood: in Sappho a hyacinth trodden

<sup>51</sup> *Su.* 69–76; see also e.g. 748–9.

<sup>52</sup> 141–9; Seaford (n. 33.)

<sup>53</sup> 529–30; cf. also Lyk. *Alex.* 102; E. *IA* 1083–8, *Hel.* 1476–8, *Hek.* 205–10 (cf. 90–1, 416–18, 526, 612); Pi. *Isthm.* 8.48.

<sup>54</sup> 141, 539; cf. 51, 275 This appeal (1) expresses the Danaids' claim on the Argives; (2) may express, according to the psychoanalytic analysis of R. S. Caldwell (in *Arethusa* vii [1974] 45–70), their desire for a 'fantasised mother'; (3) is highly apt for their quasi-hymenaial position, particularly given the hymenaial τόπος of the heifer parted from her mother. Cf. also *PV* 665 ff.

<sup>55</sup> 40–56, 538–40, 1063–6. Cf. *PV* 665 ff., where Io is forced out (ὠθεῖν) of the parental home to become a heifer on the margins of the land. R. D. Murray, *The motif of Io in Aeschylus' Suppliants* (Princeton 1958), ignores the ritual dimension.

<sup>56</sup> Seaford (n. 33) esp. nos. 10, 14, 20, 24; F. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμὸς* (Athens 1948–1955) iv 88–92, 101–19, 148–85. Politis (n. 2.)

<sup>57</sup> Politis (n. 2) iii 283; L. M. Danforth, *The death rituals of rural Greece* (Princeton 1982), 114; E. Zakhos,

*Poésie populaire des Grecs* (Paris 1966), 66, 132; cf. Alkman fr. 82.

<sup>58</sup> E. *Ba.* 468, *Phoen.* 337, 1366, *IA* 698, *Tro.* 676, *Alc.* 994; cf. S. *Trach.* 536; E. *El.* 99, *Hipp.* 549, *Su.* 822; and esp. S. fr. 583. Cf. Xen. *Econ.* 7.11; A.R. 4.96; *Suda* and Hsch. s.v. 'ζυγόν'; Ps. D.H. *Epid.* 262; etc. (Magnien [n. 9] 130–1.)

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Timarete before her wedding dedicating her childish things to Artemis Limnatis, κόραι κόρα, ὡς ἐπιεικές (*AP* vi 280.3); Seaford on S. *El.* 1238–9 in *CQ* xxxv (1985), 321–2. The Danaids' devotion to Artemis (cf. e.g. 1031) is of course not an explanation of their hostility to marriage (as believed by some) but a consequence of it.

<sup>60</sup> A word associated with δάμναμαι (see FJW ad loc.).

<sup>61</sup> See Easterling ad loc.; Seaford (n. 33).

<sup>62</sup> E.g. Sappho fr. 115, and 117A (Lobel-Page Addenda); Theocr. 18.30; Seaford (n. 33) 52 n. 10; add E. *Hipp.* 630, *Med.* 231 (cf. 242); Greg. Naz. *PG* 37.1493 v 186 Νυμφίον ὑμνεῖοντες εἰκότα ἔρνει καλῶι; *Stud. Bizant.* iv (Rome 1935) 234 vs. 29–30 and 235 v. 64.

down by ποίμενες ἄνδρες, and an apple threatened by the μαλοδρόπης; in the *Trachiniai* a plant growing up χώροισιν αὐτοῦ, protected from the weather; in Catullus a flower plucked from a sheltered garden.<sup>63</sup> We should compare those epitaphs such as the one from Leontopolis (first century AD)<sup>64</sup> in which the girl, buried in her wedding attire, was about to leave her father's house to be wed when ὡς ῥόδον ἐν κήπῳ νοτίσιν δροσεραῖσι τεθηλός / αἴφνιδίως με λαβῶν ὠΐχετ' ἰὼν Ἀίδης.

It is in the light of this tradition that we should understand the word ὠμοδρόπος at Aeschylus *Septem* 333 (see below, §12), as well as three passages from the *Suppliants*. Danaos, concerned with the possibility of male admiration in Argos, says of his daughters τέρειν' ὀπώρα δ' εὐφύλακτος οὐδαμῶς. / θηρές σφε κηραίνουσι καὶ βροτοὶ κτλ. (998–9). And when the Danaids sing about the possibility of war, ἦβας δ' ἄνθος ἄδρεπτον ἔστω, μηδ' Ἀφροδίτας εὐνάτωρ βροτολογὸς Ἄρης κέρσειεν ἄωτον (663–6),<sup>65</sup> the reference to Aphrodite implies the familiar idea that what warfare is for the young man marriage is for the girl,<sup>66</sup> and therefore the hope in this case that the plucking of the bloom of youth can be avoided for both sexes.

About their prospective Egyptian bridegrooms, on the other hand, the Danaids sing (104–6) ιδέσθω (Zeus) δ' εἰς ὕβριν / βρότειον οἶα νεάζει<sup>67</sup> πυθμῆν / δι' ἄμον γάμον τεθαλῶς. Normally the bridegroom is praised by a comparison with a plant (see above, n. 62). But here the comparison has been reversed to express female disapproval. I suspect that this kind of reversal derives from the amoebean form exemplified by Catullus 62, in which the male chorus respond to the girls' complaints (cruel Hesperus, the bride as a plucked flower) by praising Hesperus and comparing the bride to a vine needing the support of an elm. I will return to this point below.

Many of the passages discussed, in the *Suppliants* and elsewhere, seem to impute brutality to the male. There are in fact scattered pieces of evidence for the expression of fear in the ceremony by the bride (see n. 3 above). Certain features of the fifth century BC Attic wedding ceremony (lifting the bride, χεῖρ ἐπὶ κάρπῳ) have been interpreted as a rite of abduction.<sup>68</sup> And in certain vase-paintings (notably an Attic skyphos of c. 430 BC) the abduction of an obviously reluctant Persephone by Hades in his chariot resembles the wedding scenes in so many respects that it has been suggested<sup>69</sup> that her reluctance reflects a real-life marriage ritual, in which the bride may be imagined as a departing soul. If so, this is further confirmation of our view that the wedding was associated with death, and further light on the ease with which the death of the unmarried girl is imagined as seizure by Hades as husband (see above).

The Danaids face abduction by the black<sup>70</sup> Aegyptiads. They also describe themselves as lamenting, firstly in fear of being without φίλοι in Argos (69–76), and then again, following their description of the Aegyptiads as πυθμῆν δι' ἄμον γάμον τεθαλῶς / δυσπαραβούλοισι φρεσίν, / καὶ διάνοιαν μαινόλιν / κέντρον ἔχων ἄφυκτον (see above), they continue<sup>71</sup> τοιαῦτα πάθεα μέλεα θρεομένα λέγω . . . ζῶσα γόοις με τιμῶ: that is to say, their lamentation for themselves as if already dead<sup>72</sup> seems to emerge from consideration of the sexual aggressiveness of the Aegyptiads. κέντρον (110) is an image of sexual desire, ambiguous here<sup>73</sup> inasmuch as

<sup>63</sup> Sappho *fr.* 105a, b; cf. Himerius ix 16 (Colonna); S. *Trach.* 144–9; Catull. 62.39–47; cf. e.g. Politis (n. 2) iii 281.

<sup>64</sup> Peek (n. 11) 1238; cf. e.g. 1162.8, 1801; Alexiou, (n. 12) 195.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Pi. *Pyth.* 9.37 ἐκ λεχέων κείραι μελιαδέα ποίαν, 109–11 χρυσοστεφάνου δέ οἱ Ἥβας καρπὸν ἀνθήσαντ' ἀποδρέψαι κτλ. (Cf. Carson in *GRBS* xxiii [1982] 121–8).

<sup>66</sup> J.-P. Vernant (n. 9) 23.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. τὸ γὰρ νεάζον κτλ. at S. *Trach.* 144 ff. (and n. 33 above).

<sup>68</sup> Jenkins and Sourvinou-Inwood (n. 3). It is interesting that at Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 18.84 certain rituals to which the bride is subjected are explained by her

position as *suppliant*.

<sup>69</sup> Jenkins (n. 3) 142.

<sup>70</sup> The emphasis (719, 745) on their blackness, as they approach intent on abduction, may connote death. If it is thought that this can be no more than a realistic detail, cf. the black Egyptian Zeus-Hades gaining access to Io in S. *Inachos* (Seaford in *CQ* xxx [1980] 23–9). And other references in *Su.* to black skin (of the Danaids) certainly connote death (154; Seaford, art. cit., 24; cf. also 785, 790–1, 778).

<sup>71</sup> 104–10 and 112–16: I omit the very corrupt line 111.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. S. *Ant.* 805 ff.; Seaford (n. 23) 254.

<sup>73</sup> As noted by FJW, who also suggest an allusion to Io.

ἔχων can mean both 'feeling' and 'wielding'. ἄφυκτον with its connotation of death<sup>74</sup> provides a bridge between the demands of male sexuality (more specifically the phallic κέντρον ἄφυκτον) and lamentation.<sup>75</sup> In addition, the association of death (particularly of a virgin) with marriage sometimes extends to an assimilation of the destruction of the body to the first physical contact of the married pair.<sup>76</sup> Accordingly, the Danaids' threat of suicide is presented as a preference not only for one husband (Hades) rather than another, but also for one kind of physical contact rather than another. For that seems to be the point of the corrupt lines 788–92 θέλοιμι δ' ἄν ἡμορσίμου / βρόχου τυχεῖν† ἐν σαργάναις, / πρὶν ἄνδρ' ἀπευκτὸν τῶιδε χριμθῆναι χροί / πρόπαρ θανούσας [δ'] Αἴδας ἀνάσσοι.<sup>77</sup> The basic meaning of σαργάνη seems to be 'plaited work' (FJW). And so its point here may be to assimilate the noose to something woven or plaited<sup>78</sup> which would touch, surround or clasp the head or body of the bride (the crown? the ζώνη?). If this seems far-fetched, three considerations should be noted. Firstly, σαργάναις is, as FJW argue, unlikely to be corrupt.<sup>79</sup> Secondly, in a story told by Plutarch (*Mor.* 253d) a virgin undoes her ζώνη and uses it to hang herself in order to avoid rape. This form of death is interpreted by Helen King<sup>80</sup> as an inversion of marriage: the undoing of the girdle is associated with marriage, but hanging, unlike marriage, produces no bloodshed. Thirdly, there is a similar perversity in the stress laid on the fineness of the woven cloth in which Antigone is found hanged (*S. Ant.* 1222 βρόχῳ μιτώδει σινδόνας καθημμένην), clasped by Haimon. Indeed, the presentation of the death of Antigone as a wedding, both in her passage to the τύμβος–νυμφεῖον (891) and in the messenger's narrative, is so pervasive that I believe that the attire in which she goes there, and with which she hangs herself, is bridal. Then as now in Greece, the unmarried might go to their tombs dressed for the wedding.<sup>81</sup>

The association between marriage for a girl and death, based as it is largely on a manifold resemblance (details of the ceremonies, abduction by a male, fear of the unknown, etc.), facilitates the association here of the sexual aggression of the suitors with self-lamentation and death. If the ancient Greek wedding also sometimes included elements of lamentation, this would be one of a large number of points of continuity with the modern Greek wedding.<sup>82</sup> An (apparently Hellenistic) epitaph<sup>83</sup> speaks of a girl who neither came to the bridal chamber nor heard the wedding song, οὐδὲ τέκνων γλυκερὸν θρήνον ἔμαξα πέπλοις. Catullus in his free translation of Callimachus speaks of the *falsae lacrimulae* of brides, *ubertim thalami quas intra limina fundunt*.<sup>84</sup> Proclus says that the wedding-song was sung κατὰ πόθον καὶ ζήτησιν Ὑμεναίου . . . ὃν φασὶ γήμαντα ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι.<sup>85</sup> Hymenaios is often depicted in art with a sad expression.<sup>86</sup> And he has a habit of turning wedding celebrations into funeral lamentations.<sup>87</sup> Pindar groups together three kinds of song for the ultimately deaths of, respectively, Linos, Hymenaios, ὃν ἐν γάμοις χροϊζόμενον [Μοῖρα] σύμπρωτον λάβεν, ἐσχάτοις ὕμνοισιν, and

<sup>74</sup> Cf. e.g. Simon. 520 PMG 4; *S. Ant.* 361–2; Peek (n. 11) 1039.7, 1593.1.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Simon. (406–7 Page *Epigr. Gr.*) οὐκ ἐπιδῶν νύμφεια λέχη κατέβην τὸν ἄφυκτον / Γόργιππος ξανθῆς Φερσεφόνης θάλαμον. And *S. Ant.* 788, 800 mention the inescapability of Ἔρωσ in a context which combines the themes of marriage and death (cf. e.g. 804 τὸν παγκοίταν . . . θάλαμον). Cf. E. *Med.* 531, 634 (the ἄφυκτος arrows of love); also perhaps A. *Su.* 784.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. E. *Su.* 1019–30, *Held.* 913–5, *Cyc.* 515; Pi. *fr.* 139.6; cf. *S. Trach.* 662 (cf. 833, 857–8, etc.); E. *Hec.* 366–8. Cf. also below on *S. OT*, *Trach.*, *Ant.*, and A. *Ag.* (§6).

<sup>77</sup> The text as printed by FJW. With ἀνάσσοι they compare 906 ἀνακτας meaning husbands. Cf. also 804–5 (with κοῖτα cf. e.g. *S. Ant.* 804, *OC* 1706; A. *Ag.* 1494).

<sup>78</sup> Cf. πλεκταῖς at *S. OT* 1264 and μιτώδει at *S. Ant.* 1222 (see below).

<sup>79</sup> In fact the only plausible replacement I can think of is the slight change σαργάναις (occurs elsewhere only in Schol. *Opp. H.* i 100 meaning ταινία), which would

in fact suit my argument somewhat better. θανεῖν for τυχεῖν in 789 would remove all the problems noted by FJW, but the corruption would be hard to account for.

<sup>80</sup> *Images of women in antiquity* (London and Canberra 1983; edd. Averil Cameron and Amelie Kuhrt) 118–21. See now also Nicole Loraux, *Façons tragiques de tuer une femme* (Paris 1985) 34–5, 41–5, 105 n. 15.

<sup>81</sup> Peek (n. 11) 1238.3; E. *Tro.* 1218 ff.

<sup>82</sup> See e.g. Politis (n. 2) iii. 278–9; Danforth (n. 51) 74–9; Alexiou (n. 12) 120–2.

<sup>83</sup> Peek (n. 11) 947: from the second or first century BC, provenance unstated.

<sup>84</sup> Catull. 66.16–7; cf. also 61.181 *flet quod ire necesse est*; etc. (nn. 2 and 3 above).

<sup>85</sup> *Chrest.* ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 239 (p. 321.30 Bekker); cf. also Tzetzes *Chil.* xiii 606 (the wedding-song sung by ἐξαπευχόμενοι ἀφάνισιν παστάδος; cf. 600).

<sup>86</sup> Daremberg–Saglio (n. 14) s.v. 'Hymenaios', p. 335.

<sup>87</sup> Alexiou–Dronke (n. 12) 830–7; cf. n. 20 above.



lalemos.<sup>88</sup> It has been argued that this means that Pindar regarded these three kinds of song as various forms of the θρήνος.<sup>89</sup> In a comparable focusing of the negative emotions of the wedding onto a mythical figure, the girls of Trozen cut their hair before their weddings (in mourning) and shed tears for Hippolytus.<sup>90</sup>

The Danaids return to the association of the proposed marriage with death in the song that concludes the play: μηδ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκας τέλος ἔλθοι Κυθереίας. Στύγιον πέλοι τόδ' ἄθλον.<sup>91</sup> Marriage and death are both τέλη.<sup>92</sup> The Danaids desire the τέλος of this marriage (if inevitable) to be the τέλος of death.

This final song, it is generally agreed, is divided between two parties. FJW have recently produced a very powerful case for assigning the other part to a chorus consisting not, as often believed, of the Danaids' maids, but of the Argive bodyguards. I would like to add the suggestion that the song is influenced by, and would evoke in the minds of the audience, the wedding song. The only surviving wedding song that consists of a dialogue between a male and a female chorus is the very Greek Catullus 62. But there are suggestions of the practice in the fragments of Sappho.<sup>93</sup> And in one of the two surviving fragments of the Danaid trilogy itself there is mention of κόροι and κόραι singing the song sung on the morning after the wedding night (see below).

In Catullus 62 the young men take up and reverse the themes of the girls' complaints (cruel Hesperus, the bride as a plucked flower), and thereby attempt to persuade them and the bride of the desirability of marriage (Hesperus is praised, the girl is like a vine needing support). Persuasion (Peitho) was according to Plutarch one of the deities needed by οἱ γαμοῦντες, the others being Zeus Teleios, Hera Teleia, Aphrodite, and Artemis.<sup>94</sup>

Turning to the final song of the *Suppliants* we find that Zeus, Hera, Aphrodite, Artemis, and Peitho are in fact all mentioned within lines 1030–41, along with Pothos and Harmonia. The Danaids have praised the fertility of Argos and then appealed to Artemis and rejected the τέλος of Aphrodite (1023–33). The young men's response begins Κύπριδος δ' οὐκ ἀμελήης ἔσμός ὄδ' εὐφρων.<sup>95</sup> ἔσμός ὄδε is always taken to refer to the young men. But the possibility should be considered of at least a secondary reference to the Danaids. At 223 the Danaids are called ἔσμός ὡς πελειάδων. The young men may be almost playfully picking up the praise of fertility (see esp. 1028 πολύτεκνοι) as an indication of the girls' interest in Aphrodite despite their explicit rejection at 1031–2. This interpretation coheres well with the association by Aphrodite herself of the fertility of nature with marriage later in the trilogy (probably indeed in the act of persuading the Danaids of the desirability of a marriage: see below). And with the almost playful spirit cf. Catullus 62.43, where the young men say of the girls' complaints *quid tum si carpunt tacita quem mente requirunt?*

The Argive soldiers then go on to praise Aphrodite and associate her with the other deities of marriage (see above). They also respond to the Danaids' association of the τέλος of marriage with death by observing, in the corresponding place in the verse,<sup>96</sup> that the τελευτά<sup>97</sup> of

<sup>88</sup> Fr. 128c Snell; with χοιζόμενον cf. n. 76 above.

<sup>89</sup> M. Cannatà Fera in *GIFC* xi (1980) 181–8; cf. Alexiou (n. 12) 57–8.

<sup>90</sup> E. Hipp. 1425–9; Pausan. ii 32.1; 'Die Tränen, die sie ihm weinten, flossen zugleich um Jenen Teil des eigenen Ich, der mit dieser Geste und an diesem Tage für immer ging' (W. Fauth, *Hippolytus und Phaidra*, Abh. Ak. Wiss. viii [Mainz 1959] pp. 392–3); cf. Wilamowitz, *Euripides Hippolytus*, 27; Séchan in *REG* xxiv (1911), 115 ff.; on the hair see Fauth 389–93.

<sup>91</sup> 1032–3; for text and interpretation see FJW ad loc. I discuss this song in more detail in the most recent issue of *Dioniso* (in Italian).

<sup>92</sup> This point is made explicit by Artemidorus *Oneir.* ii 49; cf. also U. Fischer, *Der Telosgedanke in den Dramen des Aischylos* (Hildesheim 1965), 52, 56–57.

<sup>93</sup> Fr. 27.10, 30.6–7, 43.8–9 L-P; A. P. Burnett, *Three archaic poets* (London 1983), 218; see also Seneca *Med.* 108; Himerius *Or.* ix 21; Procl. *Chrest.* ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 239, p. 321 Bekker. There are choirs of youths and maidens in the wedding procession in the Hesiodic *Aspis* (276–84).

<sup>94</sup> *Mor.* 264b; cf. also D.S. 5.73.24; Schol. Ar. *Thesm.* 973; Peitho and marriage: refs. in R. G. A. Buxton, *Persuasion in Greek tragedy* (Cambridge 1982) 35 (add Pi. *Pyth.* 9.39; Himer. *Or.* ix, 19); Sourvinou-Inwood, below p. 145f.

<sup>95</sup> Θεσμός mss.; for the case for ἔσμός see FJW. Cf. n. 106.

<sup>96</sup> 1051–2; and note 1033 πέλοι = 1051 πέλει.

<sup>97</sup> On the ambiguity of τελευτά see nos. 161, 197.

marriage has happened to many women in the past. The Danaids respond by invoking Zeus on their own side (1052–3) and rejecting persuasion (1055 *σὺ δὲ θέλγοις ἄν ἄθελκτον*; cf. 1040 *θέλκτορι Πειθοῖ*). Still, the girls do then admit that the mind of Zeus, which for the young men is associated with marriage, is obscure (1057–8), and the manner of their second appeal to Zeus to avert the marriage ‘implicitly admits the existence of acceptable forms of γάμος’.<sup>98</sup>

As in Catullus 62, the male chorus picks up and reverses what has been said by the female. But whereas in Catullus, as in a normal marriage, the male persuasion is imagined to be successful, in Aeschylus it is at best partially so, as we see more clearly of course in the sequel. The only Danaid to spare her husband is Hypermestra, who then, according to Pausanias (ii 21.1), dedicated a temple of Artemis Peitho in Argos. The *Suppliants* ends on a note of anxiety<sup>99</sup> comparable to the ending of *Agamemnon* or *Choephoroi*, except that here the anxiety is enriched by the subtle evocation of a familiar process which would normally, outside the theatre, end with the acquiescence and incorporation of the bride.

To the other two plays of the trilogy there are only two fragments which can be confidently assigned. One of them (43Radt) is transmitted as follows

κᾶπειτα δ' εἰσι λαμπρὸν ἡλίου φάος  
ἔως ἐγείρω πρευμενεῖς τοὺς νυμφίους  
νόμοισι θέντων σὺν κόροις τε καὶ κόραις.

Although the theme seems reasonably clear, the ὑμέναιος διεγερτικός sung the morning after the wedding night, the fragment appears badly corrupt. The replacement of εἰσι with εὔτε and of ἐγείρω with ἐγείρηι (Wilamowitz) is an improvement; but the latter part of the fragment has remained obscure. We should read *πρευμενεῖς τοῖς νυμφίοις νόμους*<sup>100</sup> *μεθέντων*, and translate ‘and then when dawn arouses the radiant light of the sun, let them sing with the youths and girls songs to propitiate the bridegrooms’. Compare e.g. *A. Pers.* 609 *πατρὶ* (i.e. the dead Darius) *πρευμενεῖς χράς*, *Cho.* 824 *νόμον μεθήσομεν*. When the *κόροι* and *κόραι*<sup>101</sup> come to sing the *διεγερτικόν*, the bridegrooms will be dead, murdered by the brides, rather as in Euripides the girls come to sing a wedding song for the dead Phaethon which, because he has in fact just been killed, is soon followed by a lament.<sup>102</sup> What is envisaged (by Danaos?) in this fragment is that the brides are to sing a song to propitiate<sup>103</sup> the husbands they have murdered. Whether this is imagined as being sung alongside or instead of the *διεγερτικόν*, the result is a fine example of an idea to which tragedy constantly returns: the often horrific contrast between songs opposed in mood.<sup>104</sup>

We do not know, of course, how the trilogy ended. One suggestion is that the confirmation of the institution of marriage was accompanied, perhaps as a means of reconciling women to marriage, by the foundation of a festival conducted by married women in the interests of fertility, the Thesmophoria. It has been pointed out that according to Herodotus the *τελετή* called *θεσμοφορία* by the Greeks was brought from Egypt by the Danaids, and that the Danaids

<sup>98</sup> FJW ad 1062–7. I adopt their distribution of the lines in this passage, which is in essentials certainly correct.

<sup>99</sup> A comparable point is made about the metre of the exodos by J. N. Rash, *Meter and language in the lyrics of Aeschylus' Suppliants* (New York 1981), 194, 199: ‘... the [thematic] clash is summarised a final time in metrical form... The decisive “victory” of the Danaids’ attitude is reflected... by the appearance of the lekythion which represents suicide, death, and murder to come...’.

<sup>100</sup> One ms. (B) has *νόμοις* (rather than *νόμοισι*).

<sup>101</sup> Interpretation of the *fr.* has been hindered in part by the mistaken view, derived from the scholiast on Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.27) who quotes the passage, and Hsch. ii

p. 526, that *σὺν κόροις τε καὶ κόραις* was a stereotyped wish for children of the marriage. Cf. G. Lamba in *AC* 55 (1986), 66–85, which appeared too late for consideration here.

<sup>102</sup> E. *Phaeth.* 227–44, 270 ff.; cf. *IT* 365–8, *Tro.* 351–2; *S. fr.* 725; Alexiou-Dronke (n. 12) 833, 835.

<sup>103</sup> Propitiation was a function even of the normal lament: Alexiou (n. 12) 55, 182.

<sup>104</sup> E.g. *A. Ag.* 707–11, *Cho.* 342–3, *Sept.* 868–70, 915–21, *Pers.* 605; *S. Phil.* 212–19, *fr.* 861; *E. Alc.* 760 (*δισσὰ δ' ἦν μέλη κλύειν*), 922, *Su.* 975, *Hek.* 685–7, *HF* 751–2, *IT* 185, 221–5, 365–8, *Tro.* 121, 148–52, 336 (cf. 351–2); *fr.* 122; *Tr. fr. adesp.* 663.16–18; cf. e.g. *Ov. Her.* 12.139–40; *AP* vii 711. The contrast is particularly effective if the songs also have elements in common.

are independently associated with the watering of the Argolid.<sup>105</sup> One further connection remains to be suggested. On the one hand the Thesmophoria is a festival in which, as in Aphrodite's speech in the Danaid trilogy (see below), agricultural fertility is associated with the fertility of women.<sup>106</sup> But on the other hand the festival is characterised by an 'emphatic anti-sexual ethos' (abstinence, violence against male intruders),<sup>107</sup> which can be seen as the negative side of its function as a fertility rite,<sup>108</sup> and which may perhaps have been associated with the ethos and behaviour of the Danaids, particularly if they were eventually reconciled to marriage by Aphrodite's linking of marriage with the agricultural fertility produced by the union of heaven and earth (see below).

This is of course speculative. But if there is any truth in it, it would exemplify a phenomenon found elsewhere in tragedy: the pitiable events of the play provide the *aition* for the negative tendency of a ritual. The most obvious example is from the *Hippolytus*: girls before their marriage will henceforth lament, for Hippolytus (see above). Less obvious is the *Bacchae*: the sufferings of Pentheus represent in an extreme form the sufferings of the initiand into the Dionysiac mysteries, which are founded at the end of the play.<sup>109</sup> As for Aeschylus, the only genuine extant ending of a trilogy, in the *Eumenides*, is in this respect barely comparable: the cult of the Eumenides is founded in Athens. But it does provide a parallel to reconciliation of the defeated party by *πειθῶ* and to the resolution of conflict in the foundation of a cult associated with the fertility of the land. On the other hand, a major objection to this view is that no evidence survives for a substantial connection between the Thesmophoria and marriage.<sup>110</sup> I would like therefore to make another suggestion.

Hyginus (273) mentions games at Argos founded by Danaos *filiarum nuptiis cantu, unde hymenaeus dictus*.<sup>111</sup> Much in Hyginus derives from the tragedy.<sup>112</sup> If the trilogy concluded with the institution of the wedding-song, perhaps in the context of a remarriage of the Danaids, this would be a good example of the kind of tragic *aition* just described. In the trilogy pitiable events and female reluctance and lamentation are expressed in songs which resemble formal wedding-songs. The antithetical character of these songs, which arises naturally out of the story, may, in the context of the successful hymenaial transition at the end of the trilogy and the foundation of the formal wedding-song, have been adduced to explain the antithetical character of the formal wedding song.

The case for supposing that the remarriage (with Greeks this time) was represented, or at least prepared for, at the end of the trilogy is much stronger than is realised by those who support it.<sup>113</sup> This is because a remarriage provides such an excellent context for the only other fragment that certainly belongs to the trilogy (44Radt), in which Aphrodite describes the action of ἔρωσ in uniting heaven and earth and thereby producing the fertility that benefits mankind. She concludes δένδρῶτις ὦρα δ' ἐκ νοτίζοντος γάμου / τέλειός ἐστι. τῶν δ' ἐγὼ παραίτιος (the textual problem does not affect my point). This time, as opposed to the ending of the first play of the trilogy, the persuasion, uttered by the goddess herself, is successful. The presence of

<sup>105</sup> Hdt. ii 171; Hes. *fr.* 128 M-W; D. S. Robertson in *CR* xxxviii (1924) 51-3; Thomson (n. 46) ch. 16. The Thesmophoria was apparently first suggested in 1838 by A. Tittler (Garvie [n. 45] 227).

<sup>106</sup> See e.g. Nilsson, *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion*<sup>3</sup> i 465. It is interesting in this connection to consider the mss. reading θεσμός at A. *Su.* 1034.

<sup>107</sup> R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford 1983) 81; W. Burkert, *Greek religion* (translation, Oxford 1985) 244; Detienne (n. 9) 78-81.

<sup>108</sup> 'The ritual focusses attention on the idea of productive sexual union by a paradoxical temporary insistence on its opposite' (Parker [n. 107] 83).

<sup>109</sup> Seaford in *CQ* xxxi (1981); cf. also E. *Med.* 1382 with A. Brelich, *Paidēs e Parthenoi* (Rome 1969); and *IT* 1454, 1459 with Brelich 242 ff.

<sup>110</sup> Although cf. Robertson (n. 105) 53, who cites Call. *Hymn Dem.* 19; V. *Aen.* iv 58; Calvus ap. Serv. ad *Aen.* iv 58; Plut. *Mor.* 138b. Cf. *Od.* xxiii 296. And the participants in the Thesm. are (mainly or) entirely married women: Parker (n. 107) 83; Detienne (n. 9) 76-82; Burkert (n. 107) 242.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Pi. *Pyth.* 9, where the Danaids' (second) husbands are chosen by an athletic contest (also in Pausan. iii 12.2; Apoll. *Bibl.* ii 1.5). The disappearance of Hymenaios on his wedding night is associated with Argos at Tzetz. *Chil.* xiii 599; schol. *Il.* xviii 493; etc. (Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* i 2801).

<sup>112</sup> E.g. for a detail of Aeschylus' Lykourgos trilogy preserved only in Hyginus see D. F. Sutton in *RSC* xxiii (1975) 356-60.

<sup>113</sup> Listed by Garvie (n. 45) 226.

Aphrodite even at the ordinary weddings of mortals is imagined by, among many others, Sappho, and in the *τόπποι* prescribed by Menander Rhetor;<sup>114</sup> her characteristic role is to persuade the bride or to bring her to the groom.<sup>115</sup> We sometimes find Aphrodite depicted with the bride in classical Attic vase-painting.<sup>116</sup> And the role of sexual union in the cosmos and in nature, for example in the union of heaven and earth, was a *τόπος* at least of the later wedding ceremony.<sup>117</sup>

We may now return to the problem of the motivation of the Danaids, which can be seen in a new light. Given that their attitude and actions exemplify that apparently fascinating disruptive victory of the negative over the positive tendency in marital ritual that is a general feature of tragedy, the theme of endogamy is particularly well chosen as an agent of the disruption. It is not that a man claiming a bride under the law of the heiress might do so with a special degree of selfish and dominating urgency, conceivable though this is. More important is the motivation made explicit in 335–9:

- Χο. ὡς μὴ γένωμαι δμῶις Αἰγύπτου γένοι.  
 Βα. πότερα κατ' ἔχθραν ἢ τὸ μὴ θέμις λέγεις;  
 Χο. τίς δ' ἂν φίλους ὠνοῖτο τοὺς κεκτημένους;  
 Βα. σθένος μὲν οὕτως μείζον αὖξεται βροτοῖς.  
 Χο. καὶ δυστυχούντων γ' εὐμαρῆς ἀπαλλαγῆ.

At 337 the mss. have *ὠνοῖτο*, and editors are divided between *ἔνοῖτο* and *ὠνοῖτο*. FJW print *φιλοῦσ' ἔνοῖτο*, with a lacuna of two lines after 337 to account for *οὕτως* in 338. But with this one might expect the singular *τὸν κεκτημένον*. And *φίλους ὠνοῖτο* makes good sense without the need for a lacuna: 'who would buy (cf. e.g. *E. Med.* 232–4) φίλοι as masters?', implying (in response to 336) paradoxical *ἔχθρα* against φίλοι, 'kin', who would normally also be 'dear'.<sup>118</sup> Now whatever the truth of this much disputed problem, it is undisputed that 338 is an argument in favour of the marriage. But if so, then the Danaids' reply (339) must express agreement with and development of Pelasgus' observation;<sup>119</sup> and so it cannot refer, as Garvie would have it, simply to the ease with which Pelasgus can abandon the Danaids.<sup>120</sup> The *ἀπαλλαγῆ* must rather be a feature of the marriage, clearly divorce.<sup>121</sup> The objection that 'divorce would be the very thing that the Danaids would presumably want'<sup>122</sup> has no weight, for it is perfectly consistent for a woman to point to the ease with which she may be abandoned (and thereby perhaps isolated and disgraced) as one of a number of objections to entering on a marriage, particularly if

<sup>114</sup> Sappho *fr.* 194 Voigt (*Himer* ix 4); Men. *Rhet.* 412.12 *εἰκὸς παρῆναι* . . . , 407.7 (cf. 404.19–25, 406.19–24); Dracontius 6; etc. (Reitzenstein in *Hermes* xxxv [1900] 97–9).

<sup>115</sup> e.g. Men. *Rhet.* 407.7; Claudian x 251–85; Stat. *Silv.* i 2; etc. (Reitzenstein [n. 14] 97–9); cf. *E. Hipp.* 553 (at the 'wedding' of Herakles and Iole) 'Ἀλκμήνας τόκῳ Κύπρις ἐξέδωκεν. Beazley *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1317.1 and 1317.3 both probably depict a bride with Aphrodite and Peitho (cf. also e.g. 1325.27, 1328.99). Cf. *E. Hel.* 1120–1 (quoted n. 191 below).

<sup>116</sup> E.g. Beazley, *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1126.6, 1133.196.

<sup>117</sup> Men. *Rhet.* 401, 408.13–19; Ps. D.H. *Epid.* 262; *Himerius* ix 8; etc. (Reitzenstein [n. 114] 97–9). If it dates back to the fifth century, then Aphrodite's speech might even have been presented as an *aition* for it. Cf. §1 (*Antigone*); Procl. *Tim.* iii 176.19–30 *Διὸς ὁ δὴ* (Heaven–Earth union the first γάμος, etc.) καὶ οἱ θεοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰδότες προσέταττον οὐρανῶι καὶ γῆι προτελεῖν τοὺς γάμους.

<sup>118</sup> Perhaps also therefore τὸ μὴ θέμις: see in detail G. Thomson in *Eirene* ix (1971), 25–30 and (n. 46) 302–6, 450. There is no substance in the objection of FJW that 'φίλους can hardly mean "relation", as the idea of

intermarriage is not alluded to until 387 ff.' (it is mentioned there by *Pelasgus*!). They also object to *ὠνοῖτο* by comparing 202; but the Danaids need not have been penniless in Egypt. *ἔνομαι* does not seem to occur elsewhere in Attic (though cf. v. 10).

<sup>119</sup> Denniston, *The Greek particles*<sup>2</sup> 157–8; καὶ . . . γὰρ is found in the play also at 296, 313, 468.

<sup>120</sup> (n. 45) 220; similarly FJW ad loc., who find an implausible link with 338 in the idea of male domination, which both gives the husband power and allows Pelasgus to abandon the Danaids easily! FJW also object that *δυστυχούντων* should refer to their *present* misfortune, and that it is hard to see 'what sort of misfortune they can envisage as inducing their cousins to dissolve the union'. But the point is that the Danaids seem to envisage their present misfortune, isolation and hostility as continuing into the marriage.

<sup>121</sup> So Tucker, Headlam, Thomson, etc.; cf. Page on *E. Med.* 236, Stevens on *E. Andr.* 529.

<sup>122</sup> Garvie (n. 45) 220; similarly FJW ad loc.; this pseudo-problem prompts J. K. Mackinnon (*CQ* lxxi [1978] 78) to take the line as an indignant question implying that divorce is *not* easy.

it is a specific response to the specific point made by Pelasgus. Another objection, that the Danaids' murder of their husbands is even more disreputable than divorce,<sup>123</sup> is equally irrelevant, as it ignores the Danaids' various possible motives for the murder, e.g. resistance to defloration, revenge, certain and immediate freedom from the Aegyptiads. If 338 refers to the accumulation of property within the household by kinship marriage,<sup>124</sup> then it coheres very well with our reading not only of 337 but also of 339. For a girl who marries one of her father's kinsmen will of course encounter loyalty between them and her husband. She will be without separate kinsmen of her own to support her in a conflict.<sup>125</sup> Hence perhaps the particular aptness of the plural φίλους . . . κекτημένους. Furthermore, a dowry normally protected a woman from easy divorce, because it had in Attic law to be returned, in the event of a divorce, to her former *kyrios*.<sup>126</sup> However, 'the *epikleros* had no such leverage; she could not take her fortune and return to her former *kyrios*, for it was to him that she was married'.<sup>127</sup> She was therefore in an exposed position. 'The *epikleros* was in a sense an heiress, in that the estate always passed to the *oikos* of which she was a member; but the property was her husband's, and the only check upon her husband's ability to spend it was the danger of a lawsuit when her children came of age and took it over.'<sup>128</sup> Vulnerable in these and various other ways, the *epikleros* was in fact put under the protection of the *archon*.<sup>129</sup> But of course this civilised protection by the Attic state was not imagined as available to the Danaids. Indeed, the Danaids, not unlike Orestes in the *Oresteia*, represent the kind of problematic case which required, historically, the intervention of the state in an area originally regulated by the kin.

What this problematic case means for the Danaids is an enhanced degree of the isolation and subjugation associated even with the unproblematic marriage. The normal bride in moving from one household to another is resentful, but she nevertheless preserves with the family she has left links which will re-emerge to support her in the event of divorce or conflict with her husband or his family.<sup>130</sup> But the *epikleros* cannot look to any such support (and her *mother's* kinsmen do not of course even belong to her former οίκος). To put it another way, the *epikleros* does in a sense fail, in her marriage, to make the marital transition to another family; she remains in her own family,<sup>132</sup> but in a role even more isolated and subordinate (337 κекτημένους) than that of the normal bride in her new family.

This does not mean that the play is about the problems of the ἐπίκληρος. There is, for example, no mention (except perhaps at 979) of an inheritance to be transmitted by the Danaids. The vulnerable isolation of women married to their agnatic cousins is alluded to only at 335–9. This anomaly does however play a subtle role in the victory of the negative tendency in the marriage ritual. In the other examples discussed in this article, the victory is effected by a factor external to the marriage itself (another woman, Creon's edict, etc.). In the *Suppliants* on the other hand, as in the normal wedding, the negative tendency derives entirely from the bridal

<sup>123</sup> Mackinnon (n. 122) 77.

<sup>124</sup> Thomson (n. 118) 29, compares Pi. *Isthm.* 3.2 and E. *El.* 427.

<sup>125</sup> Thomson (n. 118) 29 cites Plut. *Mor.* 289e (the Romans, unlike the Greeks, prohibit such marriages) ἢ, πολλῶν βοηθῶν τὰς γυναῖκας ὀρώντες δι' ἀσθένειαν δεομένας, οὐκ ἐβούλοντο τὰς ἐγγύς γένους συνοικίσειν, ὅπως, ἂν οἱ ἄνδρες ἀδικῶσιν αὐτάς, οἱ συγγενεῖς βοηθῶσιν. And cf. the protection offered by the Attic state (together with ὁ βουλόμενος): n. 129 below.

<sup>126</sup> See e.g. D. M. Schaps, *Economic rights of women in ancient Greece* (Edinburgh 1979), 76. Add Isaeus iii 28, ὁ ἐγγύων would have wanted a receipt for the dowry ἵνα μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γένοιτο ραδίως ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ὅποτε βούλοιτο, τῆς γυναϊκός.

<sup>127</sup> Schaps (n. 126) 26.

<sup>128</sup> Schaps, (n. 126) 57; cf. 27–8.

<sup>129</sup> Schaps (n. 126) 38; he notes that the *archon* has

power over all possible abuses to which *epikleroi* were subject. Cf. also Ar. *Ath. Pol.* 56.6; *Suda*, Harpokr. s.v. 'κακώσεως'; A. R. W. Harrison, *The law of Athens* i (Oxford 1971) 43. It was made easy for ὁ βουλόμενος to bring an εἰσαγγελία κακώσεως against the husband of an *epikleros*.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. the loyalties of the wife reverting to her old household in myth (Althaea, Psyche, Eriphyle).

<sup>131</sup> It is interesting in this connection that no mention is made in the play of Danaids' mother(s); although they do claim kinship with the Argives through their ancestress Io, whom they call 'mother' (15–18, 51, 141, 533, 539). They also appeal more than once to their immortal ancestor (on the maternal side) Zeus, who is however associated with marriage: note their quandary at 1057 (cf. 40 ff., 1035, 1051, 1062–7).

<sup>132</sup> On this point see esp. J.-P. Vernant, *Myth and thought among the Greeks* (London 1983) 143–6.

perception of the groom and of the transition.<sup>133</sup> But how then in the *Suppliants* can the negative tendency credibly prevail? Largely because the Danaids and their cousins are exotic semi-barbarians in a mythical era. By itself, however, this exotic factor is no more than a simple reversal in fantasy of Greek norms.<sup>134</sup> Whereas the endogamous isolation of the woman, with which it is combined, is both familiar to the Greeks and ideally suited to heighten the fears and reluctance of the bride.

### C. THE DEATH OF THE WIFE

§5. *Deianeira*. The anxiety of the bride at isolation and loss of the bloom of youth (nos 1–3 above) is expressed also in Sophokles' *Trachiniai* (141–9). Deianeira's negative emotions at her marriage persist into her married life,<sup>135</sup> firstly because of her husband's absence on his labours, but then through her own fatal mistake, with the result that finally she complains that she is ἐρήμη, makes up the marriage bed, gets into it, addresses bed and νυμφεῖα, undoes her πέπλος, and plunges a sword into herself.<sup>136</sup> The word ἐρήμη has earlier been used to describe the position of Deianeira as a bride, isolated from her kin but not yet incorporated into her new home.<sup>137</sup> As I have argued in detail elsewhere,<sup>138</sup> Deianeira never achieves the εὐδαιμονία of incorporation. The negative tendency in the rite of passage has emerged as a reality, the actual isolated death of Deianeira.

§6. Εὐδαιμονία is also denied, of course, to *Oedipus and Jokasta*. There is a sense in which their marriage only appeared to be properly completed. Teiresias predicts to Oedipus (S. OT 420–3):

βοῆς δὲ τῆς σῆς ποῖος οὐκ ἔσται λιμήν;  
ποῖος Κιθαιρῶν οὐχὶ σύμφωνος τάχα,  
ὅταν καταίσθῃ τὸν ὑμέναιον ὄν δόμοις  
ἄνορμον εἰσέπλευσας εὐπλοίας τυχῶν;

Dawe prints a lacuna after 422. This is unnecessary. The ellipse would be acceptable given the familiarity of the processional wedding-song and perhaps also of nautical imagery surrounding the wedding procession.<sup>139</sup> Familiar too is the idea that the joyful wedding-song will be replaced by the cry of suffering, βοή, a word which can also refer to songs of joy (E. *El.* 879; Pi. *Nem.* 3.67; Ar. *Ran.* 212). Even the expression ποῖος Κιθαιρῶν οὐχὶ σύμφωνος; may have its equivalent in what is sung or said at the wedding.<sup>140</sup> And when the truth is revealed, Jokasta, intent on suicide, λέτ' εὐθὺ πρὸς τὰ νυμφικὰ λέχη (1242–3) and γοᾶτο δ' εὐνάς, ἔνθα δὺς τῆνος κτλ. (1249). Oedipus, finding her hanged, δεινὰ βρυχηθεῖς τάλας, χαλᾶι κρεμαστὴν ἀρτάνην. ἐπεὶ δὲ γῆϊ ἔκειτο τλήμων (1265–7), he puts out his eyes with her brooches, giving as he does so his reasons. The narrative continues:

1275 τοιαῦτ' ἐφθυμῶν πολλάκις τε κούχ ἄπαξ  
ἦρασσ' ἔπειρεν βλέφαρα, φοίνια δ' ὄμοῦ

<sup>133</sup> In this respect the remark of FJW (40) that the play is the earliest known text in European civilisation to have dealt with the problem of the arranged marriage is misleading to the extent that it ranges the Danaids along with the bride forced to marry someone she does not love, usually to the exclusion of the man she does love. Such a bride has feelings *opposite* to what we imagine to be the normal bridal ones of joy, love for her groom, affection for her parents; whereas the feelings of the Danaids are an *intensification* of normal bridal ones (attachment to father, resentment, fear of isolation and of male domination, etc.). Hence, incidentally, the problem of Danaos, who though sympathetic to his daughters neither asserts his paternal rights nor even expresses great hostility to the marriage (see FJW 35–6, who offer a different solution): he is in these respects just

like the father of a normal bride. Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood, below p. 143f.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. e.g. the Amazons. Even the Lemnian women require an external stimulus (as of course does Lysistrata).

<sup>135</sup> Esp. ὄκνος, uncertainty: 7, 181; cf. 37.

<sup>136</sup> 904–31; Seaford (n. 33).

<sup>137</sup> 530; cf. S. *Ant.* 887; E. *Andr.* 854–5, *Tro.* 563–5, *IA* 1314; John Chrys. *PG* lxii 386.

<sup>138</sup> (n. 33); cf. §11.

<sup>139</sup> See §9a. The rare word εὐπλοία occurs also at A. *Su.* 1045, again in the context of a disastrous marriage.

<sup>140</sup> Ps. D.H. *Epid.* 271 (Rademacher); Men. *Rhet.* 399.29, 404.17; Catull. 64.35–42; Hes. *Aspis* 284–5; Xen. *HG* iv 1.9; D.S. xiii 84.1–3 (Tim. *FGrH* 566 F 26); Sappho *fr.* 44V 13–14.

γλῆναι γένει' ἔτεγγον, οὐδ' ἀνίσσαν  
 φόνου μυδώσας σταγόνας, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ μέλας  
 ὄμβρος χαλαζῆς αἵματός σφ' ἔτέγγετο.  
 1280 τὰδ' ἐκ δυοῖν ἔρρωγεν οὐ ἴμόνου κακά,  
 ἀλλ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ συμμιγῆ κακά.  
 ὁ πρὶν παλαιὸς δ' ὄλβος ἦν πάροιθε μὲν  
 ὄλβος δικαίως. νῦν δὲ τῆϊδε θῆμέραι  
 στεναγμός, κτλ.

ἔφουμῶν (1275) imparts a suggestion of ritual song, thereby reminding us of Teiresias' prophecy at 420.<sup>141</sup> And there runs through the narrative the suggestion of sexual union, of a re-enactment of the ἄγαμος γάμος (1214): in the νυμφικὰ λέχη, in χαλαῖ,<sup>142</sup> in ἔκειτο, in πολλάκις τε κοῦχ ἄπαξ ἤρασε, and in particular in 1278–81: a shower of blood comes (no longer in separate drops but) all at once; the metaphorical ἔρρωγεν then proceeds naturally from the reality, as it too can refer to an outburst of liquid (a cloudburst, tears).<sup>143</sup> Given the association between rain and semen,<sup>144</sup> together with the description of what has burst forth as ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ συμμιγῆ κακά, the suggestion of sexual union seems to me inevitable, particularly as συμμειγνυμι is a standard word for it. It is a pity that in his recent commentary Dawe not only fails to rectify the Victorian Jebb's omission of this point, but even removes one element in it by replacing the transmitted ἐκ δυοῖν by Pearson's εἰς δυοῖν . . . κάρα.<sup>145</sup> Finally, the ὄλβος brought to Oedipus by his marriage, and which has now changed into its opposite (1282–4), may in this context suggest the doomed μακαρισμός of the wedding ceremony (*cf.* §7 and §12).<sup>146</sup>

Two further points can be made in support of this conclusion. Firstly it has been reached quite independently of Freud's view of the self-blinding of Oedipus as a symbolic self-castration in which the eyes represent the genitals.<sup>147</sup> I am not concerned with the truth or falsity of this view.<sup>148</sup> More to my point is the evidence adduced in its support by Devereux for the Greek association of eye and penis.<sup>149</sup>

Secondly we have already noted in various passages of tragedy that unity of opposites which associates the destruction of the body with the first physical union of the married couple (§4 and n. 70 above). Particularly relevant here is the death of Haimon over the body of the hanged Antigone (*S. Ant.* 1237–41):<sup>150</sup>

. . . παρθένῳ προσπτύσσεται,  
 καὶ φυσιῶν ὄξεϊαν ἐκβάλλει ῥοήν  
 λευκῆι παρειᾷ φοινίου σταλάγματος.  
 κεῖται δὲ νεκρὸς περὶ νεκρῶι, τὰ νυμφικὰ  
 τέλη λαχῶν δειλαῖος εἶν Ἄιδου δόμοις.<sup>151</sup>

<sup>141</sup> βρυχηθεῖς (1265) on the other hand denotes an unrestrained noise associated with animals, and is used of Deianeira when she feels again the negative emotion of her wedding (*S. Trach.* 904; *cf.* 1071–2; Seaford [n. 33]).

<sup>142</sup> *Cf.* e.g. *Od.* xi 245; *E. Tro.* 501, 665; *Plut. Lysk.* 15; and esp. *S. Trach.* 924. At *Plut. Mor.* 253d a virgin undoes her ζώνη and uses it as a noose for herself: this is interpreted by Helen King as an inversion of marriage and death (see §4 and n. 80).

<sup>143</sup> *Plut. Fab.* 12; *Ar. Nub.* 378; *Philostr. Im.* ii 27; *cf.* West in *BICS* xxviii (1981) 68 on καταρρήγνυμι; *S. Trach.* 852, 919.

<sup>144</sup> Fertilising rain in e.g. *A. fr.* 44R (see above); δρόσος can mean drizzle as well as semen (Dover on *Ar. Nub.* 977; *Callim. fr.* 260.19); the same association between rain, blood, and semen occurs also at *A. Ag.*

1388–92 (see below).

<sup>145</sup> Better at the end of the verse would be μονούμενα (*Bruhn, Wilamowitz*), μόνου κάτα (*Jebb*), μόνας κάτα (*Bruhn; cf. Thuc.* i 32.5, 37.4; *Pl. Leg.* 873d).

<sup>146</sup> Also 1195; and e.g. *E. Andr.* 1217 μάτην δὲ σ' ἐν γάμοισιν ὄλβισαν θεοί; Seaford (n. 33) 55; *cf.* n. 5 above.

<sup>147</sup> *The interpretation of dreams* (1935) 398.

<sup>148</sup> Though *cf.* the striking evidence adduced in its support by Devereux in *JHS* xciii (1973), 36–49. *Cf.* R. G. A. Buxton in *JHS* c (1980) 25.

<sup>149</sup> Devereux (n. 148) 42, and *Dreams in Greek tragedy*, 33–6; notably representation of phalloi with eyes, and *PV* 654.

<sup>150</sup> *Cf.* also *Trach.* 917–18, 924, 931, etc. (Seaford [n. 33], 57–8).

<sup>151</sup> *Cf.* also 1205 νυμφεῖον, 1207 παστάδα, etc., and §1 above.

The same τόπος is found also at A. *Ag.* 1389–92:

κάκφουσιῶν ὀξεῖαν αἵματος σφαγῆν<sup>152</sup>  
βάλλει μ' ἔρεμνῆι ψακάδι φοινίας δρόσου,  
χαίρουσαν οὐδέν ἤσσον ἢ διοσδότῳ  
γάνει σπορητὸς κάλυκος ἐν λοχεύμασιν.

The similarity of wording with the death of Haimon is clear enough. And as in the blinding of Oedipus, the comparison involves three terms: the blood is explicitly compared with rain, implicitly with semen.<sup>153</sup> The association of (διόσδοτος) rain with semen is implicit in the idea of the sexual union of Heaven and Earth, as in Aphrodite's speech from the Danaid trilogy (*fr.* 44R; see above): . . . ὄμβρος δ' ἀπ' εὐνατῆρος οὐρανοῦ πεσῶν / ἔδευσε γαῖαν. ἦ δὲ τίκτεται κτλ. And this idea seems to have been a commonplace of the wedding ceremony, at least in antiquity.<sup>154</sup>

§7. *Euadne* in Euripides' *Supplices*, dressed as a bride, sings a song which explicitly recalls her marriage and is itself suggestive of the wedding-song, and envisages her proposed suicide on the pyre of her husband Karaneus as an erotic union. So much is clear enough, and well described by Collard.<sup>155</sup> But certain further details in which the scene evokes the wedding remain to be exposed.

(a) As *Euadne* first appears the chorus refer to the tomb of Karaneus; καὶ μὴν θαλάμας τάσδ' ἔσορῶ δὴ / Καπτανέως ἤδη τύμβον θ' ἱερὸν (980–1). Nowhere else, so far as I know, does θαλάμη have any connection with death. Perhaps then it has here displaced θάλαμος,<sup>156</sup> which is elsewhere exploited for its ambiguity between tomb (or underworld) and marriage-chamber.<sup>157</sup>

(b) Collard seems to me almost certainly right to suggest that the corrupt lines 992–3 λαμπάδ' ἴν' ὠκυθόαι νύμφαι / ἱππεύουσι δι' ὄρφναίας are a reminiscence of the torchlit wedding procession (of *Euadne* and Karaneus). If so, then the point of ὠκυθόαι,<sup>158</sup> which refers to the (presumably joyful) urgency of the procession,<sup>159</sup> is an implicit association with the speed with which *Euadne* has now left her home (1000 δρομάς, 1039 πηδήσασα). There is a comparable irony in *Iole* as θαῶ νύμφα at S. *Trach.* 857 (see §11). And it is interesting that although she lives of course in her husband's house (1097–8), she in fact leaves, as in her wedding, the house of her father (1038–42, 1049). Similarly, the torches which contributed so much to the splendour of a wedding are associated with the fire in which she and her husband are now to be consumed.<sup>160</sup>

(c) The word τελευτά, with which *Euadne* describes her approaching death, is commonly used of the wedding. Compare the same ambiguity at A. *Ag.* 745 γάμου πικρὰς τελευτάς (see below §9c).<sup>161</sup>

(d) After remembering her wedding μακαρισμός (996–8 πόλις Ἄργους ἀοιδαῖς

<sup>152</sup> σφαγῆν has been widely suspected. Fraenkel's ραγῆν is in fact supported by the erotic undertone, which he ignores (see above on OT 1279 ἔρωγεν; West in *BICS* xxviii [1981] 68). ὀξεῖαν then has a special point, because a ραγή may be γλυκύπικρος (of semen) or painful (of blood). Cf. the similar common use of πικρός (esp. Seaford on *Cyc.* 589).

<sup>153</sup> The erotic undertone of this passage of *Ag.* has always seemed to me clear, ignored though it is by the commentators. I now find it argued in detail by J. L. Moles (*LCM* iv 9 [1979] 179–89), who points to the sexual occurrences of δρόσος and βάλλω, etc., but ignores the same τόπος in S. *Ant.* and OT, as does G. J. P. O'Daly (*Mus Helv.* xlii [1985] 8) who is also I think mistaken in regarding λοχεύμασιν (1393) as ruling out erotic associations.

<sup>154</sup> See n. 117 above.

<sup>155</sup> *Commentary* ii (Groningen 1975) p. 358, *Su.* 990–1030, 1063–71. Cf. also n. 76 above.

<sup>156</sup> For the reverse displacement see E. *Ba.* 95, 561.

<sup>157</sup> S. *Ant.* 947, 804 (cf. S. *Trach.* 913, *El.* 190; Seaford [n. 59] 318); cf. E. *Su.* 1022. Even if we keep θαλάμας, there would surely be a play on θάλαμος (cf. Collard).

<sup>158</sup> Collard notes in his comm. that this word is transmitted paroxytone, incorrectly if the adj. is nom. plur., but perhaps a sign that the dat. sing. was at one time understood.

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Sappho *fr.* 44V 11, 23(?); this does not mean that it was joyful for the bride! E. *Hel.* 724 τροχάζων describes running quickly beside the bridal chariot.

<sup>160</sup> 1002 πυρὸς (πυρᾶς Bothe) φῶς τάφον τε=ἴτω φῶς γάμοι τε, 1019, 1029, 1071, also 1010–11. Perhaps this association of celebratory and destructive fire gives point to her opening question τί φέγγος, τί ν' αἴγλαν κτλ.; (cf. *Tro.* 319–21 ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ γάμοις ἐμοῖς / ἀναφλέγω πυρὸς φῶς / ἐς αὐγάν, ἐς αἴγλαν).

<sup>161</sup> Also n. 197 and §8 (*Medea*) below. τελευτά of wedding also at A. *Su.* 1050; Pi. *Pyth.* 9.66; *Od.* i 249–50=xxvi 126–7, xxiv 126.



εὐδαιμονίας ἐπύργωσε), Euadne expresses the desire to end her ἔμμοχος βίος and αἰῶνος πόνους (1003–5). Collard rightly calls this latter phrase an exaggeration ('Ev.'s whole life has not been full of πόνος, but only since the recent death of Cap.'). His explanation is that it is 'to suit the *sententia* 1006–8'. But in fact we should see it in the context of the failed wedding μακαρισμός. The μακαρισμός, employing the words μάκαρ, ὄλβιος or εὐδαίμων, bestows permanent felicity.<sup>162</sup> But of course permanent happiness in life can never be safely predicted. There can be no foolproof μακαρισμός.<sup>163</sup> As Solon said to Croesus (Hdt. i 32.7), you can call someone εὐτυχής before he dies but not ὄλβιος; the latter depends on a successfully completed lifetime, αἰών (32.5). Despite earlier appearances, the αἰών of Euadne has turned out to be one of suffering. In the opening lines of Sophokles' *Trachiniai* Deianeira refers to the saying that you cannot evaluate somebody's αἰών until he is dead; she on the other hand knows already that hers is bad, and goes on to explain how her married life has been one of constant suffering.<sup>164</sup> Despite the sometimes apparently joyful tone of Euadne's song, she too, no less than Iokasta and Deianeira, has failed to complete the hymenaial transition to εὐδαιμονία, with the result that her actual death is now imagined as a re-enactment of the wedding.<sup>165</sup> Albeit in her case all that comes between husband and wife is the death of the husband.

§8. In despair at Jason's intention to marry Glauke, Euripides' *Medea* expresses a desire for death. The chorus reply as follows (148–53):

αἶες, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ Γᾶ καὶ φῶς,  
 ἀχάν οἶαν δύστανος  
 μέλπει νύμφα;  
 τίς σοί ποτε τᾶς ἀπλάτου  
 κοίτας ἔρος, ὦ ματαία;  
 σπεύσεις θανάτου τελευτάν;

Four factors combine here to suggest the death-wish of a bride.

(a) As we have seen in Euripides' *Suppliants* and will see in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, the word τελευτά, like τέλος, is associated with the completion inherent in marriage as well as the completion inherent in death.<sup>166</sup> We find the same ambiguity indeed later in the *Medea* (1388 πικρὰς τελευτὰς τῶν ἐμῶν γάμων ἰδῶν).

(b) τᾶς ἀπλάτου κοίτας ἔρος expresses the familiar association of marriage-bed and death-bed.<sup>167</sup>

Consider in this context the words of the nurse in the prologue (39–41) δειμαίνω τέ νιν / μὴ θηκτόν ὤσση φάσγανον δι' ἥπατος / σιγῆι δόμους ἐσβᾶσ' ἴν' ἔστρωται λέχος, in a passage which is generally condemned. For example Dindorf, followed by Page and by Diggle, brackets 38–43. The main reason<sup>168</sup> for doing so is the repetition (with ἦ for μὴ and ὤσω for ὤσση) of 40–1 at 379–80, in the deliberations of Medea on revenge. But the interpolation seems to me much more likely at 379–80. If so, the original text there ran

376 πολλὰς δ' ἔχουσα θανασίμους αὐτοῖς ὁδοῦς,  
 οὐκ οἶδ' ὅποιαί πρῶτον ἐγχειρῶ, φίλαι.  
 378 πότερον ὑφάψω δῶμα νυμφικόν πυρί;  
 381 ἀλλ' ἐν τί μοι πρόσαντες. εἰ ληφθήσομαι  
 δόμους ὑπερβαίνουσα καὶ τεχνωμένα  
 θανοῦσα θήσω τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐχθροῖς γέλων.

<sup>162</sup> See e.g. Ar. *Ran.* 1182–6, and in general D. de Heer, *ΜΑΚΑΡ-ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ-ΟΛΒΙΟΣ-ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ* (Amsterdam 1969). Cf. n. 5 above.

<sup>163</sup> ὄλβισαι δὲ χρῆ βίον τελευτήσαντ' ἐν εὐεστοῖ φίληι (A. *Ag.* 928–9). Cf. §6 and §12.

<sup>164</sup> See Seaford (n. 33).

<sup>165</sup> That is why at 995 Collard is wrong to reject Haupt's αἰνογάμων on the grounds that 'discrepat cum gaudio Evadnae'.

<sup>166</sup> E. *Su.* 1012; A. *Ag.* 745; and see n. 161 above.

<sup>167</sup> Seaford (n. 23) 251; cf. *Med.* ἡ δ' ἐν θάλαμοις τῆκε βιοτήν.

<sup>168</sup> Page also objects to (a) ἦ καὶ τύραννον (42), and (b) the proximity of 'δέδοικα δ' αὐτήν and δειμαίνω τέ νιν, as well as βαρεῖα γὰρ φρήν and δεινὴ γάρ.' But (a) replace καὶ with τῆν, and (b) this expresses the nurse's anxiety. There may conceivably be radical corruption here, but there are no good reasons for wholesale deletion.

κράτιστα τὴν εὐθείαν, ἣι πεφύκαμεν  
σοφοὶ μάλιστα, φαρμάκοις αὐτοὺς ἐλεῖν.

For the structure (πότερον . . . ;, then an objection, then an alternative) compare the words of the no less disturbed Iphigeneia (E. *IT* 884–91):

πότερον κατὰ χέρσον, οὐχὶ ναὶ  
ἀλλὰ ποδῶν ῥιπᾶι;  
θανάτῳ πελάσεις ἄρα βάρβαρα φύλα  
καὶ δι' ὁδοὺς ἀνόδους στείχων. διὰ κυανέας μὲν  
στενοπόρου πέτρας μακρὰ κέλευθα να-  
ίοισιν δρασμοῖς.

But the interpolator wanted to supply another alternative, immediately, with the usual ἢ after πότερον. He was influenced perhaps also by πολλὰς (376) and, in his choice of lines to interpolate, by δῶμα νυμφικὸν (378). His interference is understandable, but it dilutes the point: Medea rules out the personal presence required by arson so as to choose the alternative of working from a distance with poison.

Page writes 'at 41 the phrase (ἴν' ἔστρωται λέχος) comes suddenly and obscurely'. But not for those familiar with the τόπος of the wife's suicide with a sword on the marital bed.<sup>169</sup> Here the τόπος contains the extra pathos that the bed has been prepared to receive a new bride (Greek marriage is patrilocal). Page continues 'In 379 it is clear to whose heart δι' ἠπατος refers: in 40 it is not so clear.' This is the reverse of the truth. It is clear enough in 40 from the τόπος, and anyway Jason and Glauke are mentioned as an alternative in 42; whereas the omission at 379 is odd. 40–1 make much better sense here than at 379–80. And Medea's very first words are indeed a wish to die (96–7; also 144–7, etc.).

(c) νύμφη is used primarily of a young woman envisaged in relation to marriage, normally therefore of a bride, and although the designation may continue into the marriage (e.g. E. *Or.* 1136 νύμφας τ' ἔθηκεν ὄρφανὰς ξυναόρων), in this context it cannot fail to have a bridal overtone.<sup>170</sup>

(d) μέλπει suggests a ritual context,<sup>171</sup> and is particularly apt if we suppose that bridal lamentation did occur in the wedding (see §4 above).

Further examples might be described of the death of a wife imagined in terms of her wedding, notably Phaedra<sup>172</sup> and Alcestis.<sup>173</sup> But instead we will proceed to the next category, in which an extramarital or merely natural union is imagined as a marriage in which the negative element prevails.

#### D. THE EXTRAMARITAL UNION

§9. At A. *Ag.* 685–762 the union of *Paris and Helen* is imagined by the chorus as a marriage which brings disaster.<sup>174</sup> From the numerous elements of this picture I select six.<sup>175</sup>

<sup>169</sup> S. *Trach.* 915–31 (esp. 918, 920, 924, 930–1); V. *Aen.* iv 648–65; cf. E. *Alc.* 175–84; Winnington-Ingram (n. 23) 81 n. 28. For (apparently) abrupt statements of (other) τόποι see Seaford (n. 23) 249, 251; cf. n. 195 below.

<sup>170</sup> As also at E. *Andr.* 137–41 . . . δμῶις ἀπ' ἀλλοτρίας / πόλεος, ἐνθ' οὐ φίλων τιν' εἰσορᾶις / σῶν, ὦ δυστυχεστάτα, <ὦ> παντάλαινα νύμφα. / οἰκτροτάτα γὰρ ἔμοιγ' ἔμολες, γύναι Ἰλιάς, οἴκους . . .

<sup>171</sup> Page calls this a metaphorical use of μέλπειν very rare in tragedy, and compares A. *Ag.* 1445 and E. *Andr.* 1037 (both in fact of the lament).

<sup>172</sup> E. *Hipp.* 755–6 ἐπόρευσας ἐμὰν ἄνασσαν ὀλβίων ἀπ' οἴκων κακονυμφόταταν ὄνασιν (i.e. instead of εὐδαιμονία), 766–70 τεράμνων ἀπὸ νυμφιδίων κρεμαστὸν ἀψεται ἀμφὶ βρόχον λευκαῖ καθαρμοῦζουσα δειρᾶι (cf. S. *Ant.* 1239 λευκῆι παρειᾶι—see above; E.

*Med.* 1189, *IA* 875); for hanging as suicide v. Antigone, Iokasta, Erigone (imitated by Athenian virgins).

<sup>173</sup> E. *Alc.* 866–7, 880–81, 898, 915–25.

<sup>174</sup> Given the tendency to describe adulterous union in terms of marriage ritual (cf. e.g. §11 Iole, or the paradoxical phrase ἰδοῖσιν ὑμεναίοισι of Aig. and Klyt. at E. *Or.* 558), it makes little sense to ask whether Paris and Helen were *actually* married or not (cf. *Il.* xxiv 763, iii 140). Like the other cases in this category their union is extramarital in the sense that it violates the marriage of one of the partners, and 'natural' in the sense that it is effected by lust or violence or both.

<sup>175</sup> Cf. also 686 δοριγαμβρος, 720 προτελείοις, also (earlier) ἄγουσά τ' ἀντίφερνον Ἰλίωι φθοράν (406). A. Lebeck, *The Oresteia* (Cambridge, Mass. 1971) 48–9, 69–71, collects some of the obvious references to marriage in the trilogy.

(a) 690–2 (Helen) ἐκ τῶν ἀβροπῆνων / προκαλυμμάτων ἔπλευσεν / Ζεφύρου γίγαντος αὔραι. The προκαλύμματα here are generally assumed to be ‘curtains’ (of bed, chamber, or palace). But the reference is I think rather to the ritual unveiling of the bride. Nowhere else does προκαλύμμα mean ‘curtain’. True, it is a rare word. However, the verb προκαλύπτειν does occur three times in tragedy: of the bride Glauke covering her eyes (E. *Med.* 1147), of Pylades covering Orestes with πέπλοι (E. *IT* 312), and of Antigone casting off her veil in a passage containing hymenaial associations (E. *Pho.* 1485–92, see n. 185 below).

Furthermore, κάλυμμα regularly refers to what covers the *head*,<sup>176</sup> generally in the plural καλύμματα. E. *IT* 372 λέπτων ὄμμα διὰ καλυμμάτων ἔχουσα refers to the bridal veil. The phrase ἐκ καλυμμάτων occurs later in the *Ag.* to refer to the bridal veil (1178); its only other occurrence is at S. *Trach.* 1078, where I have argued (elsewhere) that there is a secondary allusion to the bridal veil.<sup>177</sup> Mention should also be made of A. *Cho.* 811 ἐκ δυοφερᾶς καλύπτρας, which alludes to the ritual unveiling not of the bride but of the mystic initiand.<sup>178</sup>

It may be objected that ‘she sailed from out of the veil’ is an odd sense. But it is no more odd than ‘she sailed from out of the curtains’. The abruptness may perhaps be explained in part by the existing association of the phrase ἐκ (προ)καλυμμάτων with the bridal veil.<sup>179</sup> The ritual of the ἀνακαλυπτήρια, the unveiling of the bride, seems to have occurred at the end of the wedding banquet, just before her departure on a chariot to her new home.<sup>180</sup>

I suspect that this departure may have been associated with a nautical image. If so, the association would underly various passages of tragedy, for example<sup>181</sup> (1) E. *IT* 370–1 ἐν ἀρμάτων ὄχοις / ἐς αἰματηρὸν γάμον ἐπόρθμευσας; (2) E. *Tro.* 569–70 (see §12); (3) S. *OT* 320–3 (§6); (4) later in the *Agamemnon* itself Cassandra says (1178–81) καὶ μὴν ὁ χρησμός οὐκέτ’ ἐκ καλυμμάτων / ἔσται δεδορκῶς νεογάμου νύμφης δίκην, / λαμπρὸς δ’ ἔοικεν ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς / πνέων ἐφήξειν, ὥστε κύματος δίκην / κτλ. This curious conjunction of images (unveiling, wind, and wave) cannot be explained merely by the multivalency of the word λαμπρός.<sup>182</sup>

At 690–2, as at 1178–81, we pass from unveiling to wind. Both passages are set in the context of the abduction of a woman (Helen, Cassandra—see §10 below), and at 691 ἔπλευσεν κτλ. is clearly more than a mere image.<sup>183</sup> In both cases that which corresponds to the ἀνακαλυπτήρια, the sudden dissolution of contrived obscurity, is its opposite in mood: the discovery of the secret departure of Helen with Paris, the revelation (1183 οὐκέτ’ ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων) of death in the palace. This irony occurs, I believe, in other plays: in the uncovering of the wounded Herakles towards the end of S. *Trach.*,<sup>184</sup> and in the unveiling, induced by grief, of Euripides’ Antigone.<sup>185</sup> But it occurs also elsewhere in the *Agamemnon* itself. It has been argued recently by M. L. Cunningham that 239 κρόκου βάφας δ’ ἐς πέδον χέουσα (of Iphigeneia being sacrificed) refers to the bridal veil. She points in particular to the likelihood that the Greek bridal veil was saffron in colour, to the force which this interpretation gives to the following words ἔβαλλ’ ἕκαστον θυτήρων ἀπ’

<sup>176</sup> See LSJ. In both the apparent exceptions (A. *Cho.* 494; S. *Trach.* 1078) it may in fact have the same sense (cf. Seaford [n. 23] 252–3, and [n. 33] 56–7).

<sup>177</sup> (n. 33) 56–7.

<sup>178</sup> See G. Thomson in *Comm.* ad loc.; add Parmen. fr. 1.10 (Thomson, *The first philosophers* [London 1955] 289–90).

<sup>179</sup> For this kind of abruptness see n. 169 above.

<sup>180</sup> J. H. Oakley in *Arch. Anz.* (1982) 113–14; J. Toutain in *REA* xlii (1940), 345–53. This fact underlies also *Ag.* 1178–81 (see below) and E. *Pho.* 1485–92 (see n. 185 below).

<sup>181</sup> Cf. the passages quoted in n. 183 below, also A. fr. 154a Radt 3 ἀλιμενον γάμον; A. *Ag.* 227 προτέλεια ναῶν. Dionysos apparently travelled to his wedding at the Anthesteria in a ship cart: R. Seaford, *Euripides Cyclops* (Oxford 1984) 8 and n. 23.

<sup>182</sup> ‘Clear’ of oracles, ‘bright’ of the bride’s com-

plexion, ‘keen’ of the wind, and ‘bright’ of the sunlight: M. S. Silk, *Interaction in poetic imagery* (Cambridge 1974) 197; Simon Goldhill, *Language, sexuality, narrative: the Oresteia* (Cambridge 1984) 85.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. the attention focussed on a sea voyage in a hymenaial context at E. *IA* 667–70, E. *Hipp.* 752–63 (esp. 755–6, see n. 172 above), E. *Tro.* 455–6.

<sup>184</sup> Seaford (n. 33) 56–7.

<sup>185</sup> *Pho.* 1485–92. She overcomes her maidenly shame (1487–8), emerges from the παρθενῶνες (cf. 1275), sheds her veil, but is led not in a bridal procession but by the dead (1442 ἀγεμόνευμα νεκροῖσι—constantly mistranslated as active). Cf also n. 180 above. Her solitary, lamenting procession is similarly ambiguous (cf. §A) in Sophokles’ version (§B1). This is not to ignore the influence of Hom. *Il.* xxii 468–72 (also a wedding veil!).

ὄμματος βέλει φιλοίκτωι, and to a fifth century vase showing Iphigenia being led to the sacrifice holding up what seems to be a bridal veil.<sup>186</sup> Four further points need to be made. Firstly, the hymenaial association is in fact first introduced a little earlier, in the description of the sacrifice as προτέλεια ναῶν. The προτέλεια was associated in particular with marriage.<sup>187</sup> And as we find elsewhere (see n. 198), the Aeschylean irony is made more explicit by Euripides (see §2). Secondly, the immediately preceding line, βίαι χαλινῶν τ' ἀναύδωι μένει, contains a hymenaial image, the control over the bride as over an animal,<sup>188</sup> which is picked up again at 244 with the description of Iphigenia the virgin in her father's house as ἀταύρωτος. Thirdly, ἔβαλλε κτλ. is of a very subtle pathos: the reversal of the mood of the wedding is perhaps not absolute, for at the ἀνακαλυπτῆρια the newly revealed face at the centre of attention may have been to some extent fearful or even φίλοικτος; at the same time ἔβαλλε . . . ἀπ' ὄμματος βέλει cannot fail in a hymenaial context to retain an erotic association, as does the phrase μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος used later in the play, in the song under discussion, of Helen coming to Troy as a bride (742).<sup>189</sup> Fourthly, this interpretation avoids the serious difficulties in interpreting κρόκου βάφαι as blood or as the robe.<sup>190</sup>

As the song proceeds, other features of the marriage of Paris and Helen also turn into their opposite.

(b) The deity bringing the marriage to completion is not, as normally, Zeus Τέλειος, Hera Τέλεια, or Aphrodite,<sup>191</sup> but τελεσιφῶρον Μῆνις (marriage is of course a τέλος) and an Ἐρινύς (700, 744–9). Indeed the common idea that deity is actually present at the wedding<sup>192</sup> gives a special point to the presence of Μῆνις and the Ἐρινύς here.

(c) The completion bought about by the Ἐρινύς is a bitter one (744–5 παρακλίνας' ἐπέκρανεν δὲ γάμου πικρὰς τελευτάς)<sup>193</sup> She seems on the one hand, in the context, to be identified with Helen; but on the other hand, as συμφόκλαυτος (749), which may mean 'bringing tears for the bride' or 'bewept by the bride' but hardly 'a weeping bride',<sup>194</sup> she seems to be distinct from Helen. It seems best to allow Aeschylus the sinister ambiguity. But whatever the truth of that, συμφόκλαυτος would seem less awkward and obscure to the original audience than it does to us, because for them it would evoke something familiar to the audience:<sup>195</sup> the element of lamentation by or on behalf of the bride.<sup>196</sup> Normally of course this negative

<sup>186</sup> M. L. Cunningham in *BICS* xxxi (1984) 9–12; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 466 n. 266. So too D. A. Armstrong and E. A. Ratchford in *BICS* xxxii (1985) 1–12, which appeared too late for consideration here.

<sup>187</sup> Defined by Hsch. as of Helen ἡ πρὸ τῶν γάμων θυσία καὶ ἑορτή. Cf. 720 ἐν βιότου προτελείοις of Helen. In *Ag.* 65 and 227 Fraenkel sees an inversion of its cheerful wedding associations. Similarly F. Zeitlin in *TAPA* xcvi (1965) 465–6 ('unpropitious use'). Lebeck (n. 175) 186, notes that 'it is precisely because she is sacrificed to Artemis that Iphigenia can be called προτέλεια ναῶν with a play on προτέλεια γάμων.' It should be added that the story of this sacrifice had long been associated with marriage (see §2 above). Further dimensions of (ironic) aptness are that the sacrifice of Iphigenia is, like the marriage προτέλεια, a necessary prelude (cf. also *Ag.* 65) to a man (Menelaos) taking off his wife (cf. the previous line, γυναικοποιῶν πολέμων ἀρωγάν), and that ναῶν perhaps owes something to the nautical image discussed above (cf. *E. IA* 667–70).

<sup>188</sup> See nn. 58 and 53; Sourvinou-Inwood, pp. 137ff, 145.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. also e.g. *A. fr.* 242R *Su.* 1004–5; etc.: Thomson on *PV* 590–1 (his 614–15), Barrett on *E. Hipp.* 525–6 and 530–4.

<sup>190</sup> The slaughtering must come later; *why* nakedness?; etc. (see Lloyd-Jones in *CR* ii [1952] 135–8; he suggests the robe hanging down to the ground). The objection to the robe might be avoided also by the view

of C. Sourvinou (*CQ* xxi [1971] 339–42) that there is a reference to a (hypothetical) ritual derobing at the ἄρκτεια. But the ἀνακαλυπτῆρια (enforced perhaps by the gagging) makes more sense in the context, and unlike derobing would be consistent with Maas' view of πέπλοισι περιπετῆ and προνωπῆ (233–4; *CQ* i [1951] 94).

<sup>191</sup> *A. Eum.* 214 (cf. *Ag.* 973; F. Salviati in *BCH* lxxxiiv [1946] 647–54); *Plut. Mor.* 264b; *D.S.* v 73; *Men. Rhet.* 407.7; *Ps. D.H. Epid.* 262 Radermacher; cf. also n. 94 above and n. 192 below. Cf. *E. Hel.* 1120–1 Πάρις ἀνόγαμοις πομπᾶσιν Ἀφροδίτας.

<sup>192</sup> See nn. 114–16 above.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. *Pi. Pyth.* 9.66 τερπνὰν γάμου κραίνην τελευτάν; *A. Su.* 138–40 (The Danaids:) τελευτάς δ' ἐν χρόνῳ πατήρ ὁ πανόπτας πρευμενεῖς κτίσειεν (cf. 1050–53); *E. Phaeth.* 100 (hymenaial) θεὸς ἔδωκε, χρόνος ἔκρανε λέχος, *Su.* 1008 εἰ δαίμων τάδε κραῖνοι (see §7). At *A. Ag.* 701 we should read Headlam's ἦνυσεν (see Thomson ad loc.).

<sup>194</sup> See ad loc. Fraenkel, also Denniston-Page; also *E. Hec.* 948–9 (see §12).

<sup>195</sup> For the critical principle involved see n. 169 above. Note also Fraenkel's remark (ad *Ag.* 1278): 'Everything is compressed, hinting . . . rather than describing fully. Time and again in Aeschylus, above all in the *Oresteia*, do we encounter this "parodying" of sacred rites.'

<sup>196</sup> See nn. 82–90 above.

tendency would be overcome in the rite of passage. But here the deity who brings the marriage to completion (ἐπέκρυνεν) is an Ἐρινύς, so that anomalously it ends, in the long term, in tears (γάμου πικρὰς τελευτὰς),<sup>197</sup> the tears not necessarily of Helen but of the Trojan wives in general. In Euripides (*Hec.* 946–9; cf. 483) the Trojan women sing ἐπεὶ με γαίας / ἐκ πατρίας ἀπώλεσεν / ἐξώικισεν τ' οἴκων γάμος οὐ γάμος ἀλλ' / ἀλάστωρός τις οἰζύς. Like brides they have been removed by marriage from their homes, but the marriage is not their own but Helen's and so not a marriage at all but suffering inflicted by an Ἀλάστωρ. As at *Ag.* 744–9, it seems that a demon employs the marriage of Helen to inflict the subversion of marriage on the Trojan women. As elsewhere,<sup>198</sup> Euripides makes more explicit the irony of Aeschylus.

(d) It has in fact been directly stated by the chorus that the Trojans, who earlier sang the wedding song, have now had to learn instead the song of lamentation (705–16). At the wedding it is normal to compliment bride and bridegroom.<sup>199</sup> Sophokles applies the word εὐλεκτρος to the bride (*Ant.* 796), and to Aphrodite at the contest for the νύμφα Deianeira (*Trach.* 515). But Troy in having to learn the lament instead of the wedding song στένει κικλήσκουσα Πάριον τὸν αἰνόλεκτρον. κικλήσκουσα here suggests the direct address that occurs in both the lament and the wedding song.<sup>200</sup> There may also perhaps be a faint suggestion of the funerary λέκτρον.<sup>201</sup>

(e) What comes to Troy is described as μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος, δηξίθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος (742–3). The image of the flower is traditionally applied to the bride in the wedding.<sup>202</sup> In Aeschylus' *Suppliants* it is associated simultaneously with the unwilling brides and the young men threatened by war (663–6, §4). Here the words βέλος and δηξίθυμον are appropriate to the praise of the beauty of Helen (see Fraenkel ad loc.), but acquire in the context a sinister double meaning.

Comparable is the ambiguity of κῆδος (699), recognized by the commentators, between connection by marriage and grief. It is of interest to compare also Euripides *Phoenissai* 340–3, where the marriage of the Theban Polyneikes to an Argive is called ξένον κῆδος and γάμων ἐπακτὸν ἄταν. There is ambiguity not only in κῆδος but in ἐπακτὸν, a word applied to the wealth brought by a wife to the home of her husband (*E. fr.* 502.5), but which has two extra senses here: firstly, the bride comes not just from another household but from another city; and secondly ἐπακτός in Aeschylus refers to the foreign army brought by Polyneikes,<sup>203</sup> and so cannot fail to suggest here the connection between the marriage of Polyneikes to an Argive and the Argive invasion of Thebes. And when Jokasta goes on to complain that the marriage was not celebrated in Thebes, and in particular that (348–9) ἀνὰ δὲ Θηβαίαν / πόλιν ἐσιγάθη σᾶς ἔσοδοι νύμφας, this serves to reinforce the association of the intended military ἔσοδος into Thebes with a bridal procession.

(f) The dire consequences of the impious union between Helen and Paris are described as offspring (750–70). Here too we find, it seems, the perversion of a wedding τόπος, the desire for children resembling their parents.<sup>204</sup> This gives a special point to 758–60 τὸ δυσσεβὲς γὰρ ἔργον / μετὰ μὲν πλείονα τίκτει, / σφετέραι δ' εἰκότα γένναι, and to 770–1 Ἄταν, εἰδομέναν τοκεῦσιν.

To conclude, *Ag.* 690–771 exhibit a multiple perversion of wedding ritual, in which the

<sup>197</sup> Cf. *E. Med.* 1388 πικρὰς τελευτὰς τῶν ἐμῶν γάμων ἰδῶν. The point is that τελευτὰ, like τέλος, can refer both to marriage and death: n. 166 above; *E. Med.* 153; cf. e.g. Artemid. *Oneir.* ii 49.

<sup>198</sup> Seaford (n. 23) 248.

<sup>199</sup> E.g. *Sappho fr.* 108, 110, 111, 112, 115, 116; *Ar. Pax* 1349–50; *E. Alc.* 920–1; Theocr. 18.19–38, 49; *Men. Rhet.* 402.22–404.14; Gregor. Naz. *PG* xxxvii 1493–5.

<sup>200</sup> *Il.* xxiv 725, 748, 762; *A. Ag.* 315; *E. Tro.* 1167–72; *Sappho fr.* 108, 112, 113, 115, 116, 117; *Ar. Pax* 1344–6; *Catull.* 62.59; etc.

<sup>201</sup> Cf. the same irony at *A. Ag.* 1440–1 (quoted

below, §10) and *Bion* 1.70; cf. e.g. *A. Cho.* 318; *E. Hel.* 1261; and in general Seaford (n. 23) 251 (on *Ag.* 1116); also perhaps the sepulchral *AP* vii 649 Ἀντί τοι εὐλεχέος θαλάμου . . .

<sup>202</sup> See above §4 and nn. 61–4.

<sup>203</sup> *Sept.* 583; cf. e.g. *S. Trach.* 259, *OC* 525; cf. *E. Pho.* 580–2.

<sup>204</sup> Emphasised by *Men. Rhet.* 404.27, 407.9, 23; *Catull.* 61.214–18; cf. *Theocr.* 18.21, 50–53; *Sidon. Apoll. Carm.* 15.191; *Ps. D.H. Epid.* 266. Cf. also *Hes. Op.* 235 and *West* ad loc. (add. *Pl. Crit.* 112c and *Plut. Mor.* 824c).

positive elements are perverted into negative elements and the negative elements prevail. Comparable, in microcosm, is Sophokles' *Elektra* 193–9:

οἰκτρά μὲν νόστοις αὐδὰ,  
οἰκτρά δ' ἐν κοίταις πατρῷαις  
ὄτε οἱ παγχάλκων ἀνταῖα  
γενύων ὠρμάθη πλαγά.  
δόλος ἦν ὁ φράσας, ἔρος ὁ κτείνας,  
δεινὰν δεινῶς προφυτεύσαντες  
μορφάν. κτλ.

Here the homecoming of Agamemnon and his death at the hands of Klytimestra and Aigisthos is described in terms suggestive of a wedding. δόλος ἦν ὁ φράσας, ἔρος ὁ κτείνας seems to echo the kind of expression found in the wedding song at E. *Phaeth.* 99–101 θεὸς ἔδωκε, χρόνος ἔκρανε / λέχος κτλ.<sup>205</sup> The deities presiding over the marriage or bringing it to completion have become sinister ones, δόλος and ἔρος, who seem half-identified with the human agents (Aig. and Klyt.),<sup>206</sup> and give birth through a terrible breeding to terrible offspring (the murder). Ἔρος is of course not inappropriate to a normal marriage,<sup>207</sup> but here assumes a sinister function. The reunion of husband and wife<sup>208</sup> becomes the occasion for murder by the united wife and lover. Two further elements complete the picture. By an irony that should by now be familiar, the αὐδὰ at Ag.'s return is pitiable rather than joyful (cf. the joyful αὐδὰ in the wedding procession at Hes. *Asp.* 278); and he is killed ἐν κοίταις πατρῷαις, an expression which though consistent with the tradition that Ag. was killed at a banquet (cf. 203–4) cannot fail to suggest here a marriage bed.<sup>209</sup> Every one of these ironies has its counterpart in A. *Ag.* 690–771.

§10. *Kassandra*. In Aeschylus as Agamemnon enters the palace, his wife prays to Zeus τέλειος (973), the 'accomplisher'. She wishes Zeus to bring her prayers to completion (τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει). Now Zeus τέλειος is also associated with the τέλος of marriage,<sup>210</sup> to which there is a secondary reference here. The death of Agamemnon is envisaged as a kind of marriage, which Zeus τέλειος is being asked to bring to fulfilment. It is described by *Kassandra* as a τέλος (1107 τόδε γὰρ τέλεις;, 1109 πῶς φράσω τέλος;) in a passage which alludes to the common association between death and marriage,<sup>211</sup> and by *Klytimestra* herself in terms which allude to sexual union (§6). τέλει in 973 picks up the same word in the previous line, ἀνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ' ἐπιστροφωμένου, where the primary sense, 'with authority', conceals a secondary reference, as in 973, to marriage: τέλειος with a passive sense, 'brought to completion', is applied to those who have entered on marriage.<sup>212</sup>

Interpenetrating this grotesque union of Agamemnon with *Klytimestra* is the no less grotesque union in death of Agamemnon and *Kassandra*. As in the *Trachiniae* (§5 and §11) and the *Medea* (§3 and §8) the husband's new attachment creates a situation in which the mutual subversion of the two incompatible unions issues in the death of one or more of the three parties. *Klytimestra* describes the dead *Kassandra*, displayed alongside the corpse of Agamemnon,<sup>213</sup> as ἡ κοινόλεκτρος τοῦδε θεσφατηλόγος, / πιστὴ ξύνευνος, ναυτίλων δὲ σελμάτων / ἰστοτρίβης

<sup>205</sup> Cf. also Men. *Rhet.* 400.18–20, 406.22–4; on the origin of this style in ritual formulae see G. Thomson in *JHS* lxxiii (1953) 82–3; cf. esp. Zenob. *Prov.* iii 98.

<sup>206</sup> Jebb compares *Klyt.* as ἀλόστωρ at A. *Ag.* 1501. We of course think of Helen as Ἐρινύς at 737–49.

<sup>207</sup> E.g. Men. *Rhet.* 404–20, 407.19, 411.13.

<sup>208</sup> This bloody reunion is envisaged as a grotesque marriage by Aeschylus (see §10).

<sup>209</sup> Cf. esp. 78 lines later τὸν αὐτοφόντην ἡμῖν ἐν κοίτῃ πατρὸς / ξὺν τῇ ταλαίνῃ μητρὶ; also S. *Trach.* 922; etc. (LSJ).

<sup>210</sup> Schol. Ar. *Thesm.* 973; D.S. 5.73; Plut. *Mor.* 264b; cf. esp. A. *Eum.* 214; in general see F. Salviat in

*BCH* lxxxiv (1946), 647–54, who sees a ref. to marriage in *Ag.* 973, but regards the point as being that Zeus in his association with marriage is the right deity to pursue a wicked father or husband. See also Lebeck (n. 175) 68–73.

<sup>211</sup> Cf. Seaford (n. 23) 251.

<sup>212</sup> See LSJ s.v. 'τέλειος' 2.b, and esp. Paus. *Gr. fr.* 306 τέλειοι οἱ γεγαμηκότες; add A. *Su.* 80, and cf. A. *fr.* 44.7.

<sup>213</sup> I suspect that she appeared wrapped with Ag. in the fatal cloth (1492, 1580), and therefore huddled in the bath (1540), which is described as a bed on the ground (χάμευνα, 1540).

(1441–3),<sup>214</sup> and adds κείται φιλήτωρ τοῦδε (1446). Furthermore, one of the threads of the famous ‘Kassandra scene’ is a sustained evocation of the negative elements in the situation of a bride: (a) like the bride, Kassandra has been taken from her father’s home<sup>215</sup> and has arrived in a chariot with her man at his home;<sup>216</sup> (b) like the bride (apparently), she laments (1322);<sup>217</sup> (c) whereas for the bride capture and death are at most fictions,<sup>218</sup> for Kassandra they are a reality; (d) the bride was apparently welcomed on arrival outside her new home;<sup>219</sup> in attempting to make Kassandra leave her seat in the chariot (1054 ἀμαξήρη θρόνον)<sup>220</sup> Klytaimestra and the chorus use persuasion;<sup>221</sup> (e) they also compare her to an animal newly caught or unwilling to bear the bridle or the yoke;<sup>222</sup> (f) the image Kassandra employs to express the emergence of her speech out of deliberate obscurity, the image of the unveiling of the bride (1178–83, see §9 above), is therefore not chosen arbitrarily.

This implicit allusion by Aeschylus to ritual is, as elsewhere,<sup>223</sup> made explicit by Euripides. Kassandra in the *Trojan Women* enters with a wedding torch (or two) and sings a wedding song (308–52). Kassandra is herself of course aware that the destination of the transition is Hades,<sup>224</sup> and that her body will be thrown out νυμφίου πέλας τάφου.<sup>225</sup> This does not mean that the (traditional) μακαρισμός of the bride<sup>226</sup> is entirely false, for there is a genuine albeit horrific joy at the prospect of the death of her γαμέτας that will accompany her own.<sup>227</sup> It is perhaps an exact reversal of normal practice firstly that the (inspired) bride takes the initiative (308, 325, 332–41), lighting her own torch<sup>228</sup> and uttering her own μακαρισμός, and secondly that her joyful singing contrasts with the lamentation of everybody else (315–19, 332, 351–2). Certainly her mother envisages the torch as funereal,<sup>229</sup> an ambiguity well known from the Anthology.<sup>230</sup>

§11. *Iole*. On discovering that Herakles is about to return home the women of Trachis sing (S. *Trach.* 205–7) ἀνολογξάτω<sup>231</sup> δόμος / ἐφεστίοισιν ἀλλαλαῖς / ὁ μελλόνυμφος. The idea that the house is about to celebrate a wedding has of course offended some textual critics. But it is in fact, as I have argued in detail elsewhere,<sup>232</sup> one of a coherent series of allusions to wedding ritual throughout the play, some of which I have mentioned in §5 above. The return of Herakles is envisaged here as the re-enactment or final completion of the marital transition of Deianeira. But at the end of the song there arrives at the house a group of female captives, one of whom is noticed from among the others<sup>233</sup> by Deianeira, who remarks on her apparent virginity

<sup>214</sup> To the defence of ἰστοτρίβης (with an erotic sense) by Douglas Young (in *CQ* xiv [1964] 15) add A. *Su.* 1042 τρίβοι τ’ ἐρώντων (τρίβοι in an erotic sense, I believe, and a hymenaial context: §4).

<sup>215</sup> Note the stress on the paternal home left behind at 1277 βωμοῦ πατρῷου δ’ ἀντ’ ἐπίξηνον μένει (and cf. ἀμμένει referring to hymenaial consummation at S. *Trach.* 528; E. *Cyc.* 514 with Seaford ad loc.).

<sup>216</sup> I find the suggestion that ‘the arrival of Agamemnon and Cassandra like a bride and groom at the door when Clytemnestra stands waiting to welcome her husband home has a blatant irony’ made independently by Ian Jenkins [n. 3] 138) on the basis of the fact that ‘Agamemnon’s arrival at the palace on a chariot with Cassandra by his side, and Clytemnestra waiting to greet them, corresponds pictorially with the vase-painter’s formula for the arrival of bride and groom.’ He refers to O. Taplin, *The stagecraft of Aeschylus* (Oxford 1977) 302–6, who successfully argues that Ag. and Kass. were in the same chariot.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. above nn. 3, 82–92.

<sup>218</sup> Cf. above nn. 4, 68–9.

<sup>219</sup> Schol. E. *Pho.* 344; Jenkins (n. 3) continues ‘The position of Clytemnestra at the doorway of the house is that occupied by the groom’s mother in the vase scenes

of bride-fetching.’

<sup>220</sup> The bride had a special seat in the chariot: Hsch. s.v. ‘κλινίς’; Poll. x 33, 52.22.

<sup>221</sup> 1052 ἔσω φρένων λέγουσα πείθω νιν λόγῳ, 1049, 1054. Cf. persuasion in the wedding: §4 and n. 94.

<sup>222</sup> 1048, 1063, 1066, 1071; cf. §4 and n. 58.

<sup>223</sup> See §9a, §9c, and n. 198.

<sup>224</sup> 445 ἐς Ἄϊδου νυμφίῳ γημώμεθα; cf. A. *Ag.* 1291 Ἄϊδου πύλας δὲ τάσδ’ ἐγὼ προσενέπω.

<sup>225</sup> 449; cf. the possibly ambiguous τὸν πεπρωμένον εὐνᾷ πόσιν ἐμέθεν (340–1): cf. Seaford (n. 23) 250–1.

<sup>226</sup> 312–13; cf. 311, 327, 336, 366; cf. n. 5 above.

<sup>227</sup> 311, 356–62, etc.; also at other Argive and Greek sufferings: 363 ff.

<sup>228</sup> 308, 320; cf. e.g. E. *Phoen.* 344–6, *IA* 732. So far as I know the bride never carries a torch in vase-painting.

<sup>229</sup> 344 λυγρὰν . . . φλόγα, 348; with λυγρὰν cf. e.g. *Med.* 399 λυγροῦς θήσω γάμους, *HF* 1376 λυγρὰι φιλημάτων τέρψεις, *Su.* 70 λυγρὰ μέλη.

<sup>230</sup> e.g. *AP* vii 185 (sepulchral): πῦρ ἕτερον σπεύδουσα.

<sup>231</sup> ἀνολογξάτω Burges; -ξετε LRAUY: -ξατε KZg.

<sup>232</sup> (n. 23).

<sup>233</sup> cf. Theocr. 18.25–8; Sappho fr. 34V.

(ἄπειρος) and nobility (307–13). This is Iole, the bride<sup>234</sup> of Herakles. Deianeira is, without yet realising it, in the position of Klytaimestra, standing in front of the house to which the new bride has been forcibly brought. μελλόνυμφος begins to take on a fatal ambiguity. When Deianeira's suspicions are subsequently aroused, she praises her again, this time for her beauty (379).<sup>235</sup>

Later in the play the chorus, reflecting on the origin of Herakles' sufferings, mention his spear ἄ τότε θοάν νύμφαν / ἄγαγες ἀπ' αἰπεινᾶς / τάνδ' Οἰχαλίας αἰχμῆι. / ἄ δ' ἀμφίπολος Κύπρις ἀναυδος φανερά / τῶνδ' ἐφάνη πράκτωρ (857–61). Two points need to be made here. Firstly, θοάν is emended away by some, and defended by others as meaning 'swiftly'. Both alternatives miss the point. The 'swift bride' reappears at E. *Su.* 993 ὠκυθόαι νύμφαι. In both cases there is a poignant association between the urgency of the wedding procession which ends happily and the present arrival of the bride (§7). Euadne comes quickly to her husband's pyre. Iole is seized with ruthless urgency from her father's home; and the speed of her arrival is inflicted also on Deianeira: . . . ὦν ἄδ' ἄ τλάμων ἄοκνος, / μεγάλην προσορῶσα δόμοις βλάβαν / νέων ἀισσόντων γάμων, τὰ μὲν κτλ. (841–3). I have reproduced ἄοκνος (Musgrave), which is generally accepted. But the mss. ἄοκνον may be right. Iole will not be allowed to delay her arrival with bridal ὄκνος.<sup>236</sup> And ἀισσόντων should probably not be changed to ἀίσσουσαν (Nauck). προσορῶσα suggests actual visual perception,<sup>237</sup> and evokes therefore the position of those waiting at the house of the groom for the bridal procession.

Secondly, the sinister epiphanic role of Aphrodite (860–1), expressing the destructive carnality of this union, is given special point by her (silent) presence even at a normal wedding.<sup>238</sup> She plays a similar role in Euripides' description in the *Hippolytus*<sup>239</sup> of the brutal 'wedding' of Herakles and Iole. In the *Agamemnon* the deities bringing the union of Helen and Paris to completion are a Μῆνις and an Ἐρινύς (§9b). An Ἐρινύς is present at the union of Herakles and Iole too, but as offspring: ἔτεκ' ἔτεκε μεγάλην ἀνέορτος<sup>240</sup> ἄδε νύμφα δόμοισι τοῖσδ' Ἐρινύν (893–5). This is comparable to the perversion we found in the *Agamemnon* of the desire expressed at the wedding for children resembling their parents (§9f).

§12. *Andromache* opens the play of Euripides that bears her name by calling on the city of her birth, Θήβη, from which she came to Troy to be the enviable (ζηλωτός) wife of Hektor. Somewhat later, lamenting the loss of her city and her husband, and her consequent yoking (συνέζυγην) to a harsh fate (στερρὸς δαίμων, 96–9), she adds that no mortal should be called ὄλβιος while still alive (100–2), a proverb which in this context must suggest the failed μακαρισμός of the wedding ceremony (cf. §6 and §7). We are reminded of the *Iliad*, when the news of Hektor's death makes her shed her wedding-veil, the veil she wore ἡματι τῷ ὅτε μιν κορυθαίολος ἠγάγεθ' Ἐκτωρ / ἐκ δόμου κτλ. (*Il.* xxii 471–2). This bridal journey of Andromache was described in rich detail by Sappho, and may even have been paradigmatic.<sup>241</sup>

Andromache continues (*Andr.* 103–4) Ἰλίωι αἰπεινᾶι Πάρις οὐ γάμον ἀλλά τιν' ἄταν / ἀγάγετ' εὐναίαν ἐς θαλάμους Ἐλέναν, and then, after mentioning the destruction of Troy and of Hektor, (109) αὐτὰ δ' ἐκ θαλάμων ἀγόμαν ἐπὶ θιῶα θαλάσσης. Here again, as in the *Agamemnon* and the *Hecuba* (§9c), the 'marriage' of Helen and Paris is associated both with a destructive deity and with a Trojan marriage that it has destroyed. Whereas at *Hec.* 946–9 the Trojan brides are taken by marriage from their homes, but the marriage is Helen's, here in the *Andromache* it is as if one bridal journey to Troy (Helen's) has put another (Andromache's) into

<sup>234</sup> 546, 843, 857, 894; with 536 ἐζευγμένην cf. E. *Hipp.* 544–54 (Iole as a filly yoked by Herakles in marriage).

<sup>235</sup> For praise of the bride (usually for beauty) see n. 202.

<sup>236</sup> See in detail Seaford (n. 33).

<sup>237</sup> προσορᾶν generally refers to actual seeing; the only possible exception in Soph. is at OC 142. Cf. *Trach.* 1139 ὡς προσεῖδε τοὺς ἐνδον γάμους.

<sup>238</sup> nn. 114–16.

<sup>239</sup> 545–54: τὰν μὲν Οἰχαλῆαι πῶλον ἔζυγα λέκτρων,

ἀναυδρον τὸ πρὶν καὶ ἀνυμφον, οἴκων ζεύξασ' ἀπ' Εὐρυτίων δρομάδα ναῖδ' ὅπως τε βάκχαν σὺν αἵματι, σὺν καπνώϊ, φονίοισι νυμφείοις Ἀλκμήνας τόκωι Κύπρις ἐξέδωκεν. ὦ τλάμων ὕμεναίων. Cf. n. 58 (yoking) and, on the bride as maenad, E. *Su.* 1000–01 (§7) and *Tro.* 307, 342, etc. (§10).

<sup>240</sup> This is the mss. reading (cf. ἀδαιδούχητος of clandestine marriage). ἀνέορτος is generally printed.

<sup>241</sup> Sappho *fr.* 44 (composed perhaps to celebrate a real wedding).



reverse (ἀγάγετ' . . . ἐς θαλάμους . . . ἐκ θαλάμων ἀγόμεν). Appropriately to this reversal, Andromache as she was led out 'put around her head' slavery (110 ἀμφιβαλοῦσα κάραι), like the veil normally *shed* by the departing bride. A little later the chorus sing of Andromache's servitude and isolation from her φίλοι in the house of Neoptolemos, concluding . . . παντάλαινα νύμφα. οἰκτροτάτα γὰρ ἔμοιγ' ἔμολες, γύναι Ἰλιάς, οἴκους δεσποτᾶν ἐμῶν (136–42). The idea of the departure of the bride as physical abduction (§4 and n. 3; note especially Catull. 62.24 *quid faciunt hostes capta crudelius urbe?*) facilitates the implicit association here of the abduction of Andromache with marriage. So it is also with Cassandra and Iole (see above), and with the fearful women of Thebes (A. *Septem* 333–5): κλαυτὸν δ' ἄρτιτρόποις ὠμοδρόπων νομίμων προπάροιθεν διαμεῖψαι δωμάτων στυγερῶν ὁδόν.<sup>242</sup>

The idea of Andromache's departure from Troy as a perverted bridal journey reappears in the *Trojan Women*. Forced to go as δάμαρ (660) with Neoptolemos, she appears ξενικοῖς ἐπ' ὄχοις πορθμευομένην. / παρὰ δ' εἰρεσίαι μαστῶν ἔπεται / φίλος Ἀστυάναξ 569–71). The expression εἰρεσίαι μαστῶν<sup>243</sup> appears strange to modern commentators, possibly because it is an ironic development of the idea, familiar perhaps to the original audience, of the bridal cart as a boat (§9a).<sup>244</sup> Andromache is πάρεδρος not, as in a bridal journey, to her husband, but to her dead husband's weapons (573). She calls on him to come, but is told that he is in Hades (587–8); and so she asks to be taken to Hades herself (594).<sup>245</sup> Finally, she reflects on the prospect of union with Neoptolemos: καίτοι λέγουσιν ὡς μί' εὐφρόνη χαλαῖ / τὸ δυσμενὲς γυναικὸς εἰς ἀνδρὸς λέχος (665–6). This is a sentiment associated with marriage in general: cf. Sophokles *fr.* 583, of the sufferings of marriage for the woman, καὶ ταῦτ', ἐπειδὴν εὐφρόνη ζεύξει μία, / χρεῶν ἐπαινείν καὶ δοκεῖν καλῶς ἔχειν. Interestingly, Andromache then rejects this piece of wisdom with an image usually used to legitimate the subordination of the bride, the image of the yoked animal: ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πῶλος ἦτις ἂν διαζυγῆι / τῆς συντραφείσης ῥαϊδίως ἔλκει ζυγόν (669–70).<sup>246</sup> We noticed in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* a similar reversal of hymenaial imagery by women resisting marriage (§4).

RICHARD SEAFORD

*The University of Exeter*

<sup>242</sup> The text is here disputed (I give the main mss. tradition), with suggestions including ἄρτιτρόποις, ἄρτιτρόπων, and ὠμοδρόποις. But this does not affect my point.

<sup>243</sup> The sense of εἰρεσίαι μαστῶν is disputed (see K. H. Lee in *Philologus* cxvii [1973] 246 ff.); but this does not affect my point.

<sup>244</sup> In particular cf. ὄχοις . . . πορθμευομένην with ὄχοις . . . ἐπόρθμευσας at E. *IT* 370–1.

<sup>245</sup> On the bridal journey imagined as to Hades see Jenkins (n. 3).

<sup>246</sup> Cf. *Andr.* 98 (quoted above) and 178; also n. 58 above.