nown, because of this love, which she thought would ruin her honor, and because of this disastrous death. This is the height of contradiction. Of course Aphrodite had a hand in all this, but Phaedra herself was to a great extent responsible.[59]

In the matter of femininity, tragedy is two-faced . . . Although they are "out of place," the glories of these women give food for thought; they are to be listened to and seen. Yet, whether excessive or inadequate as wives, Phaedra, Deianira, Alcestis, and Evadne still die within the orbit of marriage. We should accept that tragedy constantly disturbs the norm in the interest of the deviant, but at the same time we must be aware that under the deviant the norm is often silently present. So we have tried out two possible readings at once. One of them draws up a list of all the distortions that, in a system of values, can be applied to those values; the other lends an ear to the occasional dissenting voice in the unison of Greek *logoi* about women.

· *II* ·

The Pure Blood of Virgins

WITH the *jeunes filles en fleurs,* it is sacrifice and spilt blood that predominate. Because, even in the world of tragedy, they have less autonomy than wives, virgins do not kill themselves: they are killed.

Although I make this generalization, I do not forget that there is at least one virgin who is a striking exception—Antigone, of course, who was not content simply to kill herself, but killed herself in the manner of grieving wives, who hang themselves as a last resort. The difficulty is a real one, and it would be pointless to try to play it down. The least we can do is to undertake a detailed analysis of the conditions attending Antigone's death, which was a mixture of a very female suicide and something like a sacrifice outside the norm. Although he thought he had taken care not to engage his own personal responsibility and that of the state, Creon actually condemned Antigone to Hades, a young life offered as a victim to the gods below.[1] Buried alive, the daughter of Oedipus was doomed to die by suffocation, and in making a noose of her virgin's veil she brought on suffocation by other means. She gained twice, by contriving her own death, and by condemning Creon to the defilement that he wanted to avoid. But the significance of this hanging is not exhausted in the gesture by which Antigone, faithful to the logic of Sophoclean heroines, chose to die by her own will and so to change execution

into suicide. By killing herself in the manner of very feminine women, the girl found in her death a femininity that in her lifetime she had denied with all her being; she also found something like a marriage. I shall come back to that last point, but it is important, in the case of this exceptional death, to emphasize from the start that it was an exception, and to point up this strange rule in tragedy that virgins must die by execution.

For that is indeed the rule—or what passes for a rule in the world of tragedy: a sacrifice is made, usually with blood shed, and the victim is a young girl.

Sacrifices Fruitful for Thought

Consider the death of Iphigenia under the sacrificial knife, an exemplary death that none of the three great tragedians failed to recount, and more than once. The death of Iphigenia was a sacrifice, but the victim was a young girl and not an animal. Was this just a trivial detail? One might think so since, to describe Iphigenia's death, tragedy resorts naturally to the verbs *sphazō* and *thyō,* which as a rule signify throat-cutting and the sacrificial act. But there are passages in the plays that see this detail as an enormity and class Iphigenia's death as murder (*phonos*).[2]

The sacrifice of a virgin in the theater allows one to think the unthinkable, to question the normal from the standpoint of extreme abnormality, all the more freely since this abnormality is so flagrant. In an effort to conceal the murder lurking beneath the sacrifice, the religious procedure in Greek cities was to ensure that the animal's slaughter should be strictly stage-managed.[3] The practice of tragedy was to flout these pious precautions and, obedient to the myth, to deliver young girls to the slaughterer's knife. Then the unthinkable became a recital of events, for in these deaths of

virgins nothing was seen by the spectators and everything was entrusted to the power of words. It was a recital that was good to hear because theater is fiction.[4] Of course, in real life the city did not sacrifice its young girls, but during a performance it gave its inhabitants the double satisfaction of transgressing in imagination the taboo of *phonos* and of dreaming about virgins' blood.

There is much that could be said about this cathartic interplay of the imaginary, the forbidden, and the real; much too about the function of the theater, that stage set up by the city for the tangling and untangling of actions that anywhere else it would be dangerous or intolerable even to think about. It is not, however, tragedy's view of sacrifice that interests us now, but the set of procedures that, from Aeschylus to Euripides, attend the death of young girls. Since it is also a question of the significance of the figure of the *parthenos,* we shall ask what it is, from mythology to tragedy, that makes a virgin the appointed victim of a sacrifice that breaks the rules.

Iphigenia, Macaria, Polyxena, the daughters of Erechtheus, all these were virgins offered up to bloodthirsty Artemis, to the fearsome Persephone, or to the denizens of Hades, for the safety of the community; so that a war should start or, on the contrary, end; so that a decisive battle should take place and victory come to the side of those performing the sacrifice. Why, on all these occasions of *sphagia,* is it the *parthenoi* that merit the grisly honor of being delivered up to the killer's knife? First of all we should remember that, because she is ignorant of marriage and the works of Aphrodite, the young girl is assumed by the collective imagination to have connections with the world of war. Athena, virgin and warrior, comes to mind. But Athena is a goddess, while Iphigenia, Macaria, Polyxena, and the daughters of Erechtheus are mere mortals. It is the privilege

of the goddess to fight battles, while it is the fate of the mortals to be sacrificed. The virgins cannot fight alongside the men, but, in times of peril, their blood flows so that the community of *andres* may live.[5] Sometimes a band of "chosen" (*logades*) is near at hand to see that the sacrifice is correctly carried out, an élite of young warriors whose vocation for death is even more binding than that of other warriors. If defeat should occur, the "chosen" will fight to the last. But to ensure victory, the "chosen" will lead a chosen virgin to the sacrificial knife.[6]

If, therefore, men's blood is not to be spilt in vain, the blood of a virgin must flow. It must be virgin blood, or, as the sacrificers proclaim as they go about their work, "pure blood."[7] Nevertheless such logic, always situated in mythical times, belongs to the imaginary. Whatever liberties tragedy takes with actual social practices, no spectator would forget that, even when in peril, the city usually contented itself with sacrificing animals and that, considered by the ordinary standard of sacrificial systems, the immolation of a virgin was, to put it mildly, an anomaly. Is it to resolve this discrepancy between the real and the imaginary that tragedy, from Aeschylus to Euripides, inclines, through metaphor, to animalize the doomed virgins?

Heifer and Filly, Captured and Tamed

In the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, Iphigenia struggled "like a goat," and her father committed her to death "like a beast [*boton*] taken from a flock."[8] Euripides for his part twice compares her to a heifer (*moschos*), indeed a "heifer of the mountains come down virgin from a rocky cave."[9]

The goat was always sacrificed at the critical moment when the battle was starting, and it was no ordinary victim. With the heifer, the method of sacrifice would be more

correct if the victim were not defined as a mountain animal. Since the rules required that only a domestic animal could be sacrificed, it was clear that a mountain heifer was not in order. The mountains made wild things out of every creature that lived in them, and, unless one was a Hermes who knew how to juggle the rules like an artist,[10] the sacrifice of a mountain cow was not feasible. Comparing Iphigenia to an *oreia moschos* was a way of underlining the abnormality of all human sacrifice, "the savagery of the victim taking over from the savagery of the act."[11] Furthermore, the outcome of the tragedy confirms this analysis. When finally Artemis, or the poet, substitutes for the young girl a mountain hind to die under Calchas' knife, untamed nature has irreversibly made its way into the heart of the sacrifice.

When Polyxena is due for sacrifice by the Achaeans, she, like Iphigenia, is compared to a mountain heifer; and through this analogy her immolation is placed at the crossroads of the civilized and the savage. However, a simile may not be an adequate figure of speech for Polyxena. Perhaps because no displacement of her fate to another creature should be allowed to sweeten it, she is more readily thought of in terms of metaphor—she *is* the heifer of Hecuba, but she *is* also her "filly" (*pōlos*).[12] Let us consider this word a moment, if only to recall other very similar situations where it is also used to describe a young victim. A case in point is Creon's son, Menoeceus, a candidate for sacrifice and also identified with a colt (*Phoenissae* 947). But the same metaphor can be reversed in a context, such as historical writing, in which real events are more of a limiting factor. Then it is no longer the young girl who is a filly, but the filly who is a young girl. This is how Pelopidas took it when, bidden to sacrifice a "fair-haired virgin," he cleverly interpreted the oracle by immolating a chestnut filly (Plutarch, *Pelopidas* 20–22).

The horse is no more an ordinary sacrificial victim than are animals that are wild or have turned wild. It has its place in military sacrifices, a place certainly more ambiguous than the goat's. However, we shall concentrate on *pōlos* and on the special connotations of this word, which do not necessarily cover the whole field of images associated with the horse. As we ask ourselves what makes Polyxena or Menoeceus a *pōlos,* the emphasis shifts from a contrast between the wild and the tame to an opposition between what has, and what has not, already been tamed.[13] Polyxena is the untamed filly, Menoeceus the unbroken colt. These metaphors show not only that these people are suitable victims for an unorthodox sacrifice, but also that they are candidates for marriage. In brief, for them as for Iphigenia at Aulis, marriage and sacrifice closely interact. Waiting for the domestication of marriage, the young girl is readily compared to an unbroken mare or to a heifer that has not felt the yoke.[14] But the sacrificial victim must also, by definition, be untouched by the yoke, so it is natural—at least if we follow the metaphorical line of the text—that the *pōloi* and *moschoi* destined to have their throats cut will substitute sacrifice for marriage.[15]

However, we must not be mistaken: if for Iphigenia as well as for Polyxena marriage and sacrifice are inextricably joined, one should see in this more than a poet playing variations on a very important metaphor. Indeed, if the theme of sacrifice turns on animal metaphor, it is because, like the victim, the girl is a passive, docile creature, to be given and led away. More precisely, sacrifices in tragedy illuminate the customary ritual in marriage whereby the virgin passes from one *kyrios* (guardian) to another, from the father, who "gives her away," to the bridegroom, who "leads her off."[16] Hence the tragic irony of those funeral processions that ought to have been wedding processions—

those of Iphigenia and Polyxena, and also of Antigone.[17] They are weddings in reverse in that they lead toward a sacrificer, who is often the father,[18] and (as we shall see) toward the home of a bridegroom called Hades. There is a tragic irony, too, in the gesture of Achilles' son "taking the hand" of Polyxena to place her on the top of his father's funeral mound.[19] When the victim is a virgin, the sacrifice is tragically ironic in that it resembles, all too closely, a marriage.

Putting to Death as Marriage

If we are to cast light on this resemblance, we should not hastily attribute it to some general system by which Eros is invariably connected with Thanatos.[20] If we generalize too hastily and are satisfied with the "obviousness" of a few great universal laws, we run the risk of simply forgetting the language—the Greek language, but above all the language of tragedy—in which the equivalence of putting to death and marriage is expressed. So, instead of leaping to conclusions, we should once again move slowly through the wordplay of the tragic signifier.

One image stands out clearly at once—the virgins who are led to their deaths are brides for Hades. In the shared understandings of social life, death is a natural metaphor of marriage because, in the course of the wedding procession, the young girl renounces her self. Thus at Locris the bride was taken to be imitating Persephone, who was carried off by her bridegroom who came from the world below.[21] But it is a great advantage of fiction that it can reverse the normal order of discourse, as tragedy does when, in sending young girls to their death, it turns the metaphor round: virgins in tragedy leave for the abode of the dead just as they might their father's home for the home of their husband,[22]

and this can happen whether their unspecified destiny is to find "marriage in Hades" (Euripides, *Troades* 445) or to find it in union with Hades himself.

Marriage *in* Hades, union *with* Hades. At the heart of the sacrifice, or of being put to death, the tragic destiny of the *parthenoi* is played out against this background tension between "in" and "with." It is as though every virgin had to find her final fulfillment in marriage, and besides the two alternatives of a "weak" or a "strong" version of death as marriage,[23] there was, it seems, no third possibility. So Antigone, who died for putting a dead brother before life as a spouse, was confronted in death with a marriage, whether she was expected to "find a husband in Hades," as Creon put it, or was promised directly to the lord of the dead. Before dying she had given her husband in the underworld the name of Acheron, but in the messenger's speech it was Hades himself whom the young girl (*korē*) found "in her nuptial chamber carved from the rock."[24] So, dead in the arms of her betrothed Haemon, she is lost to him, but he will still kill himself to join her, driven by a frantic desire to wed her "in the house of Hades" (Sophocles, *Antigone,* 1240–41). Iphigenia, again, came to Aulis to marry the best of the Achaeans, and her husband would turn out to be "Hades and not Achilles."[25]

With Iphigenia, however, we meet more recondite figures of speech, fitting the deadly equation of nuptials and throat-cutting. We should particularly attend to Agamemnon's lament as he weeps in vain over the fate of his daughter, for what it expresses is perhaps more than a simple reference to Iphigenia's marriage in the underworld. At one point the king cries out: "As for the unhappy virgin—virgin [*parthenos*], did I say? It seems that Hades will marry her before long" (*Iphigenia in Aulis* 460–462). Are we to take this cry as nothing but a variation on the theme of marriage

with Hades? Or should we find meaning in Agamemnon's reticence and understand that in a sacrifice a virgin loses her virginity? By themselves, these two lines from *Iphigenia in Aulis* would not be enough to endorse that suggestion, but there are two other passages in Euripides in which a sacrificed virgin, without actually being declared the wife of Hades, is still considered to have lost her virginity. This happens to Polyxena, although she does not, in Euripides, become united with Achilles at her death.[26] It was Polyxena, formerly a *nymphē* fit for a king, who in her pride consented to offer up to Hades only her body (*demas*) and on no account her person. At the moment of death, she says only that she is going away "beneath the earth, without husband, without marriage." Yet after her immolation Polyxena will be described by her weeping mother as "a bride without husband, a virgin who is no longer a virgin" (*nymphē anymphos, parthenos aparthenos*).[27]

Of course, in the case of Polyxena, the commentator who is impatient with such an enigmatic phrase can get out of it by reading into Euripides' text the Hellenistic romance of Polyxena's marriage in death with Achilles. He will say that in death "the women-captives became their master's concubines"[28] and will think that he has solved the difficulty by promising the young Trojan woman to the Greek hero's shade. But the problem arises again in a more acute form with the virgin Macaria in the *Heraclidae*. Macaria was not offered in marriage to a hero, but sacrificed to Kore; she refused to be united with the husband of the death goddess, and for her, Hades was only the name of a place; she renounced marriage to save her people and the lives of her brothers. Macaria was the perfect *parthenos*. And yet, when she speaks of the glory arising from her choice and the funeral honors that will be hers, the virgin Macaria goes on to say that for her "this treasure will take the place of chil-

dren and virginity" (*anti paidōn . . . kai partheneias*).[29] It is awkward for translators and commentators alike. If a virgin is prepared to take glory in place of children she will never have, this may seem to be in the nature of things, since, in the translators' and commentators' view, a woman—and especially a Greek woman—could not expect to have everything. But how is fame supposed to "take the place" of virginity for that wise virgin Macaria? A naive question, and some dispose of it by giving *anti* (in place of) two very different meanings: when it applies to "the children," it introduces a precious possession replaced by glory, but in its application to "virginity," the idea of an incomplete condition that a *parthenos* would want to exchange as soon as possible for fulfillment in marriage. On this reading—at once psychologizing and *petit bourgeois*—funeral honors become a "compensation" for this forced virginity.[30] As none of this is very convincing, nor does it accord with the grave seriousness of Heracles' daughter, it would be satisfying if, with the help of our readings of *Iphigenia in Aulis* and *Hecuba,* we could find an answer that preserved the full force of the young girl's statement. There are indeed two precious possessions that the virgin offers up with her life, two possessions that she loses forever—the children she will never have, and the pure virginity that she is going to lose along with her life as the knife cuts her throat.

After a close reading of these texts one comes to the strange conclusion that a sacrificed virgin loses her *partheneia* (virginity) without winning a spouse. Like Iphigenia and like Polyxena, Macaria will never be a *gynē;* and yet they will not arrive in Hades as virgins. Neither woman nor virgin, but something between the two, like a *nymphē.* A *nymphē anymphos,* however, a bride without a husband. We must accept this oxymoron, applied earlier to Polyxena, as we try to understand the paradoxical image of

the immolated virgin, whose *partheneia* is taken from her at the very moment when she is being exalted for the purity she shares with an untamed heifer. Our thanks must go to Macaria. As she is promised to no Achilles or Hades, Heracles' daughter forces the reader toward a bolder, or at least a more exacting, interpretation of the text. So here are some suggestions. In a general way the death of a young person in Euripidean tragedy inevitably calls forth the idea of his or her nuptials.[31] So the sacrificed virgin, the bride of Hades, is simply one embodiment of the equivalence of death and marriage. There is also, however, in Euripides a language, obscurely addressing the obscure, in which the blood-stained death of *parthenoi* is considered as an anomalous and displaced way of transforming virginity into womanhood—as though a throat-cutting equaled a defloration.[32] Iphigenia, Polyxena, and Macaria, with their throats cut, were *parthenoi aparthenoi,* virgins and yet not virgins. Under this contradictory sign, the tragic virgins of Euripides take the step that satisfies at once the anger of the gods and the dreams of the spectators.

It will certainly be objected that in Euripides, at least, there is a young sacrificial victim who is a male. He is Haemon's brother, Menoeceus, whose sacrifice to the land of Thebes is demanded, in the *Phoenissae,* by the wrath of Ares. But in Menoeceus' death one should see a masculine, because Theban, version of the sacrifice of a virgin: in the masculine world of the autochthonous *Spartoi* (the "sown men"), what victim but a male could die for the fatherland?[33] It is certainly important that the victim should be a young man and not a *parthenos.* Wielding the weapon is a man's privilege, so—as opposed to the *parthenos,* who simply succumbs to the killer's knife—the son of Creon is his own sacrificer; and in this death there is no clear distinction between sacrifice and suicide, or between suicide and a fine

death in battle.[34] But it is the resemblance that is crucial rather than the difference. Menoeceus may sacrifice himself like a warrior, but it is because he is a virgin colt, still ignorant of marriage's domestication, that he is chosen as a sacrificial victim.[35] This is the moment to remind those interested in the anthropology of Greek marriage that this institution was the mark of maturity for men, too,[36] even though the transition is more marked for women. It is also, in particular, the moment to reflect on the law that makes virginity the only thing that can be fruitfully sacrificed, in order that human sacrifice, made grand by the language of tragedy, can become something fruitful for thought.

In this way Menoeceus, because he is ignorant of marriage, comes to take his place beside Iphigenia, Polyxena, and Macaria. Menoeceus acquits himself nobly, but it is still true that human sacrifice is a deviation and, when it comes to contemplating this deviation, the Greek imagination prefers to offer up a young girl to the knife. The *parthenos:* a passive and docile victim. Perhaps.

Virgin Liberty

Every animal sacrifice, to be effective, had to display the willingness of the victim.[37] A human sacrifice, even when imagined by a tragedian, could not fail to conform to this rule. The only exception would be a case in which the sacrifice was presented as pure murder, and the young girl was very far from consenting to her fate. This was the choice of Aeschylus in the *Agamemnon.*[38]

To be sure, the word *phonos* is not actually pronounced, but the virgin's immolation is clearly condemned as a defilement, impious and tainted, even before the text that describes Iphigenia being led to her fate has heaped up the charges against the father who has dared to sacrifice his

child. Even the girl's status as a virgin is considered an aggravating factor ("all this, even her virginal youth, she saw go for nothing!"). But the important point is that Aeschylus leaves no room for the victim's consent, which is what gives animal sacrifice its formal legality. No sooner is the signal given for Iphigenia's throat to be cut than violence reigns. She is seized, hoisted, and gagged so that her cries should not be heard.[39] She fights back, clings to the ground, and desperately refuses her consent to this sacrifice;[40] and Aeschylus is careful to emphasize the scandal of it all.[41]

With the exception of *Iphigenia in Tauris,* in which the heroine is haunted by the dreadful memory of the violence that was done to her in a very Aeschylean style, Euripides' approach to virgin sacrifice is altogether different. He accepts the imaginary portrayal of human sacrifice only in order to distort its significance. This is a clever way of rejecting the very act that he conscientiously describes in its preparation and its performance. Under the pretense that the rule of acquiescence is being respected, consent is turned into free choice, and a death to which the victim submits becomes a willing death, not to say a noble one. Everything is in its right place, but nothing has the same meaning.

Once again Agamemnon's daughter becomes an exemplar. In *Iphigenia in Aulis* she is fully willing to die (*hekousa,* 1555). Aeschylus' Iphigenia was brutally seized and "hoisted above the altar" (*hyperthe bōmou labein aerdēn*): with an animal victim, this was a normal practice of sacrifice, but Aeschylus saw in it only a flagrant sign of violence and duress.[42] *Aerdēn,* in the air. Wives in the *aiōra* of their hanging may have freely chosen to lift themselves into the air, but the young girl who was sacrificed did not for a moment want to leave the ground. Poor Iphigenia: Euripides in *Iphigenia in Tauris* will remember all this when

in the first lines of the play, in close imitation of Aeschylus' text, the daughter of Agamemnon describes the dreadful moment when, "in her misfortune seized and hoisted above the altar" (*hyper pyras metarsia lephtheisa*),[43] she was going to perish by the sword. Conversely, it is no great surprise that at the end of *Iphigenia in Aulis,* in which the liberty of the heroine would brook no constraint, even of ritual, this display of violence has disappeared. When, standing in front of her father, Iphigenia announces that she will freely surrender her body for immolation and bravely offers up her throat, by the same token she forbids the Argives to lay a finger on her—a way of refusing to be treated as a victim and "hoisted" in accordance with the ritual (*Iphigenia in Aulis* 1551–61). After this, attention is concentrated on the preparations for the immolation; on what Iphigenia was doing in these final moments (was she still proudly erect, or perhaps kneeling?) the text says no more, and the silence is eloquent. By contrast—and this is certainly not by chance—as soon as Calchas' sword has struck, the description becomes precise again—the mountain doe sacrificed in place of the young girl is stretched out on the ground with its blood spurting into the air (*ardēn*) to splash Artemis' altar.[44] With the animal victim, although it is an unorthodox one, the ritual of sacrifice resumes its course, while the *parthenos* has disappeared, leaving an unchanging image of her free choice.

However, the most complete example of this virginal refusal to be "seized and hoisted" is still Polyxena. The Greek army had expected her to fight back—a chosen band of Achaeans was given the task of controlling her desperate struggles.[45] A Trojan princess but the sister in misfortune of Iphigenia, like her immolated by the Greek army, Polyxena is able to stop the hand of the sacrificer, who is giving the signal to the chosen men to seize her (*labein*). Like

Iphigenia she proclaims her liberty, refuses to let anyone touch her, and declares that she will bare her throat courageously. From that moment, the narrative becomes more precise. Agamemnon (again!) orders the young men to let the *parthenos* go. Then the virgin Polyxena puts one knee on the ground and clings to the earth to die.[46] This bent knee is not to be taken as some barbarous oriental practice of prostration (*proskynēsis*), since Polyxena in claiming her liberty is worthy of being Greek. Still less should one think in terms of some gesture of entreaty.[47] Euripides' Polyxena, on her knees, is not begging, as she will be portrayed in later iconography, which indulges in the most sentimental interpretations of her attitude.[48] On the contrary, in that posture and the "speech of incomparable courage" that goes with it, one should see a serene acceptance of death, above all a refusal, expressed in action, to be treated as an inert body, "seized and hoisted" like Aeschylus' Iphigenia, or like the Polyxena whom, long before Euripides, the vase-painters often showed as hoisted and stretched above the altar.[49]

From the extreme constraint imposed on Aeschylus' Iphigenia (whom Euripides chose to carry away to Tauris) to the heroic liberty of Polyxena,[50] the distance is great, on a par with the reinterpretations that poets and changes of outlook have always brought to a tradition. Euripides prefers generally to grant the *parthenos* the courage and free choice that, in the untragic conditions of real life, were denied to the young Greek girl by society. Courage and decision were also the hallmarks of Macaria's character, together with her repeated affirmation of liberty. She too did not want to die at men's hands, but the text of the *Heraclidae,* strangely, refuses her the posthumous tribute of describing her death.[51]

Macaria, Polyxena, Iphigenia. They are freed from their fathers in the moment when their fathers condemn them to

immolation; they turn to their own use the freedom of choice that characterized the *kyrios,*[52] by taking over the sacrifice imposed on them and turning it into *their* death, a death that is fully their own.

Their deaths are fully their own, and claimed as such: some commentators promptly classify them as suicides.[53] In doing this they reduce the significance of the bold departure by which the sacrificial victim gains control over her own death. Does a voluntary sacrifice belong with suicide? It would be better to see in it a variant on the "fine death" that is accepted for country or for glory—a very peculiar variant, since the death is a virgin's. The very word *hekousa* ("of my own free will") used by the chosen *parthenoi* to express this unforced consent to sacrifice is very like the rhetorical formula (*ethelein apothnēiskein*) that expresses the acceptance of death by the citizen. For the noble death is not sought after, but accepted. Just as the Athenians or Spartans bow before a demand laid upon them by their city, so the virgins accept a destiny that they reclaim as their own.[54]

But of course nothing is that simple in Euripides, and in this subtle merging of sacrifice and noble death, suicide sometimes has a place. Take the case of the death of Erechtheus' daughters. In the *Ion,* except for Creusa, who was spared because of her youth (277–278), these *parthenoi* were *sphagia,* sacrificial victims whom their father "dared to immolate for the soil of Athens." There is every sign in the *Erechtheus* that only one of the girls was sacrificed, or rather that she died a noble death in the sacrifice. For the command given by Athena at the end of the play "to bury her exactly where [*houper*] she died" is identical to the privilege accorded by the Athenians to their fellow citizen Tellus, when they buried him "exactly where he had fallen"[55] for his country. Up to this point, everything seems clear. Too clear perhaps, for Athena goes on to order Praxithea, wife

of the king and mother of the young girl, to bury the victim's sisters in the same tomb, those sisters who in loyalty to their oath had killed themselves over the body of the slaughtered virgin. So it comes about that a common tomb—an honor usually reserved for warriors, "whose glory is evenly shared"—will house the bodies of virgins and, what is more, will reunite in death the sacrificial victim and the young suicides.[56] The goddess justifies these funeral honors by the nobility (*gennaiotēs*) shown by the sisters, and presents their suicide as a virginal form of heroic death. Thus sacrifice, suicide, and noble death exist side by side and overlap. But when one is dealing with a tragedy of Euripides, who would expect one unambiguous reading? The confusion of genres, institutions, and languages is very typical of Euripides in practice, whatever his "intentions" may have been—whether he was being ironical or not, whether he did or did not mean to expose to the judgment of the spectators these armies of men who find their salvation in the blood of virgins.[57]

The Glory of Young Girls

So, to the *parthenoi* a noble death and glory forever.

Death, for young girls and mature women alike, was bound up with marriage and glory, but there is no doubt that the renown of virgins resembled the *eukleia* (glory) of warriors more than the renown of wives did.

Glory indeed is essentially virile, and to Menoeceus, the "young colt" who died a soldier's death, the epithet "victorious" was given without question. But the *parthenos* Cassandra in Aeschylus was also victorious, in agreeing to a bloody death that would launch the cycle of murders and so avenge her fallen family.[58] The Antigone of Sophocles was glorious in her *hybris,* the only mortal to go down to the

land of the dead of her own free will (*autonomos*).[59] As for the sacrificed virgins, enough has been said to show that glory was bestowed on them without reserve. Macaria had glory, and Polyxena, and so did Iphigenia at Aulis, for whom the chorus women would sing a paean,[60] as though virile grandeur left the male side and moved to these girls whose virginity was taken with their lives. In her sudden resolve, which has astonished more than one commentator, the daughter of Agamemnon, the paradigmatic *parthenos*, won for herself and for her sisters in glorious misfortune an excellence (*aretē*) greater than that of Achilles.[61]

Thus, around the sacrifice of virgins, tragedy develops a reflection on the problematic condition of the *parthenos*. This reflection subverts the processes of marriage by looking at them through the prism of sacrificial rites and showing how little, in many respects, they are distorted by that; but it also creates, within the limits of an imaginative construction, a version of glory that is peculiarly virginal. As a goddess Artemis can well identify with her title *Eukleia*, for she is the "Glorious One." But what can be said about the glory of those mortal girls who die for it, except that it is stolen, as it were, from the warriors who will not die since virgin's blood has flowed on their behalf? Within the imaginary world of tragedy, there still remains an impossibility through which reality reclaims its rights: when young girls die, or when, as we have seen, wives die, there are no words available to denote the glory of a woman that do not belong to the language of male renown.[62]

And glory always makes the blood of women flow.[63]

· *III* ·

Regions of the Body

THERE are, after all, benefits to be had from the world of the imagination. The woman in tragedy is better served than the ordinary wife and the young girl, departed before their time, who appear in epitaphs—pale wraiths of discourse whose beauty is never mentioned. The woman in tragedy, in the interplay of glory and death, acquires a body. It is, to be sure, a body through which death will come to her—but, with the imaginary, the rule of the game is that what you win you instantly lose.

There is a body, then; but it is poorly known. An anthropological approach to tragedy is generally more concerned with institutional practices than with corporeal schemata, and it has not always paid enough attention to this topography of the body, which in tragedy, from Aeschylus to Euripides, is structured around the places of death. To end this study, I should like to try to draw up a list of those places through which death comes to women. It must come from a word-by-word study of the texts, for here, again, one has to back the precision of the signifier in tragedy. This precision is determinedly clinical: thus, contrary to what may be suggested by translators who are keener to transpose the texts than to leave them with the specific sense of the Greek, the "liver" in tragedy is indeed always the liver, and not something like the heart.[1] It is not trivial that when Deianira is pierced to the liver, death

Tauris 375–376. *Melathron* and the husband: Sappho, fr. 111 Campbell (with the translation of D. A. Campbell in *Greek Lyric,* Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1982).

51. Thus Admetus invites Alcestis to wait for him in Hades to "live with him there": Euripides, *Alcestis* 364. Furthermore, he at the same time expresses the normally feminine wish to lie at Alcestis' side (366, 897–902).

52. Aeschylus, *Choephoroe* 905–907, also 894–895 and 979 (Clytemnestra); *Agamemnon* 1441–47 (Cassandra, who indeed accepted this "dying with": *Agamemnon* 1139 and 1313–14).

53. I am alluding to the *Palinodia* by which the poet Stesichorus, after having like Homer "spoken ill" of Helen, substituted a phantom for the adulterous woman, which followed Paris to Troy. Meanwhile the real Helen, a model of virtue, spent the duration of the Trojan War in Egypt. Pledge to die: Euripides, *Helen* 837, a declaration echoed by Menelaus in 985–986.

54. Joint tomb: Euripides, *Suppliant Women* 1002–3; *synthanein:* 1007, 1040, 1063 (1071); union of bodies: 1019–21.

55. *Phoenissae* 1458–59 (*en toisi philtatois*); in 1578 she falls *amphi teknoisi* ("among" or "around" her sons).

56. I borrow this expression from an article by C. Nancy, "Euripide et le parti des femmes," in *La femme dans les sociétés antiques,* ed. E. Lévy (Strasbourg: Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg, 1983).

57. The best (*aristē, esthlē, philtatē*) of women: Euripides, *Alcestis* 83–85, 151–152, 200, 231, 235–236, 241–242, etc.; the last word: 391; death accepted: 17 (*thelein,* verb of the hoplite imperative; cf. 155); glorious death: 150 (see 157 and 453–454); boldness: 462, 623–624 and 741; nobility: 742, 994.

58. Virility, glory, and boldness: Euripides, *Suppliant Women* 987, 1013, 1014–16, 1055 (*kleinon*), 1059, 1067; the nuptial/funeral adornment of Evadne: 1055; beyond femininity: 1062–63; this side of virility: 1075. Other examples of feminine glory in Euripides: *Helen* 302, *Hecuba* 1282–83.

59. I have expanded on this in "La gloire et la mort d'une femme," *Sorcières,* 18 (1979), 51–57.

II. The Pure Blood of Virgins

1. *Antigone* 773, 780. On the similarities and differences between the killing of Antigone and that of the Vestal *incesta,* I refer to a study by Augusto Fraschetti, not yet published.

2. For *sphazō,* see chap. I, note 22. *Thyō* and its derivatives: Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 214–215, 224–225, 235–241, 1417; Sophocles, *Electra* 531–532, 572–573. *Phonos* and *phoneuō: Iphigenia in Aulis* 512, 939, and, above all, 1317–18; Clytemnestra in this play always describes the sacrifice of Iphigenia as an execution (*ktanō*). Note that in Aeschylus criticism is heard from every side, despite the use of the verb *thyō*—but the sacrifice will rebound against Agamemnon, "sacrificed" by Clytemnestra (*Agamemnon* 1503).

3. See the work of J.-L. Durand on the Bouphonia (especially "Le corps du délit," *Communications,* 26 [1977], 46–61); also, on the staging of sacrifice, the remarks of J.-P. Vernant, "Sacrifice et mise à mort dans la *thusia* grecque," in *Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité,* Entretiens de la Fondations Hardt, vol. 27 (Vandoeuvres-Geneva, 1981), 1–18 and 22.

4. Sacrifice was not *shown* to the spectators, but from the point of view of the *logos* it was submitted to no censure, and the messengers gave long and detailed accounts. One finds, at the level of discourse, what J.-L. Durand remarked about figurative representations, that "human sacrifice is pleasurable to contemplate if projected in imagination" ("Bêtes grecques," in *La cuisine du sacrifice,* p. 138). On human sacrifice as fiction, see also the remarks of A. Henrichs, "Human Sacrifice in Greek Religion: Three Case Studies," in *Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité,* pp. 195–235.

5. *Parthenos* and war: J.-P. Vernant, "City-State Warfare," in *Myth and Society in Ancient Greece* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), p. 24. Shedding the blood of one girl to save the community of *andres:* the reasoning is explicit in the fragment of Euripides' *Erechtheus,* quoted by Lycurgus (*Against Leocrates* 100.22–39); see Loraux, "Le lit, la guerre," pp. 42–43.

6. Euripides, *Hecuba* 525–527, 544: *lektoi t' Achaiōn ekkritoi neaniai, logades.* All the *parthenoi* sacrificed were not called Polycrites ("the much-chosen": cf. W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual,* Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1979, p. 73), but all were "chosen."

7. Euripides, *Hecuba* 537 (*akraiphnes haim'*), *Iphigenia in Aulis* 1574 (*achranton haima*). Although purity of blood is metonymic with purity of the virgin, Pausanias' account about the daughter of Aristodamus dispenses with this metonymy, and it is the virgin due for sacrifice who is called *achrantos,* pure (IV.9.4). *Chrainō:* touch, hence defile . . .

8. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 232 and 1414–16 (which in the logic of the *Oresteia* one should compare with the *Eumenides* 450: the cycle of

defilement is closed, since the blood from the severed throat of a young animal [*boton*] has been poured on Orestes).

9. Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 359, *Iphigenia in Aulis* 1080–83.

10. On the sacrifice by Hermes in the *Homeric Hymn* dedicated to that god, see L. Kahn, *Hermès passe* (Paris: François Maspéro, 1978), especially pp. 41–73.

11. Quoted from P. Vidal-Naquet, "Hunting and Sacrifice in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*," in *Tragedy and Myth in Ancient Greece*, pp. 150–165 (p. 153). A doe substituted for a young girl (*Iphigenia in Aulis* 1587–89 and 1593): the oldest version of the story (A. Henrichs, "Human Sacrifice," p. 199), going back to the *Cypria*, opposed by a more widespread version (Aeschylus, Pindar, Sophocles) in which the virgin was actually sacrificed. See F. Jouan, *Euripide et les légendes des Chants Cypriens* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1966), pp. 273–274.

12. Euripides, *Hecuba* 205–206 (comparison), 526 (metaphor; in the *Alexandra* of Lycophron, 327, Polyxena is *stephēphoros bous*, a heifer adorned with strips of cloth); 142: *pōlos*.

13. As Stella Georgoudi has pointed out to me, *pōlodamnein* describes the act of training a colt to make it a horse. There is no such verb in Greek as *hippodamnein*.

14. See V. Magnien, "Vocabulaire grec reflétant les rites du mariage," in *Mélanges Desrousseaux* (Paris: Hachette, 1937), pp. 293–297, and "Le mariage chez les grecs anciens," *L'Antiquité Classique*, 5 (1936), especially pp. 129–131; also C. Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles dans la Grèce archaïque*, I (Rome: Edizioni dell' Atenco e Bizzarri, 1977), 411–420, and M. Detienne, "Puissances du mariage," in *Dictionnaire des mythologies*, ed. Y. Bonnefoy, II (Paris: Flammarion, 1981), 67.

15. In *Iphigenia in Aulis* 1113, Agamemnon plays on a double meaning when he announces that the *moschoi* are ready for the prenuptial sacrifice of the *proteleia*.

16. The story of the daughter of Aristodamus (Pausanias IV.9.4–10) is enlightening. When he disputes that Aristodamus is still *kyrios* over his daughter, the betrothed of the young girl reminds him that, in the intermediate stage in which the *nymphē* finds herself, the passage from one *kyrios* to another is already complete. Aristodamus has "given" his daughter in marriage, so he cannot "give" her to be sacrificed. See on this subject P. Roussel, "Le role d'Achille dans *l'Iphigénie à Aulis*," *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, 28 (1915), especially p. 249, and "Le thème du sacrifice volontaire dans la tragédie d'Euripide," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 1 (1922), especially pp. 234–235; also the observations of J. Redfield, "Notes on the Greek Wedding," *Arethusa*, 15 (1982), 181–201 (p. 187).

17. If, in the middle voice, *agomai* means (for the man) "to take" a wife and marry her, the passive form *agomai* is appropriate to the young girl in that it means "to be led away," referring to the victim (*agō* in sacrificial language: Porphyry, *De abstinentia* II.28.1). Ambiguity in tragedy of the verb *agein: Iphigenia in Aulis* 434, 714 (and passim, so much is it the principal characteristic of Iphigenia to be "led"); *Hecuba* 43–44, 222–223, 369, 432 (Polyxena). See also Sophocles, *Antigone* 773, 885 (and 811, 916) and the "leading" of Alcestis by Thanatos (Euripides, *Alcestis* 259).

18. In the *Agamemnon*, the father is the sacrificer (209–211, 224–225) even though at the supreme moment the sacrificers are increased in number (240–241). In *Iphigenia in Aulis* he is relieved at the last moment by Calchas: see Jouan, *Euripide*, pp. 277 and 288, and note in *Iphigenia in Aulis* (Belles Lettres, Paris: Collections des Universités de France, 1983), pp. 26–27 (with bibliographical references on the debate about the authenticity of this passage). On the literary theme of the sacrificing father, see E. Pellizer, *Favole d'identità, favole di paura* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1982), pp. 102–103.

19. *Hecuba* 523 (same gesture on the hydria of Berlin 1902). One will remember with C. Leduc that *engyē* was originally a palmful or "pledge in the hand" ("Réflexions sur le système matrimonial athénien à l'époque de la cité-état," in *La Dot. La valeur des femmes*, Toulouse: Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1982, p. 13).

20. On this question see W. Burkert, *Homo necans: The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 58–67, as well as the discussion between J. Rudhardt, A. Henrichs, G. Piccaluga, and W. Burkert in *Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité*, pp. 236–238.

21. See L. Kahn and N. Loraux, "Mythes de la mort," in *Dictionnaire des mythologies*, II, 121–124. Similarities between the marriage and the funeral ceremonies: Redfield, "Notes," pp. 188–191.

22. It is, as far as I can see, tragedy that brings about this reversal. The theme of marriage in Hades will be taken up in epitaphs from the Hellenistic period onward, and in many epigrams in the *Palatine Anthology*, but if we exclude the famous and difficult epitaph of Phrasikleia (Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften*, no. 68), the funerary poetry of the archaic and classical periods does not associate this theme with the death of young girls.

23. As they refuse marriage, the Danaids prefer the rope to male contact and the dominance of Hades to that of a husband (Aeschylus, *Supplices* 787–791). However, while the Danaids pretend not to know it, the spectator for his part knows that, in exchanging one master for another, they will simply substitute a "husband" for a husband.

24. Marriage in Hades: *Antigone* 653–654; marriage with Acheron: 810–816; *lithostrōton korēs nympheion Haidou:* 1204–5; see also 568, 575, 796–797, 804 (*thalamos*), 891–892 (*tymbos, nympheion*). On Antigone-Kore, see the remarks of C. P. Segal, *Tragedy and Civilization* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 152–206.

25. Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 369. See also *Iphigenia in Aulis* 461, 540, 1278; the linking of marriage with sacrifice, already noticeable in *Iphigenia in Tauris* (216, 364–371: *haimatērōn gamōn,* 818–819, 856–861), dominates *Iphigenia in Aulis* throughout. See, for example, H. P. Foley, "Marriage and Sacrifice in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis,*" *Arethusa,* 15 (1982), 159–180.

26. From Lycophron (*Alexandra* 323) to Seneca and beyond, the theme of Polyxena's death as "nuptial sacrifice" is Hellenistic and Roman (A. Fontinoy, "Le sacrifice nuptial de Polyxène," *L'Antiquité Classique,* 19 [1950], 383–396).

27. Euripides, *Hecuba* 352–353 (*nymphē*), 368 (*Hades*), 414–416, and, above all, 611–612.

28. L. Méridier, commenting on line 612 (Belles Lettres edition).

29. Macaria sacrificed to Kore: Euripides, *Heraclidae* 409–410, 490, 601; Hades: 514; the moment of marriage against her brothers' lives: 579–580; death for her *genos:* 590; children and *partheneia:* 591–592.

30. L. Méridier, commenting on line 592 (Belles Lettres). See also the translation by P. Vellacott, *Ironic Drama* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 191 ("for babes unborn, maidenhead unfulfilled"). One would prefer Marie Delcourt's translation (Gallimard, "La Pléiade"): "trésor qui me tient lieu d'enfants, de ma virginité offerte."

31. This theme appears even in the case of male infants: Euripides, *Hercules Furens* 481–484 (Megara offering her sons the Keres as wives), *Troades* 1218–20 (funerary/nuptial adornment of Astyanax).

32. This supposes a certain treatment of the female body, in which the throat is imbued with sexual values. I shall return to this, p. 61.

33. One *gēgenes* for another. In autochthonous language this is expressed *anti karpou karpon* (a fruit in place of a fruit: Euripides, *Phoenissae* 931–941). Note that, being Spartos by his father and mother (994–996),

Menoeceus is, as it were, born of the fatherland (996). In Spartan language there is no mother other than the land of their fathers (again mentioned 913, 918, 947–948, 969, 1056).

34. *Phoenissae* 1009 (standing up, *stas,* like a hoplite)–1012 ("I will free my land"), and 1090–92.

35. *Phoenissae* 942–948, commented on by Roussel, "Le rôle d'Achille," p. 243.

36. To qualify J.-P. Vernant's phrase, which maintains that "marriage to a girl is what war is to a boy" ("La guerre des cités," p. 38), see the remarks of P. Schmitt-Pantel, "Histoire de tyran," in *Les marginaux et les exclus dans l'histoire,* ed. B. Vincent (Paris: Union Générale d'Editions, 1979), pp. 217–231, especially 226–227.

37. If we are to believe Plutarch (*Quaestiones conviviales* VIII.8.3), a special order from Delphi was required for men to start sacrificing animals, "and now one never cuts the throat of an animal before it has bowed its head under a libation of pure water and has by this sign consented to the fate planned for it." See, for example, Roussel, "Le thème du sacrifice volontaire," and W. Burkert, "Greek Tragedy and Sacrificial Ritual," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies,* 7 (1966), especially pp. 106–107.

38. This choice reinforces the decision to make Iphigenia actually die. Cf. A. Henrichs, "Human Sacrifice," p. 199.

39. Whereas a silence of good omen should accompany a sacrifice, and in contrast *euphēmia* surrounds the sacrifice in *Iphigenia in Aulis:* 1467–69, 1560, 1564 (see also *Hecuba* 530 and 532–533: the sacrifice of Polyxena).

40. Defilement, impurity, impiety: Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 209, 220; virginal age: 228–230; violence: 232–240.

41. Another young girl in Aeschylus, Cassandra, refuses to regard her murder as a sacrifice. She knows that the block awaits her in the guise of an altar (*Agamemnon* 1277). She wants to be courageous (1290) but refuses to let the chorus regularize her situation by comparing her to a heifer, impelled by the gods as she marches bravely to the altar (1297–98 and 1299–1303).

42. *Agamemnon* 232–235. On Iphigenia looking for a refuge in the ground, see the remarks of J. Bollack, *L'Agamemnon d'Eschyle* (Lille and Paris: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1981), I/2, pp. 295–298. It is not necessary to suppose, like Jouan (*Euripide,* p. 271, n. 5), that Aeschylus was here following the representation of Polyxena's sacrifice on a Tyrrhenian amphora in London. It is in fact probable that the painter and the poet,

each in his own language, followed sacrificial practice for a human victim, which consisted in "hoisting" (*aeirō, airesthai*) the victim. See Stengel, *Opferbraüche,* pp. 105–112, and Casabona, *Vocabulaire,* p. 162. *Aerdēn* (or *ardēn*) is an adverb derived from *aeirō.* If one agrees with Redfield ("Notes," pp. 191–192 and 198, n. 5) that hoisting the bride off the ground at the wedding amounted to dramatizing her inevitable refusal to acquiesce, one might perhaps uncover in Aeschylus' text yet another link between sacrifice and marriage. In any case, as the violence is in no way feigned, only the sacrificial interpretation seems to be relevant here.

43. *Iphigenia in Tauris* 26–27. Here is a word-for-word "quotation" from Aeschylus (*metarsia,* an adjective derived from *aeirō,* harking back to *aerdēn*). On this problem, see R. Aelion, *Euripide héritier d'Eschyle* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1983) I, 106–107 and II, 117.

44. *Iphigenia in Aulis* 1587 and 1589 (*ardēn*). Jouan's translation ("son sang ruisselait à flots sur l'autel de la déesse") does not give the word *ardēn* its topical meaning.

45. *Hecuba* 525–527. The "chosen" Achaeans (the élite of the young warriors) have "to hold back with their arms the leaps [*skirtēma*] of the young heifer" Polyxena. In fact *skirtaō* is used of young animals, *pōloi* or goats (Theocritus I.152).

46. *Hecuba* 545, 548–550, 554, 561. A passage in the *Ajax* clearly indicates that in kneeling down, whether one is a suppliant or not, the essential thing is to cling to the ground (1180–81).

47. On the contrary, in a depiction inside a vase, the bent knee of Cassandra is imploring as Clytemnestra raises her ax on her (cf. N. Alfieri, P. E. Arias, and M. Hirmer, *Spina,* Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 1958, p. 59 and pl. 99: ca. 430 B.C.). Was this a barbarian gesture? Or a gesture of distress? Or both at the same time, as in Aeschylus, *Persae* 929–930?

48. See *Planudean Anthology* IV.150 (description of a Polyxena on her knees "begging for her life"). Similarly, in Lucretius there is a suppliant Iphigenia (Iphianassa) who bends her knee before being "hoisted up by men's hands and led to the altar" (*De rerum natura* I.92 and 95).

49. Besides the Tyrrhenian amphora in London (97-7-272), one should mention the one in Berlin (4841).

50. In the description of Polyxena, Euripides reverses some of the traits of Aeschylus' Iphigenia (cf. J. Schmitt, *Freiwilligen Opfertod bei Euripides,* Giessen, 1921, pp. 57–58).

51. Macaria's freedom (501–502, 528–529, 550, 559) comes through her refusal to put her decision at the mercy of drawing lots. Refusal to die at the hands of males: 560–561, 565–566. On 821–822 and the reasons for

the silence observed on the killing (voluntary censorship or later reworking), I shall not express a view.

52. The difference can be measured by making a comparison with the story of Aristodamus' daughter (Pausanias IV.9.4 and 6), in which it is the father who must give his daughter away with his full approval (*hekousios, hekōn*). In *Iphigenia in Aulis,* it is Agamemnon who acts in spite of himself, *akōn* (1157).

53. For example, Katsouris, "Suicide Motive," n. 9 and pp. 16 and 21.

54. On the noble death, as opposed to suicide, see Loraux, *The Invention of Athens,* pp. 99–100, and "La belle mort spartiate," p. 108.

55. Erechtheus, fr. 65 Austin, 67, which can be compared with Herodotus I.30 (Tellus of Athens).

56. Erechtheus, fr. 65 Austin, 68–70. The common tomb and shared glory were the special reward of the *andres* for Praxithea: Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates* 100.32–33. Tragic irony . . .

57. See Nancy, "Euripide et le parti des femmes," pp. 85–88, and Vellacott, *Ironic Drama,* pp. 178–204.

58. Menoeceus dies standing up (*Phoenissae* 1009, 1091), like a warrior (1001–2). He wins the admiration of the chorus for his victory (1054–57: *kallinika;* cf. 1314: *onoma gennaion*). In the *Troades,* Cassandra anticipates his victorious arrival (*nikēphoros:* 460) among the dead. On the *tolma* and *eukleia* of Cassandra, see also Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 1302, 1304.

59. Sophocles, *Antigone* 817–822 (*autonomos;* see also 502–504, 694–695); but this glory is ambiguous, as the young girl guesses: 836–839 and 853.

60. Macaria: *Heraclidae,* especially 533–534, 627–628 (the death of the *agathoi,* topical description of martial death). Polyxena: *Hecuba,* especially 348, 380–381, and 592 (nobility). Iphigenia: compare *Iphigenia in Aulis* 1252 (refusal of the noble death) and 1374–75 (*eukleōs*), 1398 (memory), 1423–24 (nobility), 1504 (immortal glory). The paean of Artemis is sung by the chorus for Iphigenia, and by women for a virgin (and yet the paean is usually masculine: Calame, *Les choeurs de jeunes filles,* I, 148–149).

61. On this subject see the remarks of G. B. Walsh, *Classical Philology,* 69 (1974), 241–248. *Aretē* for Iphigenia and, consequently, *aidōs,* a feminine virtue, for Achilles.

62. During a reading of this text, Ileana Chirassi-Colombo drew my attention to a passage of the *Metamorphoses* (XIII.692–699) in which Ovid draws a most radical consequence from this law, changing the bod-

ies of Orion's daughters, who killed themselves for their country, into *juvenes*. But the metamorphosis is foreign to the logic of tragedy, which prefers to stick to the resources of discourse.

63. If tragedy is feminist, it is so in the style of those feminists mentioned by P. Darmon, who "revive the feminine gender in a bath of blood" (*Mythologie de la femme dans l'ancienne France,* Paris: Le Seuil, 1983, p. 59).

III. Regions of the Body

1. For example, consider Mazon's translation (Belles Lettres) of 271–272 of the *Choephoroe,* where "the warm liver" becomes "the blood of my heart," for reasons that Mazon details clearly in a note where the issue is well laid out—between transposition and a "literal" translation, which latter can be indicated only at the foot of the page. On these questions, see also the remarks of Mazon's disciple, J. Dumortier, in the introduction to his work, *Le vocabulaire médical d'Eschyle et les écrits hippocratiques* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1935).

2. For example, *Helen* 354 and *Hippolytus* 781.

3. See Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique,* s.v. *auchēn* and *derē.* Throat of Aphrodite; *Iliad* III.39 (and *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 88); throat of the loved girl: Sappho, fr. 216 Page, 16; neck of Medea: Euripides, *Medea* 30–31; mourning: Euripides, *Electra* 146–147.

4. On *sphazō* as the word for throat-cutting, on the equivalence of *sphazō* and *deirotomeō* (slice the throat), and on *sphagē* as a word for the throat, see Casabona, *Vocabulaire,* pp. 155–156 and 175.

5. *Iphigenia in Tauris* 853–854 (cf. 1460); *Iphigenia in Aulis* 1430 (and 1516, 1560, 1574); *Hecuba* 151–153. Of course, the immolation of a man, if it took place, would also be carried out at the throat; *Hercules Furens* 319–320 (but it so happens that this type of immolation never in fact took place).

6. *Derē* and the knife on the throat: for example, *Orestes* 1194, 1349, 1575; *laimos* and the act of sacrifice: *Heraclidae* 822, *Phoenissae* 1421, *Iphigenia in Aulis* 1579. *Laimos* is also Polyxena's throat when she is considered as a sacrificial victim (*Hecuba* 565; in 567, Neoptolemus cuts the "breath passage"). *Laimotomos* (*laimotmētos*) characterizes the Gorgon, with her throat cut: *Ion* 1054, *Electra* 549, *Phoenissae* 455.

7. Euripides, *Orestes* 1471–73, with the note of Chapouthier (Belles Lettres) and that of Delcourt (Gallimard, "La Pléiade"). On the significance of the gesture that bends the victim's neck upward or downward, see Stengel, *Opferbraüche,* pp. 113–125.

8. Euripides, *Electra* 1223, also 485 (in 1222 Orestes uses the "sacrificial" verb *katarkhomai,* and in 1228 Clytemnestra's wound is described as *sphagas*). Already in Aeschylus Clytemnestra was struck in the throat: *Eumenides* 592 (*pros derēn temōn*), also *Choephoroe* 883–884 (*auchēn*).

9. See *Helen* 355–356 (in Helen's plans for suicide, *laimotomon sphagas* is the alternative to hanging).

10. Even Aegisthus, whose death in Euripides is involved in the sacrifice on which he had embarked, was not struck in the throat, but in the vertebrae, by Orestes, who smashed his back (*Electra* 841–842).

11. *Tropōn tōn autōn: Choephoroe* 274; the ax blow full on the brow: Sophocles, *Electra* 95–99 and 195.

12. The neck, weak point: *Iliad* XXII.321–327 (death of Hector), also VIII.325–326 and XXIII.821; warriors with their throats sliced: XIII.202, XVII.49, XXI.555 (*deirotomeō*). See also Hesiod, *The Shield* 418 (Cycnus killed in the neck). In Homer, C. Daremberg (*La médecine dans Homère,* Paris: Didier, 1865, pp. 14–15 and 38) counts six wounds in the throat and sixty-two in the neck. The purely functional reasons advanced by M. D. Grmek (*Les maladies à l'aube de la civilisation occidentale,* Paris: Payot, 1983, p. 55) are probably inadequate to explain the recurrence of such a wound in the epic.

13. *Phoenissae* 1288–92; civil war (*stasis*) and *sphagē:* see M. Detienne and J. Svenbro, "Les loups au festin ou la cité impossible," in *La cuisine du sacrifice,* p. 231.

14. Euripides, *Medea* 30, *Iphigenia in Aulis* 875. One can appreciate the difference from the *Iliad,* where the neck, seen as white and tender at the moment the steel cuts, is the man's neck, because only the warrior's body is eroticized. See Vermeule, *Aspects of Death,* pp. 101–105.

15. All these places of death are taken from one book, i.e., IV.457–531. On the essential vulnerability of the man's body in Homer, see Vermeule, *Aspects of Death,* pp. 96–97.

16. The protected side: Euripides, *Troades* 1137, *Heraclidae* 824; the wounded side: Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes* 624 and especially 888–890 (description by the chorus of the death of the sons of Oedipus by the left side—the unusual, sinister side—*di' eyōnymōn tetymmenoi . . . homosplanchnōn te pleurōmatōn,* a passage parodied by Euripides in *Phoenissae* 1288–92).

Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman

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