tional body of iconography to be referred to in the plays and even enacted on stage.

The heart of the study lies in Chapters 3 through 9, where I examine "marriage to death" as presented in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, Sophokles' *Antigone* and *Trachiniae*, and Euripides' *Alkestis*, *Medea*, *Supplices*, *Helen*, and *Troades*.[25] In the course of dealing with these plays, I also discuss passages from other tragedies that make use of similar motifs or illustrate comparable thematic patterns. In the Conclusion, I summarize the ways in which the conflation of marriage and death enriches our interpretation of tragedy in its political and social context. A series of Appendices follows, dealing with issues that would swamp the text or further burden the notes.

On the occasions when I seem to stray from "marriage to death," from weddings and funerals, I ask the reader's forbearance. My observations ultimately spring from these odd bedfellows, but they are not limited to them. It is hardly surprising that the confluence of two such opposed aspects of ritual and emotional life should serve dramatic ends beyond themselves, a fact that becomes increasingly evident in the last third of the fifth century when immediate political concerns impinged with ever greater force on the tragic stage. In analyzing specific works, however, I try to avoid the "thematizing" trap pointed out by Richard Levin, whereby plays cease to be primarily dramatizations of actions but become instead explorations of a thematic idea that the characters and actions subserve. Levin locates this critical tendency in the fact that "most thematists are much more interested in the intellectual theme they derive from a play than in its emotional effect."[26]

Leaning in the opposite direction, I attempt to link the emotional effects of marriages and deaths to *other* issues raised by the tragedies, following as far as possible the path of the play itself. Only a critical naif would think such a trail clearly marked and without its detours and dead ends. However, we can keep from heading completely in the wrong direction by recalling that tragedy was a genre whose telos was production in the theater, and by checking our observations accordingly. The fact that such considerations—from the pragmatics of staging to the ever-changing commerce between actors and audience in performance—barely surface in the discussion of ritual perversion in tragedy, is not the least of my reasons for exploring these "marriages to death."[27]

Chapter 1

FIFTH-CENTURY MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL RITES

TO UNDERSTAND the paradox of "marriage to death" in Greek tragedy, we must familiarize ourselves with the events that constituted a fifth-century wedding and funeral. There is general agreement on the practice, if not the significance, of the two rituals, and several comprehensive studies gather the primary sources.[1] Drawing on these works, and with the help of visual material, primarily vase paintings, I propose a narrative reconstruction of a generic Athenian wedding and funeral.

A marriage was constituted by the acts of ἐγγύη (*enguē*), ἔκδοσις (*ekdosis*), and γάμος (*gamos*), although we should not think of this triad as rigidly defined steps in a clear-cut legal process.[2] We must walk a tightrope in translating the Greek words, which seem to have meant both more and less than their English equivalents. The first term, *enguē* ("pledge"), refers to what we would call the "betrothal," arranged by the κύριοι (*kurioi*, legal guardians, usually the fathers) of the prospective couple, or between the *kurios* of the bride and the groom himself if the latter had reached his majority (age 18).[3] As the bride was not a legal agent, her presence was unnecessary at the *enguē*. One of the arrangements settled there was the dowry—"the property which goes with a woman when she is married"[4]—paid by the *kurios* of the bride to the groom (or his family). If marital relations terminated in the future, this sum would accompany the woman who returned to her former *kurios* (father, male relative of her father, or her father's heir).[5] In other words, the dowry was designed to provide the wife with some protection if her husband abandoned or divorced her, because he was required by law to return the dowry or pay 18 percent annual interest on the value. Although the *enguē* could be conducted when one or both of the future couple were children, it more likely took place closer to the actual "wedding," designated by the other two terms in the triad, *ekdosis* and *gamos*.

Our information regarding the *enguē* comes primarily from fifth- and fourth-century orators and speech writers in the context of law-court cases, but we do catch glimpses of the "betrothal" in Euripides. In *Orestes*, the protagonist acts as his sister's *kurios* and promises

Elektra to Pylades (*katēnguēs'* 1079); in the bizarre reversal at the end of the play, Menelaus in turn "pledges" (*katēnguō* 1675) his daughter Hermione to be Orestes' bride. As Antigone's *kurios* in *Phoenissae*, Eteokles arranges for her wedding to Haimon (*ekhenguan* 759) by settling affairs with Kreon, who acts as Haimon's *kurios*. Otherwise, the subject does not appear in extant drama until Menander.[6] There is but one identifiable representation of the *enguē* in the art of the period—perhaps the subject failed to engage the interest of those on the market for painted pottery.[7]

The aspect of the Greek wedding that did inspire the artistic imagination (and the commemorative desires of the engaged parties) was the *ekdosis*, or "giving away" of the bride. The term implies not so much a final parting as a "loaning out" of the bride by her father or guardian to the bride's husband, for the purpose of making and keeping a household (*oikos*).[8] The duties facing the new wife included bearing children (above all providing a male heir or heirs) and raising and caring for them. She also performed ritual functions reserved for women, in particular those involving the weddings and funerals of family members. The primary purpose of marriage, then, was to recreate the *oikos* under control of the husband, to guarantee the continuity of family property (land, house, and retainers) by providing heirs, and to secure the continued religious observances owed to its dead members.[9]

The *ekdosis* is best understood not as a single moment, but rather as the process by which the bride was transferred from her parents' (or guardians') home to that of her husband. Preceding this change of domicile, a series of preparatory events took place—some with formal names and prescribed actions, others characterized by ongoing activity—most of which focused on the bride. Scenes on domestic vases, including *pyxides* (cosmetic and perfume jars) and *epinetra* (thigh guards for sewing), depict women carding, spinning, weaving, or sewing, in contexts that suggest they are readying the bridal trousseau or otherwise preparing for a wedding (figure 1a).[10] At an unspecified time on or before the wedding day, various "preliminary sacrifices," προτέλεια (*proteleia*), were offered independently by the two families "whose corporate identities were thereby reaffirmed at the moment they were to be rent by the separation of one member."[11] In some locales the bride marked her passage from childhood to maturity by dedicating a lock of hair and/or childhood toys at the shrine of the Nymphs. The horde of pottery fragments and terracotta figurines found at the shrine of Νύμφη (*Numphē*) indicates a similar practice in Athens. Offerings and sacrifices were made to other divinities—Aphrodite, Hera, Athena, the Eumenides, Ouranos and

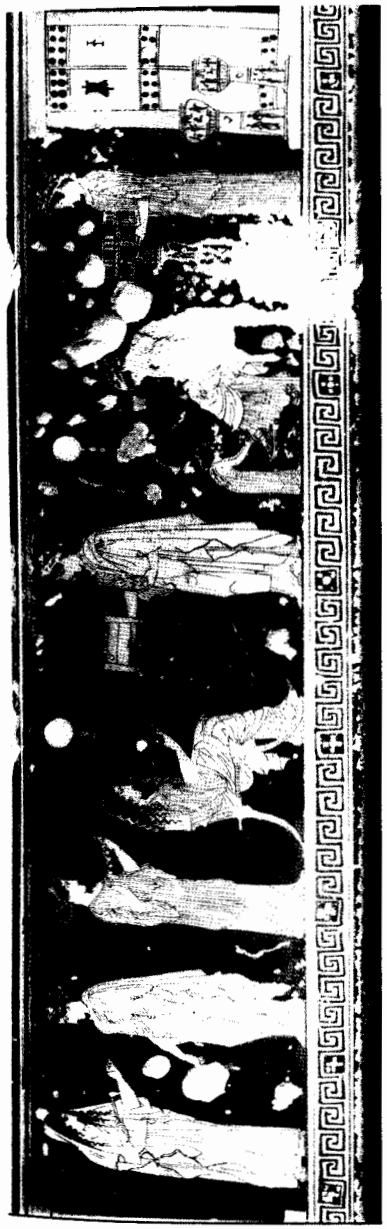

Figure 1a. Wedding preparations (ARF pyxis, Eretria Painter). The bride-to-be is represented serially—spinning at the left, seated underneath a mirror (women bring her a box and jewelry), and assisted by a young girl and attendant on the right. Note the loutrophoros with myrtle sprigs, and the two lebetes gamikoi by the door. One depicts a wedding procession, with a groom leading his bride and a figure holding nuptial torches.

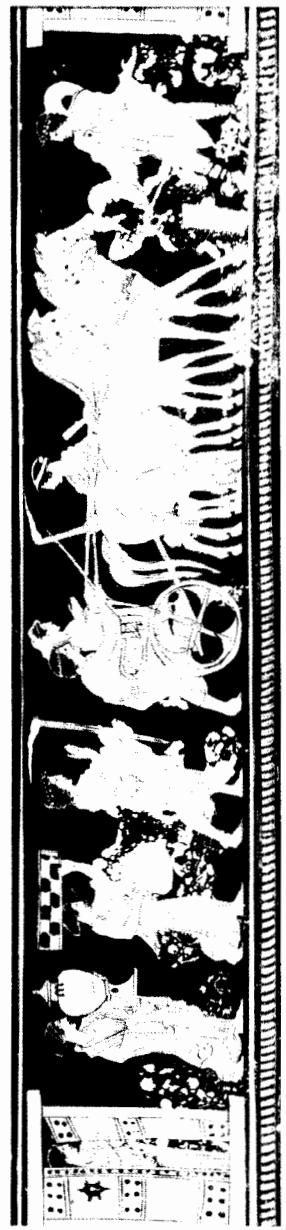

Figure 1b. Wedding procession via chariot (ARF pyxis, Marlay Painter). The groom mounts a chariot beside his veiled bride and drives off to their new home (shown at the right). Others join the procession, carrying vases, gifts, and torches. At the doorway on the left, the bride's mother bids farewell to her daughter.

Ge (the primal couple, sky and earth), the Tritopatores—but particularly to Artemis, who was associated (variously) with menstruation, virginity, and childbirth.[12]

On the wedding day, the bride and groom (separately) were given a ritual bath with water brought from the *Kallirroë* spring.[13] The special vessel used for this purpose came to be known as a λουτροφόρος (loutrophoros), although technically the word means "someone who carries the bathwater." During these various activities, the bride was assisted by a νυμφεύτρια (*numpheutria*), the "bride helper"—possibly her mother, or a sister or other female relative—who helped adorn her for the wedding night, a common scene on red-figure vases (figures 2, 3). At the banquet held at her family's home, the bride appeared "veiled"—a stricture that may mean that her head was covered rather than her face. Both bride and groom dressed distinctively, wearing a crown or garland, στέφανος or στεφάνη (*stephanos, stephanē*), and other adornments to mark the occasion.[14] The unveiling of the bride, the ἀνακαλυπτήρια (*anakaluptēria*), may have taken place during this feast, but more likely it followed the arrival of the couple at the marriage chamber, or θάλαμος (*thalamos*), in their new home.[15] Music and dancing played an important part in the festivities, and perhaps during the evening friends and family called the bride and groom "blessed" for the first time.[16] This ritual blessing, μακαρισμός (*makarismos*), may have been a regular feature of the ὑμέναιοι (*hymenaioi*), the wedding songs that were sung at the banquet and during the subsequent procession.[17]

The actual transfer of the bride—often referred to as ἐξαγωγή (*exagōgē*), "leading out" of the father's house, or εἰσαγωγή (*eisagōgē*), "leading in" to the groom's[18]—took place at night, after the bridal banquet. Unlike a Christian or Jewish ceremony, there was no formal exchange of vows, nor was the transition marked by liturgy officiated by priests or priestesses, who played no part in Greek wedding or funeral rituals. Having prepared for departure, the groom took the bride by the wrist (the gesture "hand on wrist," χεῖρα ἐπὶ καρπῶι (*cheira epi karpōi*), henceforth abbreviated XEK) and led her to her new home (figures 2, 3). If economic and other circumstances allowed, the journey itself could be made by horse- or mule-cart. This form of transferal was a popular motif on black-figure vases (figure 4), although almost always with the heroic substitution of a chariot for a cart (figures 1b, 5), suggesting (as often) the difference between the real event and its artistic depiction.[19] The procession included torchbearers (particularly the bride's mother) and other friends and family who played music and sang more wedding songs.[20]

The couple were met at the threshold of their new home by the

Figure 2. Wedding procession on foot (ARF loutrophoros, Painter of London 1923). With a demure glance the groom takes his bride by the wrist (the XEK gesture). Framing the couple are female attendants who adjust the bride's veil and carry the marriage torch. The wedding wreath between the pair symbolizes their new union. Because a loutrophoros was used for the nuptial bath, the vase-shape itself evokes and commemorates the wedding.

Figure 3. Wedding procession on foot (ARF pyxis, Wedding Painter). The groom leads the bride by the wrist (the XEK gesture), while a woman adjusts her cloak. In contrast to the previous illustration—where the composition conveys an almost portraitlike feeling—this scene emphasizes the transferal (ἐξαγωγή, or "leading out") of the bride. Note the extended arms of the couple, the groom's twisted body and raised foot, and the door of the bride's former home at the left.

groom's parents; and the groom's mother, holding the wedding torch, led the newlyweds inside (fig 6).[21] Bride and groom were seated near the hearth where dried fruit, nuts, sweetmeats, and/or seeds were poured over their heads in the καταχύσματα (*katachusmata*), a rite to guarantee the future prosperity and fertility of the union, performed not long before the couple withdrew to bed.[22] A good illustration of the preliminaries of this rite is found on the white-ground pyxis from Eretria (*ARV*² 899.146), in which the groom leads the veiled bride XEK toward the altar/hearth, preceded by an aulos player and the groom's mother holding two torches. On the other side of the hearth, the goddess Hestia holds a fig in her hand, symbolizing the *katachusmata*.[23]

As part of this rite of incorporation, the bride then ate a quince or apple, and she may have been fed wedding cake made of sesame seeds and honey.[24] Various interpretations have been offered for the eating of fruit: a sympathetic guarantee of fertility, a demonstration that the bride's livelihood now comes from her husband, a way of marking her initiation into the new *oikos*, an indication of the impending loss of her virginity, and (for the non-symbolists) a practical means of sexual arousal.[25] In the *Hymn to Demeter*, Persephone's eating of a pomegranate seed binds her to marriage with Hades in the underworld.[26] Whether the mythical account of Persephone influenced the wedding ritual or the influence went the other way is impossible to determine.

Once the couple entered their bedroom to consummate the marriage, a friend of the groom may have been stationed at the door to act as guard.[27] If not before, the bride now removed her veil in the *anakaluptēria* (discussed in Appendix A), a moment of revelation with similarities to the Eleusinian Mysteries where "things revealed," ἐποπτεία (*epopteia*), provided the climactic moment in the initiation.[28] Unveiling may have been the single act in the wedding that the bride performed by herself, signifying her formal consent (if nothing more) to the marriage.

The ritualized intimacy symbolized by the *anakaluptēria* led to the physical union of bride and groom in the marriage bed.[29] Although probably unpleasant for a virgin wife,[30] intercourse marked the τέλος (*telos*, "end" or "goal") in the transferal of the bride to her husband, and the consummated marriage was referred to as *gamos*, "a pairing."[31] During the night, the parties who accompanied the procession sang epithalamia, songs "outside the *thalamos*" (marriage chamber), a practice parodied by the satyr-chorus in Euripides' *Kyklops* 511–18. The men and women took the side of their respective friend within the house, celebrating with mockery, ribaldry, and possibly dancing as well.[32]

The couple were awakened in the morning by more epithalamia, and later in the day husband and wife received friends bearing gifts in a ceremony called the ἐπαυλία (*epaulia*).[33] Sources differ as to who gave what to whom, but several vases depict an outdoor procession of people bringing gifts, or an indoor scene (often only of women) with the seated bride receiving presents. It seems that in the evening a final wedding banquet was given by the husband's family. From this point on, the couple "lived together in marriage, συνοικεῖν/ξυνοικεῖν (*sunoikein/xunoiken*), the word indicating that the relationship involved "keeping and sharing an *oikos*." As Patterson concludes, an Athenian marriage was "a relationship between a man and woman which had the primary goal of producing children and maintaining the identity of the *oikos* unit (the household) within the social and political community."[34]

These collective events constituted the Greek wedding, although variations in the ceremony reflecting economic class, social background, and the pressures of war were not uncommon. At some point after his wedding, an Athenian husband offered a sacrifice and feast for phratry members, an event called the γαμηλία (*gamēlia*).[35] This notification of marriage may have laid the groundwork for establishing the citizenship of any future offspring, a process that became essential with the Citizenship Law of 451/50, which limited Athenian citizenship to individuals *both* of whose parents were Athenian.[36]

In the case of a woman whose father died leaving her no brothers, there was another possible scenario for her marriage. Called an ἐπίκληρος (*epiklēros*, "upon the inheritance"), this brotherless daughter could be compelled to marry the closest male relative to her deceased father in order to provide heirs and recreate the *oikos*. It is important to note that it was the daughter who continued the line of descent springing from her father, because her husband was chosen from the bilateral relatives, ἀγχιστεία (*anchisteia*), of the deceased—a group including patrilineal and matrilineal kin to the degree of children of cousins. Moreover, the man who married an *epiklēros* could not alienate the property he acquired from the union. The estate would pass on to the son or sons of the *epiklēros*, and *not* to those of her new husband (if, for example, he had children previously).[37] Nominally

opposite page: Figure 4. Wedding procession in cart (ABF lekythos, attributed to the Amasis Painter, ca. 560 B.C.). The bride, holding out her veil and wedding wreath, sits next to the groom on the cart as they make their way from her family's home to his. On the shoulder of the vase, a musician plays and women dance, suggesting the wedding festivities that precede the bride's departure.

Figure 5. Chariot wedding procession; (pedestal) Peleus wrestling with Thetis (ABF lebes gamikos, 500–480 B.C.). The wedding procession is probably that of Zeus and Hera, who stand side by side in a chariot. Other gods—marked by their attributes—are in attendance: Apollo (with his lyre), Dionysus, and Artemis (trailed by a fawn). Below, the mortal Peleus wrestles with the divine Thetis, whom he later marries. The offspring of their union is the warrior Achilles, who meets his death in the Trojan War. The juxtaposition of a formal wedding and a violent abduction suggests competing or

the heiress of her father's estate, she passed the inheritance on to her first son—if and when she had one—when he attained his majority.

The legal procedure that awarded an *epiklēros* as wife to a family relative was called ἐπιδικασία (*epidikasia*). By such a ruling, a previously married daughter who became *epiklēros* with the death of her father could be forced to abandon her (first) husband and (new) family and marry instead her closest male relative. The survival of her father's *oikos* took legal and social priority over that of the *oikos* of her (first) husband, who was of course free to remarry. There is evidence to suggest, however, that the original marriage would subsist if it had produced a male heir, because that son would be the grandson of the *epiklēros*'s father and, with no other heirs, would stand to inherit his grandfather's estate when he reached the age of 30.[38]

The apparent heartlessness of these arrangements was mitigated by the fact that an *epidikasia* could be avoided with a little planning. A *kurios* who lacked a male heir, for example, could procure one by adoption (usually a kinsman), thus keeping his daughter from becoming claimable as *epiklēros* when he died.[39] However, the speechwriter Isaios reports that "many men who were already married had their own wives taken away," a statement that may be exaggerated but would have lost its efficacy in a law case had it been totally false.[40] The destruction of one marriage to benefit another has tragic implications, as we shall see in *Medea*, but the subject in its "epikleric" guise became theatrically popular only later in New Comedy.

Funerals

One purpose of marriage was to guarantee the religious observances expected of the *oikos*, particularly the funeral rites for its deceased members.[41] To Sokrates' query about what constitutes "the beautiful," Hippias answers that it includes a man's arriving at old age "and, having buried his parents beautifully, to be buried beautifully and fittingly by his own offspring" (*Hp.Ma.* 291d–e). This attitude is echoed time and again in Greek tragedy.[42] The premium placed on burial in one's own *polis*—allowing easy access to the gravesite—indicates the commemorative function of these offices for the dead.[43] The fate of the exile was pitiful precisely because this ritual tendance was lost, as poignantly expressed by Elektra vis-à-vis her brother Orestes in Sophokles' *Elektra* (865–70, 1131–42).

We get a sense of the importance of these ongoing rites for the dead in a version of the legend of Sisyphus. As his end approaches, he cleverly arranges with his wife Merope that she *not* provide the cus-

tomary rites for him upon his death.[44] The ruse works, for Hades, god of the underworld, grows so enraged at this lack of honor for the dead that he allows Sisyphus to return to the light and punish his wife for her disrespect. Reunited with Merope in the land of the living, the hero attains a second span of life. In this tale of mythic reversal, the need to ensure honor for the dead proves sufficient to conquer death itself.

The connection between wedding and funeral rites was encoded in the term κῆδος (*kēdos*), a word-group that refers both to a "relation by marriage" (*kēdē, kēdea, kēdestēs* were "in-laws") and to the "funeral ritual."[45] Perhaps the original idea of "related by marriage" implied an obligation on behalf of one's new *oikos* to participate in the family's "funeral rites," or κηδεία (*kēdeia*).[46] As they did at weddings, women played the most significant role in mourning rituals, including washing, anointing, dressing, crowning, and covering the body after adorning it with flowers.[47] Prepared in this manner, the corpse was "laid out" at the πρόθεσις (*prothesis*) on a "bed" or "couch," κλίνη (*klinē*), probably in the inner courtyard of the house. There it remained on view for two days, long enough—in an age of rudimentary medicine—to ensure that the person was really dead.

In cases of contested inheritance, the party who had possession of the body and arranged the *prothesis* had a prima facie argument for inheriting the deceased's property, because only the closest relations (*anchisteia*) tended the dead in this intimate way.[48] In several law-court speeches, Isaios works interesting variations on the topic: the fact that a party helped prepare the corpse proves that this person is related to the deceased and hence deserves the inheritance (2.36–37); the fact that a person or group did *not* tend the corpse establishes that they are not relatives and have no claim to the estate (4.19–20, 9.4); and the fact that they are not relatives (read "not Isaios' clients") proves that they should not have been allowed to perform the rites in the first place (9.32).[49]

Mourners dressed in black and cut their hair short when they paid their respects to the dead. During these visits, the women of the family sang and wailed dirges. In vase-painting and funerary plaques, women stand over the corpse at the top end of the couch, where they beat their head or breasts, lacerate their cheeks, or tear their hair (figures 7, 8), conventional activities of female mourners.[50] Some-

opposite page: Figure 6. Continuation of the scene in figure 4. A friend or relative of the newlyweds (perhaps the bride's *numpheutria*) accompanies the wedding procession with torches. The mother of the groom waits at the door of the couple's *oikos*, also holding torches to guide them inside.

Figure 7. Funeral *prothesis* (funerary plaque, ca. 510 B.C.). A male corpse is laid out on a bier, surrounded by female mourners who lament by striking their head and tearing at their hair. To the left, two men extend their right arms with palms out, a gesture of farewell to the dead that may have been reserved for males (see Ch. 7 p. 105).

times a woman cradles the head of the deceased in her hands, the same gesture used by Homer's Thetis for her doomed son Achilles (*Il.* 18.71), by Achilles himself for Patroclus (23.136–37), and by Andromache and the Trojans for the dead Hektor (24.712, 724). When present in the scene, men often raise their right hands with their palms out (figure 7) or exhibit a flexed arm with palm of the hand on or near the head, gestures repeated on vases and grave sculptures that show men in procession—either on foot or on horseback—toward the grave.

We can guess at some of the meanings that the ritual activities held for the participants. To don dark clothing similar to that of the deceased is a way of identifying with the dead, a sign of honor and respect through self-denial. As Durkheim has shown, by such means the mourners reaffirm their solidarity, defining their group by honor-

Figure 8. *Prothesis* with mourning man and woman (Attic white-ground lekythos, Sabouroff Painter). A male and female mourner dressed in black grieve over the corpse of a youth. The lekythos shape itself befits the scene, for such a container would have held the oil and perfume used to prepare the corpse for the *prothesis* depicted on the vase.

ing those who have been lost to it.[51] An interesting parallel may exist between mourners cutting their hair and the similar action during ritual sacrifice, when a priest cuts a lock from the animal to be killed to demonstrate its willingness to die. By shearing their hair or by offering a lock at the grave, the mourners may indicate their willingness to consign the dead to the other world. Alternatively, the practice may resemble laceration and other forms of self-mutilation that were aspects of female grieving, a way to lessen emotional anguish by converting it into actual physical pain. Here mourning takes on aspects of self-punishment, implying that death is to some extent the mourner's fault. Or, as Burkert imagines, the physical blows of the mourners may begin as a reflex to protect the endangered member, but finding no external enemy save the inevitability of death, the blows turn back on the mourners themselves.[52] In politically charged environments, outpourings of grief at a funeral also provide the opportunity for a clan to display its might, and for the authorities to assert theirs by limiting or denying ritual observance.[53] The latter situation is dramatized in Aeschylus' *Oresteia* (Chapter 3), Sophokles' *Antigone* (Chapter 4), and Euripides' *Supplices* (Chapter 8).

After the *prothesis*, the corpse was removed for burial at the ἐκφορά (*ekphora*, "carrying out") before the dawn of the third day after death.[54] If money and terrain allowed, a mule- or horse-cart transported the corpse to its resting place, usually one of the cemetery areas that lined the main roads outside the city gates. Dressed in black, men led the funeral cortège and women followed behind the bier, probably reciting the ritual lament, or θρῆνος (*thrēnos*).[55] Several vases show musicians playing the αὐλός (*aulos*, the same reed instrument used in tragic performances), which might indicate the presence of professional dirge-singers in the procession.

Athenian burials were of two general types, cremation and inhumation. The former seems to have been preferred in the archaic period and usually took place in the grave itself. In the classical period both practices were popular, the choice between cremation and inhumation a matter of personal or family preference.[56] Over time there seems to have been a rise in secondary cremations, where the dead were not burnt in the grave itself but on a nearby pyre. The ashes were gathered and placed in a cinerary urn that then was buried. In a related practice, the city introduced an annual public funeral in the Kerameikos for Athenians who died in battle. Formerly the fallen had been buried on the battlefield, but at some point after the Persian Wars Athens instituted the so-called πάτριος νόμος (*patrios nomos*), or "ancestral custom." Bodies recovered in battle were cremated, their bones or ashes were sent back to Athens for burial, a casualty list

was erected, and the occasion was marked by a full-scale ceremony including a funeral oration or ἐπιτάφιος (*epitaphios*).[57] Aeschylus refers to the practice in *Agamemnon* (Chapter 3), and Euripides brings several aspects of it to the stage in *Supplices* (Chapter 8).

There has been much speculation about what these changes in Athenian funerary practice meant. Were the "public/city" funerals a means by which the *polis* wrested from the *oikos* the prerogatives of burial? If so, did this mark the impersonal state invading the practices of private citizens, or did it reflect the democratic control of the citizen "mass" over an economically privileged "elite?" Was there a connection between the institution of the *patrios nomos* and the purported enactment of sumptuary legislation for private funerals? If so, why do we find a *pan-Hellenic* shift away from monumental lavishness in private funeral markers in the fifth-century? And why are the war graves so unprepossessing?[58] Were these new funerary arrangements aimed at the exclusion of women? Then why is this not reflected in private burial practice, where we find men and women buried together in family plots, with children's graves around the edges? Were state burials an abrogation of women's roles in the ritual process?[59] Or could the new civic practices indicate that the solidarity instilled by funeral rituals was being broadened from a small circle of kin to the citizenry as a whole, an appeal of special significance during times of war? In Euripides' *Supplices*, for example, is Theseus being "feminized" by washing the corpses of the recovered Argives, or is he representing an Athenian *polis* that forcibly excludes women from their traditional roles? We shall deal more fully with these questions in subsequent chapters.

Whether inhumed or cremated, the dead were buried along with gifts and offerings, many of which have come to light in excavation: various shapes of pottery (mostly decorated), stone vases, and items connected with the deceased (perhaps favored possessions), including mirrors, strigils, toys, and other personal belongings. Among pottery deposited in or at the grave, white-ground *lēkythoi* with appropriate funeral iconography prove to be the most popular from the 460s to around 410 B.C.[60] The presence of vases associated with weddings among the grave gifts—mainly *loutrophoroi*, but also *lebētes gamikoi*—indicate that the grave was probably that of a young man or woman who died before marriage, a subject treated in more detail in the next chapter.

As with the wedding, no priest or priestess offered formal prayers or otherwise sanctified the final moments at the gravesite, although there is evidence that a preliminary sacrifice may have preceded the burial.[61] The mourners made offerings of fruit, returning to the earth

a token of its own bounty, and then they buried the body (or urn) and erected a marker. After singing a dirge or threnody and possibly performing a dance (as depicted on the great funerary amphora of the early archaic period), the funeral party offered a final pouring at the grave and departed for home. The house of the deceased was cleansed, and all who attended the funeral may have bathed as a means of purification from contact with the dead.[62] A banquet or περίδειπνον (*perideipnon*) followed, during which eulogies were delivered and songs may have been sung.[63] Perhaps on this occasion or earlier during the *prothesis*, the deceased would be called μακάριος (*makarios*), "blessed," both a euphemism and an acknowledgment that the difficulties of life were over.[64]

A formal return to the grave occurred after nine days, annual rites were celebrated, and there were other less formal visits to the tomb. Apparently these are the occasions represented on white-ground lekythoi that show visitors offering cuttings of hair, libations, wreaths, flowers, and small ceramic vessels, particularly lekythoi themselves.[65] Frequently women sit in mourning nearby, and often the grave monument is decorated with ribbons. Kurtz points out that the predominance of women on funerary white lekythoi "confirms their critical role in the tendance of the dead and the family grave. . . . [T]hese scenes depict women doing what society required—looking after the living at home and the dead at the grave."[66]

Among the various memorials erected after burial, *stēlai* were the most common in the archaic period. Beginning as roughly worked, undecorated slabs, the *stēlē* shaft later was decorated with a figure meant to represent the deceased, either painted, incised, or carved in relief, and frequently topped with sphinxes.[67] The production of such gravestones in Athens seems to have diminished greatly at the end of the sixth century, presumably the result of legislation that limited funerary extravagance, although a pan-Hellenic change in fashion also may explain the evidence.[68] From the last third of the fifth century, however, we perceive another shift, as Attic graves increasingly are adorned with stone or marble carved in high relief. The scenes often represent the deceased in generic, not portrait, style, placed within a family context. The fact that these family-group reliefs do not strive to make the dead stand out from the living may emphasize the survival and continuity of the family even after death.[69]

Sometimes the grave monument took the form of a large stone or marble loutrophoros, a monumentalizing of the ceramic loutrophoroi that mourners customarily placed in the grave or by the tomb to mark the passing of men and women who died before marriage. Having failed to establish their own families, these dead possessed graves

that called to mind the nuptial bath and married life they never would experience.[70] Other iconographic parallels between grave reliefs and wedding scenes on Attic vases will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Our summary of wedding and funeral practices reveals several overlapping elements in the two rituals. A bride will offer a lock of hair before her marriage; mourners will offer the same when visiting a grave.[71] Like the bride and groom, the dead are ritually bathed, dressed, adorned, and crowned, activities in which women play a crucial role. The corpse is covered, the bride is veiled; the dead are laid out on a bed or couch, the wedding leads to the nuptial bed. Both events involve a journey at night to a new "home," often taken by horse- or mule-cart, in a procession that includes torchbearers, family, and friends, and where song and dance mark the occasion. A *makarismos* blessing is used for the "happy" couple and the "blessed" dead. The bride receives gifts in her new home, corpses receive gifts in theirs, and both rites include a final banquet. The connection between weddings and funerals is made explicit for the young who die unmarried, for their graves are crowned with large stone loutrophoroi representing the ritual vessel for nuptial bathing. The points of shared activity between weddings and funerals find literal expression on epitaphs, which seek to evoke aspects of both rituals in those who read them.[72]

The conflation of marriages and funerals on the Attic stage speaks to the signal importance of these rituals in the lives of the audience, and suggests an overriding continuity (at least during the fifth century) in the way they were conceived and understood.[73] Before turning to the exploitation of these common elements in tragedy, however, let us examine the juxtaposition and confusion of the two rituals in the visual arts, particularly vase-painting and grave reliefs.

to read Greek tragedies as if they were novels in verse, or poems on the page, or "texts" to be analyzed, or polysemous writing to be deconstructed. As Kitzinger 1986, 116 gently remarks on Goldhill's deconstructive account of the *Oresteia* (1984), "we lose the activity of hearing and seeing to the activity of reading." Compare the comments by Nussbaum 1986, 70, whose observations on choral lyric extend quite naturally to the plays themselves:

> They are performed by a group working together in word, music, and dance; and they are watched by a group—by an audience that has come together in community . . . and whose physical placement surrounding the action makes acknowledgment of the presence of fellow citizens a major and inevitable part of the dramatic event. . . . [They] experience the complexities of the tragedy while and by being a certain sort of community, not by having each soul go off in isolation from its fellows.

CHAPTER 1

1. The following sources provide useful accounts of weddings and/or funerals. In subsequent notes, I cite these works only when interpretation is more than usually controversial or a specific topic is treated thoroughly. For weddings and marriage, see Oakley and Sinos 1993; Leduc 1992 ("an interpretive and . . . speculative essay"); Patterson 1991; Sealey 1990, 12–49, 151–60; Just 1989, 40–104; Hague 1988; Pomeroy 1988, and 1975, 57–78; Craik 1984; Froning 1984; Cox 1983; Sutton 1981, 145–275, esp. 145–60; Redfield 1982; Modrzejewski 1981; Schaps 1979; Vernant 1973; Lacey 1968, 15–16, 100–124, 138–46, 162–63; Brindesi 1961; Nilsson 1960; Ehrenberg 1951, 193–207; Wolff 1944; Magnien 1936 (to be used with caution); Erdmann 1934 (the fullest treatment); Minto 1919 (a good summary); and Collignon 1904.

For funerals, Thomas 1989, 103–8; Morris 1987, 18–22 (Attic burial customs from sub-Mycenean period to circa 510 B.C.); Garland 1985, 21–37; Humphreys 1983, 13–14, 82–94, 104–11, 144–64; Parker 1983, 32–48, 53–73; Vermeule 1979; Alexiou 1974, 1–23; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 68–161 (the fullest treatment); Lacey 1968, 80–81, 148–49; Flacelière 1965, 55–82; and McClees 1941, 121–29.

For the legal aspects of marriages and funerals, see MacDowell 1978, 84–109; Harrison 1968, 1–60, 108–15, 132–38 (marriage and succession); Broadbent 1968, 113–239 (laws on death, marriage, citizenship, divorce, dowry, adoption, guardianship, and inheritance); Jones 1956, 174–97 (marriage and succession). For ancient attitudes toward death, funerals, and the afterlife, see Morris 1989, 296–320; Richardson 1985, 50–66 (a good introduction); Bremmer 1983; Danforth and Tsiaras 1982 (for parallels between ancient and modern attitudes); Sourvinou-Inwood 1981; Ehnmark 1948; Rohde 1925; and Grieve 1896, 59–64 (a concise account of tragic weddings and deaths).

2. See Wolff 1944, 44–51; Harrison 1968, 1–6, 18, 21; and Patterson 1991. As Modrzejewski 1981, 241 puts it, "une *ekdosis* sans *engyē* ne fonde pas un mariage légitime; une *engyē* sans *ekdosis* . . . est dépourvue de conséquences juridiques" ("An *ekdosis* without *enguē* does not constitute a legal marriage; an *enguē* without *ekdosis* . . . is deprived of any legal consequences").

3. For the etymology and use of *enguē*, see Wyse 1904, 289–93; Just 1989, 45–50; and L. Gernet, "Hypothèses sur le contrat primitif en Grèce," *REG* 30 (1917), 249–93 and 363–83 (who argues persuasively that the term refers to the handshake through which the agreement is sealed). Hignett 1952, 344 stresses the legal nature of the *enguē* and notes the inadequacy of "betrothal" as a translation. However, we should be wary of legalists who insist that the *enguē* constituted the wedding; as Patterson 1991, 64–65 n.20 points out, "it is somewhat odd to speak of a wedding with possibly no bride." For guardianship see MacDowell 1978, 86–91.

4. Foxhall 1989, 32; see also Diggle 1970 on Eur. *Phaeth.* 158–59.

5. Foxhall 1989, 38 notes that "the dowry went with the woman," no matter when or why the marriage broke up. Vernant 1973, 59 overemphasizes the public nature of the dowry, calling it "le signe tangible de l'alliance entre les deux maisons." Cox 1983, 431–32 and 485–95 demonstrates the influence that the dowry gave Athenian women over the affairs of their new *oikos*, especially during the Peloponnesian War.

6. The concubine Andromache (Eur. *Andr.* 192) may pun on the word when she asks Hermione (Neoptolemus' wife) "for what 'legally entrusted reason' [τῶι . . . ἐγγυᾶν λόγωι] would I keep you from your legitimate marriage?" In Eur. *IA* 703, Agamemnon rehearses Achilles' pedigree as the future husband of Iphigenia, pointing out that his mother Thetis was "betrothed by Zeus" to Peleus, but "given him in marriage" by her father Nereus (Ζεὺς ἠγγύησε καὶ δίδωσ' ὁ κύριος 703). For dowries in Menander, see Webster 1974, 25. Redfield 1982, 186 (followed by Kurke 1991, 119–25) mistakenly claims that Pi. *O.* 7.1–12 describes the *enguē*. The references to the banquet, toasts "from house to house," the envy of the guests, and the *makarismos* blessing better suit the wedding banquet. See C. P. Ruck and W. H. Matheson, *Pindar: Selected Odes* (Ann Arbor 1968), 52–55.

7. Sutton 1989, 347–51 describes the sole example, the red-figured loutrophoros in Boston (MFA 03.802).

8. The verb ἐκδίδωμι (*ekdidōmi*) can mean "hiring out" or "renting." The commercial language is not surprising—"economics" derives from *oikos*, the household that each wedding established. The founder of a colony was called *oikistēs* ("an *oikos*-maker"), and compounds with that noun are ubiquitous in the vocabulary of colonization (see Casevitz 1985, 75–218; on colonists generally, Malkin 1987). Perhaps there was a comparable sense of risk and adventure in the founding of an *oikos* by marriage. For the use of *ekdidōmi* to signify a father giving his daughter in marriage, see Hdt. 1.196, 2.47; Thuk. 8.21; Eur. *Med.* 288, 309, *Hipp.* 552–53 (Halleran 1991, 113–14), *Andr.* 344, *Supp.* 133, *El.* 249, *Hel.* 933, *IA* 132, 703 (above, n.6), 729; Ar. *Av.* 1635; Pl. *R.* 362b, 613d.

9. Flacelière 1965, 57 and 64–65. Focusing on the genealogical link provided by women, Michelini 1982, 139–40 concludes that "the purpose of marriage, in Greek terms, is to perpetuate the family through such linkings, so that the role of wife and mother is really single, not double."

10. See Roberts 1978, 177–78. A wool basket commonly appears as part of wedding iconography (Roberts 66, 111, 146, 183–84). Two epinetra depict wedding preparations appropriate to their function: *ARV*2 1081.21 shows a woman seated with wool; another (Athens, National Museum 2179, *CC* 1589) depicts a seated woman sewing, with an epinetron on her knee, a wool basket at her feet, and an Eros flying above to suggest the upcoming wedding.

11. Sutton 1981, 158. Ancient sources for this sacrifice include Eur. *IA* 432–39, Poll. 3.38, Hsch. s.v. γάμων ἤθη, and Phot. and *Suda* s.v. προτέλεια.

12. Sources include Eur. *IA* 431–33 and 718–19, *SEG* ix 72, Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.15, and Poll. 3.38 (Artemis); *AP* 6.318, D.S. 5.73.2, and Paus. 2.34.12 and 3.13.9 (Aphrodite); D.S. 5.73.2, Plu. *Mor.* 141.27 ("Advice to the Bride and Groom"), and Poll. 3.38 (Hera); *Suda* s.v. προτέλεια (Athena); A. *Eu.* 834–36 (Furies/Eumenides); Prokl. *in Ti.* 5.293 (Ouranos and Ge); Phot., *Suda*, and *EM* all s.v. Τριτοπάτορες (Tritopatores). For discussion of the evidence, see Oakley and Sinos 1993; Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992, 186–88; Dowden 1989, 2–3, 123; H. King, "Bound to Bleed: Artemis and Greek Women," in Cameron and Kuhrt 1983, 114–15, 120–22; Redfield 1982, 190–91; M. Detienne, "The Myth of 'Honeyed Orpheus,'" in Gordon 1977, 102–3; Burkert 1977, 120–21n.29 and 1972, 62–63; Barrett 1964, 4n.3 and 192–94; and Ch. 2 n.17 of this volume. Regarding the nymphs, see Ch. 5 n.9 and Ginouvès 1962, 269n.3, who views them as "les protectrices par excellence des mariages" ("the guardians par excellence of marriage").

13. Thuk. 2.15.5. For the significance of ritual bathing in the wedding ceremony, see Ginouvès 1962, 265–82; Cook 1940, 370–96; and Kenner 1935, 109–54.

14. Regarding head-coverings as veils, see App. A; for nuptial *stephanoi*, see Reilly 1989, 419–20. The wedding garments may have been white, judging from Eur. *Alk.* 922–23 and (by implication) *Supp.* 1054 and *Hel.* 1088, 1186–87.

15. See App. A, esp. n.6. To be rejected out of hand is E. Keuls, *The Reign of the Phallus* (New York 1985), 107, who claims that the unveiling "probably took place after the signing of the marriage contract. On that occasion the groom gave the bride some presents. . . ." As noted above, the presence of the bride was not required at the *enguē*, and there is no evidence for written contracts before the Hellenistic period; see Jones 1956, 178 and W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge, Mass. 1989), 69.

16. For wedding dances and music, see for example *Od.* 23.133–36, 297–99; Eur. *IT* 1143–52; Ar. *Thesm.* 972–76; and modern discussions by A. Kauffmann-Samaras, Ἡ μουσικὴ στὸ γάμο τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδας, *Archaiologia* 14 (Feb. 1985), 16–28; Huddleston 1980, 108–11; Webster 1970, 73–76; and Lawler 1964, 51. Regarding the nuptial *makarismos*, Snell 1931, 74–75 and Seaford 1987, 106n.5 list literary references, and McDonald 1978 examines Euripides' use of the term. Hague 1983, 141n.11 claims that the *makarismos* was not offered to the bride, but she overlooks evidence from tragedy (Eur. *Med.* 956–58, *Tro.* 310–12, *Ph.* 344–46, etc.).

17. See Griffith 1989, 57; Hague 1983, 134–35; Burnett 1983, 232–33n.5 and 305n.69; and B. Snell, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Göttingen 1966), 85–86.

Fr. 412 of S. *Mysoi* may refer to the music at the wedding banquet of Auge and Blephus (Sutton 1984, 79–80). For types of wedding songs, see Garvie 1969, 228–30; Muth 1954; Smyth 1900, cxii–cxx; and Jebb 1893 on *Ant.* 813ff. I use *hymenaioi* for songs during the banquet and procession, and "epithalamia" for those sung outside the bridal chamber (both the "serenades" on the wedding night and the morning "waking songs"). Technically, however, as Muth 1954, 43 states, "*Hymenaios* . . . verhält sich zu *Epithalamion* wie das logische Genus zur Species" ("logically, *hymenaios* is related to *epithalamion* as genus is to species"). Burnett 1983, 216–24 examines parallels between these songs and Sappho's wedding lyrics, as does J. M. Snyder, *The Woman and the Lyre* (Carbondale, Ill. 1989), 31–33.

18. *exagōgē* is used for marriage at H. *Il.* 13.379, B. 11.103 (with some irony), Eur. *Hel.* 590 (punning on its nuptial sense), and *IA* 693. For *eisagōgē* and weddings, see Hdt. 5.40, 6.63, and *Alk.* 1112 (again with irony). Forms of the verb ἄγω (*agō*, "I lead") for taking the bride to her new home occur at A. *Pr.* 539 and S. *Tr.* 857–58; in the middle, ἄγομαι (*agomai*, "I lead away for myself"), at *Od.* 14.211, Hes. *Th.* 410, Hdt. 1.59, 2.47.

19. By substituting a two-wheeled chariot (linked to warfare and the Olympic games) for the four-wheeled cart, vase-painters lifted the scene above the mundane. Moreover, bride and groom appear physically more impressive standing in a chariot than sitting in a cart. For wedding processions, see App. A n.4; Boardman 1952, 34 and 39; H. L. Lorimer, "The Country Cart in Ancient Greece," *JHS* 23 (1908), 132–51; and E. Gerhard, *Auserlesen Griechische Vasenbilder* Vol. 4 (Berlin 1858), 81–87 and pl. 312.1,2. Processions on foot (χαμαίπους, Poll. 3.40) are popular in red-figure painting, but the scenes usually are set inside the house (Sutton 1981, 177).

20. For torch-bearing mothers, see D. von Bothmer, "New Vases by the Amasis Painter," *AK* 3 (1960), 73; W. A. Becker, *Charicles*, tr. F. Metcalfe (London 1899), 486; and Ch. 7 p. 102 of this volume. Vase-paintings showing musicians in the wedding procession are comparatively rare, leading Sutton 1981, 194–95 to conclude that they may be professionals hired for the occasion.

21. Erdmann 1934, 258, from scholion to Eur. *Ph.* 344; see also Sutton 1989, 339. Redfield 1982, 189 (from Poll. 3.41) thinks the *nympheutria* led the couple to the marriage chamber, but the presence of a torch-bearing woman awaiting the couple on Attic vases makes the groom's mother the more likely candidate. If the *nympheutria* was an agent of the *bride's* family (Sutton 1981, 194), then it is hard to imagine that she would guide the married couple inside the home, especially if it were not "new." For example, if the patrimony of the groom's father had not been divided, the newlyweds might join the paternal or joint-fraternal household before establishing their own (Broadbent 1968, 149–50).

22. Redfield 1982, 188 compares this to the modern custom of throwing rice. A similar rite marked the introduction of a slave and an adopted child into the *oikos*, both cases of an outsider becoming an insider. See Pl. *Tht.* 160e; also Richardson 1974, 231–32 and Gould 1973, 97–98. For the *katachusmata* in Pindar, see Carson 1982, 123–28.

23. Brueckner 1907, 80–84. However, locations such as "the marriage chamber," "the hearth," and "women's quarters" may have operated more in the imagination than in reality. Greek houses were not large, much of the activity took place in the courtyard, and archaeological remains indicate that there was no permanent hearth (portable braziers probably were used). This should caution against overly structural interpretations of domestic space, such as J-P. Vernant, "Hestia-Hermès," *L'Homme* 3|3| (1963), 13, who describes the hearth in this way: "Fixé au sol, le foyer circulaire est comme le nombril qui enracine la maison dans la terre. Il est symbole et gage de fixité, d'immutabilité, de permanence" ("Fixed to the ground, the circular hearth is like the navel that roots the house in the earth. It is the symbol and pledge of fixity, of immutability, of permanence"). For correctives, see M. H. Jameson, "Domestic Space in the Greek City-State," in *Domestic Architecture and the Use of Space*, ed. S. Kent (Cambridge 1990), 92–113; and "Private Space and the Greek City," in *The Greek City from Homer to Alexander*, ed. O. Murray and S. Price (Oxford 1990), 171–95.

24. Plu. *Mor.* 138D, 279F, and *Sol.* 20.4. Plutarch believed that the ancient bride nibbled on a quince to freshen her breath and speech! See also Sutton 1981, 153–54, 323. For wedding cakes, see Flacelière 1965, 64. Similar cakes appear on the "Totenmahl" grave reliefs, another instance of the overlap in wedding and funeral rituals; see P. M. Fraser, *Rhodian Funerary Monuments* (Oxford 1977), 102–3n.100.

25. For this last possibility, see C. A. Faraone, "Aphrodite's *Kestos* and Apples for Atalanta: Aphrodisiacs in Early Greek Myth and Ritual," *Phoenix* 44 (1990), 219–20, 230–38. In a tour de force, Burnett 1983, 267 and n.102 connects the apple/quince with the apples in the stories of Atalanta and the Hesperides, and with the apple of virginity in Sappho 105V. The "apple of discord" makes an ironically fitting gift for Strife to give at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis. Other explanations for apples at weddings involve their (purported) resemblance to female breasts; see Griffith 1989, 58 and D. E. Gerber, "The Female Breast in Greek Erotic Literature," *Arethusa* 11 (1978), 203–4.

26. *H.Cer.* 371–74, 393–400, 411–13; Richardson 1974 on 372. See also B. Lincoln, *Emerging from the Chrysalis: Studies in Rituals of Women's Initiation* (Cambridge, Mass. 1981), 85.

27. The term θυρωρός occurs in Sappho 110, explained by Hsch. (s.v.) and Poll. 3.42 as the guard at the door, although the practice may not have been common in the fifth century. Scholars frequently give too much credence to late sources, such as the account (Zen. 3.98) that a boy, ἀμφιθαλής ("with both parents living"), wore a crown of thistles and acorns, carried a winnowing basket (λίκνον) full of bread, and moved among the wedding guests saying, "I escaped the bad, I found the better." However, Zenobius was a Greek living in Hadrianic Rome, and Nilsson 1960, 243–50 argues persuasively that the practice was Roman, not Greek, a late imitation of the Mysteries.

28. Richardson 1974, 26–27. Besides unveiling, initiates carried torches and received the *makarismos* blessing, elements in common with the wedding ritual. See Burkert 1987, p. 93 and figures 1, 3, and 4 there.

29. Magnien 1936, 116 notes that a Greek wife was characterized by words involving "bed"—sometimes directly, λέχος (*lechos*, "bed"), as at Eur. *Hel.* 475, 590, 638, 784, 974, 1634, but more frequently with the copulative α, such as ἄλοχος (*alochos*, from *lechos*) and ἀκοίτης/ἄκοιτις (from κοίτη, *koitē*, "lying-down place"); compounds with ὁμο, "same," such as ὁμόκοιτις, and ὅμευνος, ὁμεύνις, ὁμευνέτης, ὁμευνέτις (εὐνή, *eunē*, "bed"); and constructions such as κοινόλεκτρος ("shared bed"), etc. See also Motte 1973, 225n.56 and Willink 1989, 53nn.33 and 39. The Greeks conceived of marriage in terms of a physical reality, not simply as a state of being or a social role.

30. Virginity was not an issue when a hetaira married, or when a widow or divorcée remarried, a common enough practice (Thompson 1972). Nor was it impossible for a young woman to have intercourse before marriage. Dionysiac festivals provided an opportunity, as in Eur. *Ion* when Xouthus admits to premarital sex with a "Delphic maiden of free birth" at such an all-night celebration (Owen 1939 on *Ion* 552). Dover 1968 on *Nu.* 532 notes that παρθένος (*parthenos*) is not a biological word for "virgin" but a cultural term for "unmarried." Clark 1989, 21 and Just 1989, 66–70 point out that interest in a woman's chastity had more to do with the legitimacy of offspring than with sexual purity per se.

31. Harrison 1968, 2, 6–7. The word *gamos* had a range of meanings, from "marriage" to "sexual intercourse"—see L. Robert, "Sur des inscriptions d'Ephèse," *RevPhil* 41 (1967), 77–81. For *gamos* as the consummation of the marriage, see Poll. 3.37–38; Clem.Al. *Strom.* liv II, c 23; and the arguments of Redfield 1982; Sutton 1981, 150; Flacelière 1965, 62; and Wolff 1944, 48–50. Lacey 1968, 110 and MacDowell 1978, 86 fail to distinguish *ekdosis* from *gamos*, which in their view is an inclusive term for wedding. Harrison 1968 (6, 18, 21) uses *ekdosis* and derivatives as virtually synonymous with *gamos* (so *EM*, s.v. γάμος). Flacelière 1965, 61 uses it for the "actual wedding ceremony."

32. See Lambin 1986, 71–72; Burnett 1983, 218–19, 224n.34; Huddleston 1980, 60–63; Smyth 1900, cxv–cxvi. The scholiast to Theok. (Idyll 18) rationalizes the epithalamia as a means of drowning out the cries of the virgin bride when her husband deflowers her. Ribald jesting and insults (αἰσχρολογία) were part of other initiatory rites, particularly the Eleusinian Mysteries. Richardson 1974, 23 and 213–17 gives a full account.

33. See Poll. 3.39–40; Hsch., *Suda*, and *EM*, all s.v. ἐπαύλια; Harp. s.v. ἀνακαλυπτήρια; and Eustath. on *Il.* 24.29. See also Brueckner 1907, 91–112 and Deubner 1900.

34. Patterson 1991, 59. For *sunoikein/xunoikein* as "living together in marriage," see Just 1989, 43–44, 62–63; Lacey 1968, 110; and Broadbent 1968, 159–60. It is so used (with cognates) at A. *Th.* 188, *Ch.* 1005; Eur. *Alk.* 734, *Med.* 242, 1001, 1385, *HF* 68, *IT* 524, 915, *Hel.* 1655; and Ar. *Pax* 708. Foxhall 1989, 34 lists Attic sources showing marriage as a partnership (esp. Arist. *EN* 1162a 16–33). Patterson 1991, 61 insists that "Athenian marriage was not simply the transfer or 'exchange' of women, but the process through which a man and a woman set up a common household (*sunoikein*), whose purpose was a productive and reproductive *koinōnia* [community]."

67. See Richter 1961, esp. 2–7.

68. Morris 1992 (145–55) and 1989a. For the interpretive problems and a critical evaluation of Morris 1987, see the review by S. C. Humphreys, *Helios* 17 (1990), 263–68 (esp. 267).

69. Johansen 1951, 151; even the sitting position in Attic reliefs does not necessarily designate the deceased (37, 149). Lullies 1960, 83 reasons that if all the characters face the same direction, they belong to the same sphere and the stele emphasizes union after death. If one character looks away, however, separation from the living becomes the dominant message.

70. Kokula 1974, 182–83 concludes that the so-called loutrophoroi-hydria were reserved for male graves and loutrophoroi-amphora for female. On this basis, only one-sixth of the surviving marble loutrophoroi marked the graves of unmarried women; the rest were erected at the graves of unmarried men. See also Boardman 1988; Osborne 1985, 134; Garland 1985, 72–73, 87; D. Peppas-Delmusu, "Monumento Sepolcrale di un Guerriero," *ArchCl* 25–26 (1973–74), 529–38 and pl. 91–96; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 149–52, 161; Panofsky 1964, 20–21; and Beazley 1932.

71. See Barrett 1964 on *Hipp.* 1423–30, who wonders (p. 4) whether this might be "a fusing of marriage-custom with mourning-custom."

72. For wedding themes on tombstones and in funeral epigrams, see E. N. Lane, "*PASTOS*," *Glotta* 66 (1988), 102–5, 112–14; and Lattimore 1962, 192–94. Note the epigram attributed to Erinna (*Greek Anthology*, Loeb Vol. 2, 7.712) that quotes the epitaph of a young bride Baukis, whose new "father-in-law lit her funeral pyre/ with the very torch that burned at her wedding hymn./ And you, Hymenaios, changed that tuneful wedding song/ to the wailing voice of lamentation." J. W. Day, "Early Greek Grave Epigrams and Monuments," *JHS* 109 (1989), 23–24, explores the "archaic idea that encomium for a dead man and his grave monument are analogous means of recording, even reiterating his funeral." By returning the onlooker to the funeral, the grave stele and epitaph emphasize the centrality of the ritual itself to Greek thinking about the dead.

73. In some essentialist way—emotive, anthropological, even spiritual—the rituals of weddings and funerals never fundamentally changed their (admittedly manifold) meanings for the fifth-century Athenian men and women who performed them. On the basis of the literary and archaeological record, Morris 1989, 313 can detect "no analytically significant change in individual attitudes toward death between the eighth and the fifth century."

CHAPTER 2

1. See Schnapp 1988, 574. A full study of attribute and gesture in Greek tragedy (akin to Neumann 1965) would be helpful, perhaps modeled on D. Bevington, *Action Is Eloquence: Shakespeare's Language of Gesture*, (Cambridge, Mass. 1984). Kaimio 1988 limits her discussion to gestures of physical contact.

2. See App. A n.4.

3. Sutton 1981, 164–215, 235. See also App. A n.4. For an overview of

loutrophorous shape and function, see Shapiro 1991, passim (funerary); Webster 1972, 105–8; H. Gericke, *Gefässdarstellungen auf griechischen Vasen* (Berlin 1970), 59–63.

4. *ARV*² 1102.2, *Para* 451, *Add*² 329, and *ARV*² 1127.18, *Para* 453, *Add*² 332. For the possible confusion between wedding and funeral processions in these scenes, see R-M. Moesch, "Le Mariage et la mort sur les loutrophores," *AION*(arch) 10 (1988), 135–37.

5. Attic red-figure pyxis, Berlin Staatliche Museen, inv. 3373, reproduced in Deubner 1900.

6. *ARV*² 512.13 and 1657, *Para* 382, *Add*² 252; S. Karouzou, *CVA* Grèce 2 (Paris 1954), 14, identifies "la couronne des jeunes mariées." See also W. Zschietzschmann, "Die Darstellungen der *Prothesis* in der griechischen Kunst," *MDAI(A)* 53 (1928), 17–47.

7. As on the black-figure loutrophoros (NY 27.228), published by G.M.A. Richter, *BMMA* 23 (1928), 393–96, and the red-figure loutrophoros in Paris, *ARV*² 184.22 and 1632, *Para* 340, *Add*² 187 (see Lissarrague 1992, 164–66). In an imaginative sense, the funeral bath may have constituted the dead youth's nuptial bath. We find mythological references to young women "marrying Hades" and to mortal youths snatched up by goddesses to be their consorts—death envisioned as a wedding to an immortal. See Vermeule 1979, 164–69; Roberts 1978, 178–80; and sources in n.22 (below).

8. *CVA* Grèce 1, Hg, pl. 8.1 (Athens NM 12947). Similar logic explains the presence in infant graves of small wine vessels (*choes*) that depict children. At the annual Anthesteria festival, an Athenian youngster would receive such a *chous*. When the vessel was buried with a child, it presumably evoked the festival that the young boy would never live to enjoy.

9. Kurtz 1975, 64–65 and Beazley 1932, 15. According to Shapiro 1991, 639–44, these vases (and those with scenes alluding to funeral games) reflect a heroicizing impulse that dropped out of private funeral iconography with the institution of the *patrios nomos* (see also Ch. 1 n.57, this volume).

10. Marble loutrophoroi were carved fully in the round, or in relief on a stele. Kokula 1974, 2–3, 182–83 distinguishes two-handled loutrophoroi-amphorai (used for unwedded men) from three-handled loutrophoroi-hydriai (marking graves of unmarried women, Ch. 1 n.70, this volume). See also Davies 1971, 361–62.

11. Johansen 1951, 54–60, 148–51. G. Davies, "The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art," *AJA* 89 (1985), 627–30, 639, thinks that some scenes show the reunion of the dead in the underworld. The gesture on grave reliefs also may represent an oath taken by the survivor, perhaps linked to the inheritance after the death of a married woman. The dying Alkestis makes Admetus swear not to remarry and dispossess her children (Eur. *Alk.* 299–308, 328–31), and much is made of the link between right hands and sworn oaths in *Medea* (Ch. 7 p. 105, this volume).

12. Kokula 1974, 77–101, 181–83.

13. In Vernant and Vidal-Naquet 1988, 99.

14. Kokula 1974, 182–83 and Boardman 1988, 175 and 179 conclude that far more male than female graves were marked with marble loutrophoroi (Ch.

Thompson 1972, 223–25 shows that widowed/divorced men often remarried even though they already had produced a male heir for the *oikos*. Isager 1981, 82–84 notes the rarity of permanent bachelors and spinsters in Athens. For a view of Greek marriage that emphasizes its constraints on women, see Carson 1990, with correctives by Cohen 1992, 156–58.

35. Sealey 1990, 21; Cole 1984, 236–37; Sutton 1981, 157; A. Andrewes, *The Greeks* (New York 1967), 84–86; Flacelière 1965, 64; and Jones 1956, 178.

36. For the Citizenship Law, see Patterson 1981; Whitehead 1977, 149–53; and Broadbent 1968, 167–70 (who prints the sources and useful comments). D. M. MacDowell, *Andokides On the Mysteries* (Oxford 1962), 152, believes that on the third day of the Apatouria new members were registered in their phratry, including new wives as well as newborn children. See also Harrison 1968, 6. Isaios (3.73 and 75; see Wyse on 3.73.6–7 and 3.76.1) indicates that a father might present his daughter to his phratry to establish her legitimacy, an act comparable to enrolling a son in the phratry, or so interpreted by R. J. Bonner, *Aspects of Athenian Democracy* (Berkeley 1933), 134–35, and Hignett 1952, 60n.2. See also M. Golden, "'Donatus' and Athenian Phratries," *CQ* 35 (1985), 9–13, and Hedrick 1987, 136.

37. See Patterson 1991, 66n.30 and "The Epikleros in Athens" (delivered at CAMWS meeting, April 1990); Sealey 1990, 29–30, 157; Just 1989, 83–89; and Redfield 1982, 184–85 (on the bilateral basis of Athenian kinship). Karnezis 1972, 227 suggests the complexities in his definition of *epiklēros*: "A single, legitimate (or adopted) woman, whether a minor or of age, who had no father, paternal grandfather, great-grandfather, homopatric brother, or fraternal nephew, was an epikleros."

38. See Foxhall 1989, 43; Schaps 1979, 29; and Lacey 1968, 141–42.

39. Osborne 1985, 127–28; Karnezis 1972, 207; and Lacey 1968, 145–46. Menander exploits the comic possibilities of failing to take these preventive steps in *Aspis*, where a greedy old uncle claims a young heiress for his wife.

40. Is. 3.64; see Schaps 1979, 28.

41. Lacey 1968, 16 describes the *oikos* as "a living organism which required to be renewed every generation to remain alive; it supported its living members' needs for food and its deceased members' needs for the performance of cult rituals." Raepsaet 1971, 94–99 and 109 concludes that procreation per se was motivated (and rationalized) by the sense that childbearing was a law of nature, that prosperity entailed progeny, that bearing and raising children was patriotic, that offspring would care for their parents in old age, and that they were necessary to perpetuate the cult of the dead, both at the funeral and at subsequent rites (see Is. 1.10, 2.10, 6.5, and 7.29–30). Even a grown man who had been sold into prostitution by his father was compelled to bury him (Aeschin. 1.13; Broadbent 1968, 137). Also, Athenians scrutinized candidates for office on the basis of whether they had honored their parents' graves (X. *Mem.* 2.2.13).

42. See Eur. *Alk.* 662–68, *Med.* 1033–34, *Hec.* 430, *Supp.* 174–75, *Tro.* 388–90, 1185–86. Tragedies feature the inversion of the generational pattern of burial, particularly where a father offers funeral rites for his son (traceable to H. *Il.* 24), as at S. *Ant.* 1257–75, Eur. *Hipp.* 1458, and *Ph.* 1310–21. Kroesus

prefers peace to war (Hdt. 1.87.4): "In the former, sons bury their fathers, but in the latter, fathers bury their sons." Other cross-generation burials in tragedy include grandfather burying grandson (*Ba.* 1216–26, 1298–1300) or grandsons and daughter-in-law (*HF* 1360–64, 1419). A mother offers funeral rites for her child or children in *Med.* 1378–81; *Hec.* 508, 609–18, 1287–88; *Supp.* 1114–68; and *Rh.* 983; and a grandmother buries her grandchild at *Tro.* 1141–55.

43. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 143. Humphreys 1983, 13 and 153–54 argues correctly that the rites constituted "a memorial-cult, rather than ancestor-*worship*." Thomas 1989, 103–8 observes in fifth-century Athenian literary sources a shift away from the aristocratic ideal of tracing the dead back to (legendary) ancestors and toward the democratic practice of stressing service to the *polis* and links with the recent past. Lacey 1968, 77 observes that exiles lost not only burial by their loved ones, but also access to the burial place of their forebears. Jacoby, 1944, 51–52 imagines the displeasure among Athenians when battle casualties were left in foreign soil, and Lattimore 1962, 199–201 describes epitaphs of those whose bodies could not be buried because they died at sea.

44. From a fragment of Pherekydes in Jacoby, *FGrH* 3,119. See also *Theognidea* 699–718 and comments by T. Hudson-Williams, ed., *The Elegies of Theognis* (New York 1978, orig. 1910), 221. Sophokles refers indirectly to the Sisyphus story at *Ph.* 624.

45. Frisk 1960–72, s.v. κῆδος.

46. Connor 1971, 15n.20 and Miller 1953, 46. Garland 1985, 137 examines the various meanings of the word-group *kēdos* and—citing R. F. Willetts, *The Law Code of Gortyn* (Berlin 1967), 19—notes that "the first reference in Greek literature to *kēdestēs* is of a bridegroom's father who has to light the funeral pyre of a dead bride." See *AP* 7.712 (Erinna), below n.72.

47. For women's prominence in funerary rites, see Havelock 1981, 108–15. Preparations and display of the body took place in the home, returning the dead to the world where women had their greatest influence. The pattern continues in modern rural Greece:

> Given the sexual division of labor that exists in rural Greece, caring for other people in life (which involves feeding, washing, and keeping company), as well as caring for them in death (which involves the performance of all the appropriate death rites), is a task performed exclusively by women. It is the women of a family who actually fulfill the family's obligations to its dead. (Danforth and Tsiaras 1982, 119)

Before drinking the hemlock, Sokrates (Pl. *Phd.* 115a.2–116b.7) prepares for his own funeral by bathing and changing his clothes, ostensibly to save the women the trouble.

48. In the case of the *kurios* of the house, for example, this group would include his grandmother, mother, wife, daughter(s), sisters, nieces, maternal and paternal aunts, female cousins, and daughters of female cousins. For the role of the *agchisteia* in funerals, see D. 43.62–65 ("Against Makartatos") and F. B. Jevons, "Greek Burial Laws and Folk-Lore," *CR* 9 (1895), 247–50.

49. We observe in A. *Ag.* (esp. 1541–59) the struggle over who will bury

Agamemnon's corpse. Sophokles works a variation on the desire to possess a corpse so as to accrue future advantage in *OC* 389–411, 581–667, and 1518–55.

50. See Kurtz 1984, 314–25 and Brooklyn 1981, 36–43. Havelock 1981, 111–12 thinks that the "division of labor" between men and women encouraged the emotional release exhibited by female mourners. Humphreys 1983, 20 conjectures that a reason for the number of female roles in tragedy is that Greek culture allowed women a wider range of emotional expression than men. That fact was exploited by arranging for the appearance of women in Athenian lawcourts, where their emotional outbursts could be calculated to move the jury. See Humphreys 1986, 72–73 and 90.

51. Durkheim 1925, 557–75. I owe many of the observations in this section to Seaford 1989.

52. Burkert 1972, 53.

53. Consider the early Nazi funerals that created "martyrs" for the cause, or the fact that IRA displays at funerals in Northern Ireland frequently are banned. In S. *Ant.*, a lone woman throwing dust on her brother's corpse is viewed as a political threat; see Steiner 1984, 150–51, 296. Margarethe von Trotta's film "Das bleierne Zeit" ("Marianne and Juliane" in the U.S.) draws on *Ant.* in its fictionalized account of Gudrun Ennslin, a Baader-Meinhof member whose body was not returned to her family for burial after she died (killed by police?) in prison.

54. That dawn had not yet broken for the interment is suggested on two vases by the Sappho Painter (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pls. 36–38, and Vermeule 1979, fig. 17, p. 21). See also Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 144–45 and Garland 1985, 33 and 143.

55. A. E. Harvey, "The Classification of Greek Lyric Poetry," *CQ* 5 (1955), 168–72, distinguishes the various funeral laments, expanded by Alexiou 1974, 102–14. See also Thomas 1989, 104–5.

56. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 96–99; my summary of Athenian burial practice draws heavily on their account, pp. 68–141. See also Morris 1992, 116–18, 140–41.

57. The classic study remains Jacoby 1944; his date of 465/64 for the institution of the practice is confirmed by W. K. Pritchett, *The Greek State at War*, Vol. 4 (Berkeley 1985), 94–124 and 249–50, and accepted by Fraenkel 1950 on *Ag.* 435, Page 1959, 323, Collard 1975 on *Supp.* 857–917, and others. Loraux 1986, 28–30 and 56–72 faults Jacoby's account, only to reach virtually the same conclusion on the same evidence. H. Strasburger, "Thukydides und die politische Selbstdarstellung der Athener," *Hermes* 86 (1958), 20–25, thinks a date just after the Persian Wars more likely, altered to the late 470s by Clairmont 1983, 2–15. See also Tyrrell and Brown 1991, 189–95; Shapiro 1991, 644–47; and D. W. Bradeen, "The Athenian Casualty Lists," *CQ* 19 (1969), 145–59.

58. I am indebted to Morris 1989a for many of these observations. Loraux 1986, 28 wrongly implies that public grave monuments were splashy affairs compared to private markers, arguing that state tombs "were exempt from the constraints imposed by the general rule of austerity." Cf. Morris 1992, 132–34, 141–42; and Shapiro 1991, 647.

59. An interpretation put forth by Alexiou 1974, 21–23; Loraux 1986, 42–56 and 328–36; Foley 1989a; and Shapiro 1991. The possible connection between purported sumptuary legislation and the institution of the *patrios nomos* complicates matters, but two correctives are overdue. Loraux insists that Athenian public burial displaced traditional *thrēnoi* of the private funeral; however, in the annual civic rite, "the procession is accompanied by anyone who chooses, whether citizen or foreigner; and the female relatives of the deceased are present at the funeral and make their lamentation" (Thuk. 2.34.4). Loraux 1986, 24 interprets this to mean that women were "tolerated only at the graveside, not in the cortège," hardly the obvious meaning. Moreover, she emphasizes the "prohibition against bemoaning the combatants" (p. 41), but we find on examination precisely the opposite—lamentations not only preceded the *epitaphios* but also followed it. Perikles bids his audience depart only "after you have made the fitting lamentations, each for his own dead" (Thuk. 2.46.2, ἀπολοφυράμενοι echoing ὀλοφυρόμεναι, the lamentations of the women that precede the funeral address). Similarly, at the end of Lysias' funeral oration (2.81), the speaker concludes, "It is necessary that we follow our ancient custom and respect our ancestral law by lamenting (ὀλοφύρεσθαι) those we are burying." So, too, Demosthenes (60.37) ends his *epitaphios* by enjoining his listeners to "take their fill of lamentation" (ἀποδυράμενοι) before they depart. Finally, the *patrios nomos* could not impinge on private funerals that *never took place*. Previously, there were no formal burials for those who fell in war; their corpses (or ashes) had been buried on the battlefield.

60. Kurtz 1975, 136. Hellenistic graves provide the earliest material evidence for the custom of burying an obol with the dead, payment for Charon to row the corpse over the river Styx. Aristophanes refers to the practice (*Ran.* 140, 270), but he speaks of two obols and may be joking about the price of a ticket at the City Dionysia—theatre-going as a veritable trip to Hades! See Morris 1992, 105–6 and Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 166 and 211.

61. See Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 145, 200–201, 215; Lorimer 1931; and Ch. 3, this volume, p. 50.

62. Garland 1990, 44, 147–48; and Parker 1983, 36.

63. O. Murray, "Death and the Symposion," in *AION*(arch) 10 (1988) 250; Garland 1985, 145–46; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 92, 139, 214, 234, 277; and Ch. 3, this volume, pp. 51–52.

64. For the *makarismos* of the dead, see Garland 1985, 8–10, 134–35; and McDonald 1978, passim. P. W. Harsh, *A Handbook of Classical Drama* (Stanford 1944), 461n.61, notes the *double entendre* at Eur. *Med.* 957, where Glauke is both "a happy bride" and one of the "blessed dead" (Ch. 7, this volume, p. 103).

65. Such self-reference—the "vase-on-the-vase"—emphasizes the ritual use of the vessel (Ch. 2, this volume, p. 31). Flowers on tombs are mentioned in epitaphs (Lattimore 1962, 129) and at S. *El.* 896; Eur. *Tro.* 1144, 1247, *Or.* 1321–22, etc. At *Hec.* 126–27, the tomb of Achilles is "coronalled" (στεφανοῦν) not with flowers but with the blood of Polyxena.

66. Kurtz 1988, 147.

MARRIAGE TO DEATH

THE CONFLATION OF WEDDING AND FUNERAL RITUALS IN GREEK TRAGEDY

RUSH REHM

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY