gestures refer to the rituals as practiced *and* as conventionally represented, or to only one of the two, they were familiar to the Athenian audience and provided the dramatist with an effective repertoire of allusions to weddings and funerals that could be marked in the text or incorporated into the stage action.

From vase-paintings and grave stelai, we learn that the conflation "marriage to death" found in tragedy was no mere dramatic fiction, nor was it a vague idea existing at a historical or mythological remove from the audience. Allusions to wedding and funeral rituals referred to contemporary practice, not to a code of foreign behavior or a set of abstract visual conventions.[62] These rituals offered an efficient way for the tragedians to move mythical and heroic stories into the sphere of the fifth century, making powerful and immediate contact with the spectator. In so doing, tragedy challenged contemporary audiences with a vision of their own life writ large, rather than a version of the heroic life writ small.

Chapter 3

THE BRIDE UNVEILED

MARRIAGE TO DEATH IN AESCHYLUS' *AGAMEMNON*

MARRIAGE TO DEATH in *Agamemnon* emerges with dramatic force through the experience of four female characters—Klytemnestra and Kassandra who take the stage, and Iphigenia and Helen who do not (although they are evoked vividly in the lyric). With fatal consequences, the sisters Klytemnestra and Helen betray their respective marriages to the Atreid brothers Agamemnon and Menelaus. Iphigenia and Kassandra are cut down like animals at a sacrifice, but their deaths also take the form of a twisted wedding ceremony that leads to the bloodshed of the bride, part of the *Oresteia*'s complex weave of ritual perversion.[1]

In the parodos, the Chorus refer to Helen as the "woman/wife of many men/husbands" (πολυάνορος ἀμφὶ γυναικός 62), the reason that Trojans and Greeks fell in battle as a "first offering" (ἐν προτελείοις 65). The term means "preliminary offering or sacrifice," specifically the sacrifice before the rite (*telos*) of marriage.[2] In accordance with ritual sequence, the deaths of the Trojan and Greek warriors should precede the wedding of Paris and Helen, but Aeschylus plays with temporal and spatial logic throughout the trilogy. Here he opens the possibility that the *telos* served by these sacrifices is not simply the destructive wedding of Paris and Helen, but the larger goal or "completion" toward which the trilogy aims, which—as we shall see—confirms the importance of marriage to the *polis*.

The Chorus return to the wedding of Paris and Helen in the first stasimon, where Helen "brings to Troy a dowry of death,/ passing lightly through/ the city gates" (ἄγουσά τ' ἀντίφερνον Ἰλίωι φθορὰν/ βεβάκει ῥίμφα διὰ/ πυλᾶν 406–8). The image of bridal homecoming anticipates the appearance of the bridelike Kassandra later in the play and *her* entrance into the palace through the "gates of Hades" (Ἅιδου πύλας 1291). Kassandra arrives to meet her death, but Helen is a bride who brings death in her wake.

In the second stasimon the Chorus develop the conceit that Helen and Paris have made a marriage of death. "A spear-bride fought over by both sides" (686), Helen abandoned the "gentle curtains" (προκαλυμμάτων 691, "coverings" or "veils") of her Spartan home, hinting

at the veil she wore at her wedding to Menelaus.[3] The root noun κάλυμμα (*kalumma*) is used by Kassandra for bridal veils (*Ag.* 1178), and Elektra applies the same word to the net that trapped Agamemnon and also to the coverings laid over his corpse (*Ch.* 494).[4] Employing more double language of weddings and funerals, the Chorus call Helen "a true *kēdos*" (*Ag.* 699), referring both to her relationship by marriage to the house of Priam and to the mourning rites that result from that union.[5] The "wedding hymn" (705–6, 707) turns into a funeral dirge (711, 714), and the marriage-bed becomes a "bed of death" (712). In the end, the arrival of Helen at Troy accomplishes "bitter rites of marriage" (γάμου πικρὰς τελευτάς 745), rites that reveal "the bridal-weeping Fury" (749)—the noun "Fury" ringing out as the final word of the strophe.[6]

Klytemnestra herself bears a Fury-like resemblance to her sister Helen, above all when she appears with the corpses of Agamemnon and Kassandra late in the play. The Chorus compare her double murder to the destruction wreaked by Helen (1448–61), and they speak of a "divine force" of vengeance (1468, 1482) that lives in the race. By betraying her husband, the Fury-like Helen unleashed death on the many young men at Troy; the "beyond-human" drive to vengeance in Klytemnestra leads her to "shame her marriage bed" (1626) and bring death to her own house.

The various marriage and funeral motifs come into sharpest focus in the Kassandra scene. Her entrance with Agamemnon in his cart resembles the journey a bride and groom take to their new home, a scene illustrated frequently on black-figure vases (figure 4).[7] Developing these nuptial possibilities, Agamemnon introduces Kassandra to Klytemnestra as a "stranger," ξένη (*xenē* 950), to be welcomed kindly into the palace. Being Trojan, Kassandra is literally a foreigner (*xenē*, as the Chorus call her at 1062 and 1093), but the word also defines the Greek bride, a stranger incorporated into her husband's *oikos*.[8] Klytemnestra reminds Kassandra that she will stand at the altar with the other slaves and share in the household rites (1036–38), particularly the sacrifice to be carried out at the hearth (1056–58). A ritual of incorporation welcomed the arrival both of a new slave and a new bride into the home, and the language may hint at the ritual overlap.[9] Agamemnon himself says that Kassandra must wear the "slave's yoke" (δουλίωι . . . ζυγῶι 953, repeated by the Chorus at 1071), a common metaphor for servitude. But the yoke also has marital implications—the active and middle form of ζεύγνυμι, "I yoke," was used when a man took a wife.[10] Kassandra is not simply yoked to slavery, for, as Agamemnon admits, she is his "select flower" (ἐξαίρετον/ ἄνθος 954–55), a familiar trope for a Greek bride.[11]

After remaining onstage and mute for some 250 lines, the last 31 of which focus on her *refusal* to speak to Klytemnestra, Kassandra finally breaks her silence by uttering the name of her destroyer, the god Apollo (1073). The Chorus later ask if sex with the god resulted "in the work of child-bearing" (τέκνων εἰς ἔργον 1207), a phrase that "would recall to every Athenian hearer the solemn marriage-formula."[12] Punished for denying children to Apollo (1208), Kassandra is "taken" by prophecy as she was by the god. The results are similarly fruitless, for she is cursed to make predictions that no one will believe.

Kassandra brings out the erotic source of her possession, crying out in anguish, "Such fire, it burns through me!/ Ahh! Wolf-god Apollo!" (1256–57).[13] From the the Wolf-god who violated her, Kassandra next visualizes a "two-footed lioness in bed with a wolf" (1258–59), meaning the unnatural ménage of Klytemnestra and Aegisthus in the palace. It is as if the source of Kassandra's prophetic power makes her particularly attuned to a sexual union between "different species," the egregious adultery with an enemy to which Klytemnestra has succumbed.

If Kassandra is both possessed and ruined by Apollo, she bears a similar relationship to Agamemnon, for she is bound to the enemy general who destroyed her city. Kassandra epitomizes the innocent female dominated by males, both divine (Apollo) and mortal (Agamemnon). She even must suffer death at the hands of a woman "too much like a man."[14] Powerless in a male world she can predict but cannot control, Kassandra lives out a worst-case scenario for a "bride" with Janus-like prophetic powers. Seeing both past and future of the house, she focuses on the offspring of an earlier marriage—the children of Thyestes, whom Atreus killed and fed to their own father (1096–97). By referring to these victims as "witnesses" (1095), Kassandra underlines her affinity with them, for she too bears witness (in advance) to the sacrificial murder in which she herself must play the victim.[15] Kassandra's similarity to, and sympathy for, the murdered children suggests how close her fate is to another youthful innocent, Iphigenia, who also became a creature to be sacrificed (*Ag.* 231–47).

From events in the past, Kassandra shifts to the immediate present, particularly Klytemnestra's plot to kill "the husband who shares her bed" (1108). Merging wedding vocabulary with terms for completion and fulfillment (*teleis* 1107, *telos* 1109)—the "*telos* of marriage and the *telos* of death"[16]—Kassandra locates the common ground for these rites in the bath where Klytemnestra will murder Agamemnon (1109). There is a hint of nuptial bathing in the fact that Klytemnestra is Agamemnon's "bedmate" (ξύνευνος 1116),[17] suggesting the mar-

riage bed that he will never see again. Having arranged this fatal bath, Klytemnestra also resembles a wife dutifully (if ironically) washing her husband's corpse before burial.[18] A further link with funerary rites lies in the word for the bathtub itself, λέβης (*lebēs*) (1129), also used by the Chorus for the cinerary urns returned from Troy (*Ag.* 444), and by Orestes for the urn in which *his* ashes supposedly have been placed (*Ch.* 686).[19] Introduced by Kassandra, the bath becomes the place for the murder of a husband by his wife and the vessel for the ritual purification of the corpse.

Aeschylus raises the dramatic stakes by having Kassandra draw the Chorus out of dialogue meter and into her dance at the very moment she envisions Agamemnon's death. At the point of shifting from iambic trimeters into dochmiacs (1121), the Chorus exclaim that the seer's prophecy "does not make us happy" (οὔ με φαιδρύνει λόγος 1120). The phrase literally means "your story does not wash me clean," echoing Kassandra's description of Klytemnestra "washing her husband clean in the bath" (λουτροῖσι φαιδρύνασα 1109). Kassandra sweeps the Chorus up into her world both imagistically and lyrically, creating Agamemnon's murder as a conflation of ritual bathing at a wedding and a funeral.

When Kassandra first sings, the Chorus reprove her for calling on Apollo with funeral cries (1075, 1079) rather than with the paeans customarily addressed to the god as healer. A similar inversion occurs when the Herald sounds a "paean to the Furies" (645), a disturbing oxymoron for the news he brings of victory at Troy and the loss of the Greek fleet on the return home.[20] The motif of perverted song is heard again, for the hymn for Paris' and Helen's wedding turns into a funeral dirge (705–16). When Kassandra sings of "dying together" (ξυνθανουμένην 1139) with Agamemnon, the Chorus hear in her lament a "song that is not a song" (1142), "like . . . / . . . a nightingale crying out 'Itys, Itys' for a life flourishing/ with troubles" (1142–46).

Here, the Chorus refer to the myth of Procne and Philomela, a parallel story of marriage and death in which Procne's husband Tereus rapes her sister Philomela and then cuts out her tongue to keep her from accusing him.[21] When Philomela communicates the deed in her weaving, the two sisters take their revenge by killing Tereus' son by Procne, Itys. Transformed into a beautiful-songed nightingale, Procne forever laments her dead son, while the speechless Philomela is turned into a swallow, whose song struck the Greeks as garbled and unmelodic.

By alluding to the Procne myth, Aeschylus evokes the ambiguities of a song that combines lamentation, wedding, and death.[22] In his *Supplices*, the Chorus of women (facing marriage with their cousins)

also compare their lament to that of Procne, the "hawk-chased nightingale" (*Supp.* 60–67).[23] The comparison is even more apt for Kassandra in *Agamemnon*,—she is raped by Apollo, forced to "marry" Agamemnon, and finally sings a lament for the destruction of her family and city as she faces her own death. Earlier in the scene, Klytemnestra likens the silent Kassandra to a swallow who sings incomprehensibly (1050–51), the Philomela character in the story. If we are right to connect Kassandra-as-swallow (Philomela) before she sings with Kassandra-as-nightingale (Procne) near the end of her lyric, then Aeschylus has the prophetess take on both female voices of the myth, eliciting our double sympathy. Like Philomela and Procne, Kassandra is the victim of a male world that makes her prophecies unintelligible to those around her and leaves her manifold grief as her most eloquent legacy.

In the last strophe, Kassandra turns to another fatal union, "the marriage, the marriage of Paris,/ destroyer of loved ones" (ἰὼ γάμοι, γάμοι Πάριδος,/ ὀλέθριοι φίλων 1156–57). She recalls the waters of the river Scamander where she grew up (1157–59), contrasting them to the waters of Kokytus and Acheron, the twin rivers of Hades, where she soon will sing her prophetic song (1160–61). Rivers of life and death form a natural contrast, but they also suggest a familiar aspect of wedding and funeral rites. An ancient Athenian source tells us that Trojan maidens bathed in the Scamander before marriage, their version of the nuptial bath.[24] By recollecting the river of her childhood, Kassandra may allude to the Trojan wedding she will never have, even as the fatal bath that awaits her will "consummate" her bridal homecoming with Agamemnon. It is fitting that the Chorus close their lyric dialogue with Kassandra on a funereal note, referring to her song of "woeful, death-dealing sufferings" (μελίζειν πάθη γοερὰ θανατοφόρα 1176).

Just as Kassandra's first utterances in lyric refer to her rape by Apollo, so her first words in dialogue meter place her visions of death firmly within a nuptial context: "No longer will my prophecies peek out/ from under veils, like a newly wedded bride" (καὶ μὴν ὁ χρησμὸς οὐκέτ' ἐκ καλυμμάτων/ ἔσται δεδορκὼς νεογάμου νύμφης δίκην· 1178–79). Comparing herself (and her predictions) to a bride unveiling at the *anakaluptēria*, Kassandra makes explicit what she previously only implied. Her words "will rush toward the sunrise/ like a bright dawn wind that holds a wave/ at the point of breaking" (1180–82), the moment when the water is most transparent. Fraenkel notes that the adjective (λαμπρός) modifying "wind" signifies not only "clear" but also "uncovered," a meaning that fits the image of bridal unveiling.[25] More significantly, as Sissa demonstrates, "le rituel nuptial est, dans

tous ses détails, une lutte contre le secret."[26] By evoking the wedding ritual, Kassandra highlights her struggle to reveal fully the secrets of the house she has been brought to as an ersatz bride.

Given the many marriage motifs in her lyric, Kassandra's simile does more than compare physical and verbal acts of disclosure. As argued in Appendix A, the *anakaluptēria* may have taken place on the wedding night in the bride's new home and then been "made public" the following morning, suggested here by Kassandra's juxtaposition of bridal unveiling with the clear light of dawn. The imagined ritual action illuminates her own complex transition from innocence to experience, for Kassandra throws off her metaphoric veils just as she later discards the robes she wears as priestess of Apollo (1269–78). With both "undressings" she acknowledges the truth of her situation, that she will enter her new home like a bride and share in rites of sacrifice that, paradoxically, will incorporate her forever into the house of Atreus.

As her revelations unfold, Kassandra draws on other aspects of weddings and funerals. She identifies a chorus (1186) who never leave the house, a band of revelers (κῶμος 1189) who "sing their hymn as they besiege the chambers" (ὑμνοῦσι δ' ὕμνον δώμασιν προσήμεναι 1191). We are encouraged to think of this band of Furies as the celebrants who accompany the wedding procession and sing outside the newlyweds' bedroom through the night.[27] However, the Furies' hymn does not end the morning after ("this choir never leaves the house" 1186), nor does it praise a new marriage. Rather, their song denounces the *betrayal* of a wedding, "a brother's bed and the man who trampled it" (πατοῦντι 1193), referring to Thyestes' fatal seduction of Atreus' wife Aerope.

The hymn of the house carries undertones of other "trampled" or twisted marriages—that of Paris and Helen (whose wedding hymn turns to a dirge), Aegisthus and Klytemnestra, and Agamemnon and Kassandra. The same word applied to Atreus' marriage-bed (πατοῦντι) also is used for Paris' abduction of Helen (πατοῖθ' 372), and for Klytemnestra and Aegisthus' slaying of Agamemnon (πατοῦντες 1357). Agamemnon himself tramples the red tapestries (πατῶν 957, πατησμόν 963) as he walks to his fate, and the word (πατεῖς 1298) describes Kassandra's departure when she finally enters the palace to join Agamemnon in death.

Turning her thoughts to Klytemnestra, Kassandra calls her (among other things) a "raging mother of Hades" († θύουσαν Ἅιδου μητέρ' † 1235). Critics believe that the phrase identifies Klytemnestra as mother of the dead Iphigenia, but it also may refer to the groom's mother who traditionally welcomed the newly wedded couple home

(Chapter 1, p. 17 and figure 6). Earlier Agamemnon instructed Klytemnestra to "escort inside with kindness this foreign woman" (τὴν ξένην δὲ πρευμενῶς/ τήνδ' ἐσκόμιζε 950–51), supporting the view that Klytemnestra is asked, metaphorically, to shift roles from wife to mother.[28] Taplin makes the important point that the queen guards the threshold of the palace throughout the play.[29] Here, as the "mother of Hades," she metaphorically guides the young bride through the "gates of Hades" (Ἅιδου πύλας 1291), Kassandra's term for the entrance that leads to her new, and fatal, home.[30]

The conversion of wedding motifs into their funerary counterparts accelerates as the scene draws to a close. A "smell as if from a tomb" (1311) repels Kassandra from the palace and leads her to sing a funeral lament, κωκυτός (*kōkutos*), for herself and Agamemnon (1313).[31] She introduces her last speech in the play with the wish that she might sing a final dirge, θρῆνος (*thrēnos*), on her own behalf (1322–23). Having sung of other marriages to death—the "trampled bed" of the house of Atreus and the fatal union of Paris and Helen—Kassandra enters the palace like a doomed bride intoning her own funeral dirge. When Klytemnestra later celebrates over the corpses, she describes Kassandra's death in just such terms: "Here lies his [Agamemnon's] lover,/ who like a swan sang out a last funeral lament [θανάσιμον γόον]/ for the dead" (1444–46).

Arrival and death, marriage and murder, the portals of the house and the gates of Hades—these are the foci of Kassandra's inspired perceptions. By elaborating so carefully her exit into the palace, Aeschylus contrasts her deeply tragic awareness with that of Agamemnon, who fails to comprehend what is happening when he walks down the red tapestries to his death.[32] The contrast with Aegisthus in the next play is even more striking, for the doomed tyrant enters the palace boasting, "It is hard to fool a man whose eyes are open" (*Ch.* 854). In her dealings with Kassandra, Klytemnestra also shares some of the blind spots of her two husbands. Her rhetorical excess in welcoming Agamemnon fails to include Kassandra, and her later efforts to cajole the Trojan captive to follow in Agamemnon's footsteps are met with an eloquent silence.

Unlike Agamemnon, Aegisthus, and Klytemnestra, Kassandra has her eyes open to the interactions of history, human agency, and fate. She sees clearly what will happen, and in the face of the known and inescapable she reveals a tragic nobility that sets her apart. Kassandra prays for the impending blow to be sure, so that "I close my eyes at last" (1292–94). We recall the unveiling image with which she began—"No more like a newly wedded bride will my prophecies peek out from under veils." With the fall of the sacrificial blade, the "un-

veiled" Kassandra no longer will look on the visions that her experience and prophetic powers have forced her to see.

The sacrificial imagery surrounding Kassandra's death cannot help but recall an earlier sacrifice in the play, that of Iphigenia, the death of another young woman on the verge of marriage.[33] Iphigenia is of "a maiden's age" (229), one "still a virgin," literally "unbulled" (ἀταύρωτος 245).[34] Kassandra herself uses the comparison (after inverting the gender) to describe Klytemnestra's rape-like assault of Agamemnon: "Keep the bull (ταῦρον) from the cow" (1125–26), for she "strikes with a black horn" (1127–28).[35] Iphigenia's death serves as a "preliminary offering" (προτέλεια 227) for the ships, the same word used earlier for the deaths of the first Greeks and Trojans at Troy, offered for the marriage of Paris and Helen (60–67). Kassandra views her own death as a prior sacrifice, but not to a wedding; she will provide the "preliminary offering" (προσφάγματι 1278) that precedes the burial of Agamemnon.[36]

Kassandra and Iphigenia are joined by even more striking correspondences. Held over the altar, Iphigenia resembles "a picture [γραφαῖς] straining to speak" (242). At the point of death, Kassandra also compares herself to a "picture" (γραφήν 1329) that will be wiped forever from the slate. To silence her curse on the house, Iphigenia is bound and gagged like an animal wearing a "bit" (χαλινῶν 238). Klytemnestra berates Kassandra as an animal who *won't* wear the bit (χαλινὸν 1066), because the prophetess refuses to answer her questions. When Kassandra finally breaks her silence, the Chorus tell her to stop because she sings inauspicious lamentations to Apollo instead of the customary paeans (1074–75, 1078–79). We recall that Iphigenia sang paeans when she was young, entertaining the men at her father's table (242–46).

Both Iphigenia (238) and Kassandra (1266–72) cast off garments before meeting their fate, metaphoric undressings that signal the transition from an innocent maiden to a bride of death.[37] In a much-debated passage, Iphigenia "pours [or "sheds"] her saffron-dyed [robes] to the ground" (κρόκον βαφὰς [δ'] ἐς πέδον χέουσα 239). Some think that she disrobes, an action similar to Kassandra divesting herself of her prophetic garb at 1264–72.[38] Others claim that the saffron-dyed article Iphigenia discards is a veil, linking her gesture directly to what follows, for she strikes each of her killers with "shafts from the eye" (240).[39] The image of a gagged but unveiled Iphigenia foreshadows Kassandra, who removes her own metaphorical "bridal veil" to speak to the Chorus.

As attractive as this last reading is, it fails to account for the color of Iphigenia's garment. An Athenian audience would have had a hard

time hearing of this "saffron-dyed robe" (κρόκου βαφὰς) without thinking of their own cult of Artemis Braurona, especially given that Iphigenia's sacrifice is linked directly *to* Artemis (134–55).[40] At the Brauronia, prepubescent Athenian girls served the goddess as "bears" and dedicated their saffron (κροκωτός) robes around the time of menarche, part of the cultural and ritual preparation for their eventual marriage.[41] In Euripides' *Phoenissae*, Antigone clearly distinguishes her "veil" (κράδεμνα 1490) from her "saffron garment" (στολίδος κροκόεσσαν 1491), both of which she removes to mourn over the corpses of her mother and brothers.[42]

Aeschylus leaves open the precise nature of Iphigenia's actions, encouraging a combination of responses from the audience. She discards her saffron robes much as a young girl does at the Brauronia, bringing her death home to the Athenian audience who would have experienced the maturation rites either personally or through their daughters and female relatives.[43] The "bear" Iphigenia shows her readiness for the onset of menstruation, which will take the ironic, and fatal, form of her own blood being shed. She also assumes the role of an ersatz bride who drops her wedding veil only to look into the eyes of her killers, acknowledging that her marriage will not be realized, except insofar as death is a consummation. Iphigenia's actions anticipate those of Kassandra, who speaks of her own bridal unveiling and who removes and tramples her prophetic robes, returning them to Apollo just as Iphigenia gives hers to Artemis.

Once Klytemnestra appears with the corpses of Agamemnon and Kassandra (1372–1576), the link between the prophetess and Iphigenia is complete. The queen relives the murder of her husband, recounting the blows that culminate with the third in honor of "Zeus below the earth, the savior [σωτῆρος] of corpses" (1387). In this striking conflation of domestic and funeral rituals, Klytemnestra transforms the pouring offered *to* the dead into the blood *of* the dead. She then confuses her husband's fatal "self-offering" with those traditionally poured out at a banquet, the third dedicated to Zeus Σωτήρ, the very libation that Iphigenia would follow by a song at her father's banquet (243–46).[44]

With horrible precision Klytemnestra insists that her pre-banquet "libation" is fitting for the corpse of Agamemnon, a pouring of blood like the one that Agamemnon himself mixed and drank to the dregs (1395–98).[45] If Agamemnon's death provides both the occasion for, and substance of, this libation, then Kassandra is the appetizer for the banquet that follows. Her death, as Klytemnestra puts it, brings "an added relish ["side-dish"] to my bed" († εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς χλιδῆς † 1447). Earlier Kassandra predicted that she would become

the sacrificial victim at Agamemnon's grave (1277–78), and here she provides—in the logic of ritual perversion—part of the flesh consumed at the funeral banquet in his honor.[46] Aeschylus weaves the motif of perverted feasting through the trilogy, but at this point the confusions between banquet and funeral libation, blood and wine, grave offering and sacrificial feast, serve to connect Agamemnon's slaughter of Iphigenia with Klytemnestra's sacrifice of Kassandra.[47]

By linking Kassandra and Iphigenia, Aeschylus brings together the manifold damages wreaked separately by Agamemnon and Klytemnestra, and the audience views their respective fates accordingly. We understand that Agamemnon has to die, in part because of his sacrifice of Iphigenia.[48] Similarly, although the Chorus bewail the dead Agamemnon without mentioning Kassandra (as she herself predicts, 1326–29), Klytemnestra cannot get the Trojan prophetess out of her mind, and neither can we. It is Klytemnestra's murder of Kassandra, not her slaying of Agamemnon, that turns the audience against her. As a result, neither the tapestry scene (with all its theatricality) nor the moment of Agamemnon's death marks the turning point of the play. That occurs in the Kassandra scene, where the prophetess comes to personify the very processes of the trilogy, working out the complex interconnections between past, present, and future.[49]

As we have seen, a good deal of our emotional identification with Kassandra springs from the confusion of her "marriage" and her death, and Aeschylus works this idea through the rest of the trilogy. The first 650 lines of *Choephoroi* are set at the tomb of Agamemnon, and the play begins with belated funeral rites, offered first by Orestes and then by Elektra and the Chorus.[50] Recognizable elements in Athenian funeral practice include the mourners' dedicating a lock of hair (*Ch.* 7, 226), dressing in black (11), pouring offerings at the tomb (87, 538), dedicating garlands (93), lamenting the dead with wailing (γόος [*goos*] 322, 330, 449, 502) and cries of grief (*kōkutos*, 150), singing the funeral dirge (*thrēnos* 334–35, 342), and striking their bodies and tearing their clothing in grief (22–31, 425–28). Orestes regrets that he wasn't present at the *ekphora* to stretch out his right hand in the gesture of farewell (8–9, echoed at 429–32), and Elektra promises her father that she will offer future pourings and tendance at the grave (486–88).

That these offerings will come from Elektra's "inheritance" or "dowry" (παγκληρίας 486)[51] and will be dedicated on her wedding day (487) serve to connect funeral with marriage rituals. So, too, does the fact that Elektra prays to Persephone (490), the archetypal bride of Hades, for victory. The nexus of wedding-to-death motifs expands if we accept Heyse's and Wecklein's τυχεῖν [from Hermann] με γαμβροῦ

θεῖσαν Ἀιλίσθωι μόρον at line 482, meaning "that I find a bridegroom after giving Aegisthus his death blow."[52] Taking a husband seems appropriate for Elektra only *after* she kills the illicit lover of her mother, the corrupter of a royal marriage.[53]

The Chorus of libation bearers develop the connection between marriage and death by presenting mythical examples of female passion that leads to destruction, singling out the perversion of the marriage union (599–601). Their priamel culminates with the women of Lemnos (631–36), who killed their husbands because they took Thracian concubines.[54] The parable points not only to Klytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon, but also to one of her reasons for it, jealous anger over his liaison with Kassandra (*Ag.* 1438–47). Critics often stress the importance of Iphigenia's death in motivating Klytemnestra's revenge, but they fail to acknowledge Klytemnestra's intense interest in her husband's sexual transgressions.

The funeral motifs that dominate the opening of *Choephoroi* reappear with the disguised Orestes at the door of the palace. Announcing his own death, he informs Klytemnestra that Orestes' ashes are waiting for burial in a bronze urn (λέβης 686), the same word used earlier for Agamemnon's bathtub (*Ag.* 1129). At the news of Orestes' death, the old Nurse enters with "grief as her unhired companion" (733), a reference to the practice of employing professional mourners for a funeral. Implied is the contrast between the Nurse's natural grief and that of Klytemnestra, which strikes the Chorus as feigned. In the same way Aeschylus juxtaposes Orestes' offerings at Agamemnon's grave (given out of filial love, 1–9) with those Klytemnestra sends out of fear (employing Elektra and the Chorus as intermediaries, 22–48).

In the climactic confrontation between mother and son, the play returns symbolically to the opening scene, for Klytemnestra finds that Orestes "resembles a tomb" and her appeals to him are like "a vain threnody" (ἔοικα θρηνεῖν ζῶσα πρὸς τύμβον μάτην 926). Her son comes to represent the grave of Agamemnon where Klytemnestra had failed to appease the spirits of vengeance. A marriage to death seems the fitting punishment for her crime, and Orestes vows that she will lie in the same grave with her lover Aegisthus, lest she betray him in death as she betrayed Agamemnon when he was alive (*Ch.* 894–95, again at 905–6).

After the murders, the paired bodies of Aegisthus and Klytemnestra provide a visual counterpart to the oath that the two lovers swore (ξυνώμοσαν), namely to kill Agamemnon and then die together (ξυνθανεῖσθαι 977–79).[55] Kassandra uses the same word (ξυνθανουμένην, *Ag.* 1139) for her impending death at the side of Agamemnon, and Klytemnestra refers to Kassandra as Agamemnon's ξύνευνος or

"bedmate" (1442). The ξυν-prefix (suggesting "coupling") provides the lexical equivalent to the physical act of lovemaking and signals their eternal "togetherness" in the grave—marriage to death with a vengeance.

Along with the two bodies, Orestes displays the robes that trapped Agamemnon in the bath. He wonders whether to call them "a net for a wild beast, or a shroud for a corpse/ on its bier" (998–99), confusing the means of death with the covering for the dead.[56] These references to the murders in the previous play, combined with the fact that the murderer stands over his victims, recall the scene where Klytemnestra exults over the corpses of Agamemnon and *his* lover, Kassandra. In both plays an adulterous couple lies wedded in death, while the murderer projects onto their corpses an image of sexual union that motivated (at least in part) the act of vengeance.

Although there is much talk of wives, husbands, and parents in *Eumenides*, marriage and funeral motifs are less prominent. This is understandable in a play where gods and furies take the stage, and where the action shifts from Agamemnon's *oikos* to the sanctuary at Delphi and then to the public world of Athens. Nonetheless, the issue of marriage remains central. The Chorus of Furies are old unwedded maidens (παρθένος 69), and the virgin goddess Athena, although she praises the male in all things, refuses to countenance marriage for herself (τὸ δ' ἄρσεν αἰνῶ πάντα, πλὴν γάμου τυχεῖν 737). Apollo, on the other hand, insists that marital connections take precedence over ties of blood, signaling men's superiority over women. Moreover, he argues in sophistic fashion that the father is the mother of the child. Women are not really parents because Athena (who arose from the head of Zeus) was born without a mother. Some critics claim that Apollo's speech (657–66) represents Aeschylus' view, and so they conclude that the *Oresteia* not only manifests embedded cultural prejudices against women but actually champions misogyny.[57] However, given the importance and interconnection of wedding and funeral rituals in the trilogy, especially in the Kassandra scene, are such conclusions justified?

To begin with, Apollo's own birth contradicts his argument that mothers play a subsidiary role as parents. The famous labor pains of Leto on the island of Delos and Apollo's eventual delivery were celebrated in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, a fact to which the Furies refer when they speak of him as "child of Leto" (ὁ Λατοῦς γὰρ ἶ-/ νίς 323–24). Moreover, the position that mothers were not really parents was neither the popular nor the legal view in the fifth century. The marriage of *homometric* siblings was expressly forbidden in Athens as incestuous, whereas a man could marry a sister by the same father

as long as they had different mothers.[58] The Periklean Citizenship Law of 451 limited Athenian citizenship to individuals *both* of whose parents were Athenians.[59] And, not surprisingly, Greek literature gives eloquent testimony to the idea that men and women had children "in common."[60]

If mothers aren't parents, then why does Aeschylus use the pregnant hare devoured with her unborn children as an image for the destruction that results from the Trojan War (*Ag.* 114–20)? Why should Klytemnestra lament the sacrifice of her daughter Iphigenia? Finally, if Apollo's position is right, then Orestes' murder of Klytemnestra raises no serious questions about blood-ties, pollution, and matricide; the Furies have no business haunting Orestes, nor has Orestes any reason to feel haunted; and the dramatic heart of the trilogy—the *Choephoroi*—suffers cardiac arrest.

On closer examination, even the language that Apollo uses to denigrate women proves to do just the opposite. If women are not parents but the *trophos* ("nurse") of the seed, as Apollo argues (*Eu.* 659), then the god inadvertently claims a *cultural* (in addition to a biological) function for the mother with regard to her child.[61] By denying mothers at least an equal role in biological reproduction, Apollo unconsciously champions the place of women on the "culture side" of the nature/culture polarity, a place and role that some scholars claim was denied systematically to Athenian women.[62]

Apollo's biological argument that a woman receives and holds the alien seed of her husband "as stranger/hostess to a stranger/ guest" (ἡ δ' ἅπερ ξένη 660) reappears in slightly different guise in Euripides' *Alkestis* (Chapter 6 pp. 92–95). Exploring the interrelationship between host/guest and husband/wife, Herakles (with conscious irony) disparages Alkestis, the very woman, stranger, and wife whom he restores to Admetus to save his *oikos*. In *Eumenides*, however, the ironies of Apollo's speech go unobserved by the speaker. The god denies women a role as parents of their own children, while unconsciously championing the importance of women as providers of nurture and acculturation.

Apollo further compromises his position by offering a bribe to Athena and her city (667–73). In her response, Athena specifically warns the people of Athens not to allow the court to be corrupted by bribes (693–95, 704), advice the jurors apparently follow as the vote splits evenly between conviction and acquittal.[63] Finally, Apollo's unmarked departure from the theater (at line 753? at 774?) is the ancient equivalent of "slinking off-stage."[64] Silent and unnoticed, Apollo exits as if he knew his argument and his presence were of little ultimate significance in a court where humans must make the diffi-

cult decisions. In sum, Apollo's character and his argument against women radiate with something less than the pure white light of Aeschylean approval.

But what remains of the charge of Aeschylean misogyny? In exploring the role and position of women, one of the central concerns of the trilogy, Aeschylus reflects many of the prejudices of his day. However, a more complex and interesting picture emerges than the one that concludes (for example) that Aeschylus "refuses the metaphor of earth and female body, supporting Apollo's view that the female body is not the source of life but, rather, that it is receptacle, a temporary container for the father's seed."[65] We have noted some difficulties in equating Apollo's biological views with those of Aeschylus, and similar qualifications may apply to generalizations about a larger order of cultural misogyny.

The trilogy begins with the "brides" Helen and Klytemnestra shattering the wedding union and bringing violence out of marriage. The attendant "weddings to death" of the bridelike Iphigenia and Kassandra bring home to the audience the cost of that violence, both the destruction of the war wreaked by Agamemnon and the domestic havoc perpetrated by Klytemnestra. We recall that the queen celebrates her triumph by comparing Agamemnon's death-blood to the life-giving rain that falls on the crops in the spring (*Ag.* 1388–92), an inversion of the forces of life and death that continues until the transformation of the Furies in *Eumenides*.[66] In a similar way, the libations intended by Klytemnestra to placate Agamemnon's spirit are turned to opposite effect in the *kommos* of *Choephoroi*—pourings for the dead give way to the bloodshed of the living, the murders of Aegisthus and Klytemnestra.[67] At the acquittal of Orestes, the Furies in turn threaten to "release from their heart unbearable drops on the land" (782–84, 812–14), pouring out an eternal spring of death against the crops and children of Athens. Once persuaded by Athena to accept a home and honors in her city, however, the Furies change from daemons of death (780–87 = 810–17, 830–31) into spirits of rebirth and regeneration (903–12, 921–26, 938–48, 956–67), the overseers of weddings and childbirth (834–36). They reunite the ideas of life-giving nature and life-giving marriage, singing their blessings on the crops and the land (921–26, 938–47), and on the union of man and woman in wedlock (956–60).[68]

Far from denying significance to women as wives, mothers, and contributors to the prosperity of the *polis*, the trilogy closes with a ringing affirmation of the importance of marriage and offspring, a celebration that incorporates the Furies into the city and its rituals.

As Loraux reminds us, "La victoire d'Oreste n'est pas le dernier mot de la trilogie, et . . . le principe féminin y conquiert finalement place dans la cité: la tragédie n'est pas une tribune de propagande."[69] The Furies' traditional power over blood-ties and bloodshed now expands to include prerogatives of marriage (that cross bloodlines) and childbirth (that continue them), breaking through the destructive pattern of marriage to death that features so prominently earlier in the trilogy. To be sure, the process of restoration and the reunion of male and female is only barely achieved. No easy solution could follow such horrifying acts of bloodshed without trivializing the intricate causal network that makes the murders of Agamemnon and Klytemnestra necessary.

Aeschylus emphasizes the ongoing nature of the struggle and the need to accommodate more than a single perspective, by having Athena sound increasingly like the Furies at the close of the play, even as the Furies abandon their refrain of vengeance for the blessings of the Eumenides. Recall that their post-verdict confrontation is a battle between two contending modes of expression. After Orestes' exit, the Chorus of Furies burst out in angry lyrics, followed by a conciliatory speech (in normal iambic trimeter) from Athena. That pattern is repeated four times (778–891), until the Furies finally accept Athena's offer and join her in dialogue meter, making the transition to Eumenides ("Kind Spirits"). At the end of the play, however, the pattern is reversed. While the Chorus sing in full lyric their blessings on Athens and her people, Athena moves from dialogue meter into anapests, as if drawn toward the Furies' mode of expression. In her "half-lyric," she lauds their retributive impulses and praises their vengeful intractability as both necessary and good for the city. The Furies are "spirits mighty, implacable, quick to anger," as they "order the lives of men" (928–31). "In the fearsomeness of their faces," Athena adds, "I see great gains for my people" (990–91). In her counterpoint to the benisons of the Eumenides, Athena echoes the Furies earlier in the play: "There are times when fear is good/ watching over the minds of men . . ." (517–18). As Harris concludes, the Furies accept Athena's offer "not simply because they are bribed to bless rather than curse, but because they are allowed to remain essentially unchanged."[70]

The intricate relationship between performative modes and contrapuntal voices underlines the fundamental nature of the struggle that Aeschylus chose to dramatize. His trilogy remains of signal importance to our understanding the complex dialectic between men and women, *oikos* and *polis*, justice and vengeance, kinship and civic loyalties that emerged in fifth-century Athens. The *Oresteia* seems

to suggest that the best that can be hoped for is a provisional resolution of these tensions, one that must be fought for again and again. The interconnections between marriages and deaths, between wedding motifs and funeral rites, play a crucial role in bringing that perception to its full, and fully problematic, dramatic life.

Chapter 4

THE BRIDE AND GROOM OF DEATH

SOPHOKLES' *ANTIGONE*

IF KASSANDRA is the unveiled bride in *Agamemnon*, then the heroine of Sophokles' *Antigone* is a full-fledged bride of Hades. Scholars acknowledge the prominence of the "marriage to death" motif in the play but frequently in a dismissive fashion: "It cannot be maintained that by this metaphor and the motifs related to it the meaning of the play is, so to speak, summed up or exhausted. . . . For thereby nothing or, at least, nothing much, is said about the great and central themes. . . ."[1] Few would claim that focusing on the bride of Hades *topos* will "exhaust" *Antigone*. However, we can recover some of the play's sheer theatrical power by exploring the importance of this motif as a structuring principle, understanding the wedding-funeral polarity as part and parcel of the more celebrated oppositions in the drama.

Unlike the *Iliad* and Sophokles' *Ajax*, where the importance of burying the dead gradually dominates the action, *Antigone* emphasizes the issue from the start. In her opening dialogue with Ismene, Antigone proclaims her willingness to die in order to bury Polyneikes: "As a loved one I will lie with him, a loved one" (φίλη μετ' αὐτοῦ κείσομαι, φίλου μέτα 73). The exchange continues in this strangely erotic vein:

> ISMENE: You have a warm heart for chilling [ψυχροῖσι] tasks.
> ANTIGONE: But I know that I will be pleasing to those whom I ought to bring pleasure [ἁδεῖν].
> ISMENE: If you can, but you are in love [ἐρᾳῖς] with the impossible.[2] (88–90)

After she is arrested for attempting the burial, Antigone again employs the discourse of passion to justify her actions: "Hades longs for [ποθεῖ] these rites" (519).[3] As her dialogue with Kreon continues, the erotic vocabulary opens up to include political and ethical concerns reflecting the conflicting positions of the two antagonists:

> KR. An enemy is never a friend, not even when he dies.
> (οὔτοι ποθ' ούχθρός, οὐδ' ὅταν θάνηι, φίλος.)
> AN. It is not my nature to join in hate, but in love.
> (οὔτοι συνέχθειν, ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔφυν.)

krēdemnon also refers to the crenellations atop the fortification walls, the city's symbolic "headdress." Hecuba also throws off her veil, καλύπτρη (*kaluptrē*), at the sight of Hektor's body (22.405–7), and the Trojans cry out as if Troy has fallen. H. L. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (London 1950), 385–86, concludes that "the city is perhaps compared to a captive woman whose veil is torn off by her captor." See also Nagler 1974, 10–11, 45–54. In the *Hymn to Demeter*, *krēdemnon* refers both to the towers of the city of Eleusis (151) and to the head-covering veil that Demeter rips apart on hearing of Persephone's abduction (41). For visual representations of veiling as covering the head, see App. A. n.5.

51. Barrett 1964 on *Hipp.* 1459–61 shows that Hippolytus expires at 1459, and that Theseus covers his corpse. Euripides may be alluding to his earlier *Hippolytus*, which acquired the name *Kalyptomenos* ("Veiled") because the hero covered his head in shame at Phaedra's advances. See Taplin 1978, 94–95; B. Goff, *The Noose of Words* (Cambridge 1990), 14; and Halleran 1991.

52. P. E. Easterling, "Euripides in the Theatre," *Pallas* 37 (1991), 52–53.

53. Johansen 1967, 156–57 (on *ARV*² 746.3).

54. See Ch. 1 p. 17. The pomegranate is found on funerary sculpture such as the Attic stele (Berlin Staatliche 1531 and NY Met. 11.85, Richter 1961, #137), where a *korē* stands holding a flower alongside a taller male holding a pomegranate. A pomegranate also is held by free-standing *korai*, including Acr. Mus. 593, 677, and 680 (G.M.A. Richter, *Korai* [London 1968], #43, 59, and 122). In the first instance, the maiden not only has a pomegranate in her left hand but also holds a wreath or *stephanē* in her right, attributes of both funerals and weddings.

55. *ARV*² 754.13, *Add*² 285; Kurtz 1975, 205 (pl. 22.1,2).

56. National Museum 1938; Kurtz 1975, pl.36.3.

57. *ARV*² 754.14, *Add*² 285.

58. Noted at Ch. 2 p. 40. See Conze #157, #310, #360 (a marble lekythos), #813 (standing woman); the marble lekythoi published by H. N. Fowler, "An Attic Grave Relief," in Mylonas 1951, 588–89 (pl. 54), and by M. B. Comstock and C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone* (MFA Boston, 1976), #40, pp. 30–31; and Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 138.

59. A bride holding a mirror is depicted on several lebetes gamikoi: Baltimore *CVA* 2, pl. 50 (Robinson 1936); in New York, *ARV*² 1098.35, *Add*² 328; *ARV*² 1080 in London; two in Berlin, *ARV*² 841.70, *Add*² 296 and *ARV*² 1225.1; two in Athens, *ARV*² 582.1 and *ARV*² 1179.3, *Para* 460, *Add*² 340. Women with mirrors in a wedding context occur on other vase shapes: see E. Zevi, "Scene di ginecco e scene di idillio," *MAL* 6 (1938), 306, 324–26, and fig. 3; also the red-figure krater in Boston (MFA 1972.850, above n.44), the kylix in Malibu (Getty 82.AE.38), an oinochoe (*ARV*² 1207.26bis, *Add*² 345), and a small hydria (*ARV*² 1212.7, *Add*² 347). Sutton 1981, 203 observes the rise from circa 440 B.C. of strictly feminine toilette scenes in nuptial contexts. For marriage scenes on pyxides, see Roberts 1978, 4, 178.

60. See Robinson 1936, 509 and n.3, and N. T. de Grummond and M. Hoff, "Bronzes in the Mediterranean," in *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors*, ed. de Grummond (Tallahassee 1982), 37–38, who cite the frequency of mirrors on white-ground lekythoi and funerary reliefs, and the popularity of bronze mirrors as grave gifts. See also Congdon 1981, 12–14; S. P. Karouzou [Karusu], "Attic Bronze Mirrors," in Mylonas 1951, 566; and K. Schefold, "Gricchische Spiegel," *Die Antike* 16 (1940), 11–37.

61. For example, a woman bearing torches can signal a nuptial scene: see *ARV*² 899.146, *Add*² 303; Robinson *CVA* 2 (Walters/Baltimore) pl. 49; Sarajevo *CVA* 32.3; the loutrophoros in H. Hoffman, *Ten Centuries That Shaped the West* (Houston 1970), 406; Tübingen 5 *CVA* Tf. 6.6 and pp. 24–25; *ARV*² 1031.51, *Add*² 317; *ARV*² 1102.2 (above n.4); and *ARV*² 539.40. Roberts 1978, 182–84 notes that the presence of a door can make the nuptial aspects clearer.

62. Scholars increasingly admit the anachronism of tragic references to wedding and funeral rituals vis-à-vis the heroic period in which the plays ostensibly are set. On A. *Ag.* 435, see Jacoby 1944, 44 and n.30; Page 1959, 323; and Fraenkel 1950 on 435. For Eur. *Supp.* 947–49 and 1123–26, see Collard 1975 on 947–49a and Diggle 1970 on *Phaeth.* 158–59. For tragic threnodies, see Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 107; Collard 1975 on *Supp.* 794–954; Brown 1987 on *Ant.* 1257–1353; and Ch. 4 n.32, this volume. For marriages (esp. dowries), see Jebb 1892 on *Tr.* 161ff.; Barrett 1964 on *Hipp.* 625–26; and Page 1938 on *Med.* 956. Regarding the Athenian-specific nature of the visual iconography of marriage and funeral rites, see Kurtz 1975, xx, 132, and Brooklyn 1981, 96. Roberts 1978, 4–5 notes that the lebes gamikos, loutrophoros, and pyxis shapes—all of which show "a striking interpenetration of wedding and funeral matter"—were rarely exported outside of Greece. The same holds for white-ground lekythoi with funerary iconography, which had the most restricted market among vases of that shape. Kurtz 1975, 131 reasons that "the specialized iconography rendered it intelligible only to those familiar with Athenian rites of death and burial." Pattern- and black-bodied lekythoi, on the other hand, had a wide provenience in Greece and abroad.

CHAPTER 3

1. Those who focus on corrupted sacrifices include Zeitlin 1965 and 1966; Burkert 1966, 119–20; P. Vidal-Naquet, "Chasse et sacrifice dans l'*Orestie*," *PP* 129 (1969), 401–25 (= Vernant and Vidal-Naquet 1988, 141–59); F. T. Griffiths, "Girard on the Greeks/ The Greeks on Girard," *Berkshire Review* 14 (1979), 24–29; and Foley 1985, 56. Other elements of inverted ritual involve inappropriate hymns and appeals to the gods—see J. A. Haldane, "Musical Themes and Imagery in Aeschylus," *JHS* 85 (1965), 37–40; above, p. 46; and below, n.20. Comparatively little has been done on the perversions of weddings and funerals; see Lebeck 1971, 48–49, 68–73; and Seaford 1984.

2. Fraenkel 1950, and Denniston and Page 1957, on *Ag.* 65; Zeitlin 1965, 465–66; Lebeck 1971, 69–73, 186–88; and Burkert 1972, 62–63 and n.20. For the martial/nuptial *proteleia* in Eur. *IA*, see Wolff 1982, 253; and Borghini 1986.

3. Seaford 1987, 124.

4. *kalumma* also is used for the bridal veil at Eur. *IT* 372 and funerary coverings at S. *El.* 1468. See Seaford 1984, 253.

5. Ch. 1 p. 22.

6. Denniston and Page 1957 on *Ag.* 744ff. argue unconvincingly that the Chorus do *not* identify Helen with the Furies, translating νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς as "a Fury bewept by the bride" [i.e., Helen]. J. C. Hogan, *A Commentary on the Complete Greek Tragedies: Aeschylus* (Chicago 1984), 68, correctly observes that Aeschylus substitutes the effect (vengeance) for the cause (Helen), "and then the effect is incarnated as a demonic agent."

7. See Seaford 1987, 128; Jenkins 1983, 138; Ch. 2, this volume, p. 30; and App. A. The scenes almost always feature the heroicizing substitution of a chariot for a cart. For other references to the wedding cart in tragedy, see Eur. *Supp.* 994, *Hel.* 639, 723 (Ch. 8 p. 112, 122), and possibly *Tro.* 568–76 (Ch. 9 p. 131). D. Thompson, "The Persian Spoils in Athens," in *The Aegean and the Near East*, ed. S. Weinberg (New York 1956), 287, argues that Agamemnon does not arrive in a chariot (the common view), but in a Persian-styled "throne wagon." Although Agamemnon's rejection of Eastern-style pomp (*Ag.* 919–21) argues against a recognizably Persian cart, the term ἁμαξήρη θρόνον (used of the vehicle at *Ag.* 1054) indicates a wagon with a seat (θρόνος). The other term describing Agamemnon's cart is ἀπήνη (906), technically a four-wheeled carriage used for traveling (see Jebb on *OT* 753). Although Denniston and Page 1957 on *Ag.* 782; Taplin 1977, 303–21; and Seaford and Jenkins (above) all assume a chariot, the text indicates a vehicle like that used in actual Athenian weddings. If Aeschylus *did* use a chariot, the association with a wedding would still hold, but only in the "heroicizing" fashion of black-figure scenes.

8. The veiled Alkestis, Admetus' "new bride," is called *xenē* (Eur. *Alk.* 1117, Ch. 6 p. 95); Deianeira refers to Iole as *xenē*, (S. *Tr.* 310, 627), the second time knowing she is Herakles' "auxiliary" wife; in Ar. *Thesm.* (888–91, parodying Eur. *Hel.*), Menelaus (played by Euripides) calls Helen (Mnesilochus) *xenē*, and she responds that (s)he is being forced to marry. At *Eu.* 660–61, Apollo calls a wife/mother a "stranger" (*xenē*) who guards the seed of the "stranger" (*xenos*) husband/father (above, p. 55).

9. See Ch. 1 p. 17 and n.22.

10. To Seaford's list (1987, 111n.58) add A. *Kares* (or *Europa*) *Fr.* 50 (99) 6; Eur. *Supp.* 220 and *Hel.* 1654; and perhaps A. *Pr.* 579, because the suffering to which Zeus "yokes" Io (ἐνέζευξας) arises when the god himself becomes "a bitter suitor for [Io's] hand in marriage" (πικροῦ . . . τῶν γάμων/ μνηστῆρος 739–40). For marriage as a yoke that *both* parties wear, see A. *Pers.* 139, Eur. *Med.* 242, and Arist. *Pol.* 1253b9–10. For spouse as "yokemate" (σύζυγος), see Sappho fr. 213.3, A. *Ch.* 599, and Eur. *Alk.* 314 (Gentili 1988, 76 and Patterson 1991, 49 and n.36). Unwedded girls are "unyoked of marriage" (Eur. *Hipp.* 1425, *Ba.* 694), as are unmarried men (*Med.* 673, *IA* 805, *Kresphontes* 66.23 [Austin 1968; see also Harder 1985, 66–67]). Iphis (*Supp.* 791) wishes he had remained "unyoked in marriage," *pace* P. T. Stevens, *JHS* 97 (1977), 76; see Ch. 8 p. 114.

11. Seaford 1987, 111–12 and n.62, and 1986, 52–53; ἐξαίρετον ("select") is linked to brides at Eur. *Tro.* 485 (Ch. 9 p. 130).

12. Fraenkel 1950 on *Ag.* 1207. Apollo's ruin of Kassandra is attested at

1072–87, 1202–13, 1256–57, and 1264–76. Kovacs 1987 argues that Kassandra was raped by Apollo, received her prophetic gift, and then denied the god children. Although he errs in claiming that Kassandra is punished for pride (334), Kovacs's main argument (330–33) is convincing: Apollo's "wrestling" with, and "breath of pleasure" on, Kassandra (*Ag.* 1206) means that the god forced her sexually, as Apollo does with Kreusa at Eur. *Ion* 881–96. Kassandra also was raped by Aias (son of Oileus) at the sack of Troy. See M. Davies, *The Epic Cycle* (Bristol 1989), 62–79; C. Vellay, *Les Légendes du cycle troyen* (Monaco 1957), 277–81; J. Davreux, *La Légende de la prophétesse Cassandre* (Liege 1942), 12–13; Alcaeus fr. 298 in Lobel and Page, 1955; and H. Lloyd-Jones, "The Cologne Fragment of Alcaeus," *GRBS* 9 (1968), 125–39. The scene was popular on Attic vases (Johansen 1967, 39 and Schefold 1978, 258).

13. The image suggests Sappho's comparison of eros to a "flame that runs up under the skin" (31.10). In A. *Toxotides*, we find the "burning (φλέγων) eye of a young woman—she who has tasted man" (*Fr.* 134 [243]). Klytemnestra boasts that Aegisthus "kindles the fire of my hearth" (*Ag.* 1435–36), a sexual/domestic double entendre, as Pomeroy 1975, 98 notes. For the destructive "flame of eros" in S. *Tr.*, see Parry 1986, 108–11.

14. Klytemnestra is ἀνδρόβουλον (*Ag.* 11), "manlike in thought."

15. Legalisms abound in the *Oresteia*, but we find a special correspondence between witnesses and victims. The dead testify to their own bloodshed (Thyestes' children here, the ghost of Klytemnestra at *Eu.* 103), and the living bear witness to the fatal suffering of others until they, too, become victims (Kassandra, Orestes in *Ch.*). The Greeks at Aulis witness the eagle that feasts on the pregnant hare (109–20), a premonition of their own deaths at Troy as the "young" of Greece (825–26). Agamemnon bears witness to the false "mirror of companionship" (831–40), unaware that his own wife is deceiving him. Aegisthus testifies to the crimes of Atreus after helping to kill Atreus' son Agamemnon (1583–1609), then moves from witness to victim when he is slain by Orestes, another child who grows up an avenger.

16. Lebeck 1971, 68. Kassandra asks if Klytemnestra "will really accomplish the end" she has in mind (τόδε γὰρ τελεῖς; 1107), and then wonders "how shall I describe that end?" (πῶς φράσω τέλος; 1109).

17. The word *bedmate* (ξύνευνος) often refers to wives (Ch. 1 n.29); Klytemnestra later uses it for Kassandra (1442).

18. Seaford 1984, 248–49. Recall that Sokrates (Pl. *Phd.* 115A) also takes his funeral bath *before* he dies in order to save the women the trouble of bathing his corpse.

19. See Garvie 1986 on *Ch.* 686 and Foley 1985, 41. Mourning Agamemnon, the Chorus lament that he occupies "the lowly bed of a silver-walled bath" (*Ag.* 1539–40), the word for *bathtub* here (δροίτης) later signifying Agamemnon's funeral bier (*Ch.* 999). The word occurs again at *Eu.* 633; see Seaford 1984, 250.

20. A "blasphemous paradox," as Fraenkel 1950 on *Ag.* 645 puts it. See above n.1, and D. Clay, "The Daggers at *Agamemnon* 714–15," *Philologus* 110 (1966), 128–32; Kannicht 1969 on *Hel.* 176–78; and Collard 1975 on

Supp. 975–76. Generically, a paean was a song of healing, praise, triumph, or thanksgiving; the Chorus properly address Apollo as "Healer" (Παιᾶνα) at *Ag.* 146.

21. Sophokles dramatized the legend in his lost *Tereus*; see Sutton 1984, 127–32. Drawing on Ovid's version in *Metamorphosis*, Shakespeare uses the myth to bloody effect in *Titus Andronicus*.

22. See the perceptive comments by Ahl 1984, 182–84. Marriage-to-death resonances from the nightingale's song occur elsewhere in tragedy. In Eur. *Hel.* 1107–25, the Chorus ask the nightingale to join their threnody for the enslaved Trojan women, for Helen whom Paris (apparently) abducted in a "fatal marriage" (1120), and for the Greeks who died leaving their wives "lying in marriageless chambers" (1125). The Chorus compare Herakles' cries of pain to the strains of a nightingale at S. *Tr.* 962–64 (Ch. 5 p. 77). Elektra mourns like a nightingale, calling on "the halls of Persephone" and the god Hermes to help avenge the "stolen marriage beds" of her troubled house (S. *El.* 107–18; also 147–52, 239–42, and 1074–80). For other tragic references to the Procne-Philomela story, see Kannicht 1969 on *Hel.* 1107–12, to which add Eur. *HF* 1021–27, *Rh.* 546–50, and ?*Kresphontes P. Oxy.* 27.2458 fr. 2 col. II (line 83) + Michigan Papyri inventory no. 6973 (line 41) reconstructed by S. Bonnycastle and L. Koenen. For the link between nightingales and death generally in Greek literature, see D. W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford 1936), 16–22; A. S. McDevitt, "The Nightingale and the Olive," in *Antidosis*, ed. R. Hanslik, A. Lesky, and H. Schwabl (Vienna 1972), 230–33; and N. Loraux, *Les Mères en deuil* (Paris 1990), 87–100.

23. See Johansen-Whittle 1980 on A. *Supp.* 58–67 and 68–72; A. H. Sommerstein, "Notes on Aeschylus' *Suppliants*," *BICS* 24 (1977), 68; and T. Gantz, "Love and Death in Aischylos' *Suppliants*," *Phoenix* 32 (1978), 280–81.

24. Ps. Aeschin. *Ep.* 10.3. See Gernet 1968, 41–42.

25. See Fraenkel 1950 on *Ag.* 1180. The dawn wind and bridal veils may recall the veils that Helen abandons when she sails "down the winds of a Zephyr" to Troy (*Ag.* 690–93, above, pp. 43–44), exchanging one marriage for another.

26. "The marriage ritual is, in all its details, a struggle against secrecy"—Sissa 1987, 116. Cf. the Danaids' rending of their veils (A. *Supp.* 120–21), suggesting their ultimate rejection of marriage (see Sommerstein, above n.23).

27. See Ch. 1 pp. 17–18. Fraenkel 1950 on *Ag.* 1191 notes that δώμασιν ("house") often specifies "bedrooms," linking the band of Furies more closely to wedding celebrants. In A. *Danaïds*, Danaus(?) refers to the "waking-song" in the "clear light of the sun" for his newly wedded daughters, all of whom (save one) have killed their husbands that very night (*Fr.* 24 [43]). In Eur. *Phaeth.* 228–44, the Chorus (Merops' daughters?) enter singing the wedding hymn for Phaethon and his new bride; at that moment the groom's corpse, still smoldering from Zeus' thunderbolt, is being hidden offstage by his mother Klymene. See also Nagy 1979, 198–200.

28. The verb κομίζω ("lead inside, escort, bring in") is used for leading a bride into her new home at Eur. *Alk.* 1028–29, 1063–64, 1110; *IA* 145–49, 428–39, 905–8 (Iphigenia as bride and as sacrificial victim). In its middle form, the verb is used at And. 1.127 and Is. 8.8 for a *kurios* taking his daughter back after the death of her husband. Forms of the verb also are used for recovering a corpse and preparing it for burial: A. *Ch.* 682–85 (Orestes' ashes); S. *Aj.* 1047–48 (Ajax's corpse); *El.* 1113–14 (Orestes' ashes); Eur. *Hipp.* 1261–62, 1264–67 (the dying Hippolytus); *Andr.* 1158–60, 1263–64 (Neoptolemus); *Supp.* 24–26, 126, 272–73, 494–95, 631–33, 754, 1185–86 (the bodies/bones of the slain Argives); *HF* 1420–22 (the children's corpses); *Hec.* 671–73 (the body of Polyxena, but really Polydorus); *Tro.* 1200–1201 (funeral gifts for Astyanax); *El.* 959–60 (Aegisthus, although no burial is implied); *Ph.* 1315–21 (Menoikeus) and 1627–28 (Eteokles); and Hdt. 4.71 (the Scythian custom of conveying corpses on wagons). Escorting a (surrogate) bride and (future) corpse is combined in Eur. *Hec.*—Odysseus is the "conveyor" (κομιστήρ 222) who "leads" (κόμιζ' 432) Polyxena to be sacrificed at Achilles' tomb so the Greek ships might return home from Troy (534–41), the reverse of A. *Ag.* 218–47 where Iphigenia is sacrificed so the fleet can sail for Troy (see below n.33).

29. Taplin 1977, 299–300, and figure 6, this volume.

30. Earlier Klytemnestra speaks of her delight at "opening wide the gates" (πύλας ἀνοῖξαι 604) to welcome Agamemnon home.

31. The verb κωκύω (s.v. *LSJ*), "wail" or "shriek," is applied specifically to the ritual lament over the dead and is used only of women in epic and tragedy. The name Kokytus—the "river of death" where Kassandra mourns (1160)—derives from this lament.

32. Dodds 1960, 27 writes that "what the King chose blindly . . . , Kassandra chooses with full knowledge, yet by a free act of will." See also S. L. Schein, "The Cassandra Scene in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*," *G&R* 29 (1982), 11–16. Taplin 1977, 317–22 and Rehm 1988, 282n.81 analyze Kassandra's growing insight as realized dramatically through her series of false exits.

33. According to tradition going back to the lost *Kypria*, Agamemnon lures Iphigenia to Aulis under the guise of a betrothal to Achilles; see Conacher 1967, 250–53 and Cunningham 1984, 10. Iphigenia's "wedding" turns her from bride into sacrificial victim in Eur. *IA* (Ch. 2, this volume, n.34); a similar approach may have informed S. lost *Iphigenia* (Sutton 1984, 65). Denniston and Page 1957 on *Ag.* 227 believe that Iphigenia's deceptive betrothal to Achilles is ignored by Aeschylus, but Zeitlin 1965, 466 and 493 finds traces of the story and points out other similarities between Iphigenia and Kassandra (470–73).

34. The word occurs elsewhere in drama only at Ar. *Lys.* 217, 218, where it means "living a life without [marital] sex." See Henderson 1987 on *Lys.* 217.

35. Aeschylus' Io, also driven mad by a god, describes herself as a "horned maiden" (βούκερω παρθένου *Pr.* 588), alluding both to Zeus' rape and to her transformation into a cow.

36. See Denniston and Page 1957 on *Ag.* 1278.

37. Note their likeness to Polyxena, who removes her *peplos* from her

shoulders before being sacrificed at Achilles' tomb (Eur. *Hec.* 557–80). Born to be "the bride of kings" (*Hec.* 352), Polyxena takes leave of her mother (402–31) and covers her head while being led away by Odysseus (432), actions that resemble the *eisagōgē* of a bride to her new home. However Polyxena is "without nuptials and without wedding hymn" (ἄνυμφος ἀνυμέναιος 416). "I dedicate my body to Hades" (Ἅιδηι προστιθεῖσ' ἐμὸν δέμας A368), she proclaims, accepting a marriage to death that recalls Aeschylus' Iphigenia and Kassandra.

38. See W. Headlam, *Agamemnon of Aeschylus* (Cambridge 1925, orig. 1910), 63; Fraenkel 1950 on *Ag.* 239; Sourvinou 1971; T.C.W. Stinton, "Iphigeneia and the Bears of Brauron," *CQ* 26 (1976), 11–13 (= Stinton 1990, 186–89). Others believe that her garments flow naturally toward the earth as she is lifted over the altar, including H. Lloyd-Jones, "The Robes of Iphigeneia," *CR* 2 (1952), 132–35; Denniston and Page 1957 on *Ag.* 239; and Lebeck 1971, 81–84. Regarding Kassandra, Fraenkel 1950 on *Ag.* 1264f argues convincingly that she discards her robes as well as her staff and fillet.

39. See Cunningham 1984; D. Armstrong and E. Ratchford, "Iphigenia's Veil," *BICS* 32 (1985), 5–10; and Seaford 1987, 125–26. Iphigenia's "shaft from the eyes" (ὄμματος βέλει 240) is the counterpart to the "soft shaft from the eye" (μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος 742) with which Helen wins Paris, bringing on "the bitter completion of the marriage ritual" (ἐπέκρανεν/ δὲ γάμου πικρὰς τελευτάς 744–45). Cf. A. *Toxotides* (*Fr.* 133 [242]): "For pure maidens with no experience of the marriage bed, the glance [βολή] of their eyes looks down in shame."

40. See P. Perlman, "Plato *Laws* 833C–834D and the Bears of Brauron," *GRBS* 24 (1983), 125–26; Kahil 1983, 237–38; Ar. *Lys.* 219–20, 641–47; and Eur. *IT* 1461–67. Also, Iphigenia is lifted over the altar "like a goat" (232), the animal sacrificed to Artemis at the Brauronia; see H. Lloyd-Jones, "Artemis and Iphigeneia," *JHS* 103 (1983), 93, and Osborne 1985, 162–63.

41. See Dowden 1989, 9–47; Seaford 1988, 119–20; Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 127–35; Osborne 1985, 161–72; Cole 1984, 242–44; Perlman (above n.40); A. Henrichs, "Human Sacrifice in Greek Religion," in *Le Sacrifice dans l'antiquité*, Fondation Hardt Entretiens 27 (Geneva 1981), 207–8; Parke 1977, 139–40. A disrobed Iphigenia strengthens the link to the Brauronia, for the vases (*krateriskoi*) dedicated there often depict young initiates in the nude.

42. Discarding her veil (like a bride) and her yellow robe (like a Brauronian "bear"), Euripides' Antigone symbolically abandons her youth. Like Iphigenia and Kassandra, however, her future is with the doomed or the dead. In place of marriage to Haimon (*Ph.* 1586–88, 1635–38), Antigone chooses to bury Polyneikes' corpse and suffer with her father (1656–82).

43. I assume that women attended the theater in fifth-century Athens, a position supported by J. Henderson, "Women and the Athenian Dramatic Festivals," *TAPA* 121 (1991), 133–47, and Podlecki 1990. As Podlecki notes, the idea that women could *not* attend dramatic performances goes back to Böttiger in 1796 and reflects contemporary German proprieties, a prudery antithetical to the inclusive nature of Dionysiac cult. As to the percentage

of Athenian girls initiated at the Brauronia, Vidal-Naquet 1977, 179–80 believes it was very small. However, Sourvinou-Inwood 1988, 75n.61 and 111–14 argues that the numbers were far more significant, and that the maturation rite (at least symbolically) was performed by all girls. The rite was organized by tribe, and those selected to participate were seen as representatives of their age group. Simon 1983, 86 goes further, claiming that the whole citizen population sent their daughters.

44. See Fraenkel 1950 on *Ag.* 1395f and Lebeck 1971, 60–63. D. W. Lucas, "ἐπὶ σπένδειν νεκρῷι, *Agamemnon* 1393–8," *PCPhS* 15 (1969), 60–68, distinguishes libations (σπονδαί) from pourings (χοαί), the former having no part in funeral rites. According to Lucas, Klytemnestra may allude to the practice of dousing sacrificial victims with libations. However, reference to the "third offerings" to Zeus (see Fraenkel 1950 on *Ag.* 1387) blurs these distinctions, conflating libations of wine, pourings over sacrificial victims, and liquid offerings for the dead.

45. Seeking poetic as well as personal justice, Orestes adopts this figure of speech when he promises the Furies the blood of Aegisthus (and presumably of Klytemnestra too) for their third libation; see Garvie 1986 on *Ch.* 577–78.

46. See Fraenkel 1950, and Denniston and Page 1957, on *Ag.* 1278. Klytemnestra inverts other aspects of Agamemnon's funeral—with fatal irony she has given her husband his final bath, and he lies in "public view," a perverse *prothesis* with the body wrapped in a net-cum-funeral shroud (1382, 1492, 1550). The Chorus refer to the "garland of unwashed blood" (1459–60) that comes from Helen, as if a funeral *stephanos* had been placed on the corpse. Seaford 1984, 248–49 examines these motifs in impressive detail.

47. Perverted feasts include the eagles that devour the pregnant hare (*Ag.* 119–20), the lion cub who grows up to wreak havoc on the herds (730–31), the Greek soldiers who "lap up the blood of kings" (827–28), the feast of Thyestes (1091–92, 1096–97), the plagues that will devour Orestes if he fails to take vengeance (*Ch.* 279–82), the snake drinking its mother's blood and milk in Klytemnestra's nightmare (*Ch.* 530–33, 545–46), the Furies who would suck Orestes' blood (*Eu.* 264–66) and threaten to consume the harvests of Attica (*Eu.* 781–87, 811–17).

48. Winnington-Ingram 1983, 111 notes that the offenses of which Klytemnestra accuses Agamemnon—killing their daughter Iphigenia and taking Kassandra as his concubine—"strike at the status of women in marriage."

49. As Pohlenz 1954, 101 puts it, "Mit der Kassandraszene hat die Tragödie ihren Gipfel erreicht" ("With the Kassandra scene, the tragedy has reached its climax"). See also Knox 1972; Lebeck 1971, 52; and Mason 1959, 84. The Kassandra scene is the longest in *Ag.* (over 250 lines), fully exploiting the modes of lyric and rhetoric available to the dramatist; see Rehm 1992, 86–89.

50. See Garvie 1986 on *Ch.* 22–83. Note also *Ch.* 429–32, 508–11, and 1014–15.

51. The word is used for "dowry" at Eur. *Ion* 814.

52. Although printing Murray's text, Garvie 1986 on *Ch.* 481–82 supports Heyse's and Wecklein's conjecture.

53. Alluded to only here in the *Oresteia*, Elektra's future marriage to Pylades seems to be a traditional element in the story; see Eur. *El.* 1249; *IT* 682, 696; and *Or.* 1092–93, 1658–59.

54. W. H. Race, *The Classical Priamel from Homer to Boethius*, Mnemosyne Supp. 74 (Leiden 1982), 89–90. For the scholarly debate on the order of the strophes, see Garvie 1986 on *Ch.* 585–651.

55. J. H. Kells, "Aeschylus *Eumenides* 213–24 and Athenian Marriage," *CP* 56 (1961), 169–73, thinks their adulterous oath parodies the marriage vows referred to at *Eu.* 217–18; Klytemnestra delivers an even stronger parody at *Ag.* 1431–36.

56. ἄγρευμα θηρός, ἢ νεκροῦ ποδένδυτον/ δροίτης κατασκήνωμα *Ch.* 998–99; for δροίτη as both "bathtub" and "coffin," see R. Pfeiffer, "A Fragment of Parthenios' *Arete*," *CQ* 37 (1943), 29n.6 (the word is used for Agamemnon's bier at *Ch.* 999). A similar confusion operates when Elektra uses ἀμφίβληστρον ("fishing-net," lit. "something thrown around") and καλύμμασιν ("coverings") for the net that trapped her father (*Ch.* 492, 494). The former word suggests both "net" and "shroud" at *Ag.* 1382; the latter means "shroud" at S. *El.* 1468. See Seaford 1984, 252–53.

57. See, for example, C. Paglia, *Sexual Personae* (Yale 1990), 100–101; DuBois 1988, 70–71; Cantarella 1987, 64–65; K. Millet, *Sexual Politics* (Garden City 1970), 112–15.

58. Broadbent 1968, 153–54. For fifth-century assumptions regarding the predominance of males in the reproductive process and challenges to those beliefs, see Garland 1990, 28–29 and Peretti 1956. For the idea that females as well as males produced "seed," see D. M. Halperin, "Why is Diotima a Woman?" 278–79, and A. E. Hanson, "The Medical Writers' Woman," 314n.27, both in Halperin, Winkler, and Zeitlin 1990.

59. Careful consideration of the Citizenship Law undermines the oft-repeated claim that Athenian women were "non-persons" in the *polis*. If women could be designated "Athenian," what rights and duties did that status entail? They did not vote in the Assembly, hold political office, act as jurors in the law courts, or serve in the military. However, women played a traditional and pervasive role in cult worship, performed essential ritual activities at weddings and funerals, and oversaw many aspects of child-rearing and economic/domestic life. Moreover, with the new law of 451, citizenship was passed down through them as well as through their husbands (see Patterson 1981, 135 and 1986, 63). Their new status found its way onto major public monuments, particularly the Parthenon frieze—see E. B. Harrison, "Hellenic Identity and Athenian Identity in the Fifth Century B.C.," in *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts*, ed. S. J. Barnes and W. S. Melion (National Gallery of Art, Washington 1989), 50–51, 55, and 61n.96.

60. Europa says "I was yoked in marriage for [or 'to'] the joint partnership of children" [παίδων δ' ἐξύγην ξυνωνίαι], in A. *Kares* (or *Europa*), *Fr.* 50 (99), 6. Lloyd-Jones 1971 (600n.6) and *LSJ* (s.v. ξυνέων) prefer Blass's ξυνάονι ("ownership") to Weil's ξυνώνιαι, but the point holds. The Chorus in Eur. *Ion* denounce Apollo's failure to allow Kreusa "the common good fortune of children" [κοινὰν τεκέων τύχαν 1101]. The idea that men and women were equal biological parents occurs at Eur. *Ph.* 940–44, when Teiresias proclaims that the sacrifice to save Thebes must be of a pure-blooded Theban on *both* his mother's and father's side. Cf. Gagarin 1976, 103 who claims "the view that the male is the sole true parent is also Apollo's one convincing argument"[!].

61. Bacon 1982, 149–50; see also Patterson 1986, 56.

62. For example, Zeitlin 1978, 167 states that "the Apollonian argument is the hub of the drama," and she generates a purportedly Aeschylean (Apollonian?) list of antithetical roles for males and females, including "culture" for the former and "nature" for the latter (171–72). However, in *Choephoroi*, the Nurse (*Trophos*) shows the importance of women rearing and nurturing children independent of ties of blood. She received the baby Orestes from his mother Klytemnestra, she "raised" him (ἐξέθρεψα 750), and she "nursed and cared for him" (τρέφειν 754) when he was too young to communicate his needs. Looking to Athena, Goldhill 1984, 258–59 argues that she transcends (even as she emphasizes) the various polarities that critics point to, particularly the opposition between the sexes.

63. Scholars are divided on the actual count—either six votes for convicting Orestes and five for freeing him, with Athena casting her vote for Orestes and the resultant tie going to the defendant, or the jury votes are evenly split and Athena casts the tie-breaker. For the former, see M. Gagarin, "The Vote of Athena," *AJP* 96 (1975), 121–27, and Tyrrell and Brown 1991, 128–29; for the latter, Jones 1962, 111–13; D. A. Hester, "The Casting Vote," *AJP* 102 (1981), 265–74; and Podlecki 1989a, 211–13. Either way, the verdict *could not be closer*, and Apollo's argument sways Aeschylus' dramatic court no more, perhaps, than it impresses the audience.

64. For Apollo's exit, see Kitto 1961, 89, 93–94; and Taplin 1977, 403–7. Cf. the elaborately worked departures of Agamemnon and Kassandra in *Ag.*, and Orestes' final exit following his longest speech in the play, *Eu.* 754–77.

65. DuBois 1988, 71.

66. Klytemnestra may be parodying the "cosmic marriage" presented by Aphrodite(?) in *Danaïds Fr.* 25 (44), where "love takes hold of the earth to join heaven in marriage,/ and the rain falling from the sexually charged heavens/ impregnates the earth." See J. Herington, "The Marriage of Earth and Sky in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1388–92," in Cropp et al. 1986, 27–33.

67. Epitomized by the Servant's cry, "Those who are dead are killing the living" (*Ch.* 886). See also Lebeck 1971, 80–91.

68. For the triumph of a beneficent natural world in *Eu.*, see Vickers 1973, 419–24. Drawing on Homer (but relevant to the *Oresteia*), W. Berry, *The Unsettling of America* (San Francisco 1977), 123–30, explores the connections between marriage, household, and land, noting the "uncanny *resemblance* between our behavior toward each other and our behavior toward the earth."

69. "Orestes' victory is not the last word of the trilogy, and . . . the feminine principle finally wins a place in the city. Tragedy is not a platform for propaganda." (Loraux 1981a, 58).

70. Grace Harris, "Furies, Witches and Mothers," in *The Character of*

Kinship, ed. J. Goody (Cambridge 1973), 155. See also J-P. Vernant, "Greek Tragedy: Problems of Interpretation," in *The Structuralist Controversy*, ed. R. Macksey and E. Donato (Baltimore 1972), 290–91; Rehm 1985a, 242–43 and 1992, 106–8; Nussbaum 1986, 41–42, 49–50; Sommerstein 1989 on *Eu.* 990–91; and Goldhill 1992, 33–37, 42–45. As Kitzinger 1986, 117 concludes, "the ending of the *Eumenides* does not represent the triumphant celebration of civic stability for which many critics argue" (see also Saïd 1983). To use the purple robes (signifying metic status) like straitjackets to bind the Furies at the end of the play—as Peter Stein did in his much-lauded production of the *Oresteia* in 1981—is to betray Aeschylus' dramaturgy, ignoring the richly earned, if tenuous, balance that the trilogy struggles so hard to achieve.

CHAPTER 4

1. Kamerbeck 1978, 34–35, with similar sentiments from Calder 1968, 400–401:

> The pathetic fourth *epeisodion* (806–943), concerned with the departure of Antigone, need not detain us long. Rather a standard *captatio misericordiae*, the *Hadesbraut*, the scene shows in human terms the unpleasant side-effects of stern decrees. . . . Exit wronged maiden to death in bridal array.

Better discussions of the marriage-death dialectic in the play include Neuberg 1990, 66–69; Loraux 1987, 31–32, 36–38; Brown 1987, 188–91; Porter 1987, 50, 54–57, 61; Scodel 1984, 50–51; Leinieks 1982, 79–80; Sorum 1981–82, 206–9; Segal 1981, 179–83 and 1964, 58–59; Musurillo 1967, 45–46; Méautis 1957, 209–10; Goheen 1951, 37–41; and Reinhardt 1947, 80–83.

2. Echoing this sentiment, the Chorus proclaim that "no one is so foolish as to be in love with [ἐραῖ] dying" (220).

3. For the erotic significance of the noun πόθος ("longing") and verb ποθέω ("long for"), see Ch. 5n.6.

4. For *philos* as "close blood relations," see Else 1976, 30, 35n.23, and 1957, 349–50. Bowra 1944, 76–77 describes the sanctity of the familial *philos*-bond for the Greeks.

5. Blundell 1989, 106–30 and Nussbaum 1986, 51–82 analyze this conflict in detail. See also Winnington-Ingram 1983a, 245; Kamerbeek 1978 on *Ant.* 522 and 523; Connor 1971, 49–52; Knox 1964, 75–116; and Segal 1964, 62–63. Goldhill 1987, 67 takes up the civic appropriation of "the emotionally and morally charged terminology of the family . . . to express the citizen's relations to the city and its laws," and Patterson 1990, 61 points out that "the Classical Athenian polis structured itself on the model of the family." Leinieks 1982, 74–76 traces the principle "of family affection (*philia*) as the basis of good government" developed in the fourth century, noting that *Antigone* is the earliest surviving text that alludes to the idea. Kreon "indicates his complete misunderstanding of the principle by assuming that there is a potential conflict between family affection and the welfare of the city." Ehrenberg 1954, 55–61 lays out the parallels between Kreon's state absolutism and the political message of Perikles. Note in particular the erotic diction in the latter's exhortation that Athenians "gaze on the power of the city every day and become her lovers" (Thuk. 2.43.1; see Immerwahr 1973, 27–28).

6. Perikles voices a similar sentiment in Thuk. 2.60.3; see Knox 1983, 13–17.

7. For other comparisons of marital sex to plowing in tragedy, see S. *OT* 270–71, 1211–12, 1257, 1485, 1497–98; Eur. *Tro.* 135, *Ph.* 18. In A. *Niobe*, Europa describes Zeus' extramarital "plowing" that led to their "joint ownership of children" (*Fr.* 99, 5–9). Sokrates (Pl. *Cra.* 406B) derives the name of the virgin goddess Artemis from ἄρρητον μισεῖ, "she who hates plowing" (i.e., sexual intercourse). See also DuBois 1988, 72–73. For the marriage "formula" of "sowing legitimate children," see Kamerbeek 1978 on *Ant.* 569; *I.G.* 14.1615; and Men. *Dysk.* 842–43, *Mis.* 444–46, *Pk.* 1013–14, *Sam.* 726–27, *Fr.* 682 (Körte and Thierfelde 1959), *Fab. incert.*, 29–30, and *Fr. dub.*, 4–5 (Sandbach 1972).

8. For Kreon as tyrant, see R. Bushnell, *Prophesying Tragedy: Sign and Voice in Sophocles' Theban Plays* (Ithaca 1988), 53–55; Podlecki 1966, 359–71; Bowra 1944, 72–75. Cf. M. Ostwald, *From Popular Sovereignty to the Sovereignty of Law* (Berkeley 1986), 156–57, who finds Kreon sympathetic and not at all tyrannical. So, too, Sourvinou-Inwood 1989, 139 who argues that Kreon generally "speaks the polis discourse," and that his position consistently exemplifies the kind of democratic patriotism that was at one with his Athenian audience. Nussbaum 1986, 60 provides the compelling corrective: "The play is about Creon's failure. . . . Only an impoverished conception of the city can have the simplicity which Creon requires."

9. Summarized by Knox 1964, 87. Regarding Kreon's decree, it seems to have been standard Athenian practice to refuse burial *on Attic soil* to traitors and those guilty of sacrilege. See Thuk.1. 126.12 and 138.6; X. *HG* 1.7.22; Dinarchus. *Against Demosthenes* 77; Pl. *Lg.* 909B–C; Lycurg. *Against Leocrates* 113; Plu. *Mor.* 833A, 834A and *Phoc.* 37.2; Ael. *VH* 4.7; and the law establishing the second naval confederacy, in M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, vol. 2 (Oxford 1948), no. 123. My thanks to James Diggle for these references; see also his rev. of Kovacs's *The Heroic Muse* in *AJP* 110 (1989), 361. Against this practice, however, was the pan-Hellenic custom that the dead were owed burial *somewhere*, indicated at S. *Ant.* 450–60, 1070–73, *Aj.* 1342–45; and Eur. *Supp.* 308–12, 526–36, 538–41, 670–72, a compulsion that was magnified if the dead were kin (e.g., S. *Ant* and *OC* 1409–13). Parker 1983, 33 and 43–48 discusses the issue in terms of avoiding pollution. Cerri 1982, 121–31 contrasts the law (νόμος) for traitors (burial outside of Attica) with a decree voted on by the Assembly (ψήφισμα) that condemned a man to death without burial.

10. When Kreon finally has Polyneikes buried, the corpse is "washed with the sacred bath" (λούσαντες ἁγνὸν λουτρόν 1201) before cremation, burial, and the erection of a funeral mound.

11. Taplin 1984, 16. To help the audience identify Haimon with Antigone, Sophokles may have used the same actor to play both roles. See McCall 1972, 142 and M. Croiset, *Histoire de la littérature grecque* Vol. 3 (Paris 1891), 237.

MARRIAGE TO DEATH

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