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 [ἐρᾷς] 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' οὐχθρός, οὐδ' ὅταν θάνῃ, φίλος.)
> AN. It is not my nature to join in hate, but in love.
> (οὔτοι συνέχθειν, ἀλλὰ συμφιλεῖν ἔφυν.)

Kr. Then go below now, if you must love, and love
the dead. While I am alive, no woman will rule me.
(κάτω νυν ἐλθοῦσ', εἰ φιλητέον, φίλει
κείνους· ἐμοῦ δὲ ζῶντος οὐκ ἄρξει γυνή.) 522–25

Kreon's politically oriented definition of friend, φίλος (*philos*), and enemy, ἐχθρός (*echthros*), is strikingly at odds with Antigone's traditional understanding of *philos* as kin, someone linked by blood and hence ultimately not subject to the political category of "friend or foe."[4] Antigone maintains the Greek sense of family as the primary community against Kreon's novel, transpolitical standard that condemns anyone who considers *philos* more important than country (182–83).[5]

The new ruler introduces his political criteria by comparing the city to a ship that carries everyone, making its survival more important than any individual on board (187–90).[6] However, Kreon's estimation of the *polis* is not as objective as it sounds, for the hold of his "ship of state" has a special place for male privilege and power: "If she [Antigone] undermines my authority with impunity, then I am no longer the man; she is" (484–85). Kreon later insists, "While I am alive, no woman will rule me" (525). His zealous belief that loyalties of blood must be subordinated to those of the *polis* proves, on examination, to mean the subjection of the citizenry to his personal authority as a male.

For Kreon, women's inferior position in the public sphere should be mirrored in the marriage relationship. When Ismene reminds him that by sentencing Antigone he condemns his own son's fiancée (568), Kreon is unmoved, boasting that "there are other arable fields" (ἀρώσιμοι γὰρ χἀτέρων εἰσὶν γύαι 569) for Haimon to plow. The trope compares women to the earth that must be dominated, a common image for (conjugal) intercourse, and one that echoes the Athenian formula that marriage is undertaken for "the sowing of legitimate children."[7]

Far from expressing concern for marriage and offspring, however, Kreon manifests an excessive desire for political control, particularly in his idée fixe that women must be excluded from public influence and confined to the private, domestic sphere. If not, they become subversives, rebellious citizens who "shake their heads in secret and won't hold their necks, as they should, under the yoke" (291–92). Kreon again employs an image of control when he warns Antigone that "a small bit can tame the wildest horse" (477–78), and he locks Ismene and Antigone in the *oikos* so they will not "roam free" (579) like wild animals. In both conception and practice, political rule for

Kreon takes the form of a tyrant dominating his people and a man subjugating women.[8]

As a manifestation of his political power, Kreon denies Antigone her traditional role in preparing her brother's corpse for burial, including bathing, dressing, and mourning the body (26–30).[9] In her final speech Antigone characterizes these rituals as obligations she owes categorically to her natal family. She recalls how she buried her parents Oedipus and Jokasta, washing and dressing their corpses and pouring offerings at the tomb (ἐπεὶ θανόντας . . . ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ/ ἔλουσα κἀκόσμησα κἀπιτυμβίους/ χοὰς ἔδωκα 900–902).[10] Barred from performing these duties for Polyneikes, Antigone finds herself stripped of wedding rites as well. Choosing a punishment to match his misogyny, Kreon condemns her to the maimed ritual of a marriage to death. It is dramatically fitting that the tyrant delivers this sentence in the presence of Antigone's fiancé, his own son Haimon.

When the young man enters, the Chorus wonder if he comes "grieving/ over the death of his affianced Antigone,/ in anguish at the loss [lit. 'deception'] of his marriage bed" (627–30). Instead of dwelling on the personal costs of Kreon's policy, however, Haimon stresses its *public* consequences, assuring his father that no marriage is worth more to him than Kreon's "good governance" (638). With that in mind, Haimon is compelled to report that the Theban citizens consider Antigone a heroine, not a criminal (688–700). He implores his father to swerve from his destructive course—to bend like a tree in a torrent, not remain rigid and be uprooted (712–14); to slacken sails in a gale so as not to risk capsizing (715–17); to have the wisdom to listen to sound counsel, even if it comes from a youth (719–23). Kreon rejects the advice out of hand, warning Haimon not to lose himself in the pleasures of a woman: "the embrace grows cold [ψυχρὸν]/ when an evil wife is bedmate" (650–51). The image of a frigid embrace (recalling the "chilling task" at 88, above) leads Kreon to command that Antigone "go marry someone in Hades" (653–54).

Having made explicit her fate as a bride of death, Kreon berates his son for surrendering to a "woman/wife" (the word γυνή is repeated), accusing him of "fighting on the side of a woman" (740), of being "bested by a woman" (746), of "pleading only for that [woman]" (748), and, perhaps worst of all, of "being slave to a woman" (756, Jebb's lineation). Kreon's wrath at Haimon's attachment to the feminine brings death and weddings together in his mind, and again he pronounces Antigone's sentence: "She will die straightaway before your eyes, at the side of her bridegroom" (760–61).

In the course of this scene, Haimon emerges as a most sympathetic character. Loyal to his father and ruler, gracious under attack, admi-

rable in his self-control, full of sound advice, Haimon is a model son and citizen. To his father's charge that he has allied himself with a woman, he responds pointedly, "Yes, if *you* are a woman (εἴπερ γυνὴ σύ), for my concern is for you" (741). There is more here than a clever retort, for Haimon suggests that he is siding with his father *by* siding with Antigone. If Kreon rejects her (or so Haimon implies), then the ruler himself will suffer, for she occupies a valued, and valuable, position in the *polis* (692–700, 733).

In the logic of the dramatic events, Haimon's apparently counterfactual hypothesis—"if *you* are a woman [but of course you are not]"—points to an unrealized connection between men and women that Haimon himself seems to embody. Kreon needs to be more like the "womanly" Haimon if he is to rule well, but instead he denies women their place in the state. As Taplin puts it, "Antigone is surely the model of the woman who sees right through the sterility and the destructive argumentation of male force. And Haimon might yet prove the model of the man who can speak the same language as Antigone."[11]

But ruling as a process of inclusion is precisely what Kreon rejects, substituting for it a conception of power as personal possession: "Must I rule for others or for myself?" (736) and "Doesn't the city belong to the one who rules?" (738). In frustration, Haimon draws the logical conclusion that his father "would rule well over a desert land [ἐρήμης], alone [μόνος]" (739). His judgment proves strangely prophetic, for Kreon decides to bury Antigone alive in "some desert place [ἐρῆμος] where no mortal goes" (773), where she will be free to "honor Death" (777–80). The tyrant banishes his subject to solitary confinement in the only environment over which, according to his son, he is fit to rule.[12] By the end of the play, Kreon will find himself presiding over just such a desolate world, alone among the dead.

The dramatic fulfillment of similar figures of speech occurs at key moments in the play, but nowhere more effectively than when Haimon joins Antigone in a "marriage to death." After Kreon pronounces that Antigone will die at the side of her groom, Haimon abruptly departs. When we next hear of him, we learn that *he* has killed himself at the side of his bride. Explaining the clash of father and son, the Chorus blame human resistance to Eros for stirring up strife "between those who share blood," (ξύναιμον 793–94).[13] The word echoes Kreon's dismissive comment that Antigone take her appeal to Zeus ξύναιμον, "the lord of shared blood" (658–59). On both occasions ξύναιμον suggests Haimon's name, with the common root αἷμα (*haima*), "blood." The sanguinary play on words turns deadly when the Messenger reports the young man's suicide: Αἵμων ὄλωλεν· αὐτόχειρ δ' αἱμάσσεται 1175, literally "the one named Blood has died, his blood shed by his own hand." Name and action merge, as Haimon is caught in the crosscurrents of the shared blood that ties him to Kreon and the shared bed that would unite him with Antigone.

Haimon's death confirms the Chorus's fear that marital passions ("the longing/ from the eyes of a bedded/ bride" 795–97) can dissolve even the closest bonds of blood. The Chorus allude to the tension between the centrifugal demands of exogamous marriage and the centripetal forces of natural kinship, opposing tendencies never fully resolved in fifth-century Athens.[14] Indeed, Antigone blames her desperate fate on marriages that lie at both extremes (858–71). She first considers a wedding diametrically opposed to the outward-looking, kin-fragmenting liaisons feared by the Chorus, namely the accursed union of her father (and half-brother) Oedipus and mother Jokasta. Self-reflexive in the extreme, that marriage joined bloodlines *already* the same, a kind of hyper-endogamy of monstrous proportions. Antigone contrasts her parents' incestuous marriage with the one that her brother Polyneikes made with the daughter of the Argive Adrastos. This wedding of ostensible enemies—Argive and Theban—proved so "hyper-exogamous" that it led to the Argive invasion of Thebes, the deaths of Polyneikes and Eteokles, Kreon's edict that the traitor must not be buried, and, ultimately, Antigone's own marriage to death.[15]

In her final scene (806–943), Antigone appears as a bride to be escorted to her new home, Hades. Here, Sophokles follows the tripartite pattern of the Greek wedding outlined in Chapter 1—*enguē* (betrothal), *ekdosis* (preparations culminating in the move to the groom's house), and *gamos* (consummation, preceded by the bride's unveiling). As the last male relative of Oedipus and Jokasta, Kreon acts as Antigone's (and Haimon's) *kurios*.[16] He has arranged her marriage, telling his son to "let her go marry someone in Hades" (μέθες/ τὴν παῖδ' ἐν Ἅιδου τήνδε νυμφεύειν τινί 653–54), a kind of *enguē* with the powers below.[17] As for the transferal of the bride to her new home, the Chorus speak of Antigone's "final journey to the bridal chamber (θάλαμος) where all end in sleep (παγκοίτην)" (804–5). However, this *ekdosis* is without "wedding hymns" (813) "nor any bridal song to crown the nuptials" (οὔτ' ἐπὶ νυμ-/ φείοις πώ μέ τις ὕμνος ὕ-/ μνησεν 814–16). Antigone's procession is to the underworld, where she "will marry Death" (Ἀχέροντι νυμφεύσω 816).

Antigone reiterates the fact that her wedding and funeral are one and the same: "Oh tomb, bridal chamber, my ever-wakeful/ dwelling underground, I go to you/ to join my own kind, where Persephone/ receives the vast number of the dead" (891–94).[18] Echoing the Chorus, Antigone conflates her bridal *exagōgē* ("leading out") with

the *ekphora* of her corpse to the grave: "I walk my last road. . . . Hades, where all end in sleep, leads me still living to the river of Death" (τὰν νεάταν ὁδὸν/ στείχουσαν . . . μ' ὁ παγ-/ κοίτας Ἅιδας ζῶσαν ἄγει/ τὰν Ἀχέροντος/ ἀκτάν 807–13). She is like a traveler who never arrives, caught in the liminal state between living maiden and dead bride: "I go to the tomb-like enclosure of the grave" (848–49) as "a resident alien, neither among the living nor the dead" (850–52). Antigone again compares herself to a resident alien amongst her dead kin, one who is "cursed, without a proper marriage" (867–68). She repeats this refrain in the speech that follows her *kommos*: "And now forcefully by the hand Kreon leads me,/ denied a marriage bed, a marriage song, a proper wedding,/ a share in the raising of children" (916–18). Without family or friends to lament her departure (881–82, 919–20), Antigone sings for herself the very wedding hymn and funeral dirge that Kreon has denied her.

If Kreon as Antigone's *kurios* has "betrothed" her to death, and if the journey to her place of entombment constitutes a perverse bridal procession, then there remains the *telos* of this twisted wedding, the *anakaluptēria* (unveiling) followed by the *gamos* (sexual union). Both take place symbolically in the Messenger's account of the events in Antigone's marriage chamber/tomb. Addressing the Chorus and Eurydike (wife of Kreon and mother of Haimon), the Messenger reports that Kreon performed the belated burial rites for Polyneikes, then raced to the "hollow, stone-bedded bridal chamber of the young girl and Hades" (λιθόστρωτον κόρης/ νυμφεῖον Ἅιδου κοῖλον 1204–5). "Funeral cries" (κωκύματα) emanate from "the inner chamber that lacks burial rites" (ἀκτέριστον ἀμφὶ παστάδα 1206–7).[19] There he discovers Haimon mourning over the corpse of Antigone, who lies strangled in the "linen noose" (μιτώδει σινδόνος 1222) by which she has hung herself. Some commentators believe that the σινδών refers to Antigone's veil, opening up the possibility that she "unveiled" herself before taking her life.[20] In Sophokles' *Eurypylos* and Aeschylus' *Nereiads*, the word σινδών also is used for the "shroud" or "winding sheet" of a corpse.[21] The instrument of Antigone's hanging suggests both the veil that reveals the bride and the funeral shroud that conceals the dead.

After her *anakaluptēria*, Antigone achieves symbolic physical union with her fiancé. Haimon lies on Antigone's corpse and "embraces her, bemoaning the loss of his bride and marriage bed" (τὸν δ' ἀμφὶ μέσσῃ περιπετῆ προσκείμενον,/ εὐνῆς ἀποιμώζοντα τῆς κάτω φθορὰν/ . . . καὶ τὸ δύστηνον λέχος 1223–25). When Kreon interrupts the scene, begging his son to leave the world of the dead, Haimon directs a wild blow at his father before turning the sword on himself.

The description of his death is erotically charged, suicide as a form of sexual consummation. Haimon drives the sword into his body, then "embraces/ the maiden softly in his arms/ and, panting for breath, releases a sharp gush/ as drops of blood fall on her pale cheek" (ἐς δ' ὑγρὸν/ ἀγκῶν' ἔτ' ἔμφρων παρθένῳ προσπτύσσεται· καὶ φυσιῶν ὀξεῖαν ἐκβάλλει ῥοὴν/ λευκῇ παρειᾷ φοινίου σταλάγματος 1236–39). The details—a lover's embrace, heavy breathing, the gush of liquid, drops of blood, pale white skin—suggest both the seminal emission of male orgasm and the defloration of a virgin on her wedding night.[22]

For his part, Kreon has shrunk from all-powerful tyrant and authoritative *kurios* to a voyeur, helplessly gazing on the intimacies of his son's death. In their first confrontation, Kreon reminded Haimon that there were other fields to plow and urged him to "spit Antigone away" (653). In the cave Haimon answers his father's pleas by spitting in his face (1232). Haimon then makes good Kreon's prediction that "you will never marry her while she is still alive" (750), carrying out his own threat that "in dying she will destroy someone else" (751). The final tableau in the sepulchral bridal chamber recapitulates Antigone and Haimon's wedding to death: "Wretched corpse lies with corpse, fulfilling marriage rites in the house of Hades" (κεῖται δὲ νεκρὸς περὶ νεκρῷ, τὰ νυμφικὰ/ τέλη λαχὼν δείλαιος ἔν γ' Ἅιδου δόμοις 1240–41).[23]

On hearing the Messenger's news, Eurydike slips silently back into the palace—her abrupt departure mirrors that of Haimon at 765—where she follows her son's example by stabbing herself with a sword. Unmentioned before her entrance at 1180, Eurydike appears late in the play and speaks the fewest lines of any named character in extant tragedy.[24] Nonetheless, her actions repay close examination. The timing of her introduction and the speed with which she is dispatched contribute to the sense that Kreon's *oikos* is collapsing almost faster than events can be reported. But there are other, thematic reasons for the peculiarities of her entrance, exit, and summary death. That Eurydike appears only to hear the Messenger's speech and then returns to the palace without a word, underlines the fact that she plays no part in initiating the tragic conflicts of the play. However, her innocence (like that of Haimon) does not free her from suffering, for Kreon's inflexibility destroys loved ones (*philoi*) and family (*oikos*) as if from within.

To emphasize the inner springs of destruction, Sophokles uses the same "self-directed" αὐτός compound for the deaths of Haimon and Eurydike—"with his own hand he bloodies himself" (αὐτόχειρ δ' αἱμάσσεται 1175), and she stabs herself "with her own hand (αὐτόχειρ 1315). Similar compounds describe Oedipus' "self-detection" (αὐτο-

φώρων 51) and "self-blinding" (ἀράξας αὐτὸς αὐτουργῷ χερί 52); Antigone's incestuous, "self-generated" birth (αὐτογέννητ' 864–65); Eteokles' and Polyneikes' internecine struggle (αὐτοκτονοῦντε 56, πληγέντες αὐτόχειρι 172); Antigone's "self-sibling" relationship (αὐτάδελφον) with Ismene (1) and Polyneikes (503, 696); and Antigone's "self-accomplished" actions in burying Polyneikes (αὐτόχειρα 306) and her parents (αὐτόχειρ 900), motivated by her "own set of principles" (αὐτόνομος 821) and "self-will" (αὐτόγνωτος 875). By applying the αὐτός-prefix to the suicides of Kreon's wife and son, Sophokles links their fate to that of the accursed, "self-generated" couple Oedipus and Jokasta, and also to their admirable if self-destructive daughter, Antigone.

As reported by the second Messenger, Eurydike cursed her husband, charging him with murdering his sons, and then crowned her malediction by committing suicide at the altar dedicated to Zeus *Herkeios*, Zeus "of the household enclosure" (1301–5).[25] Eurydike signals the death of the family by polluting the locus of domestic cult, which normally received offerings on behalf of the *oikos*.[26] Kreon refers to that altar specifically when he sentences Antigone:

> Although she is my sister's child, closer in blood
> than all who gather at the altar of Zeus Herkeios,
> still she and her blood-sister [ξύναιμος] will not escape
> the ultimate penalty. (486–89)

Later, Kreon tells Haimon to let Antigone make her fruitless appeals to "Zeus ξύναιμος," the "lord of shared blood" (658–59), the same Zeus worshiped in the household. Neither *philos* nor *oikos* seem to matter to the master of the house. As a result, Eurydike, the "all-mother" (παμμήτωρ 1282) and overseer of key aspects of domestic cult, sacrifices herself at the family altar.

By introducing Eurydike only to have her learn of her son's death and kill herself at the household altar, Sophokles highlights the centrality of the *oikos* and the essential role played by women in guaranteeing its survival. In her final speech, Antigone herself laments that she has been denied this experience: "I will have no share/ in married life or in motherhood and raising children" (917–18). Although these sentiments have troubled critics who see Antigone only as a rebel (leading some to advocate wholesale excision of the speech), we should remember that Antigone approaches the corpse of Polyneikes maternally, "crying bitterly/ like a mother bird when she sees her nest/ orphaned, empty of its nestlings" (423–25). It is both dramatically fitting and emotionally compelling that Antigone turns her thoughts to the human connections that have been denied her, what

Murnaghan describes as the "loss of a full life containing not only close and properly honored family ties but the experiences of marriage and motherhood as well."[27]

In this light, Eurydike appears as a maternally realized "double" of Antigone, a wife and "all-mother" (1282) who meets a comparable end. And yet Eurydike is the last person we would expect to associate with Sophokles' heroine. In the brief glimpse we get of the queen, she is the model of female and matronly propriety: quiet, self-effacing, bound to the *oikos*, busy with ritual matters reserved for women, loathe to interfere in the public world of men. Eurydike explains her boldness in appearing at all, having unbolted the doors of the women's quarters so that she might offer prayers to Athena. Hearing the outcry of the household, she faints in the arms of her handmaids, and only then does she go outside to hear the Messenger in person.[28] Contrast Antigone, whose very first action in the play is to draw Ismene "outside the gates of the house" (18). Antigone willfully disobeys Kreon's proclamation regarding Polyneikes, and she challenges the ruler to his face, leading Kreon to lock her and Ismene "inside the house where they will/ behave as women must and not roam freely" (578–79). In both their spatial and political realities, Antigone and Eurydike seem poles apart.

However, Eurydike withdraws indoors at the news of Haimon's death (1246–50) only to emerge from the house with a vengeance. "She is there for you to see," the Chorus tell Kreon; "she is no longer in the inner recesses [of the house]" (1293). Appearing on the *ekkuklēma*, Eurydike's corpse interrupts Kreon's dirge for Haimon, a shocking intrusion into her husband's world.[29] Draped over the household altar, her body provides striking evidence of the ritual perversion and pollution that has ravaged the *oikos*.[30] The tyrant's efforts to subordinate women—to keep them from "roaming free" (579), to hide them away as he "hides" Antigone in the cave (774)—fail in the end. In different ways, both Antigone and Eurydike disrupt the public world of Kreon.

Having denied burial to Polyneikes, Kreon now must carry the corpse of his own son "in his arms" (διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων 1258).[31] The scene takes the form of a funeral procession in which Kreon sings the dirge,[32] mirroring Antigone's bridal/funereal exit some three hundred lines earlier. As Kreon himself describes it, the stage-picture resembles "a significant memorial" or "tomb" (μνῆμ' ἐπίσημον 1258).[33] Grief piles on grief when he learns that his own marriage has ended with the suicide of his wife. Eurydike died "keening," κωκύσασα (*kōkusasa* 1302) for *both* her sons, Haimon and Megareus (1303–4). Heretofore unmentioned, Megareus sacrificed himself so

that Thebes would not fall to Polyneikes and the Argives, an event dramatized in Euripides' *Phoenissae* (911–1018). In Euripides' version, Kreon tries to save his son from the oracle that says he must die, only to have his son choose death behind his back.[34] Sophokles, however, makes the tyrant responsible for Megareus' death,[35] and Kreon stands before us at the end of *Antigone* as the destroyer of his entire family.

The series of mourning cries, κωκυτοί (*kōkutoi*), trace out the chain of events that culminates in this final image.[36] The Messenger reports that Eurydike thrust in the blade when she heard the "sharply wailed cry" (*oxukōkuton* 1316) of her son Haimon. It was his "lamentations" (*kōkumatōn* 1206) for the dead Antigone that drew Kreon's men to the cave, an intervention that led to Haimon's suicide. Indeed, Eurydike's lament for her sons brings to pass Teiresias' prediction that Kreon would soon hear "funeral laments (*kōkumata* 1079) in your own home." These lamentations all have a common source, Kreon's decree forbidding anyone to "utter cries of grief" (*kōkusai* 28, repeated at 204) over the corpse of Polyneikes. As these laments come back to haunt him, Kreon abandons his threnody for his wife and son, replacing the dirge with a plea that he be led away to die (1317–44).

Behind the closing section of *Antigone*, we hear the echoes of the prophet Teiresias' pronouncement to Kreon:

> You hurl down below one who belongs above,
> wrongly making the tomb a home for a living soul,
> while to a corpse that belongs to the gods below you
> deny proper ritual, the rites of the dead, all that is holy. (1068–71)

Teiresias had asked what prowess there was "in killing someone [Polyneikes] who is already dead?" (1030) The question now turns back on Kreon, who cries out that the news of his wife's suicide "slays again a man already dead" (1288). With the body of his wife at the palace entrance and the corpse of his son before him, Kreon has returned to a house that is less a dwelling for the living than a resting place for the deceased. As one whom Hades has destroyed (1284–85), Kreon is now "a being less than nothing" (1332), doomed to survive in an *oikos* of death.

We can only guess how Sophokles staged the closing scene, but Kreon twice asks to be led away into the house (1322, 1328–31), and it seems likely that his wish was granted.[37] Sophokles may have left the corpses of Haimon and Eurydike on stage after the *exodos*, a tableau that proclaims the inversion of upper and lower worlds, reminding the audience that an unburied corpse began the tragedy.[38] Perhaps the presence of the two suicides left alone in tableau—a dead son and bridegroom, a dead wife and mother—would recall the third suicide, Antigone, whose body has been left to lie forever in her "bridal chamber of death."

A play that focuses from the start on how to rule the *polis* ends with the destruction of the *oikos*. By repressing any opposition to his rule, and by failing to value the domestic and ritual contribution of women, Kreon has undermined the validity of his transpolitical standard.[39] We witness the reverse process at work in the *Oresteia*, where the salvation of the house of Atreus is subsumed in the foundation of civic institutions, particularly the court of the Areopagus. In Aeschylus' view, the survival of the court and the prosperity of Athens depend on the inclusion of the Furies in the *polis*, and their incorporation in the ritual life of the *oikos* as guarantors of marriage and childbirth.[40] In *Antigone* Kreon achieves the opposite result, denying funeral rites and perverting the wedding ritual. His wife is dead, his family destroyed, he has no sons left to give in marriage and no way of guaranteeing the continuity of his line or the stability of political rule in Thebes. With the exception of Euripides' *Bacchae* and possibly *Medea*, no tragedy ends more bleakly.[41]

That we find this negativity compelling is due in no small part to Sophokles' manipulating the motif of the marriage to death. A ritual aimed at establishing, fostering, and preserving the *oikos* becomes the means of destroying it utterly. As if imitating the cruel precision of Kreon's punishment, the perverted wedding of Antigone involves Haimon, and through him Eurydike, and through them both, Kreon himself. The final participant in this process is the theater audience, although the means by which we are implicated do not lend themselves to objective analysis. But surely Reinhardt is right that the peculiar manner of Antigone's death helps explain our empathy for her: "The fullness of Antigone's death invests her life with human fullness. . . . By contrast, Creon ends as the personification of nothingness."[42]

Antigone's suffering, and that of Haimon and his mother Eurydike, is the dramatist's coin for counting the cost of Kreon's misrule, and (at least in the latter two cases) of making Kreon himself feel that cost. But the metaphor is inadequate, for the confusion of marriage and funeral provides more than the currency of the play. It would be more accurate to say that here we find the social and personal, the ritual and emotional, *body* of the play, against which the blows of embattled human conflicts are directed and through which they are felt.

Under the influence of Hegel, critics have construed *Antigone* as a series of polar oppositions—between written (human) and unwritten

(divine) laws, the ruler and the ruled, political responsibility and individual rights, the duties owed to the state and those owed to the family, and the divergent worlds of men and women.[43] By measuring the tragic results of these antagonisms in terms of weddings and funerals, Sophokles suggests that the two rituals belong to *each* side of the oppositional pairs, like a river that "joins" its two banks. As outlined in the Introduction, the public and private worlds overlapped on these important ritual occasions, suggesting that Athenians viewed the purported oppositions as more mutually informing than simply antithetical.[44] However, Kreon's edict prohibiting the burial of Polyneikes shatters that unitary view, driving a wedge between public and private, state and family, men and women. The dramatic reverberations are measured by the confusion of marriages and funerals, rituals that otherwise negotiate these apparent contraries.

As described in Chapter 1, a Greek marriage involved reaching out beyond immediate blood-kin to incorporate an outsider and so guarantee the future of a new (or renewed) *oikos*. Extending the family through nuptial ties of kinship, the *kēdos* relationship opened up new duties and opportunities in both the private and public spheres. Burial involved a counter movement, the return of a corpse (in the case of a male) from the public sphere back into the private, as the *oikos* took back the dead as one of its own. If either rite is perverted—and both are in *Antigone*—then the tensions between public and private, family and *polis*, eventually erupt with tragic consequences.

Denied the woman's traditional role in burial rites, Antigone is forced to adopt the untraditional role of rebel against the state. And yet she does so by being radically conservative. Confronted with Kreon's edict, she gives total allegiance to brother and natal family, becoming (in effect) solely a daughter and sister. Antigone abandons any hope of fulfilling the outward reaching roles of wife and mother, denying her crucial transition as a bride moving to establish a new *oikos*. For his part, Kreon insists that Haimon honor blood-ties to his father at the expense of the young man's (potential) marriage-ties to Antigone, *precisely* what Antigone does vis-à-vis her own natal family. Haimon rebels against his father (not, like his fiancée, against his father's edict), and the young man dies trying to forge the marriage link with Antigone against his "natural" ties to Kreon. As for Eurydike, she kills herself on the household altar as a means of reasserting ties of blood with her son Haimon, rejecting her marriage-ties with her husband Kreon. And Kreon, in the end, finds himself bereft of both blood- (Haimon) and marriage-ties (Eurydike).[45]

The perversion of weddings and funerals exposes fault lines deep

within the city, disrupting the normal commerce between men and women, between public and private, and between *oikos* and *polis*. Moreover, as Teiresias informs Kreon, the maimed rites snap the already tenuous link between mortal and divine spheres. Implied is a homology between the human rituals of weddings and funerals, and ritual sacrifice that links humans with the gods. In this regard, the conflicts in the play between contingent and divine ("unwritten") laws find their point of dramatic contact in the confused rituals of weddings and funerals.

Returning to Kamerbeek's judgment (quoted at the beginning of the chapter) that by the motif of the marriage to death "nothing or, at least, nothing much is said" about the great themes of the play, we recognize at best a superficial truth. Nothing much is *said*, but a great deal is communicated. At the end of the play, Kreon, the new ruler of the *polis*, appreciates the ultimate importance of his *oikos*: "My son, I unwittingly killed you/ and you too [wife], ah! wretched me, and I don't know/ where to look, where to lean" (1340–43). Kreon is left to perform the task he forbade at the outset—to bury *philoi*, but ones who have come to view him as the enemy.

When Antigone undertakes the burial of her brother early in the play, she strives to maintain the ongoing ritual life of her *oikos* before joining Haimon in creating a new one. The ritual duties that face Kreon, however, signal the failure of his marriage, the destruction of his household, and the end of any hope for its renewal in the shared bed, and shared blood, of Haimon and Antigone.

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. Kamerbeek 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 [ἐρᾶι] 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 dic-

tion 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 ἄροτον 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.

W. J. Ziobro, "Where Was Antigone? *Antigone* 766–883," *AJP* 92 (1971), 81–85, argues that Antigone returns to the stage on Haimon's exit at 765, which would make this casting impossible. However, most editors have Antigone return to the stage at 801–5 after the short choral ode to Love, allowing an actor enough time to make the change.

12. Kreon uses the same phrase when issuing his final order that Antigone be left "alone" (μόνην) and "deserted" (ἐρῆμον 887). Antigone also refers to her future life immured in the cave as "bereft [ἐρῆμος 919, lit. "deserted"] of friends/loved ones."

13. As Kitto 1959, 167 puts it, "We cannot fail to suspect that it is Kreon who has set himself in hopeless opposition to this god [Eros], and the sequel will confirm this suspicion." See also Winnington-Ingram 1980, 97.

14. See Osborne 1985, 135–41 and Seaford 1990a.

15. The marriage of first cousins was not considered abnormal in ancient Athens, so the union of Haimon and Antigone (first cousins, as Jocasta and Kreon were siblings) would have seemed natural. On Polyneikes' marriage, see Bayfield 1902, xii–xiii and Winnington-Ingram 1980, 143n.74, a subject that recurs in Eur. *Supp.* (Ch. 8 p. 114). Seaford 1990b analyzes the incest-exogamy opposition in the context of Antigone's entombment, a symbol for her radical attachment to her natal family.

16. Kreon assumes power in Thebes on the basis of *anchisteia* (174), the fact that he is the closest surviving male relative of Eteokles and Polyneikes, and so also of Antigone. Sophokles does not specify whether Kreon betrothed Antigone to Haimon or if Eteokles acted as her *kurios* and gave her away, as at Eur. *Ph.* 756–60 (see Kamerbeek 1978, 7). In either case, with Eteokles' (and Polyneikes') death, Kreon would become Antigone's legal guardian.

17. Hdt. 9.111 uses a form of the same verb μεθίημι ("let go," "dismiss") for a husband's formal dismissal of his wife prior to his marrying another woman.

18. For the thematically rich confusion in Antigone's burial place—cave/grave/bedroom—see Vermeule 1979, 54–55 and Sourvinou-Inwood 1988a, 169–71.

19. Teiresias uses ἀκτέριστον ("without grave offerings" 1071) to describe Kreon's treatment of the corpse of Polyneikes. See Jebb 1900 on *Ant.* 1070f and (with Kamerbeek 1978) on 1207.

20. See Jebb 1900 on *Ant.* 1222, and Loraux 1987, 10, 31.

21. Pearson 1917, *Fr.* 210 l.67; A. *Nereiads Fr.* 73 (153). Fine linen (σινδών) also swathed Egyptian mummies (Hdt. 2.86).

22. Compare the description of Oedipus' self-blinding after Jokasta hangs herself in the "the bridal chamber" (τὰ νυμφικὰ/ λέχη 1242–43), "lamenting over her marriage bed" (1249). Oedipus bursts through the doors "bending the hollow bolts" (ἔκλινε κοῖλα κλῇθρα 1262), a possible double entendre because κοῖλον can mean "a cavity in the body." Standing in the bedroom before his dead wife, Oedipus rips out the pins that hold her clothes (1268–69), and then "struck the joint/socket" (ἔπαισεν ἄρθρα 1270) of his eyes. Aristophanes uses the verb παίω ("strike," "hit") for sexual intercourse, and the noun ἄρθρα (socket) can mean genitals (Hdt. 3.87, 4.2). Having undressed his wife for the last time, Oedipus achieves the climax of his sexual nightmare with a gruesome outpouring of blood. Unlike the self-blinding that cuts Oedipus off from others, Haimon's death establishes a union with Antigone, albeit one of "tragic destruction rather than guaranteed bliss" (Goheen 1951, 40).

23. Because the noun *corpse* (νεκρός) is grammatically masculine, Sophokles leaves open the possibility that the fulfilled rites are not those of Haimon but of Antigone, or of them both: "the wretched [corpse] lies on corpse, coming upon his/her wedding rites in the house of Hades."

24. Aegisthus delivers twice as many lines in A. *Ch.*, and even his servant speaks more lines than does Eurydike in *Ant.*

25. Brown 1987, Bayfield 1902, and Jebb 1900, all on *Ant.* 1301, agree that the altar of Zeus Herkeios is meant, referred to by name at 487 (for textual problems see Müller 1967 on 1301–3). According to Prokl. *Chr.*, Priam was slain at the altar of Zeus Herkeios during the sack of Troy, the locus classicus for the destruction of a family. See T. W. Allen, ed., *Homeri Opera* (Oxford 1912, rpt. with corr. 1946), 107–8; *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns, and Homerica*, tr. H. G. Evelyn-White (Cambridge, Mass. 1936), 521; and Eur. *Tro.* 481–83. In the *Odyssey* the minstrel Phemios considers seeking asylum at the corresponding altar in Odysseus' courtyard on Ithaka (22.333–37). A public altar to Zeus Herkeios stood in the sanctuary of Pandrosos adjacent to the Erechtheion on the Athenian Akropolis, part of the complex of sacred precincts dedicated to the archetypal family of Athens, the Erechtheids; see Cook 1940, 243. C. Sourvinou-Inwood, in "Further Aspects of Polis Religion," *AION*(arch) 10 (1988), 271–72, overestimates its role in weakening the *oikos* cult.

26. Other loci for family cult include the "hearth" (most likely portable rather than permanent, as noted in Ch. 1 n.23) and the gravesites of family members; see Burkert 1977, 255–56 and Mikalson 1983, 70, 83.

27. Murnaghan 1986, 207 (and 195–96); see also Blundell 1989, 134–35; Podlecki 1989, 282–84; and Gellie 1972, 45–46.

28. Eurydike conforms to Perikles' advice for *widows* in the funeral oration (Thuk. 2.45.2): "Great will be your glory if you are found not inferior to your nature; and the greatest of all is hers who is least spoken of by men, whether for praise or blame." The translation is by Wilkinson 1979, 56 who presents an interesting analysis (47–78) of ancient attitudes toward women's liberation.

29. Brown 1987 on *Ant.* 1257–1353 emphasizes the unexpected appearance of Eurydike's corpse, interrupting Kreon's grieving and then compounding it; see also his comments at pp. 223–24.

30. There is every reason to believe the *ekkuklēma* was used, so we may presume that Eurdyike's body would lie on or near the altar, a possibility that Seale 1982, 105–7 fails to consider.

31. That Kreon carries Haimon's corpse is indicated by the repetition at 1297, ἔχω μὲν ἐν χείρεσσιν ἀρτίως τέκνον, "I just now held my child in my arms." It is appropriate—and perfectly Sophoklean—for Kreon literally to be burdened by the dead as he moves through the *eisodos* to the center of the

orchestra. Buxton 1984, 10 and 25; Kamerbeek 1978 on *Ant.* 1258; and Müller 1967, 265–66 agree that Kreon carries Haimon's body onstage. Seale 1982, 105 cannot decide between this possibility and the consensus that the corpse was carried in by (undesignated) attendants, the latter view urged by Knox 1968, 755, and Jebb 1900 (stage directions at 1256) and repeated by most translators.

32. Brown 1987, 223 points out the similarity between Kreon's mourning and Athenian funeral rites. For the forms of tragic lamentation and their close relationship to fifth-century practice, see Hutchinson 1985 on *Th.* 822–1004; Brown 1977, 48–50, 54–55, 58, 61–75; Lawler 1964, 44–45; Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 107; Broadhead 1960, 310–17; and Ch. 2 n.62. For a reading of *Ant.* that uses the *patrios nomos* and "the discourse of funeral oratory" as the interpretive paradigm, see Tyrrell and Brown 1991, 204–15.

33. The word μνῆμα is used for a tomb or a memorial for the dead at *Il.* 23.619, Hdt. 7.167, and frequently in tragedy; it signifies a coffin at Eur. *Or* 1053. The adjective ἐπίσημον—from σῆμα, a common word for grave, tomb, burial mound—can mean literally "bearing an inscription." See Vermeule 1979, 45.

34. There Megareus has the name Menoikeus; see Bayfield and Jebb on *Ant.* 1303, and A. C. Pearson, *Euripides, Phoenissae* (Cambridge 1909), xxiii. For the sacrifice of Menoikeus in Eur. *Ph.*, see Foley 1985, 106–12, 132–46.

35. The change is so striking that Méautis 1957, 226–27 labels Eurydike's accusation against her husband "manifestement faux." Steiner 1984, 245–47 stresses that Eurydike views her husband as "Kreon παιδοκτόνος" (1305), "Kreon the child-killer." Haimon lives to have a son (Maion) in Homer (*Il.* 4.394); in Euripides' lost *Antigone*, Maion is the offspring of Haimon *and* Antigone (Webster 1967, 181–84). By diverging from these versions, Sophokles deepens the disaster of Kreon's family and highlights his role in its destruction.

36. See Struck 1953, 333 and A. T. von S. Bradshaw, "The Watchman Scenes in the *Antigone*," *CQ* 12 (1962), 208.

37. Kreon probably leaves during the choral *exodos* (1347–53). Seale 1982, 107 claims that "there is not [*sic*] exit, no final procession, just the final comment of the Chorus that we have witnessed a lesson in late learning." More dramatically fitting is to have Kreon enter the *oikos* he has destroyed, while the Chorus exit out the *parodoi* as they speak their final lines.

38. As there was applause in the ancient theater, we may assume some form of curtain call during which performers could move as actors and not as dramatic characters. This would allow the "removal" of the corpses at the end of A. *Ag.* and *Ch.*, when the *ekkuklēma* may not have been available and the use of supernumeraries to remove the bodies would have been awkward.

39. These aspects of *Antigone* continue to inspire writers with a political conscience. E. Anne Mackay, "Fugard's *The Island* and Sophocles' *Antigone*," in *Literature and Revolution*, ed. D. Bevan (Amsterdam 1989), 160, observes that "any society in which Antigone surfaces should look long and hard at the conflicts which give rise to her resuscitation. She has become the ominous hallmark of an oppressive and dehumanized regime."

40. Finley 1966, 2–4 compares *Antigone* and the *Oresteia* on the possibility for civic conciliation and inclusion. See also M. A. Santirocco, "Justice in Sophocles' *Antigone*," *Philosophy and Literature* 4 (1980), 180–81.

41. As Steiner 1984, 193 observes, "Creon is left in hideous solitude. There is around him . . . nothing but familial devastation." See also Gellie 1972, 30 and Goheen 1951, 90.

42. Reinhardt 1947, 93.

43. See *Hegel on Tragedy*, ed. A. and H. Paolucci (New York 1962), 62–74 (from *The Philosophy of Fine Art*); also Steiner 1984, 1–106; Segal 1964, 46–51; M. Heidegger, *An Introduction to Metaphysics*, tr. R. Mannheim (New Haven 1959), 146–65, 171; Reinhardt 1947, 64–66; and the extensive bibliography compiled by D. A. Hester, "Sophocles the Unphilosophical: A Study in the *Antigone*," *Mnemosyne* 24 (1971), 11–59. For the limitations of Hegel's reading, see Stern and Silk 1981, 318–23.

44. See above, n.5 and Cox 1992. The failure to entertain this possibility hobbles the interpretation of Sourvinou-Inwood 1989, which purports to remove modern perceptual filters from our reading of the play.

45. My analysis owes much to Neuberg 1990, esp. 74–75.

CHAPTER 5

1. Gellie 1972, 53–54, 73, and 78 finds the pair "so close to their respective temperamental extremes that any dialogue between them must have been a travesty of communication." See also Poole 1987, 71–72; Silk 1985, 3; Sorum 1978, 64; and Segal 1977, 119–23. T. F. Hoey, "*Trachiniae* and Unity of Hero," *Arethusa* 3 (1970), 18, reads the play as "the *tragedy of a house* whose two essential components never meet."

2. On the ties between the two, see Easterling 1981, 58 and Segal 1977, 155–58. For the single actor, see Jouan 1983, 72–73; Fuqua 1980, 76–77n.186; and McCall 1972, 142, 162.

3. Easterling 1981, 58–59 quotes Pound's translation (line 1174), "what/ SPLENDOUR,/ IT ALL COHERES" and approves his judgment that "this is the key phrase, for which the play exists." See E. Pound, *Sophokles, Women of Trachis* (New York 1957), 50n.1. My view is closer to that of Mason 1985, 17 and 93–96, and Kraus 1991, 94–95, who stress the lack of such coherence. As for audience expectation, March 1987, 65–77 shows how Sophokles *altered* key elements in the myth: Nessus' death, the love charm, Deianeira's character and motivation, and the manner and meaning of Herakles' demise.

4. The Chorus call Deianeira "fought over" (ἀμφινεικῆ 104) and later refer to the "fought-over (ἀμφινείκητον) eyes of the bride" (527), who watches Achelous and Herakles battle for her. As well as Deianeira and Iole, Tekmessa in S. *Aj.* is a bride won by combat; for other such Sophoklean brides, see the fragmentary *Aechmalotides* (*The Captive Women*), *Amphitryon*, *Andromeda*, *Chryses*, *Hermione* (obliquely—see Fr. 185), *Iobates*, *Lemniae* (*The Women of Lemnos*), *Mysoi* (*The Mysians*), and *Oenomaus*.

5. Deianeira's "life-giving and life-sustaining functions as the keeper of the house are heavily underscored in her language" (Segal 1977, 126), and

MARRIAGE TO DEATH

THE CONFLATION OF WEDDING AND FUNERAL RITUALS IN GREEK TRAGEDY

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PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY