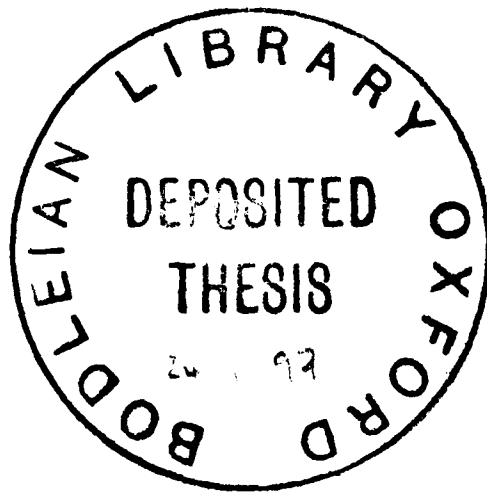


ΠΟΜΠΑΙ:
PROCESSIONS IN ATHENIAN TRAGEDY

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Submitted by: **ATHENA KAVOULAKI, Magdalen College, Oxford**
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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the significance of ritual movements in theatre and society of fifth-century Athens. The focus falls on *processional* movement, the definitive characteristics of which are drawn from the ancient Greek concept of *pompe*, i.e. a movement towards a defined destination, involving the conveyance of a ritual symbol (or an object or a person) between specific points of departure and arrival. The social contexts of divine and heroic cult, funerals and weddings prove to be the main occasions for the performance of such processional movements. In the world outside the theatre, processions are shown to be crucial in defining transitions, shaping social relations, and manifesting the action and inviting the attention of the divine.

The socio-religious significance of processions is fully appropriated and explored by tragedy. Processional action, recurrently evoked in the tragic plays, proves to be crucial for the articulation of the tragic δρώμενα. This is argued in the collection and analysis of a number of scenes from extant fifth-century tragedy in which processional resonances permeate the action. The interpretation of the scenes in the light of the ritual background which shapes them considerably enhances the understanding and appreciation of the plays as *theatrical* experience - experience which explores the potential of spatial configurations and visual symbolism, in a context of symbolic communication which is largely defined by participation in the rituals of the community.

The thesis argues that the importance of processions in the theatre is inextricably connected with their power - as manifested in the ritual life of the polis - to gather the community and to initiate the process of θεάσασθαι, implicating both active participants and θεαταί in the performed action. Greek tragic theatre builds upon this basic function of processions and activates their power. Thus it also combines their potential to define transitions with the significance of tragic μετάβασις and with the importance of demarcation of space and transformation of time in the theatre. Ritual experience is activated, reshaped and enlarged, enabling the re-creation and transformation of the experience of the audience. Processions can illuminate the nature of tragedy itself.

Στὴ μνήμη τοῦ πατέρα μου
Μιχαήλ-Γεωργίου Παύλου Καβουλάκη

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Finally, my gratitude to friends and family: to Nota Melione; to my grandparents and to my mother; and to my husband, σὰρξ ἐκ σαρκός in all.

I dedicate the thesis to my father with even deeper gratitude. He left too soon.

A. K.

Editions, Conventions and Abbreviations

For the texts of the extant tragic plays I have used the following editions:

Aischylos	D. L. Page (Oxford, 1972) M. L. West (Teubner, 1990)
Sophokles	H. Lloyd-Jones and N. Wilson (Oxford, 1990)
Euripides	J. Diggle (Oxford, 1984, 1981 and 1994).

For other texts, unless otherwise indicated, the standard editions have been used (with preference for the most recent ones).

Throughout my work I have adopted Hellenicized transliteration for Greek names.

My abbreviations follow closely the system of *LSJ*, but with Greek transliteration rather than Latin. In rare cases I have kept the Latinized form for the sake of avoiding confusion. For the titles of works I have used Greek (transliterated) or English.

Other cited abbreviations:

ABV	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</i> (Oxford, 1956).
ARV²	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> (2nd edn. Oxford, 1963).
CEG	P. A. Hansen, <i>Carmina epigraphica graeca saeculorum VIII-V A.CHR.N</i> (Berlin and New York, 1983).
D-K	H. Diels, rev. W. Kranz, <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> (Zurich, 1951-2).
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin and Leiden, 1923-58).
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> , 1913-1929 ² .
IG I³	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae I³: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis Anno Anteriores</i> (Berlin, 1994).
K-A	R. Kassel and C. Austin, <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> (Berlin, 1983-).
Kühner-Blass	R. Kühner, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache I</i> , rev. by F. Blass (Hannover, 1890-2 ³).

Kühner-Gerth	R. Kühner, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache</i> II, rev. by B. Gerth (Hannover, 1898-1904 ³).
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> (7 vols. in 14 pts., Zurich, 1974-).
LSA	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure</i> (Paris, 1955).
LSG	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques</i> (Paris, 1969).
LSS	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques, supplément</i> (Paris, 1962).
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9th edition, rev. H. Stuart-Jones (Oxford, 1940). Suppl. 1968.
M-L	R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> , rev. edn. (Oxford, 1988).
M-W	R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, <i>Fragmenta Hesiodica</i> (Oxford, 1967).
N²	A. Nauck, <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> (Hildesheim, 1964 ²).
PMG	D. L. Page, <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> (Oxford, 1962).
RE	Pauly's <i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart, 1894-1963).
SEG	J. J. E. Hondius, <i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Leiden, 1923-).
Syll.³	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (Leipzig, 1915-24 ³).
TrGF	<i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , I: ed. B. Snell, <i>Tragici Minores</i> ; III: ed. S. Radt, <i>Aeschylus</i> ; IV: ed. S. Radt, <i>Sophocles</i> (Göttingen 1971, 1985, 1977).
W	M. L. West, <i>Iambi et Elegi Graeci</i> (Oxford, 1971).

INTRODUCTION

A moving procession captures the eyes, the mind, the senses, the imagination.

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ πομπὴ καὶ ὁ σύμπαρς ἐναγισμὸς ἐτελέσθη -
καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἐτελέσθη, πάτερ, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Κνήμων. ἐμὲ γοῦν οὐπω θεατὴν
ὁ λόγος ἐπέστησεν, ἀλλ' εἰς πᾶσαν ὑπερβολὴν ἠττημένον τῆς ἀκροάσεως
καὶ αὐτοπτῆσαι σπεύδοντα τὴν πανήγυριν ὥσπερ κατόπιν ἐορτῆς ἦκοντα,
τὸ τοῦ λόγου παρατρέχεις, ὁμοῦ τε ἀνοίξας καὶ κλείσας τὸ θέατρον. ἐγὼ
μὲν, ὦ Κνήμων, ἔφη ὁ Καλάσιρις, ἥμιστά σε τοῖς ἔξωθεν βούλομαι
διοχλεῖν... ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκ παρόδου θεωρὸς γενέσθαι βεβούλησαι, σὺ μὲν
Ἀττικὸς ὢν καὶ τούτων οὐ λέληθας, ἐγὼ δέ σοι τὴν πομπὴν ὀνομαστὴν ἐν
ὀλίγαις γενομένην, ἐπιτεμὼν διαθήσομαι... μετὰ τούτους, ὦ Κνήμων, -
πάλιν με τῶν ἡδίστων ἀποστερεῖς, ὦ πάτερ, θεατὴν με μόνον τῶν κατὰ
τὴν πομπὴν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ ἀκροατὴν καθίσας. ἀκούοις ἄν, ἔφη ὁ
Καλάσιρις, ἐπειδὴ περ οὕτω σοι φίλον· εἶχε γὰρ ὧδέ πως ἡ ὥδή...

(Heliodoros, *Aithiopika* 3.1.-3.3)

The fullness of the spectacle is lost to modern observers of ancient Greek culture. Still, the modern vision of the Classical Greek world is very much shaped by processional ritual, permanently and monumentally inscribed in stone and preserved for future generations in the accomplishment of the Parthenon Frieze. The beauty and the power of processions are unmistakable; so is their centrality to the culture. A recent book on ritual, socio-political formation, poetry and theatre in ancient Greece opens with two spectacular descriptions, of the *pompe* of the Parthenon *zophorus* on the one hand and of the *pompe* in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* on the other.¹ The magnetic effect

¹Seaford 1994, xi.

upon audiences is rightly felt. As a means of *captatio animadversionis*, if not *benevolentiae*, and as an aspect of central importance to ancient Greek culture the procession makes a good beginning.

The continuation and expansion of investigation remain, however, a desiderandum. Passing references to processions figure in almost every scholarly treatise concerning socio-religious aspects of the Greek world, but focused and detailed studies are few and relatively old. This may seem paradoxical in view of the plethora of artistic and literary evidence attesting the ever-present manifestation of the rite. A modern tendency to keep at a distance from ostentatious rituals - a tendency connected perhaps with the linguistic, and hence probably conceptual, association of *pompe* (latin *pompa*) with pomp - and a general suspicion of any 'serious' purport in physical rather than intellectual expressions of religious experience may partly account for that. Whatever modern estimations (or underestimations) might be, in ancient Greek culture processions were taken seriously. They were integral to the cultural identity and to the vision and experience of the world. In beautiful Aristophanic lyric the portrait of Athens consists of sacred ceremonies, artistic monuments, feasts, music and processions:

παρθένοι ὄμβροφόροι,
ἔλθωμεν λιπαρὰν χθόνα Παλλάδος, εὐάνδρον γᾶν
Κέκροπος ὀψόμεναι πολυήρατον·
οὗ σέβας ἀρρήτων ἱερῶν, ἵνα
μυστοδόκος δόμος
ἐν τελεταῖς ἀγίαις ἀναδείκνυται,
οὐρανίοις τε θεοῖς δωρήματα,
ναοὶ θ' ὑπερεφεῖς καὶ ἀγάλματα,
καὶ πρόσοδοι μακάρων ἱερώταται,
εὐστέφανοί τε θεῶν θυσίαι θαλῖαι τε,
παντοδαπαῖς ἐν ὥραις,

ἥρι τ' ἐπερχομένῳ Βρομία χάρις,
εὐκελάδων τε χορῶν ἐρεθίσματα,
καὶ μοῦσα βαρύβρομος αὐλῶν.

(Aristophanes, *Clouds* 299-313)

This thesis has grown out of a strong conviction that it is necessary to come to a realization of the significance of the phenomenon for ancient Greek life and art. Observing ritual movements leads to a deeper understanding of the multiple directions of social experience and its expansion and revitalization in the context of art and literature.

The interpenetration of ritual performances and art in ancient Greek culture has led me to study processions separately in two performative contexts, first in the social environment outside the theatre and then in the context of ancient Greek tragic theatre. The separation has been necessary and fruitful. As no theoretical account of processions could be applied to drama, the investigation into the workings of cultural performances has become a way to sense the polyphonic dialogue in which ancient Greek theatre also participated. The raw material of 'traditional' theatre² is ultimately drawn from the everyday world of objects and actions and inevitably carries with it associations with that world. The process of assimilation, however, is remarkably complex, and the tension between 'actual' and 'fictional', 'real' and 'illusory' never recedes. The juxtaposition of the different contexts of operation of an activity (such as processions), which is developed on a semiotic basis of symbols and movement and organised with an awareness of responsibility towards spectators,³ allows new perspectives on the nature and

²As opposed to experimental or avant-garde theatre.

³Performance theory has stressed that performance (of whatever kind) is always performance *for* someone, whether it is the self, an invisible supernatural entity, or a human collectivity; see Carlson 1996, 5-6.

role of the theatrical performance in general and onto the character of the relevant theatrical enactments in particular.

In the first part of this thesis an overview of the historical picture is provided, and the general location of the tragic material in the historical context is attempted. Processions are examined in three major social contexts, namely the context of sacred ceremonies (with an appendix on honorific celebrations usually associated with sacrifice and feasting), the context of marriage, and the context of death. In all cases the general pattern is traced with emphasis on its social significance. The focus falls upon defining the normative features and the standard types of processional manifestations, recognizable and acceptable within tradition, and not on providing a full-scale analysis of one particular historical festival. This is more in line with the tragic material which does not inflexibly reflect exact historical examples but evokes generic characteristics and combines even heterogeneous elements. The reconstruction of the historical picture is tied up with the problem of the limitation of the extant sources. There is no doubt that in comparison with other parts of the Greek world, the Athenian material is plentiful; but this by no means implies completeness. Fifth-century Athenian evidence is of primary importance, but relevant information found in other sources should be neither uncritically rejected nor accepted. Cautious treatment of non-Attic material, and even of late evidence, is a well-established scholarly practice which on the one hand acknowledges the power of tradition in the development of socio-religious phenomena,⁴ and on the other exemplifies a commitment to refuse to have recourse either to agnosticism or to imaginative leaps. The limitations of the practice are fully appreciated, however. Any reconstruction is by necessity an interpretation, and the disparate material complicates the task even further. The effort is always to retrieve the ancient perspective as much

⁴This should not be understood in an unqualified sense, however; cf. Gould 1985, 7-8; Sourvinou-Inwood 1989.

as possible and not to impose external constructions. An anthropologically informed awareness of the particularities of and diversities among cultures proves of much help for this enterprise. My research has convinced me that much more historical work needs to be done: the material is abundant and deserves a fresh and theoretically-informed look. The result would at the same time be beneficial for the study of literature and art in which processions occupy a prominent position.

Processional evocation and enactment in ancient Greek tragedy constitutes the focus of the second part of the thesis. The exact categorisation of the extant examples along the lines followed in the first part has not been pursued, since tragedy resists strict separations and distinctions. The tragic material consists not of full-scale imitations of ‘real-life’⁵ processions but of resonances or echoes of ritual performances; as a result dissonant and intricate features often complicate the picture and rigid boundaries between different types cannot stand. The cases studied are organized into two groups, one associated with sacrifice and death, the other with marriage. This does not mean that no funerary tone penetrates the wedding cases, nor that honorific elements are absent: on the contrary, interpenetration is extensive. But this twofold presentation seemed methodologically convenient and roughly corresponding to a dominant theme. The material examined comes almost exclusively from extant fifth-century tragedies, with the exception of Euripides’ *Phaethon* which constituted an intriguing example of a wedding procession and could not be missed. The investigation into tragedy has not resulted, and was not intended to result, in the compilation of a catalogue of tragic processions. Bringing processional echoes to the fore and suggesting ritual associations already amounts to an interpretative choice. The question of processional resonances in the theatre cannot be answered without a

⁵The world of the theatre is by no means unreal; hence throughout the thesis the expression ‘real life’ will be used artificially and always in inverted commas.

widening of the historical perspective as to the potential circumstances for and the potential types of processional performance. My analysis is directed to those most important and observable examples, most closely analogous to 'real-life' models, which have been unnoticed or unassessed by modern critics.⁶ The purpose of the study, placed within definite limits of space and time, has not been quantitative but qualitative. The analysis aims at evincing the importance of the particular ritualizations for the interpretation of individual scenes, and the permeation of the structure of whole plays by processional echoes, the appreciation of which necessitates extensive treatment. Showing the depth rather than the breadth proves fruitful when significance and claims for prominence are at stake.

The discussion concentrates on the processional facets of the ritual context which informs the scenes, the neglect of which hinders the appreciation of the action. Questions of staging do arise but the focus falls not on the problems and characteristics of a particular *mise-en-scène* and its contribution to interpretation, but on the way in which knowledge of the ritual background (shared by poet and audience) may help make sense of the action. Stage action as registered in language is reconstructed in rough lines, assuming - as Oliver Taplin has recently stressed⁷ - identity between text and performance as a working hypothesis. The contextualization of the action in its wider socio-religious reality of the time is a pressing claim which neither literary nor performance criticism can ignore.⁸ Enriching the reading (or viewing) of tragedy with the implied ritual background is not simply conducive to

⁶The powerful psychopompic (and not simply funerary) imagery at the end of Sophokles' *Oidipous at Kolonos*, and the complicated ritual associations of the *Bakchai* (necessitating definition in the context of the dionysiac *thiasos*) make potential processional traces distinct from those of the other examples. Further examination of these plays is necessary, so that their complexities may be fully studied against the mythico-ritual background they presuppose.

⁷Taplin 1995, 107.

⁸Pointing out the need for an enlargement of traditional staging analysis with material from social and political history, anthropology and current literary theory has been the most constructive part of Goldhill's criticism (Goldhill 1986, 265-86 and 1989); for a reply to Goldhill see Taplin 1995.

interpretation but is already part of the interpretation. Context and content implicate one another; ritual both articulates and is articulated by tragedy. It is this twofold, mutual process that the analysis has in view and hopes to bring to the fore.

Setting the play (or the scene) against its ritual background implies the reconstruction of some of the assumptions (shaped by cultural knowledge and communal participation) that the audience brought with them when attending a performance.⁹ There is no doubt that *to some extent* poet and audience shared common experience and hence common assumptions.¹⁰ The focus, however, falls on the way in which the audience, the aggregate in the theatre of Dionysos, might have perceived the tragic action, in line with a salutary theoretical stance which has moved the emphasis from the author (and the questions of originality and creativity) to the play and its position in its cultural milieu.¹¹ This concern does not imply the erasure of the poet from the picture but simply a moving of interest from authorial intentions as a primary scholarly scope. The focus on cultural significance and the process of signification does not naively assume a homogeneous and undifferentiated reception. The activation of cultural knowledge and the operations of audience assumptions and expectations work in manifold and complicated ways; pointing out the ritual implications of the action suggests only the range of possibilities that a modern reader, using the extant evidence, sees was available to the plays' contemporary audience. Despite the limitations of the approach, the advantage pursued and gained is the *conscious* effort to avoid - to the extent that it is possible - cultural determination and misappropriation or

⁹For the interpretation of myths and rituals in ancient Greek texts and images Sourvinou-Inwood 1991, 3-23 and 1995, 1-9 has provided a firm and analytic methodological basis which I have found particularly useful.

¹⁰See Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 8.

¹¹The so-called *Rezeptionsästhetik*; see Holub 1984. (The importance of the aspect of reception - in its wide sense - for the study of Greek theatre has been long recognised; see e.g. Seeck 1979, 1-12). It should be mentioned that modern performance theory sees the need to place emphasis on both the audience and the performer: see Carlson 1996, 40-41.

misjudgement of the accomplishments and the physiognomy of a different culture.¹²

The discussion presented in this thesis does not profess to exhaust the relevant issues, but rather to expose some basic aspects and to open up questions pertaining to a phenomenon so central to the culture and yet relatively marginal in scholarly attention. Performative analysis, ethnomusicological perspectives and gender relations are only some of the directions in which future study could be conducted. In 100,000 words the scope has been to appreciate the *θέα* and enlarge the *θέασις*.

¹²This is a general caveat (especially against importing preconceived ideas in the analysis of the texts). It does not imply a belief in a total alienation between ancient and modern civilization. Williams 1993, especially chapter 1 has suggested points of convergence and has stressed that examination of ancient Greek thought should be pursued with a constant and concurrent re-examination of modern thoughts and stances. The important differences should not be obscured either, however.

PART I

1. ATTEMPT AT A DEFINITION

The focus of the present study falls on a particular kind of movement which is distinct from both ordinary, physical transportation and from the artful and rhythmical, but locally fixed, movement of dance. This kind of movement, in English generally termed as 'procession', has a *ritual* character.¹³ The term 'ritual' is not unproblematic and is indeed much debated today.¹⁴ It can be conventionally used, however, to describe a repetitive, differentiated,¹⁵ strategic¹⁶ action with a performative and 'alerting' quality¹⁷ (which may or may not involve words) and with a compulsory nature for those who carry it out, relating to (without necessarily invoking) the divine. In traditional societies this kind of formulaic action relates to the extra-ordinary, the supra-natural.¹⁸ The ritual character of the processional movement implies that it takes place within certain contexts: the context of communication with the divine or the context of a passage from one state to another, from one phase of life to another, a passage which seems dangerous or in need of special ceremony.¹⁹

Such a ritual movement would be expected to be of a universal socio-religious phenomenon, and indeed it is even conjectured for Paleolithic times.²⁰ Yet, ethnography sets some limits: there seem to be some African

¹³On the concept of ritual and its application in the field of religion see Durkheim 1915, Lienhardt 1961, Turner 1969, Geertz 1973, Leach 1976, Bourdieu 1977, as well as the references in the following note.

¹⁴See e.g. Bell 1992; on the definition of ritual see also Grimes 1982, Parkin 1992, Smith 1982, Lewis 1980, Bloch 1992. For useful definitions of ritual in works of classical scholars, see Burkert 1979, 35-52 and 1983, 23-34 (communicative aspect); Seaford 1994, xi-xix (social effects).

¹⁵On differentiation and not simply formalization of ritual acts see Bell 1992, 90-91.

¹⁶On strategies - meaning *cultural* strategies generating and differentiating activities - and the notion of strategic see Bourdieu 1977, 3-9; cf. also Burke 1957 which, though referring to strategies in textual analysis, had great influence on socio-anthropological studies.

¹⁷Implying the notion of communication and address (without necessarily implying visible presence of spectator or addressee); Lewis 1980, 7, 20-21.

¹⁸'Secular ritual' is mainly a product of modern times; cf. Moore and Myerhoff 1977.

¹⁹On the notion of ceremony see Alexander 1987.

²⁰Schechner 1988, 159-60.

groups for which the concept of procession as such does not exist.²¹ Turnbull's criticism, however, in his discussion of the Mbuti Pygmies ritual²² is corrective: it is necessary to enlarge the concept of what a procession might be and to study the ritual movements from the point of view of the specific culture. In this respect the relation between 'procession' and 'dance', the multifarious concepts of space and time and the diverse possibilities of performers, are all of importance. These complex relations suggest the multiplicity of processional configurations that may exist, not only among different cultures in the world but even within a single culture.

To restrict the analysis to ancient Greek culture, a good example of the possibilities and difficulties of classification is Nilsson's article on the types of processions in Greek cult.²³ Along with a group's orderly progression through public space to a temple to offer sacrifice, a number of other cases are examined, from the religious embassies at major festivals to circumambulations (even solitary), going through the divided parts of an animal, or going around to collect gifts. Eitrem, on the other hand, narrowed the schema with reference to the cultic cases, while expanding it to include events of largely social significance (such as the wedding and funeral escort).²⁴ It is obvious that, as the criteria change, the results can differ and multiply. And the material could yield even more ritual instances of processional movements, if seen from different perspectives: for example, how should cases such as the encircling of the altar, the Dionysiac *oreibasias* or the *komos*-procession be evaluated?

Due to the multiplicity of forms (and hence of significance) that processional movements can take in a culture, it is necessary to clarify from

²¹Kirschenblatt-Gimblett and McNamara 1985, 3.

²²Turnbull 1985.

²³Nilsson 1951.

²⁴Eitrem 1920, 56-108.

the start the characteristics of the processional ritual which will be the object of the present study.

Hence, the term 'procession' will refer to a *ritual* (as defined above), consisting of

a spatially progressive, bipolar *movement* which is:

- a) executed in a non-agonistic temporal frame
- b) performed by one person (rarely) or a plurality of people (normally)
- c) along a defined route

d) for reasons of performing a significant act or of accomplishing a significant change at the end of the journey.²⁵

At its most basic the procession may be little more than slightly directed wandering, while at its most complex it may be highly ordered and choreographed. Instead of its being necessarily a non-stop progression through space, such a ritual movement is usually a combination of 'procession and station', with emphasis on both the moving forward and the stopping at specific locations. The 'alerting' quality of such an event, shaped to a large extent by the use of objects, symbols or costumes, implies the attraction of spectators and the interchange between performers and spectators. It is important to stress the formulaic character of the processional event, which recurs either on fixed occasions or under particular conditions, whenever these conditions are generated. Even if the precise details of every 're-performance' may change, it is the general presence of rules (and the acknowledgment of the existence of rules²⁶) which gives the processional activity its traditional, ritual character.

The focus of the present study on the cases which fall within these boundaries does not only derive from modern perceptions about processional

²⁵As Lacey (ap. Dunlop 1932, 21) has put it: 'a perambulation alone is not a procession: a procession means going somewhere to do something'.

²⁶Parkin 1992, 14-6; Lewis 1980, 11.

ritual. It is also based on the ancient Greek notion of πομπή, a 'pilot'-term for the following investigation.

2. TERMINOLOGY

Derived from the verb πέμπω, which has a vast semantic range, the word πομπή is not confined to usage as a ritual term but can denote any conveyance or escort. The non-specialised use of the word offers ample demonstration: humans move from one place to another under or due to the πομπή of the gods (*Il.* 6. 171, *A. Ag.* 748, *E. Hel.* 1121, cf. *Hdt.* 1. 62), a journey can be called a πομπή (*Pi. P.* 4. 164; *E. IA* 651), the Phaeacians offer Odysseus a πομπή (*Od.* 6. 20, 7. 151, 8. 545 etc.), the wind which makes the ships sail can be a πομπή (*E. IA* 352); adjectives such as πόμπιμος or ὠκύπομπος can be applied to the movement of hands (*πίτυλος A. Hept.* 855), to a land (*E. Med.* 848), to φάτις (*E. Hipp.* 578), to ships (*IT* 1136); finally πομπός can be applied not only to Hermes (e.g. *Il.* 24. 182) or to Hypnos and Thanatos (*Il.* 16. 671 and 681) but even to the dead Hypsenor (*Il.* 13. 411-6), and to fire signals (*A. Ag.* 299 πομπός used as an adjective). The non-ritual usage of the word clarifies that πομπή is not just any movement but a *movement and conveyance towards a defined destination, sent out and/or conducted by an animate or inanimate being*. The semantic breadth of the word indicates its potential for application to a large number of contexts. It gradually became the standard term to denote any kind of ritual movement with a ritual symbol (or any object as the ritual focus) between specific points of departure and arrival. In post-Classical times πομπή could be used either in the context of divine worship or in a funerary context, either as part of a wedding ceremony or of an honorific escort (for example *Plou. Philop.* 21. 3, *Hld.* 7. 8. 4, *Chariton* 4. 7. 4). In Classical Greek, however, the term πομπή (and its compounds)²⁷ - despite its semantic flexibility - was applied to a particular, though extended, set of processions, and a number of other terms were used to encompass other cases

²⁷The derivatives of πομπή, related to the practice of procession, are numerous: e.g. πομπός, πομπάιος, πομπικός, πομπεύς, πομπεύω, πομπείον, πομπευτής, and a number of compounds some of which are attested only in late lexica, e.g. πομπαγωγῶ, πομπηγοῶ (*Hsch.* s.v.).

as well. As this study will include all types of processions which fall under the basic schema defined above, the varied terminology needs to be presented and analysed.

In the texts of the Classical period πομπή is the standard term for a ritual movement in the context of a ceremony for a supernatural being: πομπή for Tleptolemos (Pi. O. 7. 80), for Neoptolemos-Pyrrhos (Pi. N. 7. 46), Παναθηναϊκή πομπή (Th. 1. 20. 2), πομπή for Dionysos (D. 21. 10; 22. 49; cf. Hdt. 2. 49), for Bendis (Pl. R. 327a), sacrificial πομπή (Hdt. 7. 197. 12), even a πομπή for the new gods in Aristophanes' *Birds* (848-9). Instead of being a restrictive factor, this specificity of usage may account - to some extent - for the prominence that this word acquired. The ubiquity of religious ceremonies in Athenian life (and our sources are mainly Athenian) and their reputed beauty in the whole Greek world (see [Pl.] *Alk.* 148e, [X.] *Ath.* 3. 2, Plou. *Lyk.* 30), brought the whole phenomenon to the foreground - in Athenian comedy even an ordered array of kitchen utensils could be called a πομπή (Ar. *Ek.* 728-57).²⁸

In sources referring to heroic and divine worship πομπή is a recurrent term. It should be stressed, however, that especially in the Archaic and Classical age πομπή was not the only term, or was not always the appropriate term, used even in the context of religious worship. In the formal language of inscriptions, for example, πομπή is the term specifically used to describe the procession which was one of the standard parts of an έορτή, a celebration fixed in the calendar, in honour of a hero or a god.²⁹ Interestingly, however, in some inscriptions in which the sacrificial procession does not lie in the context

²⁸Due to the eminence of the phenomenon, later semantic expansions and re-applications of the term and its compounds derived from their ritual usage. In late Antiquity πομπή can be any public appearance and escort (e.g. Iamb. *Bab.* 84 καὶ ἅμα τῇ κόρῃ παρεσκεύασε πομπὴν ἐπιφανῆ, ἁρμάμαξάν τε λαμπράν καὶ ἐσθῆτα σοβαράν καὶ θεραπείαν συχνὴν εὐνούχων τε καὶ θεραπαινίδων). But semantic distancing and development is attested already in Demosthenes where πομπεύω and πομπεία can mean λοιδορῶ, λοιδορία (D. 18. 11 and 124; and Sch. ad loc. πομπείας, τῆς λοιδορίας διὰ τὸ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς λοιδορεῖν ἀλλήλους).

²⁹See e.g. *IG* I³ 82, *IG* II² 47, *IG* II² 334, *IG* II² 380, *LSG* 179, *IG* VII 4254, *IG* XII 9, 189, *IG* XII 9, 192, *IG* XII 9, 194, *IG* IV 917.

of a festival, but is part of a ceremony agreed separately, outside the official calendar, it is the term *πρόσδοος* that is used. So in the treaty of 362 B.C. between the Athenians on the one hand and the Arcadians, Achaeans, Eleans and Phliasians on the other (*IG II² 112a. 10-11*); or in the Attic decree about the cleruchs in Poteidaia (362 B.C.; *IG II² 114. 11*); or in later treaties, as for example *Syll.³ 581.6* *θυσίαν καὶ πόθοδον ποιήσασθαι* (Doric), or *Syll.³ 633.21* *θυσίας ποιήσασθαι καὶ προσόδους*. The term *πρόσδοος* - which implies a movement towards, an approach to³⁰ - seems to be more general than *πομπή*, and in this sense it is probably used in *Lysias 6. 33* *περὶ θυσιῶν καὶ προσόδων καὶ εὐχῶν καὶ μαντειῶν*, *Xenophon Anabasis 6. 1. 11* *ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς προσόδοις*, *Demosthenes 18. 86* *θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσόδους*. In *Aristophanes' Birds* the two words (or more precisely the words *πομπή* and *προσόδιον*³¹) are used interchangeably: the priest is invited *πέμψοντα τὴν πομπήν* (849) and the chorus wholeheartedly wishes to take part, *προσόδια μεγάλα σεμνὰ προσιέναι* (853). *Πρόσδοος* is also used in places in which *πομπή* would be equally appropriate: in *Clouds 307* *πρόσοδοι μακάρων ἱερώταται* as a token of Athenian *eusebeia*, in *Peace 397* promises for *πρόσοδοι* for *Hermes*, and in *Isokrates 5. 32* *πρόσοδοι* and sacrifices for *Herakles*. The two words seem to be almost synonymous.³² So Plato's conjunction of the two in *Laws 796c* (*πᾶσι θεοῖς προσόδους τε καὶ πομπὰς ποιουμένους*) seems to serve a rhetorical amplification rather than a distinction in meaning.³³ The common and wide usage of the term *πρόσδοος* is probably best witnessed in the survival

³⁰*Destination* is again highlighted. In later times similarly constructed terms are also used as synonyms of *πομπή*: cf. *προέλευσις* (*Eust. II. 9. 438 p. 762*), *πρόδοος* (*Thom. Mag.*), *μέθοδος* (*Suda*).

³¹But the latter as an internal accusative of *προσιέναι*, hence in the place of *πρόσδοος*; see Dunbar 1995 ad loc.

³²Cf. *Suda s.v. προσόδια*: ἀπὸ τῶν προσόδων. οὕτω δὲ ἔλεγον τὰς προσαγομένας τοῖς θεοῖς πομπάς.

³³Cf. similar construction *Plou. Aim. 33.1* *μέλος προσόδιον καὶ πομπικόν*.

of the word προσόδιον as the standard term for a song sung in sacred processions.³⁴

As both πομπή and πρόσοδος signify parts of the celebrations for heroes and gods, collective terms such as πανήγυρις or ἐορτή are often used to denote the whole event and the procession in particular (e.g. Th. 6.1, Hdt. 1. 31. 15, X. *Hier.* 1. 11). In many cases the term θυσία may stand for the whole occasion, πομπή or πρόσοδος being omitted, as the two events were so intimately bound together. Conversely, however, the term πομπή may also imply the θυσία (*Ath. Pol.* 57.1). Finally, it is not peculiar to find an accumulation of terms of almost the same significance, as in the Platonic passage above, or even more characteristically in Herodotos 2. 58 (πανηγύριος δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγάς), which indicates the common essence of all these events.

This last term προσαγωγή is clearly parallel to πρόσοδος; the emphasis, however, falls not on the movement or the route (ὁδός, ὁδεύω) but on leading or carrying (ἄγω) people, animals or objects, an important aspect of ritual movements which often attracts the major attention. The verb ἄγω is one of the basic terms to denote ritual movement, as its occurrence in phrases such as ἄγω ἐκατόμβην (Hdt. 4. 150), χοροὺς ἀνάγω (Th. 3. 104), πομπὴν ἄγω (Plou. *Lyk.* 30; cf. βοήγια in *Syll.*³ 577. 72) indicates. More particularly, there are several processions for which the proper term is a noun or a compound noun of the verb ἄγω; characteristic is the case of the κλειδὸς πομπή or ἀγωγή in Lagina for Hekate;³⁵ but probably even better known are the several cases of Dionysiac processions in which - as the name discloses - the emphasis falls

³⁴On the definition of προσόδιον see below n. 105. Definitions found in late lexica should not be binding as to the meaning of προσόδιον in Classical times. The semantic range of the term πρόσοδος and the etymology of προσόδιον are more reliable indicators. προσόδιον seems to describe *any* song sung in a sacred procession.

³⁵See Nilsson 1906, 400ff.

upon the introduction of the god into a community: εἰσαγωγή ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας,³⁶ καταγωγή.³⁷

In line with the verbs πέμπω and ἄγω, the verb φέρω and especially its derivative nouns and compounds form another significant category of terms related to processions in which, obviously, the stress falls on the carrying of sacred items: θάλλοφόροι, ὕδριαφόροι, σκαφηφόροι and a number of other similar word formations are all terms denoting duties performed in processions.³⁸ More notable perhaps is the case of the funeral procession for which the technical term is ἐκφορά, the carrying-out of the body (Th. 2. 34, Ar. Pl. 1008, Lys. 1. 8).³⁹

It is difficult to find an exact term for the wedding procession: γάμος is the most frequent but general term, denoting the whole wedding celebration including the sexual union of the couple. The term ἔκδοσις which is also used generally in the sense of giving-somebody-in-marriage (e.g. Pl. Laws 924d, R. 310b), is the closest parallel to the formation of the other technical compounds as ἐκφορά or εἰσαγωγή, and may well have denoted the literal passing of the bride from her father to the bridegroom at the moment of the procession.⁴⁰ Related to the wedding procession seem also to have been such standard phrases as ἄγομαι γυναῖκα (for getting married), since ἄγω νύμφην/ γυναῖκα is probably the most characteristic linguistic designation of a nuptial escort in Ancient Greek (Isok. 18. 492, [Hes.] Aspis 274, Hyp. Lyk. 4).

Although the funeral and wedding processions are not defined as *pompai* in Classical Greek, their description is often accomplished through the

³⁶IG II² 1006. 12, 1008. 14-5, 1011. 11-12.

³⁷In Ephesos, Acta S. Tim.; for the antiquity of the feast cf. also Herakl. fr. 15 D-K; cf. Robert 1968. Priene, Inscr. Priene 174. Cf. IG II² 1368. 111f. for Athens.

³⁸In names of *heortai*, however, the -φόρος part may refer to an original carrying of objects in the myth forming the background of the feast.

³⁹In later sources the term ἐκκομιδή (and ἐκκομίζειν) is also frequent; see for example Plou. Sol. 21, Chariton 1. 6. 2.

⁴⁰In few cases ἐξαγωγή may be used in contexts denoting marriage, e.g. Hom. Il. 13. 379, E. IA 693; even rarer is the term εἰσαγωγή (implying introduction to the groom's household): Hdt. 5. 40, 6. 63.

use of πέμπω-related verbs, such as προπέμπω or παραπέμπω (Pl. *Men.* 236d, Hyp. *Lyk.* 5; cf. D.S. 84. 2. 1, Longos 40. 1) which emphasize attendance and accompaniment rather than actual conduct or conveyance.⁴¹ Due to their significance these verbs often figure in the descriptions of escorts for humans (e.g. X. *Kyr.* 3. 1. 2.) and especially of honorific escorts (Hdt. 8. 12. 4, X. *Ages.* 2. 27; cf. Th. 5. 16 καταγαγεῖν). The use of these verbs is not unknown with respect to sacred processions, but in these cases they will again signify honorific attendance as a duty in the procession or an honorific place in the procession (e.g. *IGII*² 1078. 9, 14, 18, 25; *SEG* 19. 108. 74; *SEG* 22. 111. 7 etc.).

The plethora of ancient Greek terms that can be placed under the rubric 'procession' advises some caution in the use of modern terminology. Most fundamental seems to be the distinction between ritual and non-ritual usage of terms. The exposition so far has established that a ritual movement may be expressed with a number of different terms. This, however, does not imply that any ancient Greek word signifying group movement corresponds to 'ritual procession'.⁴² On the other hand, the distinctions in the *ritual* usage of the words should not be obscured by the standard translation 'procession'. The diverse linguistic expressions are indicative of a difference in the experience of the event; πέμπειν πομπήν is not the same as κατάγειν τὸν Διόνυσον, although both locutions imply processional realization. Even terms so closely associated as πρόσοδος and πομπή are distinct as to the aspect of the processional activity which they highlight: the first, the access; the latter, the conduct. Attention to the linguistic factor may open up ways to approach the differences of cultural experience in relation to processional practice.

⁴¹For the meaning see for example the Platonic passages *Kra.* 440e and *Th.* 142c.

⁴²ἔξοδος is a case in question. Applied to women's movement, it is often translated 'procession' but this has nothing to do with *pompe* in a festival. In Hdt. 3. 14 it means group movement of female captives, and in other sources (Pl. *Laws* 784d, D. 48. 55) it implies a formal outing, a public appearance on an arranged or ritual occasion; cf. E. *Phaeth.* 116 and Collard ap. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995 ad loc. Accordingly, in Plou. *Sol.* 21 (a passage which seems to produce some confusion) Solon imposed restrictions on the behaviour and conduct of women's movements in public on various formal occasions such as πένθη and ἑορταί, and not on *pompai* of women; the term is correctly understood by Loraux 1990, 41 and n. 54.

The linguistic designation of processional events in tragedy both follows and expands this picture. Along with the epos and much of lyric poetry, tragedy locates itself in a spatio-temporal past marked by the presence of gods and heroes. Neither tragic action nor diction is a direct reflection of contemporary reality, and processions are not exempted. In tragedy scenic events which have a pompic character are described with language which points to 'real-life' processional activity, without necessarily attracting an explicit comprehensive label. The funeral procession of Alkestis is probably the only one (in the surviving plays) which is explicitly announced with the standard technical term ἐκφορά (E. *Alk.* 422), but not in the scene in which the procession is enacted. The same term is also used twice to refer to Agamemnon's burial, a past event ἐκτὸς τοῦ δράματος (A. *Ch.* 8, 430). In most cases in which a procession is performed, the closest linguistic indications are uses of verbs related to processions such as ἄγω, φέρω, πέμπω.⁴³ There are scenes in which linguistic formulas used *during* processions may occur (E. *Hik.* 1025 ἔτω φῶς γάμοι τε, *Tr.* 308 ἄνεχε, πάρεχε, φῶς φέρε). Generally, tragic language, though not sparing, is descriptive of gestures, objects, route and escort. Ritual terminology connected with πομπή and its compounds is more problematic, but characteristic of the tradition of the genres within which tragedy falls. In line with Homer, tragedy uses the word πομπή in its literal, non-specialized sense of sending, conveying and escorting in a variety of contexts (some of which were mentioned above). Yet, πομπή-related words do come up in scenes involving ritual enactment; in these cases the interconnection of language and action would bring to the fore the ritual connotations of the words (e.g. E. *Hek.* 222 πομπός; προπομποί in A. *Eu.* 1005; πομπή in A. *Eu.* 1034)⁴⁴.

⁴³S. *Ant.* 811, 877, *Tr.* 857-8, 1255, 1264; [A.] *Pr.* 539; E. *Alk.* 608, *Hipp.* 59, *Hkld.* 528, *Tr.* 355, 1246, *IT* 1208, *Hel.* 1390-91, *IA* 1462, 1375. Such terms as προστροπή (A. *Ch.* 21) or στόλος (S. *Tr.* 226) are generally neutral, although in the particular cases some ritual nuances may also be hidden.

⁴⁴Also in A. *Pers.* 1036 προπομποί may not be simply any attendants; due to the context it could well suggest honorific terminology (and hence a reversal of related practices).

This situation may at first sight obscure the way in which tragic action may relate to 'real-life' processional ritual. The counter example of comedy, which is much readier to name things (for the sake of satirizing and stressing the incongruity of the situations), may seem a further complicating, and perhaps discouraging, factor for an attempt to account for tragic processional action. The contrast is, however, to some degree misleading. Comedy has a direct topical and temporal relevance to the world of the audience. Contemporary political figures are reviled, contemporary situations satirized and contemporary diction - even slang - is used. Dikaiopolis has no problem in announcing that he is performing the *pompe* of the Country Dionysia of 425 B.C., and that he is then invited to dine with the priest of Dionysos while Lamachos (a military officer of 425)⁴⁵ has to go to war. Tragedy, on the other hand, has to assert a difference while retaining a constant interplay with contemporary reality. The elevated tragic style (which likes περίφρασις and φαντασία, as pseudo-Longinos has shown) points in this direction. The action, at the same time, is both distanced and close, and it seems to imply intense interaction with spectators, as well as an audience well aware of traditions and conventions. In processional scenes the complexity of the action cannot be easily encompassed by established categorizations and definitions. The subtle and implicit language invites the audience to ponder on the nature of the event and reach their own conclusions. Comedy also 'plays' with processional echoes, and in one instance at least, i.e. in the mock-procession in Aristophanes' *Ekklesiazousai*, it stages the operation of this interaction: Chremes arranges the parade of his σκεύη *suggesting* rather than labelling the action (728-45). It is the 'θεατής', his neighbour watching from a close distance, who judges the character of the action and explicitly names it (757 πομπὴν πέμπετε).

Finally, and most importantly in relation to sacred processions in tragedy, the repetition of the standard ritual vocabulary would probably not do

⁴⁵Probably the *strategos*, see MacDowell 1995, 67-69.

justice to the transposed time and place of the tragic action to a remote past, in which the relations between human, heroic and divine were believed to be different, especially as regards the unmediated communication between the two spheres. With respect to ritual, tragedy often presents cults *in statu nascendi* and hence the ritual action cannot have the repetitive and standardized character of similar 'real-life' events. In a way the tragic *pompai* are 'proto-pompai' which create a precedent for the future reassumption of the ritual. In these 'proto-conditions' the disengagement from the contemporary technical vocabulary proves effective, and a flexible, poetic usage of words appropriate. At the same time, the occurrence of such key terms as πέμπω and πομπή/ πομπός in contexts involving the action of the divine⁴⁶ may not be irrelevant to contemporary perceptions of processional ritual, but a kind of *aition* for the future practice. It is significant that both in Homer and in tragedy⁴⁷ πομπή is the conduct that a superhuman power offers in the event of a difficult and important passage. Instead of being irrelevant, this significance seems to inform the very practice of processions.⁴⁸ But while in Homer and tragedy the conduct of the god was part of the ordinary life of the heroes, in the world of the audience the symbolic presence of the divine is perceived and established in specific transitions which are marked by ceremony.

⁴⁶Either in the wide frame of his/ her cult, e.g. E. *Bakch.* 965 and 1047; or broadly in relation to a passage, e.g. E. *Hel.* 1121.

⁴⁷Cf. also Pi. (e.g. P. 4. 164, N. 3. 25) and the theologically minded Herodotos (e.g. 3. 77, 4. 152).

⁴⁸Bömer 1952, 1879-82 is too rigid when he concludes in excluding any ritual connotations from the term πομπή in tragedy and in dissociating the mythological perception of divine escort (encapsulated in the use of the term especially in Homer and in tragedy) from the historical πομπή. I hope to pursue a linguistic investigation in conjunction with an analysis of the mythological and ritual connotations in a future study.

3. SACRED PROCESSIONS

Processions were at the centre of ritual and custom in ancient Greece, and Athens in particular. It seems that almost every communal ritual occasion involved one: marriage and death, victory and feast, reception and farewell were all defined by the common arraying of people moving towards a destination. Most important of all, however, was the prominence of processions in the worship of gods and heroes, the performance of πομπαί in the technical sense.

In the cultic domain the transportation of an offering or symbol by a smaller or larger collectivity through space in honour of (or at least in relation to) a supra-human being is differentiated from ordinary movement and intensified. Any kind of πέμπειν, ἄγειν, φέρειν, (πέμπειν βοῦν, τράγον, νηφάλια/χοὰς πέμπειν, πέμπειν τὰ ἱερά, τὸν κάλαθον, φαλλόν) even of ἄγειν the divinity himself/ herself, mostly in the form of a statue⁴⁹ (εἰσάγειν/κατάγειν τὸν Διόνυσον for example) implies a group of people and intentional movement with a varying degree of ceremony. The historical picture concerning such an activity is extremely complex and diversified. Despite the fragmentary state of our sources and the usual 'incompleteness' - from our point of view - of the information, there is a tantalizingly high number of hints (both artistic and linguistic) about related ritual action. The antiquity of some of the sources is great: Neolithic evidence points towards phallic processions,⁵⁰ while in Minoan-Mycenean iconography processions are extensively portrayed.⁵¹ The linear B tablets provide further linguistic

⁴⁹On the ancient perception of statues as the true presence of the divinity see Gordon 1979, 8; Nagy 1991, 294-5. However, not every reference to a deity or even the depiction of a deity on vases is necessary a reference or a depiction of a statue; see Herington 1955, 7-27.

⁵⁰See Burkert 1985, 52.

⁵¹The evidence is indeed remarkable; see Marinatos 1986, 25-27, 32-35 and Marinatos 1993, 31-6 and 51-75. On the ancient Greek view on the origin of *pompai* from Crete: Didymos Chalk. ap. Lact. *Inst.* I 22. 19.

evidence about festivals implying processions: *θρονοελκτήρια in Pylos (PY Fr 1222),⁵² θεοφόρια in Knossos (KN Ga 1058).⁵³ The processional carrying and offering of a garment to the divinity is also portrayed in Homer (*Il.* 6. 285-311), a female activity reflected also in Archaic poetry and art.⁵⁴ Obviously, then, processional activity had deep roots in Greek tradition despite Herodotos' statement to the contrary (2. 58). His tendency to exaggerate Egypt's priority in customs and rituals has long been noticed by scholars.⁵⁵ Whether and to what extent a process of acculturation⁵⁶ between Greece and the Near East may have influenced ritual practices as witnessed in the Archaic and Classical age has to remain open and in need of better documentation. It is important though not to overlook the differences: in Egypt and the Near East processions are predominantly 'Götterprozessionen',⁵⁷ while in Greece processions 'towards the god' prevail.

In Archaic and Classical times in Athens⁵⁸ (which is the focus of this study), as in the rest of the Greek world,⁵⁹ processions occupy an eminent position among the various cultic activities, mainly because they were intimately connected with the major ritual through which communication with

⁵²Probably 'the carrying-around of a robe'; see Promponas 1974.

⁵³Cf. also the very interesting sacrificial inscription on tablet PY Tn 316 (mentioned in Burkert 1985, 43 and id. 1992, 542).

⁵⁴Most notable is the offering of φᾶρος in Alkman 1. 61, although the general context and interpretation of the extant fragment is highly disputable. In art see the Boiotian pithos Boston, Mus. of Fine Arts 99506 and the korinthian vases with the so-called 'Frauenfest' scenes (see Jucker 1963; Lehnstaedt 1970, 21-22). Generally on the topic see Korres 1981.

⁵⁵See Lloyd 1976, 266-7 and id. 1990, 220. Bernal's thesis (Bernal 1987 and 1991) that Greece was invaded, conquered and civilized by Egyptians around 1800 B.C. has been repeatedly refuted (for example, the absence of any archaeological remains from this alleged invasion militates against his thesis); see most recently the contributions in Lefkowitz and MacLean Rogers 1996; (and cf. Griffin's review of recent literature against Bernal in the New York Review of Books, 20 June 1996, 67-73).

⁵⁶Some traces (but *not* regarding processional ritual) have been followed up by Burkert 1992a and id. 1992, 544-5.

⁵⁷See Stadelmann 1982; Pongrantz-Leisten 1994, 3-6 and *passim*.

⁵⁸Athens has been reputedly the best in ἄγειν μυστήρια καὶ πομπάς according to Plou. Lyk. 30.

⁵⁹I can hardly agree with Pfuhl 1900, 108-11 that Athenian processions differed from the rest of the Greek world. As Parker 1989 has shown in relation to Spartan religion, the ἥθος may change from place to place, but the basic forms and structures of ritual remain the same. On festivals outside Attica Nilsson 1906 is still a comprehensive and rich mine of information.

the divine realm was sought, i.e. with sacrifice, in all its forms, bloodless offerings, *enagismos*, *thysia*.⁶⁰ In its most formal expression the πομπή was part of the public religious festivals, the basic tripartite schema of which comprised the *pompe*, the *thysia* and the *agon*.⁶¹ Even if festivals differed in their character (including, among others, mysteries, *hierogamiai*, or purifications), the procession was still at their core, not only because all these ritual events included movement, but also because they were often combined with sacrificial activity.⁶² Outside the religious calendar, on the other hand, sacrifice formed the centre of ritual activity in both private and public life. With this state of affairs, and since an overall survey of all kinds of processions is here impossible,⁶³ it seems useful to concentrate more on the sacrificial procession - and especially on its most common form, the Olympian sacrifice - without losing sight, however, of the other cases which will be dealt less systematically. Finally, in order to keep the whole in perspective, a brief description of the integral sacrificial pattern seems to be called for,⁶⁴ before launching into further details.

The procession which opened the sacrificial procedure and ultimately led to the sacrificial act, the killing of the animal, was a joyous occasion, contributing to the festive tone which prevailed at a Greek ἑορτή. Sacrificial representations on vases tend to depict the procession and the other events

⁶⁰On the types of sacrifice see Burkert 1979, 52-56, id. 1985, 55-60, 66-8, 70-73; Bruit-Zaidman and Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 28-41.

⁶¹On the basic pattern of the festival see Calame 1982.

⁶²Sacrifices along the way to Eleusis, for example: *IG II²* 1078; Plou. *Alk.* 34.4. Other religious ceremonies involving a procession: transportations of statues, introduction of cults, *hidryseis*, *theoriai* - all of them could be connected with sacrifice.

⁶³The number of Greek festivals including a *pompe* is enormous; Bömer 1952 lists 249 cases of periodic processions for gods and heroes in the Greek world (excluding ruler-cults and various kinds of 'einmalige' processions); and for Attica alone Pfuhr 1900 discusses 35 cases (excluding *theoriai*).

⁶⁴For a fine description of the course of an ordinary Greek sacrifice see Burkert 1983, 3-7; there are, however, great variations defined by different parameters, so see further Meuli 1946, 185-287 and Stengel 1910. On the different atmosphere presiding mainly over chthonic/hero cult sacrifices see Nock 1944, a famous study urging caution against rigid distinctions; and recently Scullion 1994. I shall give only the very basic elements of the procedure as a general background to the relevant tragic scenes.

before the actual slaughter at the expense of killing or post-killing scenes.⁶⁵ The external appearance of the participants who assembled to escort the sacrificial animal to the place of sacrifice underlined the festive character of the occasion: they were all ornamented and wreathed, and the animal was decorated with garlands and fillets, its horns often covered with gold. The *κνηφόρος* (usually a *parthenos*, bedecked with gold and ornaments) would open the procession carrying the sacrificial basket which contained the barley grains and the knife. The priest would come next to or after the sacrificial animal, other participants would follow, among them the *auletes* setting the pace. Incense and water were also carried along. After the procession had reached the altar, a series of preliminary acts would precede the actual slaughtering: the carrying of the sacrificial basket and water jug around the altar, the washing of the hands, the sprinkling of water on the animal, the flinging of the barley grains, the cutting of animal hair and throwing it into the fire. In the meantime holy *εὐφημία* would have been kept and a prayer would have been spoken aloud. At the very moment of the slaughter the women raised the *ὀλολυγή*. The blood of the animal would be spilled on the altar. The end of the ceremony was usually marked by a common meal,⁶⁶ although in some non-Olympian cases the animal could be wholly burnt (holocaust) or differently disposed off.

The processional formation described above reflects the normal, basic schema that a *pompe* could take. The historical picture, however, shows a wide diversity. On the one hand, there are the huge monumental examples which are usually connected with major public festivals. A well-known case of such a grand *pompe* is the one depicted on the Parthenon frieze; despite its thorny problems of interpretation, there is no doubt that the monumentalized action

⁶⁵According to the statistics by van Straten 1988 and id. 1995, 189-92. On the festive character of the scenes see Peirce 1993.

⁶⁶In an unpublished paper ('The Spectacular and the Obscure in Greek Religion') M. Jameson has stressed that a common meal *on the spot* should hardly be taken for granted.

is a sacrificial procession of immense dimensions: large groups of young women, sacrificial animals (sheep and oxen), incense-bearers, *skaphephoroi* and *hydriaphoroi*, musicians, venerable old men, and above all, young warriors on horseback and spectacular war-chariots.⁶⁷

At the other end of the scale there are the private sacrifices in which ceremony may be kept to a minimum.⁶⁸ On votive reliefs, markers of private piety, the *auletes* is often missing, the *kanoun* is borne by a slave, another slave may lead the animal, their place often at the back; yet, a minimum of ceremonial group-formation is always kept, as the family is hierarchically presented in front of the divine recipient.⁶⁹ It is in comedy that the procedure becomes completely deflated, solemnity is replaced by fast movements in and out of the acting area, and the presence of an *auletes* can be only a threat (Ar. *Peace* 936-59).⁷⁰

Between these two extremes there are cases like the private hecatomb procession of the pious Milesian at Delphi, anxious to receive the oracular pronouncement about the *eusebestatos* in the world (Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F. 344); or the procession in 403 B.C. of the victorious democrats from Piraeus to the Akropolis for a sacrifice of thanksgiving (X. *Hell.* 2. 4. 39; Lys. 13. 80-81),⁷¹ an ad-hoc procession and sacrifice with a public dimension,

⁶⁷The bibliography on the Parthenon frieze is vast and the interpretational problems numerous; for the problems of the participants and the composition (along with an interpretation) see Boardman 1977; Connelly 1996 offers the most recent and mythologically-oriented interpretation (proposing the sacrifice of the daughter of Erechtheus). They both dispute the presence of *kanephoroi* on the frieze; but cf. Roccas 1995, 654-59 who defends it on the basis of dress convention (in her article she generally discusses the appearance and dress of the *kanephoros*).

⁶⁸In the private realm many factors determining the dimensions of ceremony could be at play, most importantly space and individual means (cf. Alkiphr. *Epist.* 2.33). Generally speaking, however, private sacrificial processions, which sometimes seem to be reflected on vases (Lehnstaedt 1970, 122-8, 137 and *passim*), are - as Wilamowitz 1932, 2. 352 has put it - 'im kleinen dasselbe'.

⁶⁹See van Straten 1992, 274-81 and id. 1995, 60-61.

⁷⁰But cf. other private celebrations in comedy, e.g. Ar. *Ach.* 241-79 Rural Dionysia, or even Ploutos' *hidrysis* in Ar. *Pl.* 1191ff. Ar. *Birds* 848-63 is different because it is for a whole 'polis'. In any case one must be cautious in using literary evidence to reconstruct a historical picture, especially aware of genre conventions, and sensitive to the - even unexpected - choices of the poet and generally to poetic idiosyncrasy.

⁷¹For an analysis of the ritual see Strauss 1985, 69-72.

though not a polis-enterprise. It is obvious that the greater the need for conspicuous display, the stronger the emphasis on the ceremonial tone of the procession.

The diversity of contexts and circumstances in which a cultic procession can take place, also complicates the issue of its composition.⁷² The body of participants may vary enormously from members of a family to representatives of the whole citizen body (including metics or perhaps slaves in some cases)⁷³. The sources attest to numerous combinations falling between these two extremes. Notable among them are cases in which participation is intimately connected with the persona of the deity: age groups placed under divine protection,⁷⁴ or groups sharing some social role relating to the deity,⁷⁵ members of cult organizations,⁷⁶ members of *gene* in charge of a cult.⁷⁷ The priesthood and various other state officials were also conspicuous especially in public processions, although the priest/ priestess of the particular deity honoured need not be invariably present *in* the procession.⁷⁸ The various groups forming a procession would be probably distinguished by their attire: on major festive occasions white seems to be normal for children, *poikilon* for grown-up participants and especially for the cavalry, purple for metics.⁷⁹ Generally, however, the external appearance (wreaths, symbols, attire) is

⁷²Space does not allow me to deal with all the technicalities pertaining to the issue of composition. I mainly refer to the points which will prove useful for my later analysis. For detailed expositions see Leacock 1900; Eitrem 1920, 79-106; Bömer 1952, 1902-1912; Lehnstaedt 1970, 4-10.

⁷³Metics in Athenian public *pompai*: Ail. *Var. Hist.* 6.1; Harp. s.v. *σκιαδηφόροι*, *σκαφηφόροι* and *μετοίκιον*, Phot. s.v. *σκάφας*, *σκαφηφορεῖν* and *ὑδριαφόροι*, Hsch. s.v. *σκαφηφόροι*, Poll. 3. 55. According to *An. Bekk.* 1.242 even slaves took part in the Panathenaia carrying an oak tree branch through the agora. General exclusions from processions: Bömer 1952, 1907.

⁷⁴E.g. procession of *parthenoi* to Delphinion: Plou. *Thes.* 18. 2. The ephebes, featuring in many processions (cf. Nagy 1991), fall into this category but their duties were wide. See also below n. 152.

⁷⁵*αἱ νεωστὶ γεγαμημέναι* for Aphrodite, for instance: [Aisch]. *Epist.* 10. 6. 2.

⁷⁶E.g. the *θιασῶται* of Aphrodite dealing with the *pompe* of the Adonia: *Syll.*³ 1098 (302/1 B.C.).

⁷⁷E.g. the Hesychidai in charge of the procession for the Semnai: Sch. S. *OK* 489.

⁷⁸As argued by Ziehen 1925, 345f.

⁷⁹On attire see Leacock 1900, 35-7; Bömer 1952, 1911.

inseparably linked to the character of the deity and the occasion. Hence, mysteries tend to emphasize the plain appearance of the initiates in the procession:⁸⁰ rebirth into a different entity presupposes the shedding of all previous differential characteristics.

The spatial arrangement of the participants, intimately associated with their role in the procession and the properties carried, is characterised by such variability that Leacock concludes 'Graecos pompas alias alio modo ordinare solitos esse'.⁸¹ Some consistency pervades the sacrificial schema described above: an introductory part consisting of basic but also symbolic equipment;⁸² animals and other offerings followed by the musicians coming in the middle; participants with very little or no equipment coming later, the military groups at the back. Sometimes the opening part of the procession may be particularly stressed by the presence of a herald,⁸³ a symbolic announcement of the coming escort and a link with the ultimate divine *pompos*, Hermes, patron of heralds.

Often, however, the announcement function is fulfilled by symbolic elements characteristic of the god (or the event) honoured by the procession: *χερνιβείον* for an Osiris procession presumably,⁸⁴ wine and vine for Dionysos,⁸⁵ tripod carried to Dodone in atonement for an *ιεροσυλία*,⁸⁶ *oschoi*

⁸⁰LSG 65. 21-27; Kall. *Hymn.* 6. 124-5.

⁸¹Leacock 1900, 33. Eitrem 1920, 95-105, who attempts to build a stable model of arrangement, has to acknowledge exceptions all the time. The difficulty concerning the arrangement of *pompai* is also due to the failure of the sources to provide extensive accounts; what was presumably self-evident for contemporary members of the culture becomes an open question for the researcher today.

⁸²Among other implements, the display of axes at the head of processions is attested in Sch. A. *Eu.* 13 and Hld. 3.1.1.3. The evidence, even if not very strong, should not be totally overlooked (as by Durand 1986, 89ff. for example).

⁸³At the Oschophoria for example: Plou. *Thes.* 22. Also Ar. *Ek.* 757 'Ἱέρωνι τῷ κήρυνκι πομπὴν πέμπετε. (According to Eust. Hom. *Od.* 22. 481, p.1235, in the *Pompaia* the *kerykeion* carried in procession was called *pompos*).

⁸⁴Antiphanes Com. *Bousiris* fr. 67K-A; cf. Plou. *Is.* 36. 365B: προπομπεύει τὸ ὕδρεϊον ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ θεοῦ.

⁸⁵Plou. *mor.* 527 ἡ πάνδημος τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπέμπετο δημοτικῶς καὶ ἱλαρῶς· ἀμφορεὺς οἴνου καὶ κληματὶς, εἴτα τράγον τις εἴλκεν, ἄλλος ἰσχάδων ἄρριχον ἠκολούθει κομίζων, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δ' ὁ φαλλός.

⁸⁶Prokl. ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 321b τρίποδος προηγουμένου.

carried at the Oschophoria.⁸⁷ Such symbols would function as religious foci in the procession, but as comparative studies have shown,⁸⁸ there appears to be a gradual increase of symbolic importance, with major focal points coming towards the middle or the back. In the Greek examples this is particularly evident when the procession is not purely sacrificial, but when it is further amplified and magnified by the carrying of objects or offerings of particular symbolic significance, i.e. when the πέμπειν is not simply πέμπειν τὸν βοῦν (or any other θύματα or ἐναγίσματα) but also πέμπειν τὸν πέπλον, τὸν φαλλόν, τὰ ἱερά. According to Plutarch in the Rural Dionysia the *phallos* was carried last.⁸⁹ At the City Dionysia the *phalloi* would also come after the major body of the sacrificial procession.⁹⁰ In an analogous fashion the *hiera* in the mystery procession in Andania (*LSG* 65, *Syll.*³ 789) would follow after the group of priests and officials but before the body of initiates. In these and in many other cases (animal sacrifices, bloodless sacrifices, libation offerings, *hiera*-processions etc.), around the sacred objects priests and officials of high rank or appointed members of prominent families were gathered, displaying their services (and guardianship) in connection with these symbols.⁹¹

Hierarchy is of course a basic principle in the processional formation: the most important cultic representatives and state officials would come before others of lower significance;⁹² the *theoriai* would follow after the

⁸⁷Prokl. ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 322a δύο νεανίαι... κομίζοντες μεστὸν εὐθαλῶν βοτρυῶν... τῆς ἐορτῆς καθηγούμενοι.

⁸⁸See Holliday 1990, 73-4; Muir 1981, 198-99, 231-7; Geertz 1981, 98-109.

⁸⁹Plou. *mor.* 527. In Ar. *Ach.* 261ff. Dikaiopolis follows the *phallos*-bearer singing; this is a possible position for a chorus, i.e. following the major symbol; analogous attested examples: Prokl. ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 321b-322a (cf. Paus. 9. 10); Paus. 2.7.5; Hld. 2.34.

⁹⁰Pfuhl 1900, 77f. Pattern of *phallegoria* in other Dionysia as well, e.g. Delos: Sifakis 1967, 7-11, Burkert 1983, 71; Lesbos: Jameson 1993, 53.

⁹¹The priestesses at the Eleusinian mysteries procession for example: *IG* I³ 79 (decree of 421 B.C.). Role of *gene*: Plou. *Alk.* 34.1, Suda and Phot. s.v. νομοφύλακες, Phot. s.v. Καλλυντήρια, Hsch. s.v. Πλυντήρια (Praxiargidai - Plynteria); Sch. S. OK 489 (Hesychidai for the procession of the Semnai); Harp. s.v. σκίρον (Eteoboutades carrying the canopy at Skira). On the *gene* in Athens see now Parker's 1996, 284ff. comprehensive presentation.

⁹²Paus. 2.35.5 (procession for Demeter Chthonia: priests and officials, women and men, children, the sacrificial animals); *LSA* 32. 32-40, *Syll.*³ 589 (Zeus Sosipolis); *LSG* 65. 28-33, *Syll.*³ 789 (Andania); cf. Clinton's hypothesis (Clinton 1974, 35-6) that *IG* II² 1092 of 160-170 A.D. reflects the arrangement of priests and priestesses in the great procession of the

representatives of the polis holding the festival;⁹³ even the sacrificial animals would be arranged hierarchically: πρῶτον μὲν τὰ δημόσια καὶ τὸ καλλιστεῖον, ἔπειτα τὰ κριτά· ἔπειτα <τὰ> τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, εἴαν τις βούληται συμπομπεύειν (IG XII 9. 189. 34).⁹⁴ Congruously the most important symbols and equipment were carried by the most prominent members.⁹⁵ Besides the central body of the procession, the two ends of the formation, i.e. the very first and the very last position, could receive special focus. To be the *propompos* (used in later times as a title of honour), or generally the person who ἡγεῖται, was considered to be a distinction.⁹⁶ In other instances the assignment of the last position could have implications of special gravity or even of an element of surprise.⁹⁷ It was only after all these climactic points that large numbers of people without a specific function in the procession might join in.⁹⁸

The arrangement of the procession was closely combined with the order of the movement, and in their interrelation they both constituted distinctive features of processions, now as well as then. Modern perceptions of ritual order, however, should not be imposed on our understanding of an ancient Greek *pompe*.⁹⁹ The picture is again characterised by wide historical diversity.

Mysteries of that date (the priestess of Demeter and Kore and the priestess of Athena are mentioned together).

⁹³An interesting *e contrario* example: IG IV 1², 47, Syll.³ 357. 8ff (concerning the penteteric feast in Epidauros; the *theoria* of Astypalaia privileged to lead their animal along with those of the city).

⁹⁴Hierarchy is also obvious from the distribution of meat: LSG 33. 11-16.

⁹⁵The contrast between *kanephoroi*, noble daughters of Athenians, and *skiadephoroi*, daughters of metics, is telling (although the parasol is an ancient symbol; see Miller 1992).

⁹⁶Mnasistratos LSG 65. 28 (ἐν δὲ τῇ πομπᾷ ἀγείστω Μνασίστρατος); Stephanephoros (LSA 32. 41); Aisimos in Lys. 13. 80 (ἡγεῖτο μὲν Αἴσιμος); *propompeia* mentioned as a privilege: IG IV² (1). 66; Delph. 3(2). 48. 53 (for the Dionysiac Technitai); Inscr. Prien. 109. 215; cf. also the dispute over *propompeia* in Plataia: Robertson 1986.

⁹⁷Archon in Plataia: Plou. Arist. 21.3ff. (ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τῶν Πλαταιέων ὁ ἄρχων); priestess of Artemis Laphria in Patrai: Paus. 7.18.12 (but the cult established in Roman times).

⁹⁸Eretria: Syll.³ 323 the whole people; Plou. Arat. 53.7; X. Eph. 1.3.1; cf. at the end of the mock-procession in Ar. Ek. 745 τὰ χυτρίδια ἤδη καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἀφίετε. In terms of relative numbers it is likely that a large crowd would follow mainly in major non-urban festivals, in the so-called ἐορταὶ πάνδημοι (cf. Aineias Takt. 17.1 τὰς μετ' ὄχλου ἐξόδους; id. 17.2 ἐορτῆς πανδήμου γενομένης), like the Heraia in Argos, the Daidala festival in Boiotia, the Hyakinthia in Sparta etc.

⁹⁹The *religionis quietus ordo* (Apul. Met. 11. 12) which is repeatedly attributed to Greek *pompai*, is indicative of such bias, especially since the supportive evidence normally supplied comes from Roman literature; see, for example, Bömer 1952, 1909.

In some cases no more than a loose sense of unified group movement should be perhaps imagined, with diversified movement within a single procession. The sources allow many hints at the relaxed order of Dionysiac processions in which dancing and gaiety, even comastic revelry and rough gestures could take place,¹⁰⁰ a feature probably related to the nature of the god. Long journeys would also present problems, as the law concerning the order of the mystai-procession to Eleusis reveals;¹⁰¹ and one can easily conceive the prevailing merriment when the *gephyrismoι* took place.¹⁰² The σύνταξις (τάξις) and κόσμος, however, were important aspects, and Nikias was praised when as a leader of the Delian *theoria* τήν τε πομπήν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸν χορὸν ἄγων κεκοσμημένον πολυτελῶς καὶ ἄδοντα διὰ τῆς γέφυρας ἀπεβίβαζε in contrast to κατ' οὐδένα κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἀσυντάκτως ἀποβαινόντων of other *theoriai* (Plou. *Nik.* 3. 5-6).¹⁰³ In any case the processional arrangement and order would have been distinct from other movements as it could even be used as a trick (Polyain. 5. 5. νόμῳ πομπῆς βαδίζοντες).

Music would be a decisive factor in sustaining the order and unity of the group, especially in enhancing the extraordinary atmosphere that the exceptional grouping, attire, arrangement and movement would create. Aulos-players, kitharists or even choirs of singers were almost always present,¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰D. 19. 287; 22.49; cf. Sch. D. 18. 40b.1 and 19. 504a; Pl. *Laws* 637b; cf. Herakl. fr. 15; D.H. *Roman Ant.* 7.11; Ath. 10. 428e; Suda ἐξ ἁμαξῶν ; Sch. Klem. Al. *Protr.* 297.4. The picture of *pompai* under the influence of orgiastic cults in late Antiquity is also anything but a 'quietus ordo': e.g. Martyr. S. Theodoti 14 p.70, 5ff (see Bömer 1952, 1927).

¹⁰¹LSS 15 (first century B.C.).

¹⁰²Hesychius s.v. γεφυρίς-γεφυρισταί and Strabon 9. 400.

¹⁰³On the ideals of order and symmetry in the iconography of sacrificial processions see also Durand 1986, 90-95. On the concern with order cf. also the role of superintendents and the provision of punishment for misbehaviour: Bömer 1952, 1907 and 1912; (D. 21. 8-10 assembly after Pandia about conduct at the Dionysia). Even so, ancient Greek images of order need not coincide with modern ones and caution is always required. The famous Ferrara krater (Ferrara Mus. di Spina 2897) depicting an orgiastic ceremony of a 'mixed' type, i.e. procession and dance mingled in one (cf. Bérard and Durand 1989, 23-27), is a corrective of any modern preconceived ideas about 'ordered movement' in processions. Even if the scene depicts a fictional ceremony, it is still characteristic, and hence significant, of the ideals of experience of ancient Greeks.

¹⁰⁴Haldane 1966, 99-101; Nordquist 1992, 144-54. The *salpinx* is also notable, though much rarer: Poll. 4. 86f., Plou. *Arist.* 21. 1ff.; on vase paintings: Nordquist 1992, 147-8. The relation between music and processions is a very interesting subject which requires

especially in public rituals; and the genus of processional songs has left some sparse, but tantalizingly multifarious traces in the sources. Proklos attests to the genre of *prosodion* and lists it as one of the species of choric poetry.¹⁰⁵ In some late sources *prosodion* is associated with Apollo and Artemis cult,¹⁰⁶ but Muth may be right in considering this connection as a 'later' development.¹⁰⁷ In the sources *prosodia* are explicitly associated with other gods and occasions.¹⁰⁸ The prosodiac metre attested by Hephaistion¹⁰⁹ has a brisk rhythm,¹¹⁰ and, as Georgios Choïroboskos, the commentator on Hephaistion, attests, it was called Dionysiac because it was used in Dionysiac processions.¹¹¹ Although other sources describe the prosodiac metre in different ways,¹¹² and the very few extant fragments handed down as *prosodia* are composed in even more different metres (hexameter, dactyloepitrite, cretic),¹¹³ all these diverse testimonies are indicative not of an antithesis but of a complementarity between different rhythmical modes in processional ceremonies in ancient Greece. At the same time they are suggestive of the variety (unretrievable to a large extent perhaps) of the forms deployed in ancient Greek ritual. In this way they are also corrective of any rigid, one-sided

systematic analysis. West 1992, 14-30 has only generally observed the ubiquitous presence of music at festivals and processional rituals.

¹⁰⁵The term is probably late; On the definition of προσόδιον see Suda s.v. καὶ προσόδια τὰ εἰς πανηγύρεις θεῶν ποιήματα παρὰ τῶν λυρικῶν λεγόμενα. Ibid. προσόδια· ὕμνοι. E. M. 690 προσώδιον (sic)· λιτανεία μετὰ ὕμνων· παρὰ τὸ προσιέναι μετὰ τούτου τοῖς θεοῖς...καὶ προσώδια μὲν τὰ λεγόμενα ᾠσματα εἰσφερομένων εἰς τὸν βωμὸν τῶν ἱερείων· παρὰ τὸ προσιόντων εἰς τὸν βωμὸν τῶν θυμάτων ταῦτα λέγειν. Prokl. ap. Phot. 320a ἐλέγετο δὲ τὸ προσόδιον, ἐπειδὴν προσίασι τοῖς βωμοῖς ἢ ναοῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ προσιέναι ᾗδετο πρὸς αὐλόν. ὁ δὲ κυρίως ὕμνος πρὸς κιθάραν ᾗδετο ἐστῶτων.

¹⁰⁶Poll. 1.38; the connection is accepted by Grandolini 1991 who conjectures the Dorian mode as the normative tonality; but her model is restricted and she completely overlooks the evidence of Hephaistion, cited below.

¹⁰⁷Muth 1957, 861.

¹⁰⁸See also Smyth 1906, xxxiii-xxxv.

¹⁰⁹Hephaistion 15.48.2 Consbruch τὸ δὲ προσοδιακὸν μέτρον ἐλέγετο ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι καὶ εὐχαῖς· συνέστηκε δὲ ἐξ ἰωνικοῦ τοῦ ἀπὸ μείζονος καὶ χοριαμβικοῦ.

¹¹⁰Its anapaestic base makes it well appropriate for processional movement; cf. Smyth 1906, xxxv.

¹¹¹Choïrob. sch. Hephaist. 3.2.3 ὁ δὲ παλιμβάκχειος, ὁ καὶ διονύσιος, ...τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν προσοδιακὸν καλοῦσιν καὶ πομπευτικὸν διὰ τὸ ἐν τοῖς προσοδίοις ὕμνοις οὕτω καλουμένοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς εἶναι ταῖς Διονυσιακαῖς.

¹¹²Cf. D.H. Comp. 4; Heph. 216. 6-217. 2, 33. 1-7 Consbr.; Arist. Quint. I 17.

¹¹³See Muth 1957, 862-3.

approach which would all too easily discard divergences from the established 'norm'.

The nature and structure of processional songs cannot be easily reconstructed due to the sparsity of available evidence, but the extant fragments point to simpler structures with repeatable refrains¹¹⁴ rather than complicated compositions (which are characteristic of monodic poetry). The extent to which movement followed the music cannot be easily judged. Vase-paintings normally depict relaxed, non-rhythmical movement, but in poetry, or in the novel, the choreography may reach the level of true dance.¹¹⁵ Dance, in the modern sense, could be certainly accommodated within the procession but hardly equated with it. On the other hand, the ancient Greek verb ὀρχεῖσθαι, which has a much broader semantic range than modern 'dance', could be used to denote processions.¹¹⁶ Both movements are deployed in the cult of gods and heroes,¹¹⁷ and for Plato both are equally important for the education of the young.¹¹⁸ More significant seems to be the fact that in processions the spectacular element, underlined by differentiated movement, special attire (festive or unfestive, plain or luxurious depending on the occasion) and the display of symbols, was intimately linked with the acoustic, and both of them with the olfactory (as the presence of incense burners seems to suggest), so that the ritual passage would constitute an all-encompassing experience. As the community gathers to approach the divinity, the behavioural modalities of

¹¹⁴Apart from the fragments handed down explicitly as *prosodia* (Pi. 89ab, 91-94; Bakchylides fr. 11-13; Limenios in Powell, *Collect. Alex.* 149; cf. Democh. ap. Ath. 6. 253c) there are interesting indications in the sources about processional songs in general: Archil. 324W; Iakchos-cry (Hdt. 8. 65 and Ar. *Frogs* 403, 408, 414); Carm. Pop. 25 PMG; Hld. 3.4.1; and the various processional songs in Ar.: *Birds* 851ff., *Frogs* 384ff., *Ach.* 259ff., *Knights* 1264ff. The simple structure of the Aristophanic examples is also noted by Fraenkel 1962, 201f.

¹¹⁵*H. Ap.* 516; Hld. 3.2.1.

¹¹⁶See Lawler 1964, 11 who also notes the semantic possibilities of *orcheisthai*.

¹¹⁷Hom. *Il.* 18. 492-5; [Hes.] *Aspis* 272-85; Xen *An.* 6.1.11 ἦσαν τε ἐν ῥυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν ἐνόπλιον ῥυθμὸν αὐλούμενοι καὶ ἐπαιάνισαν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς προσόδοις. In vase paintings depicting Dionysiac or generally orgiastic ceremonies - mainly on a figurative level, analogous to that of poetry - the procession of the *thiasos* of the god is often inseparable from dancing; cf. Bérard and Bron 1989.

¹¹⁸Pl. *Laws* 796c.

everyday life must be transformed. In a way the human community sets up a 'performance', not only in order to attract the attention of the 'passive participants', those standing outside the procession; but also, or mainly, in order to capture the attention of the ideal spectator, the divinity or hero serenely waiting to receive the human honours.¹¹⁹

The origins of processional ritual may be lost in the prehistory of mankind. Group psychology may have been operative here: the need to form bonds of solidarity, probably the need to face dangers collectively, to placate and implore a divinity on behalf of a community (endangered perhaps); and, not unlikely, the human creative motive to develop out of ordinary, biological existence new 'metaphorical' ways to communicate with something other, a sphere beyond. Whatever the 'plays' of history and prehistory, for ancient Greeks πέμπειν πομπήν meant to present an honour to a god.¹²⁰ This gesture of honour is clearly implied by the dative, used to denote the god or hero, which almost always accompanies the reference to a *pompe* in all kinds of texts (inscriptional and literary). Processions along with sacrifices are often mentioned as signs of 'piety',¹²¹ Athens stands out in the eyes of the gods for her ιερώταται πρόσοδοι (Ar. *Clouds* 308) and the promise of future processions may be used even as a 'bribe' (Ar. *Peace* 396-8). The performance of a procession (like sacrifice) opens up the cycle of χάρις which builds up the relationship between mortals and immortals. Divine favour, however, can never be guaranteed; the humans wish that it be so (Ar. *Ach.* 247-52 κεχαρισμένως); and attempts to improve the procession are always made in

¹¹⁹Pi. N. 7. 44-7 ἐχρῆν δέ τιν'... ἥροϊαις δὲ πομπαῖς θεμισκόπον οἰκεῖν ἐόντα πολυθύτοις. The deity gazing at the coming procession on vases: e.g. amphora, Berlin Staatl. Museen F1686 (ABV 296, 4); cup in auction: Bérard et al. 1989, fig.152; krater, Ferrara Mus. di Spina (ARV² 1143, 1). Cf. already in Homer in the context of sacrificial preparations: ἦλθε δ' Ἀθήνη/ ἱρῶν ἀντιώσσα (*Od.* 3. 435f.).

¹²⁰This aspect is too easily taken for granted by modern scholars and hence left unmentioned.

¹²¹Examples: D. 18. 86; Isok. 5. 32; cf. Loukian. *Zeus Trag.* 18; Philon *on the special laws* 1.2; cf. *LSA* 32 (*Syll.*³ 589) ὑπὲρ κατευχῆς καὶ πομπῆς καὶ θυσίας. The word 'piety' has a Christian touch; on the ancient concept of *eusebeia* see Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992, 11-15.

order to achieve it (X. *Hipparch.* 3.1ff.). Like sacrifice (Pl. *Euthphr.* 14c τὸ θύειν δωρεῖσθαι ἐστὶ τοῖς θεοῖς), a *pompe* is a δῶρον ([Pl.] *Alk.* ii 148e) in which the god/ hero ἀγάλλεται (Ar. *Peace* 399). To set the whole community in motion, to see a gathering carrying offerings, singing hymns and bearing symbols alluding to the divine/ heroic¹²² was an open acknowledgement, hence a gesture of τιμή, attracting divine favour which was necessary for the prosperity of the community; *pompai* were performed primarily *in favour of* the processing community: πέμπηται ἡ πομπή παρεσκευασμένη ὡς ἄριστα τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ἀθηναίων (LSG 33 B. 3-5).

Despite ancient attitudes towards *pompai* (as far as the extant texts disclose them), modern students of this phenomenon tend to find little sense of religion in processional performances (especially in the prestigious Athenian ones), even less so in celebrations of the post-Classical era.¹²³ The ostentatious and spectacular element is often seen to override the religious,¹²⁴ the political or fanciful character of some cases is contrasted with the more religious authenticity of others.¹²⁵ The conceptual oppositions on which such critiques are based seem to imply that their notion of the 'religious' (which is always left unspecified) has a Christian tinge, associating 'religiousness' with morality and consciousness rather than action, with intellect and austerity rather than display, and dissociating it from any civic concerns. Modern scholarship, however, has shown that such a biased perspective

¹²²As the repetition of this phrase may prove awkward, I shall henceforth use 'divine' (or 'divinity' or 'deity') to imply both aspects.

¹²³Wilamowitz 1932, 2. 353: 'von wirklicher Religion kann da keine Rede sein.'

¹²⁴Nilsson 1951, 169: 'die Religion aber im öden Prunk erstickte.'

¹²⁵Bömer 1952, 1894: 'man darf die Panathenaia als die grosse politische, die *Pompe* nach Eleusis als die grosse religiöse und... die Dionysia als die beim Volke beliebteste *Pompe* bezeichnen.'

distorts the character of a religion which is 'practical',¹²⁶ manifestation-oriented¹²⁷ and embedded in society.¹²⁸

Anthropological research, on the other hand, has stressed that questions of whether this or that experience is genuine (or whether genuine religious experiences are possible at all) can hardly be asked, let alone answered.¹²⁹ More important is an approach towards religion which would focus on the particular images of existence that a certain religion creates.¹³⁰ Ritual is particularly informative as to the vision of the cosmos that a religion aspires to, if approached not from the 'methodological individualists' perspective (as Price has called it¹³¹) but as an 'articulation of collective representations'.¹³² As to the power-relations developed in rituals, scholars now talk about 'communication in two directions',¹³³ about 'poetics of power',¹³⁴ 'play of forms' or 'redemptive hegemony'.¹³⁵ The one-way manipulation model has been shed.

In this light ancient Greek processional ritual opens up vistas of a world in which the community (be that a family, an age group, or even the entire civic community) acquires its cohesion as it comes into the 'presence' of the deity.

¹²⁶Parker 1986, 265; Burkert 1995, 205.

¹²⁷Not centred on words or sacred texts. On the notion of manifestation religions see Tracy 1981, 202-18.

¹²⁸The expression has been coined by Parker 1986, 265-66; *ibid.* 265-73 generally on religion and society; on polis-religion see also Sourvinou-Inwood 1990 and 1988a; on embeddedness and other general characteristics of Greek religion see Bremmer 1994, 1-10. Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992 is a characteristic contribution of the so-called 'French School' approaching Greek religion as a symbolic system. Price 1984, 1-20 and *passim*, has argued vigorously against many Christianizing assumptions blurring the issues of Greek religion (including the fallacious distinction between religion and the state). He talks, however, explicitly about Western Christianity and Protestantism (Price 1984, 102). It is interesting that studies of early Christian ritual (of the period 4th-7th century A.D.) offer a different picture, also concluding that the distinction between civic and religious is false; see Baldovin 1987, 260 and *passim*.

¹²⁹Geertz 1973, 87ff.

¹³⁰From this point of view Hellenistic processions are also significant for Hellenistic religion. Unfortunately Rice 1987 has not analysed in depth the socio-religious significance of the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos.

¹³¹Price 1984, 11.

¹³²Herz 1960 (orig. 1907) was probably the first who used this expression.

¹³³Connor 1987, 41.

¹³⁴Geertz 1981, 123.

¹³⁵Bell 1992, 82, 84.

Through this particular ritualization the collective body in a way ἀνάκειται τῷ θεῷ. The metaphor emanates from the form and nature of private ἀνάθηματα, in which the relationship between the community of the worshipers and the gods is so often crystallized in the form of the sacrificial procession.¹³⁶ As a proper ἀνάθημα, the procession should represent, if not the community in its entirety, a full microcosm of its existence, with all its symbolic and material structures. The particular dimensions of a procession are thus intimately bound up with the type of community which stages it. Moreover, inflated performances are not simply naive attempts to show off, but rather statements and strategies of self-definition requiring human and divine sanctions.¹³⁷ The procession is an invitation for the attention of the superhuman, and as such it admits an aspect of incompleteness in human society (and even in its own efficacy) which first draws together, and then turns towards the divine for a meeting and a relationship which is perceived to empower the society.

On the other hand, the procession is also a response to the presence of the deity.¹³⁸ As a response, the procession makes manifest the very presence of the superhuman in the community.¹³⁹ The very performance of the *pompe*

¹³⁶For the votive character of many of the processional representations on vases, and in sculpture, see Lehnstaedt 1970, 137ff. who also discusses the 'Weihecharakter der *Pompe*'.

¹³⁷This failed sometimes, however: Plou. *Demetr.* 3 regarding the disaster in the Panathenaic and Dionysiac processions aimed at extolling Demetrios.

¹³⁸This aspect of response is suggested in many of the 'aetiological' myths for processions; see for example the aition for the *phallegphoria* or for the *tripodephoria*. It is not, however, 'the answer to the epiphany of the god' made manifest in the procession, as Rahner 1931, 244f. believes. Theophoric processions are the exception (see my discussion below). Normally, the procession is a response (an act of respect, of thanksgiving or of entreaty) to the power of the superhuman in the cosmos generally and in the specific community in particular. Cf. also Gould 1985 who discusses Greek religion as 'response to experience'.

¹³⁹This does not mean that the ritual 'expresses the idea' of the superhuman; on the contrary, ritual, or rather a certain ritualization, is the 'work', the constitutive act of the persona of the superhuman entity honoured. Practice theory has castigated the dichotomy of thought and action (and the privileging of the first) in anthropological theory and talks about the creation of a 'ritual environment' and a 'ritual body' through the repetition of ritual (Ortner 1984, 144-66, Bell 1992, 98-114). To put it in my own terms, the enactment of ritual generates experience, collective as well as individual, concrete, physical experience (involving both the bodies of participants and the environment in which they operate). The construction of experience, however, does not preclude the communication of experience. Practice theory has found the notion of communication problematic (Bourdieu 1977, 106, 120,

presupposes and accomplishes a reference to a different sphere; moving through communal space, the procession demarcates the spatial axis of the community through the evocation (and invocation) of this different realm of existence. The evocative element would be weak, however, if the performance did not bear distinct marks relating to this other entity, which the participants themselves would consider as attracting the divine favour: special attire, proper music, right type of animal, or more generally the appropriate gift, and most importantly in some instances, the special symbol, be that a *phallos* for Dionysos, *daphne* for Apollo, or a wreath for Hellotis-Europa. The special features of a procession are a proclamation of the nature of the divinity who is now seen to be accepted by the community and imprinted upon the community. Performing and watching the procession, the community comes to acknowledge and pray to the hero or god (Pl. R. 327a).¹⁴⁰ More than merely publicizing an event,¹⁴¹ the procession aims at attracting the participation (active and passive) of the whole community (without any distinction between elite and popular base, as the Platonic passage clearly shows) in the cult.¹⁴² This fundamental religious function of processions is intimately linked with their dominance in the religious life of ancient Greece. In a religion without a sacred text the development of a 'theology' is left to the poetic exploration of myths and to the powerful effects of manifestation rituals, pre-eminently the processions. The two streams of religious experience stand in interrelation, are mutually enforcing and mutually inspiring.

156; cf. Rappaport 1979, 202-4), and rightly so perhaps. On the other hand, anthropology (including practice approaches) has emphasized that ritual has to do with the creation of relationships: with nature, with other human beings, with the supra-natural. Relations, however, cannot be shaped outside the context of communication. What needs to be defined perhaps is the notion of communication itself. At all events, it is in this sense of creation and communication of experience that I talk about 'manifestation' and 'response'.

¹⁴⁰Hence, the distinction, made by Bömer 1952, 1886 and followed by others, that a *pompe* is not a 'Kulthandlung' is rather tendentious.

¹⁴¹As is often suggested; e.g. Bremmer 1994, 39; Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992, 106.

¹⁴²For the operation of this function in different cultures and contexts see Doncoeur 1955, 29-36; Dalmais 1955, 37-43; and Marin 1987, 227-8.

A distinction must be made between manifestation through symbols and epiphany. The latter would necessitate the very presence of the divine, mainly in the form of a statue in the ancient world. Symbols, on the other hand, are referents to and links with the divine sphere. A procession bearing symbolic features constitutes an act of acceptance, of response or re-action. As such it suggests a process of interdependence which relates the human and divine sphere: the community approaches the divine figure in need of his/ her acceptance, but the divinity is also in need of human acceptance in order to receive the honours. In cases of epiphany, be that a new introduction,¹⁴³ the periodic advent of a god,¹⁴⁴ or the departure for purification, the element of acceptance is even more stressed. The cry δέχεσθε τὸν θεόν accompanies the appearance of the statue of the divinity in Kallimachos (*Hymn* 5. 137-8),¹⁴⁵ but δέχνυσο θυηπολίην is also the wish of the community as it presents itself in front of the divinity.¹⁴⁶ Even if humans and superhumans can never be equal, and the acceptance of the human community is much more easily granted (or even blackmailed),¹⁴⁷ the balance of the world (as envisaged and shaped in processional ritual) is guaranteed through the interaction of the two spheres that come to meet.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³The introduction of Asklepios in 420/19 B.C.: *IG* II² 4960.

¹⁴⁴The *eisagoge* of Dionysos at the Great Dionysia for example (recent discussions: Connor 1989; Cole 1993, who seems to have failed to understand that the statue was taken to the Academy and not to Eleutherai and that in the ephebic inscriptions τοῖς Διονυσίοις ἔθυσαν τῇ πομπῇ is clearly distinguished from the εἰσαγωγή. Seaford's hypothesis (Seaford 1994, 240ff.) that this ritual forms the ancient nucleus of the Dionysia is problematic in many ways; primarily, however, he fails to see that the emphasis of the historical festival pattern is on the *return* and not on the way *to* the Academy; cf. also Pfuhl 1900, 75 n. 15). For the deep roots of such a ritual and its association with Dionysos, Apollo and Demeter see Burkert 1986.

¹⁴⁵Cf. also Sophokles' cultic epithet Dexion for having accepted Asklepios (*TrGF* 4. T 69).

¹⁴⁶The expression attested in *Hld.* 3.2.3, but the concern whether the deity accepted or not the sacrifice is very old; see Wilamowitz 1932, 2. 354. The δέξαι-motif is a well-known hymnal convention which is recurrent in Pindaric poetry, especially (but not only) when the god (sanctuary or altar) is the destination of the *komos*: see Heath 1988, 190.

¹⁴⁷Most eloquent the story about the *phallegoria*: *Sch. Ar. Ach.* 243.

¹⁴⁸This ritual background is relevant to Herodotos' story about Phye and Peisistratos (*Hdt.* 1. 60) and supports Connor's 1987 discussion.

The meeting with the divinity proves to be crucial to the definition of the community which displays its unity, hierarchical order and social roles (along with the sacred emblems) in the very act of this meeting. The ideal of communal unity is best accomplished in the performance of public processions in which the unity of civic and religious identity finds its full expression. In Athens most public *pompai* were a collective enterprise, organized, financed and supervised by the polis,¹⁴⁹ and most importantly, attended - in principle - by the totality of the polis.¹⁵⁰ Yet hierarchy was strong and members of the γένη retained important duties and held key positions in the processions, along with appointed officials of the polis. Promoting unity and ordering social differences were constantly at play, the important point being, however, the interaction between the various groups and the involvement of the whole community (Pl. *Laws* 738d). The social structure and values shaped and displayed in processions are fundamental elements in the process of community formation and definition.¹⁵¹ Not only philosophers like Plato (*Laws* 796c), but the *poleis* themselves seem to have appreciated this function, especially in connection with the education of the young. Participation of young groups in processions is a widespread phenomenon which may well imply an attempt at integration and internalization of communal values.¹⁵²

Besides social bonds and structures, the definition of the community depends, to a large extent, on the space at its disposal which enables its very existence. In traditional societies, however, the organization of space requires

¹⁴⁹On organization and cost see Leacock 1900, 38-42, 44-45; Bömer 1952, 1906-7. Apart from public officials and public money, in some cases cultic organizations (e.g. θίασοι, ὀργεῶνες etc.), contributions of γένη and the institution of *leitourgiai* (Pl. *Laws* 949c) were also important.

¹⁵⁰Not to attend processions and sacrifices could mean withdrawal from the public body; a vivid example: D. 18. 217.

¹⁵¹In relation to the whole festival, Burkert 1987, 29: 'Die Stadt versteht sich als Festgemeinschaft.'

¹⁵²Explicitly formulated in ephebic inscriptions; *IG* II² 1078. 31-33 οἱ τε ἔφη[ηβοι]/ παρακολουθοῦντες τῇ περὶ τὸ θεῖον τῆς πόλεως[ς]/ θεραπείᾳ καὶ ἄνδρες εὐσεβέστεροι γαίνονται. Interesting discussions of the role of the young: Calame 1977; de Polignac 1995, 41-45, 60-81.

sacred legitimation, and processions are a basic medium to achieve that.¹⁵³ As a privileged differentiated movement, the sacred procession demarcates the space available to the community and brings it in relation to the divine¹⁵⁴ which is the ultimate goal of the movement. De Polignac has developed a sophisticated, as well as lucid, model for the origin of the Greek polis which connects territorial acquisition¹⁵⁵ with special cult-sites and the performance of public processions. The bipolar communal movement between centre and periphery unified the social space and encouraged the integration of the social body which periodically reaffirmed its control over the territory.¹⁵⁶ Although Athens (and the centripetal Panathenaic procession) originally seemed to be an exception to de Polignac's model which focused on the centrifugal direction of processions connected with an extra-urban sanctuary, recent studies have brought to the fore the history and significance of other centrifugal Athenian processions (like the Oschophoria and Skira processions, and most importantly the Eleusinian Mysteries) and have shown their crucial role in the shaping of Attic territory.¹⁵⁷ The importance of processions for mapping space is also shown by the existence of ἱερὰὶ ὁδοί, sacred ways, traced every year by splendid *pompai*.¹⁵⁸ The passage of a procession necessitated the building of the road and these ἱερὰὶ ὁδοί seem to be among the first and better planned road constructions in Greece.¹⁵⁹ It is hardly a coincidence that in Attica the Ἱερὰ ὁδὸς connected τὸ ἄστυ with Eleusis. In Athens as in the other ancient

¹⁵³On divine legitimation and spatial organization, itself based on ecological and resource criteria see Rappaport 1979. For processions being not only a way of legitimation but the rationale behind spatial organization in some societies see Bechoffer 1988.

¹⁵⁴Cf. a late fourth-century decree from Kolophon (text and comments in Robert 1969) in which territorial sovereignty is combined with an act of thanksgiving to the gods expressed in πρόσσπονδον καὶ θυσίαν.

¹⁵⁵Territory is only one form of spatial organization.

¹⁵⁶For the limitation of these models when set against the ancient views, see Burkert 1992, 541-2.

¹⁵⁷See Osborne 1994; Sourvinou-Inwood (forthcoming-a).

¹⁵⁸Several sacred ways are known at Eleusis, Delphoi, Amyklai, Sykyrion, Didyma, Delos (to the Letoon) and Kyrene (the most important ones). For a good archaeological excavation and reconstruction of the route and monuments of an Ἱερὰ ὁδὸς see Gödeken 1984 (the sacred way to Didyma).

¹⁵⁹For an ancient view see Pi. P. 90-91 (Kyrene).

cities, processions underlined the unity between the various points of the territory, radiating in multiple directions. Within a single polis the totality of experience requires both centripetal and centrifugal movements actualized in the plethora of processional events, even if the *emphasis* may shift according to the individual fortunes of each polis.

The idea of movement entails that space can be organized without its having to be divided into mutually exclusive, 'owned' territory. This unification of space goes hand in hand with the unification of the places along the route of the procession. Crossing the Kerameikos, the agora and making its way to the Akropolis, the Panathenaic procession clearly expresses a relationship between the key religious and political centres of the city.¹⁶⁰ Despite the 'open', one-way direction of *pompai*, the route was not experienced simply as a unidirectional, linear event; various stations at altars and temples, where songs, dances and sacrifices were performed,¹⁶¹ altered the experience of space (and time) intertwining linear with cyclical, and creating a bond between the ultimate goal and the stational points.¹⁶²

The dimension of space is inextricably connected with the dimension of time. As space delineated by the *pompe* becomes a sort of sacred space, likewise time is freed from its ordinary temporality and acquires an autonomous duration, a kind of artificial length. Moreover, the symbolic reappropriation of space suggests a reappropriation of time. The basic coordinates of life are revitalized and given back to the community.¹⁶³ Moreover, to a certain extent every procession is the reappropriation of a

¹⁶⁰Space is shot through with symbolic meaning, hence the route chosen cannot be accidental; cf. Marin 1987.

¹⁶¹See e.g. X. *Hipparch.* 3. 2. The famous procession of the Molpoi (*LSA* 50, *Syll.*³ 57) included many stations (*staseis*) which Gödecken 1984 attempts to retrace; on the Molpoi and the cult of Apollo Delphinios cf. Graf 1979, 7-13; Käppel 1992, 159-61.

¹⁶²An interesting case is the long route of the procession of the Hyperboreans to Delos (*Hdt.* 4. 33f.); see Picard 1946.

¹⁶³In a similar vein (without reference to time) Bruit Zaidman and Schmitt Pantel 1992, 106 talk about 'the regeneration of life' in festivals. On this aspect of festivals generally see Falassi 1987.

past. A primordial act (or a mythological event) is symbolically revived and repeated (mainly through the symbols borne in procession).¹⁶⁴ The procession does not re-enact the event but it forms a framework for its symbolic re-experience (often unconscious for the participants). In this respect an experience of unified time as well as space is gained and a continuum in the life of the community is built.

However great the power of processions to unite the society and relate it to the divine, they always remain a human activity beset by chance, the imponderables of human agency and the constraints of history. Like other ritual practices, processions constituted an arena of multiple and often contestable perspectives, a field for the deployment of diverse strategies, so that alternatives were always open. Political antagonism was the major tension expressed in processions.¹⁶⁵ Stories of conspiracy and revolution associated with processions multiply in the sources;¹⁶⁶ and Aineias the Tactician warns ἐν δὲ μὴ ὁμονοοῦσῃ πόλει καὶ ὑπόπτως πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχόντων χρὴ προνοοῦντα εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὰς μετ' ὄχλου ἐξόδους ... ὅσαι γε ἱεροποιαὶ πανδημεὶ ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως καὶ σὺν ὅπλοις πομπαὶ ἐκπέμπονται, ἔτι ... καὶ τὰς συνεκφορὰς τῶν τελευτησάντων. The best known case is the τυραννοκτονία organised and executed by Harmodios and Aristogeiton (Th. 1. 20, 6. 58; *Ath. Pol.* 18): the fact that the murder took place during the time of the Panathenaic festival was not an obstacle to their later heroisation. In other cases the procession provided the means for dealing successfully with an opponent: a public opponent as in some of the stories attested by Polyainos, or an individual opponent, as was the case of Ktesikles according to Demosthenes (21. 180). Sometimes the expulsion of an opponent took an almost cathartic significance as in the case of Agoratos expelled from the procession of the democrats

¹⁶⁴Obvious in the myths behind the ritual. An explicit historical example: *LSA* 33. 24-25 (the *hidrysis* will be commemorated εἰς τὸν αἰὲ χρόνον in the feast of Ἰσιτήγῃα).

¹⁶⁵The optimistic view about the 'Konsolidierung' function of procession (Lehnstaedt 1970, 13-15) can hardly stand unqualified.

¹⁶⁶Str. 6.3.2; Polyain. 1.23, 5.1; Plb. 4.35

from Piraeus. It was far worse to participate in the procession without being eligible (Is. 6. 50). Integration and segregation seem mutually re-inforcing.

Individual interests concerning prestige and political power were also said to be pursued in processions at the expense of public good (Isok. 7. 53). The most notorious case was Alkibiades who is even said ([And.] 4. 29) to have exploited the public πομπεΐα for his own purposes with unacceptable consequences for the polis τὴν πομπὴν τὴν κοινὴν ὀρῶντες ὑστέραν οὔσαν τῆς Ἀλκιβιάδου (cf. Plou. *Alk.* 13. 3). Performed in front of the eyes of an audience (of citizens and foreigners) well versed in the symbolic significance of rituals, *pompai* provided scope for individual display and an opportunity for the increase of prestige - yet an opportunity offered with the consent of the community. The distinctive quality of the πομπεῖς was a prerequisite for their participation in the *pompe*: youths from among the most eminent families lead the Oschophoric procession,¹⁶⁷ the noblest daughters would serve as *kanephoroi*,¹⁶⁸ the richest citizens were able to process (D. 4.26); extraordinary actions performed in processions increased in value particularly because they were 'seen' by the assembled community.¹⁶⁹ Yet, in public processions the glory of the polis should surpass all other. Collective prestige was at least as great a concern as that of an individual.¹⁷⁰

The interaction with spectators could result in even more trivial events which would seem to undermine the sacred atmosphere. Stealing, for instance, was probably common (Ar. *Ach.* 257-8). The beauty of the *pompeis* could impress or even incite love in some of the on-lookers.¹⁷¹ The delight taken in

¹⁶⁷Harp. s.v. ὀσχοφόροι; Suda s.v. ὀσχοφορία; Phot. s.v. ὀσχοφορεῖν; Hsch. s.v. ὠσχοφόροι.

¹⁶⁸Allowing their father to be granted honours by the polis: *Syll.*³ 388.

¹⁶⁹καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύρεως stresses Herodotos (1.31.15) in the case of Kleobis and Biton.

¹⁷⁰Antagonism between *theoriai* at Panhellenic festivals (cf. Nikias' stories above; Th. 6. 15; X. *Hell.* 6.4.29.), and the display of the whole ἀρχή with *theoriai* from subject cities in major Athenian processions are strong evidence for such concerns.

¹⁷¹Theok. 2; hence a motif in the novel: X. *Eph.* 1.2.3; Hld. 2; cf. Men. fr. 382 Koerte. The encouragement of coupling, however, was a function not disapproved but encouraged by the poleis; most eloquent are the stories about Lykourgos and the Spartan processions (Plou.

seeing and the opportunity for an outing for women (combined with an opportunity for coquettish displays, *Ar. Pl.* 1013ff.) could also be important considerations for attending a *pompe*.

All these wordly aspects of the phenomenon do not necessarily constitute 'degradations' of its sacred character.¹⁷² Solidarity and community, agonism and antagonism in their manifold and complex relationships characterize human society and make human activity always to some extent unpredictable.

It is, however, important to try to discern the values at which the ritual seems to be aiming,¹⁷³ and which the community would recognize as essential to its ideology and worldview, to its social identity, its historical continuity and to its physical survival. So far as the sources permit us insight into the phenomenon, the processional ritual seems to suggest the vision of a unity, in song and music, of human and divine, which in poetry may take the form of the god himself present among the worshipers, not receiving but leading the procession (*h. Ap.* 514-19):

βάν ῥ' ἴμεν· ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων
φόρμιγγ' ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχων ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων
καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάζ· οἱ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἔποντο
Κρητὲς πρὸς Πυθῶ καὶ ἰηπαιήον' αἰδον,
οἳ τε Κρητῶν παιήονες οἳ τε Μοῦσα
ἐν στήθεσσιν ἔθηκε θεὰ μελίγηρυν ἀοιδήν.

Lyk. 14.4, 15.1; *id. mor.* 227e). The *kanephoria* also has a symbolic association with beauty and marriageability: see Brulé 1987, 287-334.

¹⁷²As Burkert 1985, 254 succinctly puts it: 'the festivals are the prime opportunity for meeting, with wordly affairs in no way excluded.'

¹⁷³Since ritual is situational (Bell 1992, 81-2), analysis of specific cases, along with discussions of general functions, is necessary to illuminate this aspect.

APPENDIX: Victory and honorific processions

Among the variety of processional configurations related to the sacred realm, sacrificial processions associated with a victory deserve particular attention for their special features and for their link to a wider context of honorific rituals. Although the *συνπόσιον* is probably the best attested celebration accompanying a victory mainly due to the *ἐπίνικοι* of Pindar and Bakchylides, artistic and literary sources draw a broader picture in which the processional movement to an altar or temple occupies an important position.¹⁷⁴ *Νίκη* or *νῆλαι* leading animals to sacrifice are probably the most emblematic metaphor of such an event.¹⁷⁵ Among the significant details, the honorific *prosphesis* of Herakles (Archil. fr. 324W), used as the standard victory formula, is well known: it accompanies the processional movement primarily in Olympia¹⁷⁶ but presumably in all other contests.¹⁷⁷ The procession could lead to a sacrifice or to a temple for the dedication of the prize, be it a Panathenaic amphora;¹⁷⁸ a tripod,¹⁷⁹ arms¹⁸⁰ or a *στέφανος*.¹⁸¹ The prize would occupy a prominent position and the victor (at least) would be wreathed and probably festively dressed.¹⁸² Whether in Olympia tracing the *πομπικὴ ὁδός* or on the way to the Akropolis after the Panathenaic games (to take only two examples), the dedicatory/ sacrificial procession following a victory may not be simply a publicizing gesture. The

¹⁷⁴Victory celebrations do not have a periodic character and have a loose ritual pattern; generally on the issue: Reisch 1893, 847-52, Buhmann 1972, 47-57, 104f., Slater 1984, 241-50, Heath 1988.

¹⁷⁵See *LIMC* s.v. *Nike* nos. 340-43; Lehnstaedt 1970, 126-7.

¹⁷⁶See Pi. O. 9.1-4; Paus. 5. 15. 2ff. *πομπικὴ ὁδός* in Olympia; more details in Buhmann 1972, 53-56.

¹⁷⁷Cf. the Aristophanic endings *Ach.* 1227-33; *Birds* 1764 and Dunbar 1995 ad. loc.

¹⁷⁸See e.g. Kall. fr. 384. 35-39; for iconographical evidence see Valavanis 1991; cf. van Straten 1995, 25-6.

¹⁷⁹See Lehnstaedt 1970, 125-27; Webster 1972, 152-57; Pickard-Cambridge 1962, 37-8.

¹⁸⁰Won at a beauty contest: *Ath.* 8. 610a.

¹⁸¹E.g. Pi. O. 9. 112, *N.* 5. 53 and Sch. ad loc.; cf. Blech 1982, 114.

¹⁸²On the adornment of the victor in vase-paintings see Valavanis 1991, 489, 493-94; Webster 1972, 154.

nomination of the victor places him in a liminal position distinct from the rest of the community and exposed to φθόνος.¹⁸³ The procession is the first attempt at a new relationship with the human community and the divine, affirming human ties and an inferior status in relation to the gods. Reciprocally, however, the sacred character of the procession asserts the victor's honour as coming from both - divine and human - directions.

The reciprocity between victor and community becomes more prominent in cases involving victory away from home. The return of the victorious athlete stirs up the civic community which enables the re-integration of the victor by offering an escort (or meeting and escort) involving honorific formulas and songs, symbols such as garlands and wreaths, and symbolic acts such as the φυλλοβολία.¹⁸⁴ In this way the community appropriates the victory and contains the (potentially dangerous) power of the exceptional person. The festive acceptance, however, is necessary for the victor since it determines his very status in the community. Failure to provide it nullifies his distinction but also endangers the position of the community which may suffer from his reciprocal violence.¹⁸⁵ The processional entry is indicative of a changed dynamic within the community and a need for a transition to a communal new equilibrium. It is not surprising that the return is combined with sacrifice and banquet which establish κοινωνία and redefine the position of the community in the wider cosmos.¹⁸⁶

It is important to note that the schema of honorific escort and sacrifice does not pertain only to victory in an agon. Various events could provide the appropriate setting for an honorific procession to take place: victory at war,

¹⁸³On this aspect of the victory celebration see Slater 1984, 243; for a general discussion in Pindar and in the victory context see Bulman 1992.

¹⁸⁴D.S. 13. 82 for Exainetos from Akragas in 412 B.C.; cf. Pi. O. 8. 76; Th. 4. 121; Plou. *Thes.* 36; id. *mor.* 639e; *ibid.* 723c; Paus. 6.7.3; Vit. 9 *praef.* 1; Sch. Ar. *Clouds* 70; *e contrario* the return of the defeated: Pi. O. 8.69; P. 8. 86f.; N. 3. 15f. with emphasis on the hidden routes.

¹⁸⁵Cf. the case of the victor Oibotas of Dyme: Paus. 6.3.8; 7.17.6-7.

¹⁸⁶Cf. the role of the victory song in such a context: Crotty 1982, 108-38.

success in politics, honorary public offices and other social events.¹⁸⁷ Whether it is an athlete, a warrior or an honored king, the entry of a powerful personality into the community must be marked by processional ceremony and placed within the context of a religious ceremony including visits to temples and sacrifices.¹⁸⁸ This socio-religious context reflects (and generates) the dependability between individual and society, and the need to subject exceptional power and to redefine social dynamics under the unifying presence of the divine. Although in most cases the honorific escort is placed within a religious context, there are sources which refer to honorific escorts without explicitly drawing an association with a sacred act.¹⁸⁹ To the extent that a transition into or out of the space and living environment of the community may be attended by superhuman forces and necessitate the execution of such ritual acts as libations or prayers (which may go unmentioned in the sources), the honorific escort may also have a religious character. In any case, the formation of the procession indicates that the transition affects a larger social body and not simply the individual.

The significant difference between the victory/ honorific cases and the other sacred processions is that the former are personality-centred ceremonies. Both the motivation for and the focus of the ritual is the honour of an individual whose relation to the human and divine world must be re-ascertained. The procession constitutes a collective response to a distinguished member and at the same time it reorientates the larger body as a whole towards the divine. The honorific processional schema focusing on a distinguished presence is not restricted to cases of victories and related events.

¹⁸⁷See e.g. Th. 5.16.3 (escort for king Pleistoanax τοῖς ὁμοίοις χοροῖς καὶ θυσίαις κατὰγειν); Pi. N. 11 (ceremonial procession to the prytaneion); Plou. *Alk.* 32.4 (after the naval battle in Kyzikos); Plou. *Lyk.* 26.6 (escort for a newly-elected official).

¹⁸⁸The story about Herakles' visit to Egypt (Hdt. 2. 45 ὥς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον στέφαντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξῆγον ὥς θύσοντες τῷ Δί) is important, as it expresses collective beliefs.

¹⁸⁹E.g. Hdt. 8.124.3 escort of the Spartans for Themistocles; cf. Plou. *Them.* 17. 4. X. *Ages.* 2.27 escort for Agesilaus (ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτὸν οἴκαδε προπομπὴν δόντες μεγαλοπρεπῆ).

It is inherent in a variety of processional rituals which constitute collective reaction to a power or status affecting a change in the community. Weddings, funerals, celebrations of the introduction of a god, all share common features and, most importantly, the focus on a personage. The special focus, however, should not obscure the fact that the social body does not simply attend to but also participates in the transition.

4. FUNERAL PROCESSIONS

In ancient Greek culture death is a transition, not just an end. In announcing and describing the event of death, βέβηκε, οἴχεται (ὁ θανών)¹⁹⁰ constitute key-words. Such a realization, stated before the very presence of the dead body, contains also a contradiction: physically present, the deceased is simultaneously 'passed away', transposed to a different realm. The first transposition concerns the soul: the acknowledgement of its existence is correlative with the belief in its exit from the human body at the moment of death.¹⁹¹ This does not constitute total absence, however. As long as the dead body is visible, the deceased can be addressed, spoken to, and receive the care of the living. The transition that death affects cannot be conceived (and achieved), except as a transition of both the soul and the body, and this double perspective informs the experience of death. The funerary rites aim at completing this double transition, as well as defining the new status of the bereaved. Their sequence is complicated, but some consistency in structure (though not in details and in focus) can be perceived almost throughout Antiquity:¹⁹² the first wild expression of grief, the washing, cleaning and adorning of the body, its laying-out for mourning (πρόθεσις) and the intense lamentation that accompanies it (γόος, ἐπικήδειον, θρῆνος),¹⁹³ the processional transportation of the body to the place of its disposition (ἐκφορά), the cremation or inhumation of the body (accompanied in some

¹⁹⁰See e.g. E. *Alk.* 392, 394, 414; cf. the metaphor of flying in *Il.* 23. 362, *Od.* 11. 222, E. *Or.* 675-6 etc.

¹⁹¹On the concept of the soul cf. Bremmer 1983. On the distinction between body and soul at the very moment of death and on their connection in relation to the death rites cf. also Vermeule 1979, 7-11.

¹⁹²On ancient Greek funerary rites see Rohde 1925, 162-74; Andronikos 1968 (Homeric death ritual); Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 142-61; Alexiou 1974, 4-23; Vermeule 1979, 11-23; Sourvinou-Inwood 1981 and 1983; Garland 1985, 21-37. The conservatism of the rites is observable in Byzantine and modern Greek death practices: Alexiou 1974, 24-44 and *passim*; Koukoules 1951, 4. 160ff.; Spyridakis 1968, 3. 175ff; Polites 1931, 3. 333ff.; Seremetakis 1994.

¹⁹³On ritual lament see Reiner 1938 and Alexiou 1974 (respectively 2-7 and 102-108 on terminology).

cases by offerings and sacrifices), followed variably by a funeral oration at the spot and/ or funeral games, or by a funerary meal at home (περίδευπον).¹⁹⁴

Although central to the structural sequence of funerary rites, the funeral procession does not seem to have been the ritual focus of the procedure. Early sources tend to emphasize the role of *prothesis* as almost synonymous with mourning and death.¹⁹⁵ In art the extant *prothesis* scenes outnumber by far the extant examples of an *ekphora*.¹⁹⁶ Despite the disproportion in their representation, the two ritual acts seem to have been perceived as intimately linked in both artistic and ritual terms. In Geometric representations, for example, the two motifs seem to have been built on the same artistic scheme, comprising the deceased placed on a bier (which is carried by a chariot in the case of the *ekphora*) and flanked by long rows of lamenting attendants. In the sixth century the series of funerary plaques present a view of *prothesis* and *ekphora* as an unbroken chain of ritual events

¹⁹⁴The period of mourning included further rites at the tomb: τὰ τρίτα, τὰ ἔνατα in the sources e.g. Ar. *Lys.* 611ff., Antiphon 6. 34, Aeschin. 3. 226, Is. 2. 36, [D.] 43. 62, and at the end of the mourning period, Aeschin. 3. 77; *Lys.* 1. 14; Harp. and Souda s.v. *triakas*; Poll. i 66; *An. Bekk.* 268.19. The purification of the house and of the bereaved was also necessary: see Parker 1983, 34-48.

¹⁹⁵In the *Iliad* the *prothesis* ritual lasts longer in terms of both the time of narrative (for Patroklos 18. 15-35, 314-55, 19. 282-340, 23. 4-26, 108-110, for Hektor 24. 720-85) and the time of the story (two days for Patroklos, nine days for Hektor; in comparison the *ekphora*: 1 line for Hektor, 10 lines for Patroklos).

¹⁹⁶On mourning iconography see: Zschietzschmann 1928; Boardman 1955; Kurtz and Boardman 1971; Ahlberg 1971; Kurtz 1984; Shapiro 1991; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 217ff. *Ekphora*: three scenes among a larger number of *prothesis* scenes on Geometric vases (Ahlberg 1971); an impressive clay-model of an *ekphora* (7th century B.C.; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pl. 16). Allusions to the *ekphora* on funerary plaques of the 6th century (mainly the harnessing of the mule cart: in the famous Exekias series of plaques in Berlin and in another series of plaques in Brussels, Boardman 1955, number 14). (From personal communication with Prof. Lissarague I can report that the crude terra-cotta plaque featuring *ekphora*, published by Rayet 1881-3, II no. 75, p. 6 and reproduced in Daremberg-Saglio s.v. *funus* fig. 3341, is probably fake). Two black-figure kyathoi found in Italy: their *ekphora* motif, however, seems Etruscan and the vases were probably produced for an Etruscan client (Kurtz 1984, 321, Shapiro 1991, 633). Two vases by the Sappho painter figure the assemblage of the procession and the lowering of the coffin (respectively, black-figure bail-amphora Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pl. 37, 38: Lausanne, Gillet Collection; black-figure loutrophoros: Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 36: Athens, NM 450). It is noteworthy that there are no extant red-figure examples of an *ekphora*. In the Pentekontaetia the choices have obviously changed: the main funerary vessel is the white-ground lekythos and the preferred motif is the visit to the tomb; on the practice and the artistic motif cf. Humphreys 1993, 79-130 and Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 324-38. (On the relief fragment allegedly depicting a state *ekphora* cf. Stupperich 1977, 29 and 1994, 96; as Stupperich remarks, it is very small to make any identification secure).

involving family and friends. Ritual gestures, such as the so-called 'Prozessiongestus' (performed in art by long rows of men), are common to both events. The focus on the dead body in these early representation marks the point of connection of the two ritual acts: the presence of the dead body, its display to the community and their reaction.

The particular focus on the *prothesis* is not surprising. Within the context of the funeral πρόθεσις marks a point of transition,¹⁹⁷ when the status of both the deceased and the bereaved remains suspended. As the main interstice ritual, πρόθεσις receives particular attention. Apart from any physical or practical purposes,¹⁹⁸ a period of suspension in which the deceased - washed, anointed and adorned - remains still, neither absent nor present, allows the community to confront the question of death. Within the dramatized framework of the *prothesis* ritual, pain is released, shared with others and transformed into poetry. Human experience and human relationships are reshaped. The setting-off of the procession marks simultaneously the end of this suspension and the beginning of a transition into a new status. The point of departure from the familiar environment is perceived as a moment of separation charged with an exceptional intensity of feelings. From the point of view of the bereaved the strong experience of cutting off signifies the funeral procession more as a rite of separation;¹⁹⁹ but in relation to the deceased the procession is an extension of the transitional character of the *prothesis* and at the same time the beginning of the incorporation into a wholly new situation.²⁰⁰ Strict categorization, however, cannot obtain. Both *prothesis* and

¹⁹⁷The basis for the analysis of death ritual as a rite of passage was laid by van Gennep 1960 and Hertz 1960. In sum, the dead must be separated from life and undergo processing to join the community of the dead. The bereaved must be separated from the deceased and finally reintegrated into the living. For an important study of the Greek (and especially Homeric) funeral as a rite of passage see Sourvinou-Inwood 1981, 26-30 and 1983, 37-40.

¹⁹⁸Cf. Pl. *Laws* 959a and Poll. 8.65, the *prothesis* serving the confirmation of death.

¹⁹⁹The pain of separation is stressed in the description of Hektor's funeral procession (*Il.* 24. 786): the lament is the only aspect mentioned.

²⁰⁰In different categorisations, however, the whole funeral is considered as a liminal period; cf. Danforth and Tsiaras 1982, 36f. drawing on Hertz 1960.

ekphora are parts of the complicated sequence of funerary rites which are indicative of a special, honorary status conferred upon the deceased since they are both perceived as γέρα, prizes of honour (*Il.* 16. 456, 675; 23. 9; *Od.* 4. 197; 24. 190; 24. 292; *Pl. Laws* 947e), granted at the completion of a person's αἰών.²⁰¹ Both actions concentrate on the display of the dead to the community in a manner which increases their honour.²⁰² Both are connected in their capacity to create a framework which enables a direct communication with the fact of death as emblemized by the presence of the dead body.

Time and space, however, are important differentiating parameters. The spatial restraint and the longer time span within which the *prothesis* ritual evolves, offer the opportunity for ampler communication not only between the living and the dead but also between the living themselves. In the case of the *ekphora*, however, the weight of importance falls on the potential to attract a wider public. In the sources, from Homer to the novel, the representation of, or reference to, the *ekphora* recurs whenever the public appeal of the funeral is at stake.²⁰³ Since the *ekphora* marks the deceased's transition as an irreversible route, its broad public character may support the experience of death as a form of journey with its concomitant leave-taking.

The form and significance of the Classical *ekphora*

In the Classical period the funeral is not conducted simply 'according to ancestral custom' but is regulated by law. The Athenian funerary legislation, which is preserved in indirect tradition ([D.] 43. 62, *Cic. de leg.* 2. 59-66, *Plou.*

²⁰¹On γέρας θανόντων cf. Garland 1984-86.

²⁰²On the honorific aspect of the rites and their relation to the encomiastic aspect of both the epigram and monument cf. Day 1989.

²⁰³In Patroklos' *ekphora* in the *Iliad* (23. 128-37) the procession induces an enlargement of community involvement in the rites for the dead; the whole Achaean camp participate. It is interesting that after the end of the processional escort and the accompanying lament the masses of the army are dispersed and only those people closely connected stay for the cremation and burial of the bones (*Il.* 23. 155-60). Further examples which emphasize the *ekphora* as the primary funerary ritual with a public character: *CEG* 159; *Aischin.* 3. 235; *Lykourg.* 1.45. 3; *Plou. Sol.* 6; *id. mor.* 187b; *Chariton* 6. Sources of this kind must have led Loraux 1990, 131 n.44 to assert that the *ekphora* constituted the 'heart of the whole funerary ceremony'.

Sol. 21) and attributed to Solon, has a restrictive force: participation was subject to some constraints, the duration of mourning was prescribed, the procession was to be conducted before sunrise, women should follow men, wild expressions of grief were prevented in public and excessive offerings were curbed. Some details need to be clarified: only the numbers of women under sixty years of age were reduced; participation of older women or men of any age was free. The restrictions on mourning were valid only in a public context (in the *ekphora* or in rites after the funeral); within the house one could act ὅπως ἂν βούληται.²⁰⁴ Offerings were allowed, except for the sacrifice of a bull and large numbers of garments.²⁰⁵

Reconstructed in reverse, the picture of funeral procession that the law attempted to prevent, would amount to a public event with considerable acoustic and visual power: the body, amply decorated and covered with an abundance of garments, would be the pole of attraction; around the body mixed groups of men and women would move, the women probably holding the most prominent positions close to the body. This proximity would further incite wild expressions of female mourning, featuring laceration of cheeks, tearing of hair and garments, shrieks and lamentation. Sacrificial animals would be escorted, while at the head of the procession women ἐγγυτρίστριαι ([Pl.] *Min.* 315c; cf. *EM* s.v.) would probably carry further offerings to the grave. The procession would advance through the streets stopping perhaps at places in order to perform set laments.²⁰⁶

To this picture the law juxtaposes a model of funeral procession, which - though lowered in tone - would still retain considerable spectacle: the body

²⁰⁴Garland 1989, 3 is obviously wrong to translate 'inside, wherever one liked' and hence to obscure the facts.

²⁰⁵As part of the burial practices the funerary monument was also subject to restrictions: Cic. *de leg.* 2. 64-65 is the main source, supported by the archaeological evidence; see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 121ff., Garland 1989, 5-7, Humphreys 1993, 88-94. That both the erection of the grave monument and the restrictions imposed upon it are directly associated with attitudes to death is argued by Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, especially 288-94.

²⁰⁶A more detailed reverse picture of the whole funeral has been drawn by Humphreys 1993, 85-7.

would be the focal point - carried by pall-bearers or on a cart - decorated and adorned but not overloaded with garments. Men and women, dressed in black, would escort it, arranged in sequence, the larger group of men preceding that of the women. In this way the traditionally more reserved stance of men would overshadow and somehow discourage the emotional reaction of women who should, in any case, abstain from exotic gestures of mourning. Mourning songs, if they had been performed in the past, should also be eliminated but there are indications that instrumental music was allowed: Cicero mentions a maximum of ten *tibicines* (Cic. *de leg.* 2. 59) and Plato attests to the fact that hired musicians accompanied the body to the grave playing what is obscurely referred to as Carian music (*Laws* 800e). Offerings such as food, lekythoi, hydriai and alabastra would be carried to the tomb and the whole group would probably move by the light of blazing lamps.²⁰⁷ The darkness of early morning would even probably heighten the emotional tone of the ritual.²⁰⁸

The contrast between the two models and the support of the historicity of the first model through archaeological and literary evidence connected with aristocracy,²⁰⁹ has led to the formation of an almost *communis opinio* that the restrictions on the *ekphora* (let alone on other mortuary aspects) aimed at

²⁰⁷Cf. the bail-amphora motif mentioned above n. 196.

²⁰⁸Would the *ekphora* have *theatai*? The prescribed time makes it unlikely; at least it would discourage any considerable numbers. Sources are taciturn. Lys. 1 confirms that seductions could take place in *ekphorai*. It is not clear, however, whether the murdered victim was a *theates* or a participant in the *ekphora*. Edwards and Usher 1985, 223-4 and Carey 1989, 68 seem to take him as a complete outsider; and in paragraph 45 the defendant alleges he had never seen Eratosthenes before the night of the murder. In any case, men's attendance was freely permitted. Lys. fr. 4. 3 (ὥστε οἴεσθε τοὺς παριόντας ἐπ' ἐκφορὰν ἦλθιν τούτου τεθνεώτος) suggests that the *ekphora* might not go totally unobserved, at least by the neighbours. The whole problem pertains to the issue of the observance of the legislation; we do not have sources openly contradicting the laws, but the re-erection of funerary monuments after the 420s, the re-issuing of funerary laws by Demetrios Phalereus and the strengthening of some related legislative aspects in Plato's *Laws* have been taken to imply a loosening of attention (e.g. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 121f.; general reservations: Alexiou 1974, 22f., Humphreys 1993, 118-122, Foley 1993, 106).

²⁰⁹Mainly the Geometric funeral vases and the descriptions of the funeral in the epics; both have been seen as grand scale, not ordinary, funerals; see e.g. Ahlberg 1971, 300-301, Morris 1987, 47-8.

curbing ostentation and aristocratic display.²¹⁰ A major difficulty with such an approach has been pointed out by Sourvinou-Inwood, namely the emergence of similar laws throughout Greece over many centuries (from the sixth to the third), issued not only by the polis but also by a phratry.²¹¹ The contextualization of the Athenian legislation by modern scholars leaves open the question of the relationship between the funerary laws and of the role of the phratry in this process. This does not mean that the dynamics of power are irrelevant in this respect. From a modern perspective, Baudrillard has argued that power emerges precisely over the primary boundary of death; manipulating death and legislating about it procures power and control.²¹² There is no doubt that the change of the political situation, the diminishing power of the aristocratic γένη and the gradual emphasis on public display were factors interrelated with funerary practices.²¹³ Besides them, however, a wide range of (potential) converging factors has been shown to come into play: economic factors related to heritage and the stability of the *oikos* which formed the basic economic unit of the polis;²¹⁴ moral standards of conduct requiring restraint in public and avoidance of excesses (whether on an emotional or material level), which were associated with oriental τρυφή and

²¹⁰See, for example, Rohde 1925, 161, Alexiou 1974, 17-8, Parker 1983, 36, Garland 1989, 3-4, Shapiro 1991, 641, Humphreys 1993, 85, Seaford 1994, 79, Fantham et al. 1994, 46.

²¹¹Sourvinou-Inwood 1983; ead. 1995, 438-40. The main pieces of evidence are the Labyadaí (phratry) inscriptions at Delphi (c. 400; *LSG* 77; *SEG* xxv 574) and the funerary legislation of the city of Iulis in Keos (late fifth century; *LSG* 97, *Syll.*³ 1218); further epigraphical evidence (but not from the fifth century): *Inscr. Creticae* iv, 22, 46, 76 (Gortyn); *LSA* 16 (Gambreion); *Syll.*³ 1220 (Nisyros). Other indirect evidence: Stob. 44. 40 (Catana), Cic. *de leg.* 2. 66 (Mytilene), Plou. *Lyk.* 27 and *id. mor.* 238d (Sparta), D.S. 11. 38 (Syracuse).

²¹²See Baudrillard 1976, especially ch. 5. But cf. Taylor's remark that 'power and authority could not be derived from such symbolic activities if they were not powerful in their own right' (Taylor 1989, 154).

²¹³Cf. however Seremetakis' 1994, xvi-xxxii stimulating critique of synchronic hypotheses according to which death rituals are the outcome of other socio-political institutions.

²¹⁴The most important study is Bruck 1926; developing and expanding on his thesis Gernet and Boulanger 1932, 136-7.

barbaric practices and reckoned unbefitting for a mortal;²¹⁵ gender hierarchy and the disempowerment of women in the polis (involving the attempt to restrict their movement in public to a minimum and to control any kind of autonomous behaviour);²¹⁶ ideological factors connected with eschatological developments and new attitudes towards death (involving increased anxiety and a concern for the fate of the individual).²¹⁷ In the light of these complicated developments associated with the funerary legislation, the persistence in acknowledging the political, advertising-related effects of the *ekphora* as *primary* seems to be grounded in a conviction, subconscious perhaps, that manifestation rituals cannot have any serious religious or ideological basis but are simply manipulated for political reasons.²¹⁸ Close study of the characteristics of the *ekphora* as regulated by the law throws into question such approaches, and suggests that the ritual was rooted in the wider religious-cosmological system of ancient Greek society (and Athens in particular).

Interpreting the prescribed time of the procession as anti-aristocratic bias seems problematic. Aristocratic ostentation was allowed full view in ample daylight in cases of sacred, choregic and epinician processions. Besides, there were wedding processions providing ample scope for pomp: in terms of

²¹⁵For these important aspects cf. Ampolo 1984; cf. also Shapiro 1991, 644 on the aspect of *phthonos* aroused by lavish burial and monument. Morris 1992, 147-52 explains restraint practices (observed primarily in the first part of the fifth century and reflected in burials and in the funerary legislation) as a (Panhellenic) trend connected with the development of 'a communal ideal'. It is not clear in his exposition, however, how this Panhellenic ideal was created and whether the ritual shaped the new situation or vice versa. His book generally needs to be treated with caution: see the review by Sourvinou-Inwood 1994.

²¹⁶Related views already in Dareste, Hassoullier and Reinach 1898, 1.14; more recent argumentation: see e.g. Humphreys and King 1981, 267; Holst-Wahrhaft 1992 (her general thesis; but her methodology is shaky).

²¹⁷Argued by Sourvinou-Inwood 1981, 1983, 1995 but with earlier roots; cf. Burkert 1985, 197-9.

²¹⁸Despite his effort to the contrary, Morris 1992 provides a good example: he admits that 'when our sources say why funerary laws were passed the reasons are always religious rather than political'; still, however, he tries to find and construct 'a more interesting approach' and, while he scorns 'widely and naively assumed' ideas that 'restraint rites must have been imposed by a law which must have been democratic in intent', he reverts to a political perspective involving elite and communal symbolism and ideals (Morris 1992, 147-53).

numbers of participants, in terms of musicians, of choirs of singers, of carts and mules, of adornment and costumes.²¹⁹ No time restriction obtained and since evening was traditionally preferred, a torchlit nocturnal loud *ἐκδοσις* would be a splendid and forceful spectacle. Why, then, was the funeral procession relegated to the hours before daybreak (*πρὶν ἥλιον ἐξέχειν* [D.] 43. 62) becoming thus structurally different from both wedding (*ἐσπέρας* Photios s.v. *ξεῦγος ἡμιονικόν*) and sacred processions (*ἅμ' ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι* LSG 33. 34)? If aristocratic funerary displays posed such a problem in the sixth century, would it be the same in late fourth century when Demetrios Phalereus reasserted that the *ekphorai* should be held 'ante lucem' (Cic. *de leg.* 2. 66)?

The example of wedding processions seems also to qualify interpretations of the funerary legislation as a blow to the solidarity of the *genos* (enhanced by shared performance at death rituals).²²⁰ Anthropologists have observed that wedding processions equally enhance the prestige and solidarity of wealthy families and clans.²²¹ Moreover, if solidarity is based on participation, then no restriction was actually imposed, since men's attendance was unrestricted. In a patriarchal society, it is solidarity among men that matters most, especially if hostile and menacing dispositions were to be entertained. The restrictions on the *ekphora* would hardly impede hosting feelings of revenge. Revenge, instead of being radically eliminated, was formally prescribed, legally as well as ritually. It was part of the *νομιζόμενα* to carry a *δόρυ* at the head of the *ekphora* of a murdered person, to make a proclamation on the tomb and to guard the tomb (*τὰ μὲν νόμιμα ἐξηγήσομεν... πρῶτον μὲν ἐπενεγκεῖν δόρυ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκφορᾷ...* [D.] 37. 69).²²² Finally, if

²¹⁹Solon seems to have reduced the *φερνή*: Plou. *Sol.* 20. 4

²²⁰Argued most recently by Seaford 1994, 72-105.

²²¹E.g. Bourdieu 1977, 180 (cited also by Seaford 1994, 83 n.32).

²²²Cf. Poll. 8. 7, Harp. s.v. *δόρυ*.

women's lamentation was necessary for revenge, it could be lawfully performed at home during the *prothesis* or at the tomb by the kin.²²³

The curtailing, then, of female lamentation and female attendance cannot be simply ascribed to an attempt at elimination of revenge practices. Attention should be perhaps paid to the tendency of women to refuse to separate completely from the dead, a reality observed by anthropologists and associated with the definition of the status (and hence of the identity) of women in traditional societies through personal relationships.²²⁴ To the extent that participation in funerals could lead to an over-attachment to the dead and neglect of other activities (familial or religious), the stability of communal life was in danger and the practice had to be restricted.²²⁵

The extremes of related tendencies are conspicuous in the description of the Κυλώνειον ἄγος, a metaphysical and not simply a political crisis, involving increased superstition (δεισιδαιμονία) and fear of apparitions, probably caused by repeated invocations at the tombs (Plou. *Sol.* 12). As a religious reformer (σοφὸς περὶ τὰ θεῖα τὴν ἐνθουσιαστικὴν καὶ τελεστικὴν σοφίαν), Epimenides redressed the religious balance attaching sacrifices to the funeral ceremonies (θυσίας τινὰς εὐθὺς ἀναμίξας πρὸς τὰ πένθη) and ἀφελὼν the harsh and barbaric element of women's mourning (τὸ σκληρὸν καὶ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ὃ συνείχοντο πρότερον αἱ πλείσται γυναῖκες), implying perhaps a change in the mode of lamentation. This pattern of festivity following mourning, Olympian cult succeeding and - to some extent - superseding chthonic cult was established in religious practices to underscore the

²²³As they still do today in Mediterranean countries; see e.g. Seremetakis 1994. For the vehement lamentation that took place at the tomb in the Classical period see, for example, Lys. fr. 4.4 περὶ αὐτὸν τὸν κάπηλον ὥσπερ στήλην διαφθείρονται.

²²⁴Cf. e.g. Danforth and Tsiras 1982, 133-9.

²²⁵These seem to be the implications of the cessation of women's mourning and their involvement in public rituals in the law of Gambreion (*LSA* 16; *Syll.*³ 1219). In the Athenian law the permission of unrestricted attendance to women over sixty may be connected with their reduced familial duties and their (potential) experience of the miasma of death; cf. Parker 1983, 70 n. 123.

prevalence of life values and reassert life itself.²²⁶ It appears that a crisis which involved an intensification of metaphysical fears was resolved through a religious reform which reasserted the priority of life, and was ultimately conducive to communal, political life, since *κοινωνία* meant sharing in sacrifice. At the same time, by taking away the 'harsh and barbaric' manner in which women mourned, Epimenides asserted the mortal nature of the recipients of lamentations, since 'barbaric' customs were perceived as lacking the correct measure which befits human nature.²²⁷ The assertion - in ritual terms, as a change of practices - of the mortal and hence diminished status of the dead, along with the urge to get over grief and engage in communal life as emblematised by sacrifice, shaped dispositions towards death, making people *προστέρους περὶ τὰ πένθη*. Epimenides restored the religious balance by contrasting death (the realm of the dead) with the higher order of life symbolised by the Olympian festive sacrifice.

Related to the opposition between life and death and their associated religious realms seems also to be the curtailing of the sound effect of the funeral procession. Cries of pain and grief are by definition *δύσφημοι*, signs of ill omen, and as such they have to be kept apart from any serious business. The condition of *εὐφημία* was considered necessary in all important undertakings, more so in cultic activities.²²⁸ In a community where the political was fused with the sacred, where private ritual could be conducted even at home, and where the communal space itself was interspersed with sacred loci,²²⁹ could the *δυσφημία* of a passing *ekphora* be tolerated? In Sophokles' *Philoktetes* the homonymous hero *κατεῖχ' ἄει πᾶν στρατόπεδον δυσφημίαις, / βοῶν, στενάζων*, with the result that it became impossible *λοιβῆς* or *θυμάτων προσθιγεῖν* (*S. Ph.* 8-11). *Philoktetes* had to be left on Lemnos, securing with his exile the *εὐφημία*

²²⁶Cf. Burkert 1985, 202-203; id. 1983, 83, 93-103 and *passim*.

²²⁷Cf. Mazzarino 1947, 191-252, Hall 1989, 121-33; for a contrast between Greek and other attitudes see, for example, Plou. *Sol.* 27. 6.

²²⁸See Burkert 1985, 73, 199, 375 n.2.

²²⁹On this aspect see Sourvinou-Inwood 1993, 12-13.

and normal rhythm of life of the στρατόπεδον. Bringing theoretical distinctions to an extreme, Plato (*Laws* 800c-d) abolishes all γοωδέσταται ἁρμονίαι, sung by altars during *heortai* and allows the performance of mourning music - εἶ ποτ' ἄρα δεῖ... ἐπηκόους γίγνεσθαι - ὅποταν ἡμέραι μὴ καθαραὶ ἀλλ' ἀποφράδες ὦσιν. The immersion of the whole community in a state μὴ καθαρὸν makes mourning tolerable, otherwise the disruption has to be contained and the δυσφημία (for Plato βλασφημία) abolished.²³⁰

It is no surprise that Plato, while retaining *prothesis* ritual as ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, strengthens prohibitions about the *ekphora* abolishing τὸν νεκρὸν εἰς τὸ φανερόν προάγειν τῶν ὁδῶν and demanding that the dead be outside the polis πρὸ ἡμέρας. θρηνεῖν, φωνὴν ἐξαγγέλειν and φθέγγεσθαι are also prohibited. For Plato both sight and sound of an *ekphora* can be disruptive, and since mourning was explicitly associated with μὴ καθαρότης, it may be reasonably inferred that similar concerns prevailed about the spectacle of the procession. As has been already remarked, the sight and sound of a procession are twin aspects of its overall effect. Through its visual and aural character, the procession makes an appeal to the community for communication and interaction. Potential viewers could be called to respond to the mourning songs, the black garments and, most importantly, to the dead body, the focal point of the whole arrangement. Belief in the dead body as a source of μῖασμα was well rooted in Greek tradition.²³¹ Physical contact was the primary channel of pollution, but social contact in the form of participation in the death rites could also bring the same result, albeit to a lesser degree.²³² Even if viewing the *ekphora* was not the same as taking actual part in it, the interaction with such a spectacle could well be problematic. Explicit testimony that the

²³⁰A famous example of lamentation (even in the case of divine cult) as an ill omen for public (military and political) business is Plou. *Nik.* 13 (wailing in Adonis feast).

²³¹The sources are abundant; see e.g. Hesiod *Works and Days* 735, Hdt. 6. 58, Ar. *Ek.* 1033, *LSG* 97. 25ff., *LSG* 77C. 20f., [D.] 43. 58, D. 47. 70 etc. See Sourvinou-Inwood 1981, 38-40; Parker 1983, 32-73 (most detailed); Garland 1985, 39-47.

²³²See Parker 1983, 39-40.

sight of an *ekphora* can cause miasma is found in the emperor Julian (and hence easily dismissed as late).²³³ Yet, all early indications suggest that ritual anxieties, similar to those described by Julian, could well have been involved (especially since passers-by could be heading towards a religious duty). If sources speak about δεισιδαιμονία related to tombs,²³⁴ how should the confrontation with the corpse in transport be evaluated? In cases of extreme miasmata all interaction - even through sight - is to be avoided.²³⁵ The total covering of the body (face included), prescribed in the laws of Julius and Delphi, seems also to have to do with a concern to prevent any interaction with a physical part of the corpse.²³⁶ Spatially, the procession follows the axis which connects the *oikos*, already polluted, with the tomb. The explicit prescription in the Labyadae inscription against stopping at turnings may be another attempt to dissociate the life-space of the community from the reality of death, and even perhaps to prevent laying down the coffin (and thus polluting the ground) during performances of lamentations.²³⁷

The significance of the funerary legislation in shaping and expressing responses to (metaphysical) concerns (larger than strictly political) about death receives support from the public funerary ritual, an institution established by the polis as a gesture of honour for exceptional dead and particularly for war dead.²³⁸ The tendency of the democratic polis to appropriate aristocratic values and to render them available to the *demos*, is well-documented and established.²³⁹ In this case the funeral games are also a vestige of older traditions. The ritual, however, from *prothesis* to interment does not revert to

²³³Julian *Ep.* 77 Hertlein.

²³⁴Plou. *Lyk.* 27; id. *mor.* 238d.

²³⁵Cf. the keeping of silence and the covering of the head of participants and bystanders in cases of purifications from homicide: Parker 1983, 371 (referring to the inscription of Kyrene and E. *IT* 951, 1218).

²³⁶See Sourvinou-Inwood 1983, 48.

²³⁷Cf. the prescription for καθαρός of the whole deme when death happens in a public place: [D.] 43. 57.

²³⁸see especially Jacoby 1944, Loraux 1986, 28-37, Pritchett 1985, 106-24, Stupperich 1977, 31-54 and id. 1994, 93-4.

²³⁹Loraux 1986, 180-202, 217-20, 334-5.

older patterns of mourning but remains to a large extent - and as far as the sources permit us to see - compatible with the legislation. The *locus classicus* for the description of a public funeral is Thucydides 2.34, the funeral for the warriors killed in the first year of the Peloponnesian war. The *prothesis* lasts two days and if this seems longer than usual,²⁴⁰ it is only because there is no corpse (only bones) to receive the cleansing care on the first day. The procession sets out πρότρετα, on the third day, as in private funerals.²⁴¹ The time of the day is not specified in the Thucydidean description but it should be noted that in the δημοσία ταφή in Plato's *Laws* the *ekphora* takes place ἔωθεν (Pl. *Laws* 947c). Dawn was the regular time for the launching of processions and the initiation of various public activities²⁴². It does not have to be, however, πρὸ ἡλίου. In any case, since the burial of the war dead was a public ceremony, other activities would be suspended. The public dimension of the ceremony is reflected in the public setting of the *prothesis* (probably a place in the Agora) as well as in the route of the procession (most likely through the Agora, crossing the central axis of the city, to the Kerameikos).²⁴³ It is most recognizable, however, in the arrangement of the *ekphora* which reflects - apart from the shared social role of the deceased as warriors - the articulation and unity of the city: the bones of the dead are arranged by tribe and placed collectively in chests of cypress wood; each of the chests is carried by a cart. An appropriately decked empty litter is escorted in the procession for the *aphaneis*, those whose bodies were unrecovered after battle. The presence of Athenian military regiments escorting the procession²⁴⁴ is not unlikely; they formed the standard προπομπή granted to warriors, alluding also to the generic social feature shared by the dead.

²⁴⁰As Loraux 1986, 19 mistakenly thinks.

²⁴¹Cf. Antiphon 6. 34 οὗτοι μὲν τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἀπέθανεν ὁ παῖς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἣ προέκειτο... τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἐξεφέρετο ὁ παῖς.

²⁴²Cf. e.g. the early time of the assembly in Ar. *Ach.* 19-20.

²⁴³On the place of *prothesis* and the route see Loraux 1986, 20.

²⁴⁴As conjectured by Loraux 1986, 20.

Thoukydides' description seems also to follow details of arrangement: the men first, allowed open access to the ceremony, whether citizens or foreigners (ἀστών καὶ ξένων ὁ βουλόμενος). The women are mentioned just after the men, explicitly distinguished in both numbers and stance. This differentiation has led modern scholars to question their presence in the *ekphora*.²⁴⁵ The narrative, however, makes clear that the author describes the event in chronological sequence (τοιῶδε τρόπῳ): first *prothesis*, then *ekphora*, the burial, and finally the *epitaphios*. It would be absurd either to break the sequence and mention a detail occurring later, or to have the women lament at the graveside when there would be no literal grave, since the *ekphora* was still in progress. Syntax is also important, since it precludes the meaning of station at the tomb.²⁴⁶ Women's attendance was, thus, limited to the relatives of the deceased, an aspect of arrangement shared with the private *ekphora*. The attitude of women is also differentiated: they were lamenting (ὀλοφυρόμεναι).²⁴⁷

It is notable that the public *ekphora* was primarily a male event featuring magistrates, state officials and military orders of a male society and incorporating only a restricted number of women with a marginal and distinct attitude. ὀλοφυρμός was not only marginal; in the epitaphioi and the public epigrams the οἶκτος and γόος emerge as redundant.²⁴⁸ This feature should be seriously taken under consideration when assessing the cause and effects of the funerary legislation. The public and not private character of the burial does not mean a return to an older model of *ekphora*. Furthermore, the unity of the

²⁴⁵Especially Loraux 1986, 24 followed thereafter by many.

²⁴⁶ἐπί with accusative never means station; see Kühner-Gerth I. 503-505; Schwyzer 1950, 2. 465-8.

²⁴⁷ὀλοφύρομαι, of course, does not necessitate cries and wild gesticulation; in the Classical period it implies grief, pity, regret, complaint; e.g. Th. 6. 78, Pl. R. 329a, Lys. 29. 4 etc.

²⁴⁸Plenty of evidence in Loraux 1986, 44-49, 54.

polis that the funerary rite seems to promote, does not necessitate a 'solidarity-in-lamentation' pattern.²⁴⁹

The focus on the polis as a source of life for all citizens makes death in its service not a loss but a gain.²⁵⁰ A death which ensures the existence and prosperity of the polis is experienced not as a disruption but as a means to assert life; as such it may not be lamented but rather acknowledged as a power.²⁵¹ The experience of death as a process of empowerment is correlative with the belief in the acquisition of a superior status through and after death,²⁵² and in the potential for the polis to activate this superior power for public benefit. The ascription of particular status and an exceptional power to historical dead provokes reactions of honour rather than grief, since such a death is perceived, paradoxically, as positive for both the community and the individual.²⁵³ It is important to note that for the notion of 'good' death to operate both sides need to be combined. The development of a rewarding eschatology is thus a necessary complement to public honour.²⁵⁴ Heroisation played here an important role and extant sources confirm the heroic status of

²⁴⁹Although lamentations took place after the *epitaphios*: Lys. 2. 81, D. 60. 37.

²⁵⁰Cf. Loraux 1986, 47; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 192-5.

²⁵¹It must be stressed that the prohibition against lamentation is not associated only with democratic Athens but is, as Loraux puts it, 'universal throughout the Greek poleis'. In Thasos the phenomenon took the form of a direct legal restriction (LSS 64. 1-4).

²⁵²Cf. Herakl. B 24 D-K; in post-Homeric times warriors acquired a supranormal status in contrast to the infranormal in the *Odyssey* 11. 38-41; cf. Bremmer 1983, 103-105.

²⁵³It is obvious that a positive concept of death which upholds life (values) (as articulated in the concrete experience of the life of the polis) is also supportive of the sustenance of the solidarity of the polis, which is in its turn instrumental for the prosperity of the polis. Anthropology has long observed that in traditional societies 'good' death enhances the fertility and prosperity of the community (Lienhardt 1961, 298-319, especially 317-9; Bloch and Parry 1982, 15-8). Civic solidarity is not, then, the cause - as Seaford 1994 seems to argue - but rather the inseparable by-product (or effect) of mortuary practices.

²⁵⁴In Homer the ideology of 'belle mort' commits the hero to memory, perpetuated by the epic song, (cf. Vernant 1991, 50-74) but cannot change the eschatological perspective which sees death always as a doom: (as Vernant 1991, 83 puts it, 'beyond the threshold, on the other side, a face of terror: the unspeakable'). Because death is always negative, the life values embodied by and perfected in the personality of the hero during his lifetime need to be confirmed (and commemorated, and thus his fame perpetuated) through his death; cf. Griffin 1980. (For a similar cosmotheoretical perspective in Modern Greek death folk-songs cf. Kapsomenos 1984). Moreover, since the exceptional hero sustains the community, his loss may symbolize the loss of the community, as in the case of Hektor.

many of Athens' war dead.²⁵⁵ If not explicitly heroes, all of them became ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, all of them received ἐναγίσματα from the polis, along with the heroes (*Ath. Pol.* 58), (and were thus expected to avail the polis), and as Lysias says, they were honoured by the polis ταῖς αὐταῖς τιμαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀθανάτους (*Lys.* 2. 80). Even if this is a rhetorical exaggeration, it reflects the tendency to exalt ritually the status of the war dead. Funerary honours turning into an *heorte* are indeed most conspicuously documented in the case of Aratos' *ekphora* (*Plou. Arat.* 41): καὶ οἱ Σικυώνιοι μεταβαλόντες εἰς ἑορτὴν τὸ πένθος εὐθύς ἐκ τοῦ Αἰγίου τὸν νεκρὸν ἑστεφανωμένοι καὶ λευχειμονοῦντες ὑπὸ παιάνων καὶ χορῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνῆγον. It is noteworthy that the impact of 'good death' is encapsulated in the description of the procession. As a structure common to many rituals, the procession enables the process of convergence between funeral and sacred or epinician ceremonies in cases of exceptional dead. The extreme pole of such attitudes is articulated in Plato's *Laws* (947b) in which the *ekphora* - for those *euthynoi* who have proved καθαροί - acquires the characteristics of a sacred procession and is explicitly called καθαρεύων (τάφος), alien to any sense of miasma, in clear and explicit contrast with ordinary funerals and in approximation to the domain of the divine. This was obviously a theoretical distinction. Historical examples were often mixed cases, combining ritually epinician with mourning elements, as in the case of Philopoimen's *ekphora* (*Plou. Phil.* 31 οὐκ ἀτάκτως οὐδ' ὥς ἔτυχεν ἀλλ' ἐπινικιὸν τινα πομπὴν ἅμα ταῖς ταφαῖς μείξαντες). The picture of the Athenian ceremony for the war dead also retains a dimension of humanity, since besides the honorific tone the lamentation of the women acknowledges the separation (and its concomitant pain) that every death causes. If miasma

²⁵⁵E.g. Marathon dead: *Paus.* 1. 32. 4 (along with the archaeological evidence; cf. Kearns 1989, 55 and 183). Plataia dead: *Plou. Arist.* 21. 3. On the problem concerning the status (heroized or not) of all war dead, cf. Stupperich 1977, 57-71 and 1994, 99-100; Loraux 1986, 39-42; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 192-5.

was attached to the public funeral in Athens,²⁵⁶ the prominence of positive elements may have alleviated its force;²⁵⁷ and in some cases they may have lifted it completely, as the transformation of the tomb of the dead at Thermopylai into a βωμός (Sim. 531 *PMG*), comparable to the transformation of the funeral *ekphora* into a kind of sacred procession in Plato, seems to suggest.²⁵⁸

The important point is that ritual assimilates analogously to the experience of death and that this experience is directly connected with eschatology.²⁵⁹ If the positive experience of death is constructed through a number of positive associations with a higher order of existence, it is also articulated through a conscious opposition to ordinary death which is associated with the experience of miasma.²⁶⁰ The antithesis, however, between 'good' and 'bad' or 'ordinary' death is not rigid. The variety of ritual transformations that the *ekphora* can take suggests that between extreme

²⁵⁶In one funeral oration mentioning the name of an Olympian god is considered taboo: [D.] 60. 30. In Thasos, however, the restriction of lamentation by law (*LSS* 64. 1-4) seems to uphold the purity of the atmosphere in a way similar to an *heorte*.

²⁵⁷Since the sense of miasma is directly analogous to the mode of death; Parker 1983, 41-42.

²⁵⁸In Sparta, by contrast, distinction in death (granted to βασιλεῖς Hdt. 6. 58, X. *Lak. Pol.* 15. 9) was attained through an enlargement of the scale of the funeral and through the spreading of miasma to the whole population. It is the widespread effect of the king's death, experienced by the community as a painful loss, which affects a differentiation in status. This is definitely a social differentiation; whether it also meant a metaphysical differentiation has to remain unclear (to the modern historian at least; see Cartledge 1988 and Parker 1988; Toher 1991, 169-75. The fact that in the same period in other parts of the Greek world heroization was articulated in different ways, as discussed above, is a complicating factor.) The opposite poles of these attitudes are occupied by the private funerals controlled by the funerary legislation, restrictive in both poleis but antithetical in effect: in Sparta (where Lykourgos attempted to erase miasma and δεισιδαιμονία) funerary practices aimed at mitigating death, making it feel like a natural process, part of the life cycle. In Athens, however, the restrictions seem to have sharpened, rather than moderated, the negative impact of death.

²⁵⁹Both modern and ancient ethnography provide examples: see e.g. Hdt. 5.4; Huntington and Metcalf 1979, 42-43, the example of a Javanese funeral in which abstention from lamentation is explicitly linked with religious beliefs. The acceptance of the order of the cosmos is directly relevant and associated in the sources with funerary practice (and the legislation): cf. Stob. 44. 40 referring to the lawgiver Charondas of Catana; Cic. *de leg.* 2. 66 on Pittakos of Mytilene. In modern times the stance of the Orthodox Church towards lamentation (cf. Alexiou 1974, 24-35, 49-51, Seremetakis 1994, 201-23) seems also to have to do with an order of things upheld by God.

²⁶⁰On this process cf. also Bloch and Parry 1982, 17-18.

poles the historical reality is 'a conglomerate with various possible grades'.²⁶¹ Death emerges as an inherently ambivalent experience for both the community and the individual, and the characteristics of the death ritual point each time to the prevalent (but probably not sole) aspect. The tendency, however, (supported by the funerary legislation) was to differentiate along metaphysical boundaries articulated by miasma and according to a hierarchical order of the cosmos in which the Olympian realm - symbolising life - is sharply contrasted with the realm of the dead. A significant expression of this opposition was the purification of Delos;²⁶² and related manifestations (of hierarchy and distinction) can be found in such sources of popular wisdom as Delphic oracles,²⁶³ as well as in philosophical writers.²⁶⁴ Within this context mortuary practices seem to have aimed at asserting life in the face of death, without pretending to ignore or marginalize death. The unity of the cosmos necessitated the recognition of all possible spheres of existence (above and below, with all gradations in between).²⁶⁵ As a προπομπή granted to all

²⁶¹Burkert 1985, 202; reasserted recently by Scullion 1994 with respect to the Chthonic/Olympian distinction which he supports, while bringing to the fore the double and ambivalent character of various suprahuman figures and the potential combined or exclusive focus in their respective cult practice.

²⁶²Cf. Burkert 1985, 202; Sourvinou-Inwood 1981, 38 and 1983, 46 associating it with a hardening of boundaries. I should clarify that I do not see the emphasis on miasma and delineation of boundaries as an expression of 'repugnance' and 'revulsion' towards death, as Sourvinou-Inwood 1983, 44, 45, 47 suggests. Although she does not *intend* a parallelism, her use of terminology similar to Ariès' description of *contemporary* Western attitudes confuses (Ariès 1976, 90 'repugnance', 'morbid', 93 'rejected', 102 'repugnance'). The two situations are not comparable. Death is central to the life of the Classical polis, in contrast to modern Western world in which there is 'an almost total suppression of everything reminding us of death' (Ariès 1976, 100) (for a moving incident from private life showing familiarity with death, alien to modern perceptions, see Isaios 9. 4). Moreover, as Parker has shown, emotions behind miasma are hardly recoverable (Parker 1983, 63-73) and 'funerary pollution is not explained by man's fear and hatred of death' (Parker 1983, 65). In medieval Greek village communities in which attitudes to death were of the familiar type the sense of miasma was very strong; an example: νεόνυμφοι - even if close kin - should *not* participate in the funeral (Koukoules 1951, 178).

²⁶³See [D.] 43. 66 θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις καὶ Ὀλυμπίαις... ἥρω... τοῖς ἀποφθιμένοις.

²⁶⁴See Plato *Laws* 717a-b πρῶτον... τὰς μετ' Ὀλυμπίους... τοῖς χθονίοις... δεύτερα... μετὰ θεοῦς δὲ τοῦσδε καὶ τοῖς δαίμοσι... ἥρωσι δὲ μετὰ τούτων; *ibid.* 828c.

²⁶⁵Not only gods and heroes but also the dead had their festival (the Genesia; cf. Hdt. 4. 26) and reciprocal benefits were expected from them too; see. e.g. Ar. *Tagenistai* fr. 504. 12-15 K-A.

dead²⁶⁶ (either in the form of an honorific escort to separate the miasma of death or of a celebration to introduce the hero to the centre of the polis, or in any other configuration), the *ekphora* shaped the ultimate relationship between the living and the dead, delineating a spatial axis which united the *oikos* or the centre of the polis with the tomb, and which could be traced again and again on formal or informal occasions. At the same time, the *ekphora* contributed to an ordering of the powers of the world and realms of existence in a way that would benefit the community most. The effects of such an experience would be felt on all levels: religious, social, political.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁶Since the literal πομπή was entrusted to supernatural figures, mainly Hermes *psychopompos*.

²⁶⁷For the interconnectedness of phenomena which characterises the holistic view of ancient societies cf. Plou. *Sol.* 21 ἐπαινείται δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος καὶ ὁ κωλύων νόμος τὸν τεθνηκότα κακῶς ἀγορεύειν. Καὶ γὰρ ὅσιον τοὺς μεθεστῶτας ἱεροὺς νομίζειν, καὶ δίκαιον ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων, καὶ πολιτικὸν ἀφαιρεῖν τῆς ἐχθρας τὸ αἰδίων.

5. WEDDING PROCESSIONS

In ancient Athens the marital procedure²⁶⁸ commenced with the *ἐγγύη*, a private legal and practical agreement between the bride's father and the groom²⁶⁹ and continued with preliminary sacrifices (made separately by the two families),²⁷⁰ offerings to gods (made by the bride),²⁷¹ the ritual bath of bride and groom and their adornment (an occasion especially important for the bride).²⁷² On the main day of the wedding, a meal would usually take place at the bride's parental house with participation of women and men and, of course, of the bridal couple (seated separately);²⁷³ the meal probably ended with the unveiling of the bride and the exchange of gifts.²⁷⁴ The escort to the groom's house would be followed by rites at the hearth of the house²⁷⁵ and the entry to the bridal thalamos where the sexual union which sealed the wedding would take place to the accompaniment of songs sung at the closed

²⁶⁸The ceremony could vary from place to place and time to time. Social status and local family traditions may have been further differentiating factors. An exact account of the normal sequence of wedding events in classical Athens does not exist; a basic pattern, however, can be reconstructed with a critical examination of the literary sources and with the help of contemporary vase paintings which often confirm and clarify the literary evidence; yet many features and details are disputed, and questions of place and timing are particularly difficult. For analytical discussions see Collignon 1904; Heckenbach 1913; Pernice 1932, 54-61; Erdmann 1934, 250-61; Sutton 1981, 146-64; Redfield 1982; Avagianou 1991, 1-18; Garland 1990, 217-25; Oakley and Sinos 1993 (the most recent comprehensive study with discussion of numerous vase-paintings). In the following discussion I shall give the basic sources and further bibliography, wherever necessary.

²⁶⁹Poll. 3. 34; Pl. *Laws* 774e; cf. A. *Pr.* 559.

²⁷⁰*προτέλεια* usually to Zeus and Hera *teleia*, to Artemis, Apollo, Peitho, Athena and the Moirai (and some local deities); Poll. 3. 38; Hsch. s.v. γάμων ἔθνη; Suda s.v. προτέλεια; Paus. 3. 13; Sch. Ar. *Th.* 973; Men. 903 Koerte; Men. *Georgos* 7-9; cf. E. *IA* 716-21, *LSS* 115 B 1-4.

²⁷¹Paus. 1.43.4; Paus. 2.32.1; E. *Hipp.* 1423-26; Hdt. 4. 34; Kall. 2. 91-99; Poll. 3.38.

²⁷²Sch. E. *Ph.* 347; Harp. 121. 25; Phot. s.v. λουτρά; Poll. 3. 43; Hsch. s.v. λουτροφόρος; Suda s.v. νυμφικά λουτρά. Cf. also Th. 2.15; Ar. *Lys.* 374-8; Ar. *Peace* 842-44; Men. *Sam.* 124, 713. It is important to note that the transportation of the water for the bath was accomplished in a processional way, representations of which are retained on the vases (often on the so-called *loutrophoroi*), e.g. Athens NM 1453 (Sinos and Oakley 1993, fig. 14-15); for a literary representation cf. Men. *Sam.* 729-32.

²⁷³See e.g. *Od.* 4. 15-19; 23. 131-36; and especially Loukian. *Symp.* Slight variations are also attested in the sources: e.g. Loukian. *Symp.* 5 the meal by the groom's father.

²⁷⁴Poll. 3. 36; timing is controversial: Pherekyd. 7 [B] 2 D-K; An. *Bekk.* 1. 200. 6-8, 1390. 26-28; Harp. s.v. ἀνακαλυπτῆρια. Cf. also Oakley 1982.

²⁷⁵See e.g. Suda s.v. καταχύσματα; Hsch. s.v. καταχύσματα; Sch. Ar. *Pl.* 768; cf. Samter 1901, 1-14.

door.²⁷⁶ On the following day, after the couple's rising from bed, another feast and presentation of gifts were probably organised.²⁷⁷

The accomplishment of the marital union was dependent upon the performance of this long chain of interrelated events. Eminent among them, however, is the role of the nuptial procession which literally and symbolically transforms the bride and groom into man and wife. The spatial change from one *oikos* to the other provides the physical dimension for the experience of the symbolic passage from one stage of life to another. In this context the procession proves to be the major rite of transition in distinction from other rites of separation (preceding the procession) and rites of incorporation (following the procession). As van Gennep has shown,²⁷⁸ this ritual pattern with the three stages characterises all passages in life, from birth through death. Transition rites tend to attract ritual emphasis, reflected in the large treatment of the nuptial procession in artistic and literary sources. In ancient Greek poetry it is the mark of the marital ceremony and the symbol of its joy. In the *Iliad* (18. 491-6) it becomes the epitome of peaceful and prosperous citizen life, and analogous pictures of heightened existence are preserved in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* (273-9), in the Hesiodic Catalogue (fr. 211 W, honorific entry of Peleus), in Sappho (fr. 44 Voigt, the magnificent arrival of Hektor and Andromache), in Aristophanes' *Peace* 1313ff. and *Birds* 1720ff. right down to the time of Theokritos (18 ἑλένης ἑπιθαλάμιος).²⁷⁹ In art, and more particularly in vase iconography which is the major contemporary testimony about the wedding ritual in Athens, the procession to the groom's house, the

²⁷⁶The so-called ἐπιθαλάμια; see e.g. Theok. 18; Sappho fr. 110 Voigt and Hsch. s.v. θυρωρός. For discussions of the terms and extant fragments see Muth 1954; Contiades-Tsitsoni 1992.

²⁷⁷ἐπαύλια: Poll. 3. 39-40; Hsch. and Suda s.v. ἐπαύλια.

²⁷⁸See van Gennep 1960, especially 10-12 and 116ff. in relation to the wedding.

²⁷⁹Closely related: Sappho 104a, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117 Voigt, Stesichoros 187 PMG, Hyp. Lyk. 5, X. Hell. 4. 1. 9, Timaios ap. D.S. 13.84. Cf. also Cat. 61 and secondarily 62, two poems largely inspired by Greek wedding poetry; on their relation with nuptial rites see Thomsen 1992.

couple's new home, is the most widely represented wedding motif.²⁸⁰ It appears as early as the seventh century B.C.²⁸¹ and is by far the most popular wedding scene on black-figure vases, constituting over ninety per cent of those known. In red figure painting a wider range of subjects is treated (especially popular is the preparation of the bride, and there is also emphasis on scenes in the *thalamos*). Nevertheless, here too the procession retains its popularity but now a more realistic tone prevails, and the procession on foot is often depicted. The representation is still idealised but, in contrast to the emphasis on the social character of the event in the Archaic examples, a romantic mood and a focus on intimate relations become conspicuous.²⁸²

The sources stress the aurally and visually spectacular character of the event, created on the one hand by the use of torches,²⁸³ which were the standard symbol of the wedding,²⁸⁴ and on the other by the performance of music and songs.²⁸⁵ The focus of the formation fell on the bridal couple, festively dressed, wreathed - the bride probably veiled²⁸⁶ - and led either in a carriage or cart, or on foot;²⁸⁷ in mythological scenes on vases the chariot is a standard feature.²⁸⁸ The couple would be joined on the cart by the *πάροχος*,

²⁸⁰The most detailed presentations of the archaeological evidence is Sutton 1981 and Sinos and Oakley 1993; for brief introductions based on iconographical evidence see Bérard 1989, 97-103; Lissarague 1992, 142-63.

²⁸¹See Oakley and Sinos 1993, 5-6, 131 n. 7, 136 n. 33.

²⁸²See Sutton 1981, 169.

²⁸³Literary testimonies are mainly in tragedy; cf. also Timaios ap. D.S. 13. 84. Ample demonstration on vases: e.g. NY Metr. Mus. 56. 11. 1 (Sinos and Oakley 1993, figs. 68-70), Berlin Staat. Mus. F 2372 (Sinos and Oakley 1993 fig. 73). Their use indicates the evening time of the procession; cf. also *ἑσπέρας ἱκανῆς* in Phot. s.v. *ζεύγος ἡμιονικόν ἢ βοεικόν*; Men. Sam. 428-30.

²⁸⁴Torches were such an integral part of the ceremony that one expression for an illegitimate union was *adadouchetos gamos*: Sch. E. *Alk.* 989.

²⁸⁵Attested in all literary sources mentioned above and in most vase paintings; concise discussions: West 1992, 21-22; Hague 1988, 32-36.

²⁸⁶The bride was equipped with a covering for the head (*κάλυμμα*) and a wreath, characteristic signs of a wedding, a festive garment and probably special shoes (Hsch. s.v. *νυμφίδες*). The groom was also adorned with a wreath and a special garment (a nuptial *chlanis* according to Ar. *Birds* 1693); cf. also Ar. *Peace* 859, Ar. *Pl.* 530; Chariton 3. 1. 3. For bridal wreaths and crowns see Ar. *Birds*. 159ff. and Sch. ad loc.; E. *IA* 1080; generally Blech 1982, 75-81.

²⁸⁷*χαμαίπους νύμφη* Poll. 2.195 and 3.40.

²⁸⁸On the mythological associations of the chariot in contrast to the cart see Lorimer 1903.

viz. φίλος ἢ συγγενὴς ὁ μάλιστα τιμώμενος καὶ ἀγαπώμενος according to Photios.²⁸⁹ (The ceremony was slightly changed in cases of re-marriages of previously married people; a bridegroom's friend, in some sources called νυμφαγωγός, would lead the bride, and the bridegroom himself would not take part in the procession.²⁹⁰) A number of people, executing different roles, would be arranged around this pole; the προσηγητής would lead the way;²⁹¹ an ὄρεωκόμος might be commissioned to pull the animals;²⁹² the bride's mother would carry torches;²⁹³ a νυμφεύτρια would attend the bride.²⁹⁴ The circle would widen by the presence of further friends and relatives. The bridegroom's friends seem to have followed close to the cart, a group of παῖδες προπέμποντες is attested,²⁹⁵ women carrying gifts are often depicted in art.²⁹⁶ Particular emphasis is placed on music and singing: *auletes* and kitharists could participate,²⁹⁷ female, or mixed male and female, choirs would sing the traditional hymenaeal songs,²⁹⁸ μακαρισμοί would be proclaimed,²⁹⁹ even dance could be performed.³⁰⁰ The dimensions of the procession could be extensively enlarged: groups of torch-bearers could form

²⁸⁹Phot. s.v. ζεύγος ἡμιονικὸν ἢ βοεικόν; depicted on NY Metr. Mus. 56. 11. 1 (Oakley and Sinos 1993, figs. 68-70); cf. Ar. *Birds* 1740.

²⁹⁰Poll. 3. 40.

²⁹¹Hsch. s.v. προσηγητής.

²⁹²Hyp. *Lyk.* 5.

²⁹³Sources in tragedy: E. *IA* 732-36, *Med.* 1027; cf. Sch. E. *Tr.* 315. Additional bearers were also women; see Sutton 1981, 192 who mentions that in the *chamaipous* tradition there is no instance of a male torchbearer, though there are few examples in the chariot scenes.

²⁹⁴ἡ συμπεμπομένη ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων τῇ νύμφῃ παράνυμφος according to Hsch. s.v. νυμφεύτρια; she had extended duties in other parts of the wedding, as well. See Sutton 1981, 195 where he discusses vases in which women deck the bride as she is about to be led by the groom; a number of names are found in Hsch. s.v. νυμφεύτρια, νυμφοπόνος, νυμφοκόμος. Magnien 1936, 118-121 ascribes to the women further duties in the thalamos as well; but there is no clear evidence that these practices applied to classical Athens and generally his reconstruction is not very convincing.

²⁹⁵Hyp. *Lyk.* 5.

²⁹⁶E.g. London BM B160 (Oakley and Sinos 1993, fig. 71), BM B174 (Oakley and Sinos 1993, fig. 65).

²⁹⁷See above n. 285.

²⁹⁸On *hymenaios* and wedding songs see Maas 1914, Muth 1954 (especially 34-6 on the composition of the choirs), Contiades-Tsitsoni 1992.

²⁹⁹Ar. *Birds*, *Peace*; Rehm 1994, 14 and 156 n. 16 emphasizes that *makarismoi* were directed to the bride and not only to the groom (as it is sometimes wrongly believed) citing tragic sources; cf. further Sappho 116 and 117 Voigt.

³⁰⁰See *Il.* 18. 492-6; [Hes.] *Sc.* 272-85.

the opening part,³⁰¹ the animal escort could increase, ἵππεῖς, πελτασταί, ὀπλῖται could amplify the προπομπή,³⁰² the whole polis might participate actively³⁰³ or passively: in Homer the women stand at the thresholds of the houses and gaze with admiration at the passing procession (*Il.* 18. 495-6). The arrival at the groom's house was also marked by ceremony: the house itself was decked with fillets and wreaths and the groom's family would wait outside holding torches; the groom's mother had the primary role and would escort the couple ceremonially inside.³⁰⁴

The composition and accoutrements of the procession did not only contribute to spectacular effects. Every transition is a time of ambiguity and uncertainty; the person or persons in question belong neither to the world which they abandon nor to the new world to which they will adjust.³⁰⁵ Transition means a crisis and hence the necessary roles and functions that different persons and implements have at the wedding. The flames of the torches and the sound of music may have, among other things, an apotropaic function.³⁰⁶ The bride's mother played a protective role. Since her daughter is the mobile element in this transition from one *oikos* to another,³⁰⁷ the flames of the *patroa hestia* that the mother carries will protect the bride till she is placed by the new *hestia* under the protection of the gods of the new household. The bride is the subject of transfer and her liminal position receives special attention. The fact that she has to undergo a biological as well as a social and political transformation accentuates the importance of the transition for her. The nuptial procession marks the passage to a role for which she was

³⁰¹Timaios ap. D.S. 13. 84.

³⁰²X. *Hell.* 4. 1. 9.

³⁰³[Hes.] *Aspis* 272-85, X. *Hell.* 4.1.9, Timaios ap. D.S. 13. 84.

³⁰⁴E. *Med.* 1026-27, Sch. E. *Pho.* 344; vase-paintings: e.g. Copenhagen Nat. Mus. 9080 (Oakley and Sinos 1993, figs. 92-95).

³⁰⁵On the issue of liminality (first discussed by van Gennep 1960) see further Turner 1970, 93-111; Douglas 1966, especially ch. 6 to 8.

³⁰⁶Cf. Plato *Com.* 188.15 K-A ap. Ath. 10. 442a λύχνων γὰρ ὁσμάς οὐ φιλοῦσι δαίμονες.

³⁰⁷See Vernant 1989, 1. 207-8, Redfield 1982, 185-6.

prepared by other previous important rites (*arrhephoria* and *arkteia*) earlier in her life.³⁰⁸

The bride's transformation accomplished in the wedding was perceived as an intense experience shaped and highlighted by recurrent symbolic associations between wedding and death. The bride made offerings to virgin divinities shortly before the actual wedding; fear was expressed in songs and metaphors about the loss of virginity;³⁰⁹ laments might be performed before the actual transfer;³¹⁰ Persephone's abduction was held as a mythic model;³¹¹ and wedding scenes could be set in parallel with sacrificial scenes. These indications have led scholars to discern an underlying belief in the symbolic death of the bride and her rebirth as a wife, a *teleia* woman on the model of Hera *teleia*.³¹² In this light the wedding is seen as part of a larger context of initiatory ceremonies in general. Parallels with both the sacrifice and the funeral are strong; the procession is a central point of comparison, and symbols such as baskets, garlands and torches are common to all these ceremonies. The bride is the main subject in this initiation.

The groom's role in the procession seems to be associated with aspects of authority, protection and initiative. In vase paintings he lifts the bride onto the chariot in a gesture reminiscent of abduction motifs.³¹³ In others he holds her by the wrist in the characteristic way *χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ* - a gesture perhaps symbolic of his authority over the bride.³¹⁴ He coaxes the bride to make her

³⁰⁸On the initiatory aspect of these rituals see Burkert 1985, 263-4, Sourvinou 1971; for basic introductions: Garland 1990, 187-93, Fantham et al. 1994, 83-86.

³⁰⁹E.g. Sappho 105a, 105b, 114 Voigt.

³¹⁰Cf. Alexiou 1974, 118-22; Jenkins 1983, 142 and 144 n. 48 and 49; Seaford 1987, 113.

³¹¹See especially Avagianou 1991, 113-42.

³¹²For all these issues pertaining to this aspect of the wedding see especially Jenkins 1983, Avagianou 1991, 12, 16-18 and *passim*, Rehm 1994, 29-42.

³¹³E.g. Berlin, Staat. Mus. F 2372 (Oakley and Sinos 1993, figs. 72-3); on the abduction motif cf. also Sourvinou-Inwood 1973.

³¹⁴The phrase is a Homeric formula and it features sometimes in descriptions of shaking hands (*Il.* 24. 671, *Od.* 18. 258, 24. 398; cf. *Il.* 1. 323); it is used in classical scholarship to denote a well-known iconographical convention. It has been generally interpreted as an indication of the bride's separation from her family and her subjection to and union with her new *kyrios*; cf. Neumann 1965, 59-61, Sutton 1981, 181-2, Jenkins 1983, 139-40.

transition, while his friends offer their protection against real, practical dangers during the procession.³¹⁵ In black-figure vase paintings of mythological scenes which present the couple in a chariot accompanied by guests, special prominence is given to the groom. The whole scene (which is sometimes paralleled on the same vase with a warrior scene on a chariot)³¹⁶ seems to highlight the honour of the groom (with the bride standing at his side as his *geras*) before the eyes of the community. The procession seems to be a mark of social importance, a passage of completion of his social identity.

The social significance of the wedding for both partners is directly linked with the exaltation offered by the community (families and larger non-kin group). In the procession the couple was showered with all the praise songs, eulogies and blessings, comparable to those uttered for a victor at the Panhellenic games. The *phyllobolia* for bride and groom³¹⁷ is a further parallel to the victory celebration, as is also the escort itself which confers honour upon the victor and constitutes an open proclamation of the great achievement to the community. Public endorsement assisted the couple to complete their nuptial transition. In contrast to the other parts of the ceremony (bath, adornment, feast etc.) which take place in a private environment, the procession encompasses the whole community. If the bride experienced difficulties in separating from her family, now in the procession with the joyful participation of the whole community (families, friends, unknown people) honouring the union of the couple, the bride is encouraged to make her transition to her new role. The procession marks the abandonment of the spouses' previous status and stresses with its positive tone the process of embracing their new status. The warm public approval with *ὀλβισμοί* and *μακαρισμοί* make them feel marriage as the *ὄλβος* of their life. Moreover, in

³¹⁵Hyp. Lyk. 5 is about an alleged attempt to seduce a bride during the course of the procession; on the protective role of the groom's attendants: Plou. *mor.* 244e.

³¹⁶See Oakley and Sinos 1993, 30.

³¹⁷Attested in Stesichoros fr. 187 PMG from *Helen*.

this way the community affirms the positive value of marriage not only for the couple in question but for all its members.

The accomplishment of the transition and the positive evaluation of the wedding is dependent not only on the reaction of the community but also on divine protection. The representation of gods in the wedding procession³¹⁸ exemplifies the belief that at the critical moment of the transition the presence of the gods, and especially of Hermes as the *proegetes*, guarantees a safe passage. The blending of mortal and divine levels, expressed in songs and in painting, confers honour upon the couple by associating them with gods.³¹⁹ The procession becomes an arena of public attraction, encompassing both human and divine witnesses. At the same time, the divine presence suggests that the wedding is not only a wordly affair: it becomes ideally the expression of a wider cosmic order endorsed and modelled by the gods.³²⁰ The procession is both a point of unity of the two spheres and a point of correspondence to a wider world order, as the iconography of a pyxis with wedding procession and celestial symbols (on the cover) seems to imply.³²¹ The mythological prototypes of wedding processions and the divine involvement in human weddings indicate the broad implications of the nuptial transition and the necessity of its solemn performance, while hinting perhaps at the potential dangers threatening not only the bride, but an entire social and world order.

³¹⁸The gods appear mainly in mythological scenes but in some cases there is divine accompaniment (especially Hermes, Apollo, Dionysos, Artemis) in human weddings; see e.g. Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. 1965.119 (Oakley and Sinos 1993, fig. 64) and Brit. Mus. B 174 (Oakley and Sinos 1993, fig. 65); see generally Sutton 1981, 166-7, 170-71, 173-4, 192. It is controversial how the scenes should be interpreted when the escort consists *entirely* of gods (see also the references in the note below).

³¹⁹For the vases see the note above. For the songs see Hague 1983; a good example is Hera's ἱερὸς γάμος sung as a paradigm in the hymenaeal song at the end of Ar. *Birds* (1731-41). Discussions of this important aspect: Krauskopf 1977, Bérard 1989, 100, Avagianou 1991, 110-111, Oakley and Sinos 1993, 28-30.

³²⁰On the modelling relation between divine and human weddings (especially processions) see Bérard 1989, 98, Avagianou 1991, 107-12; for some ancient views on the issue see D.S. 5. 73, D.H. *Rh.* 2. 2, Sch. Ar. *Thesm.* 973.

³²¹London, Brit. Mus. 1920. 12-21.1 (Oakley and Sinos 1993, figs. 75-8).

6. PROCESSIONS AND THE TRAGIC THEATRE

What is the relationship between processions outside the theatre and processions inside the theatre, and particularly inside the tragic theatre? Is an answer along the lines that 'tragedy imitates life' or 'reflects life' sufficient? A comparison between the reconstructed historical picture and the tragic examples (a comparison which will be pursued in the discussion of particular scenes below) shows that the situation is more complex. Tragic processions, which recur in the extant plays either as part of poetic imagery or as re-enacted events, do not adhere strictly to 'real-life' models. This is best illustrated in the re-enacted cases which constitute major dramatic moments in the unfolding of a play. Processional imagery, however, also verifies this picture (as the third stasimon of *S. Tr.* demonstrates), although brief comments or descriptions scattered throughout the plays often yield information which conforms with historical sources - if only because the narrated instance is contrasted with the tragic situation (e.g. *A. Ch.* 430-33 δαΐαις ἐν ἐκφοραῖς/ ἄνευ πολιτᾶν ἄνακτ',/ ἄνευ δὲ πενθημάτων/ ἔτλης ἀνοίμωκτον ἄνδρα θάψαι). This antithesis accentuates even further the complexity of the tragic picture.

Modern literary criticism has made us aware that 'the relationship between a literary work and a social and historical reality is not one of reflected content but of a play of forms'.³²² Such a relationship creates an accommodating framework for the inclusion of a number of possible variations and combinations. The presentation of processions in ancient Greek tragedy exemplifies this state of affairs: no consistent pattern permeates the form and degree of divergence, no general attitude determines the character of tragic *pompai*. A whole range of formations and transformations is found in

³²²Culler 1981, 13.

the extant plays, from highly disordered instances to amplified and stylized ritual acts.³²³

Both the frequent occurrence of processions, and the complexity in the manner of their presentation, prove that no simple explanation can suffice to account for their presence in the tragic plays. The following investigation takes as a starting point the fact that there are basic affinities between processions and the tragic theatre. An analysis of these converging points may throw some light upon the relationship of two important cultural expressions and upon the nature of ancient Greek tragedy itself.

The historical reconstruction attempted so far has shown that processions are collective ritual events which structurally combine movement and music (mainly song); functionally and symbolically they demarcate space, shape relationships and are associated with transitions; and pragmatically they attract and relate to spectators.³²⁴ These general characteristics bring out their affinity to major aspects of ancient Greek theatre,³²⁵ and of Athenian tragedy in particular, which was also a visual *and* aural spectacle, unfolding in a public space and exploring external spaces, having as a subject stories which dealt with crises in the cosmic order and in human relationships; and it also attracted a great number of spectators. Not to be overlooked is the ritual aspect of theatre in ancient Greek society: operating within the cult of

³²³Easterling 1988, especially 98f. and 108f. has stressed that in tragedy the presentation of ritual in general *cannot* conform to a single pattern (e.g. pattern of distortion or anomaly).

³²⁴These features are close to formal and symbolic aspects of *choreia* (song and dance; cf. Calame 1977, Mullen 1982, Herington 1985, Nagy 1990, Lonsdale 1993). It is true that in ancient Greek culture *choreia* has a much broader sense and cultural function than modern 'dance' and that there is a convergence between processions and dance (cf. above p. 34). The delineation of some differentiating characteristics is also necessary, however. To assert that there is 'no real division between dances and processions', as Lonsdale 1993, 41 does (following a trend observable already in Lawler 1964), seems to elide the problem; (in his book Lonsdale studies dance in a wide sense and not processions). It must be stressed that the two rituals differ in the type of movement: processions are connected with *traversing* space (cf. the Greek *πρόσ-οδος* for procession and *χορο-σασία* for the setting up of dance). As will be argued, however, ancient Greek theatre seems to have developed its structure by utilizing these two major cultic movements.

³²⁵I omit other general affinities between rituals and theatre - e.g. sense of time, staging etc. - which have been treated by others, e.g. Foley 1985, 62-4, Easterling 1988, 89-90, Burkert 1985a, 17, 20 (the aspect of seriousness).

Dionysos, having a fixed place in the religious calendar (as part of the larger festival), taking place within the sacred precinct and indeed under the very sight of the god,³²⁶ set up by a group of performers (representative members of the community) who wore a mask, a major symbol of the god.³²⁷

A genetic explanation of the striking similarities cannot be excluded. There is well-documented comparative material from other parts of the world and for other periods, which suggests the complicated derivational paths leading back to processional rituals and their fertilization with narration and mimetic action.³²⁸ An investigation into the origins of Attic tragedy necessarily leads to the construction of hypotheses due to the fragmentary nature of our evidence.³²⁹ Despite its possible merits³³⁰, such a project lies outside the scope of the present study which focuses on fifth-century practice. From a more synchronic point of view the question of the structural basis of tragedy is important. As has been recently reasserted,³³¹ the nucleus of tragedy is the chorus, a fact which can be perceived in both the fifth-century

³²⁶ Assuming the identity of god and statue; that the statue attended the performances: Ar. *Knights* 536, *Frogs* 809; Philostr. *Life of Apoll.* iv 22; Dio Chrys. 31. 121 (p. 631 R).

³²⁷ Cf. Otto 1965, 86-91 (cultic symbolism); Calame 1986 (focus on the tragic mask); Frontisi-Ducroux 1989, 151-6 (in art). It must be mentioned that although the ritual use of the mask is not exclusive to Dionysos (it also belongs to other cultic domains, especially those of Artemis and Demeter; cf. Vernant and Frontisi-Ducroux 1991), as the works cited stress, it pertains *especially* to the cult of Dionysos.

³²⁸ The Islamic theatre developed among the Shia Muslim communities is probably the best example: 'when these two forms (sc. the funeral procession and the recitation of the Hussein saga) fused in the middle of the 18th century, the indigenous Islamic drama was born' (Chelkowski 1985, 22). Modern Greek Folk theatre is also associated with processional ritual: see Puchner 1982, 27-39.

³²⁹ Contemporary scholars who have dealt with the origins of tragedy have observed that the singing of the τραγῳδοί must have been associated with the processional arrival at the locus, where the ritual singing would take place but a detailed investigation of the genetical relationship between the two activities has not been pursued. Cf. Burkert 1966; Seaford 1994, 238-51 (following Thomson 1946, 165-73 who wrongly, however, takes the *eisagoge apo tes escharas* as the first day of the City Dionysia and connects the *pompe* of the historical festival with a hypothetical proto-*pompe* to the Academy); Sourvinou-Inwood 1994a (she also promises an investigation of the issue in question in her forthcoming book on tragedy and religion). In Adrados' 1975 theory the *komos*, placed at the centre of the reconstruction, is in effect connected with perambulatory activity; on an original *komos* also Ghiron-Bistagne 1976, 207-98; West's 1990, 21 hypothetical suggestion points to the power of processions to gather the community.

³³⁰ An hypothetical reconstruction would be illuminating especially as to the dynamics of ritual movements prevalent in an original ritual nexus and their relation to the development of the dramatic performances. Sensitivity to spatial relationships is shown in the reconstruction by Sourvinou-Inwood 1994a.

³³¹ Gould 1996, 234-5, Wilson (forthcoming), Sourvinou-Inwood (forthcoming-b).

usage of the term τραγωιδοί to denote tragedy and the organization of the Classical festival in terms of chorus (the poet ἦται χορόν, the archon ἐδίδου χορόν).³³² This fact puts tragedy squarely into the realm of ritual (in the broad sense), since it is the chorus which consists of representative members acting on behalf of the community in honour of the god, and which also unites the Dionysiac festival with other festivals in which the performance of choruses was a major ritual expression of the *eusebeia* of the community. Since the chorus was perceived to be at the centre of the performance, the designation of their movement acquires significance as to the character of the performance.

Both the terms and the sequence *parodos*, *stasimon*, *exodos* (preserved in the tradition of the Aristotelian *Ποιητική*),³³³ seem to imply a derivation from an original processional ritual, or at least to presuppose the processional pattern comprising i) *prosodos*, i.e. uni-directional movement towards a ritual goal, ii) station for the performance of song and dance³³⁴ and, provisionally, of other ritual acts (such as sacrifices), and iii) final departure. As was shown above (p. 43), this common processional pattern could acquire great dimensions, especially in the case of long journeys (as in the procession of the Molpoi in Miletos) in which the combination of multiple stations with the performances of song and dance increased the spectacular quality of the event. The close connection and interaction between processional events, choral performances and the theatrical setting not only in Attica but in the wider Greek world has been preserved in the description of the second day of the Hyakinthia in Sparta (Ath. 139d-f), in which parades of cavalry and choral

³³²On the evidence see Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 84.

³³³The twelfth chapter is highly disputed; the definitions given there for the terms are irrelevant to my argument; my interest lies in the etymology and semantics of the terms.

³³⁴στάσις and its compounds denoting the positioning of the chorus: see e.g. Ar. *Birds* 219, *Thesm.* 958, 968; Plato *Laws* 802c; Hdt. 3. 48; Ath. 13.71; cf. Hsch. s.v. στάσις· θέσις· χορός. The name Στησίχορος is probably the most famous case. Cf. also Henrichs 1994-95, 61-3 and 95 n. 36. That στάσιμον does *not* imply a non-dancing chorus has been shown by Dale 1969, 34-40.

performances of boys and ephebes in the theatre are associated with *pompai* of maidens and with the general delight in viewing.³³⁵ Whatever its relation to the *pompe* or other ritual movement in an original festival nexus, the structuring of the movement of the chorus in the theatre seems to be modelled on the processional pattern, which weaves linear and circular movement, is differentiated from ordinary walking but is not necessarily identical (especially in its linear part) with dance.³³⁶ In this light the processional pattern seems to be ingrained in the structural basis of Attic tragedy and is not simply an external activity 'reflected' or 'incorporated' in the plays for the needs of the plot.

The processional structuring of movement is intrinsically related to the ancient Greek theatrical setting which was an open-air area comprising at its minimum *εἰσοδοί* and *ὁρχήστρα*, a simple spatial organization dictated by movements to, fro, and inside. Although a specific area was gradually demarcated and separated for viewing, this arrangement could easily materialize in public places such as the agora or the open areas of a sanctuary, locations known to have been used for choral and theatral performances.³³⁷ Both the factors of space and movement, in their association with the chorus, relate tragedy to the wider context of ritual events such as processions and choreia, and, most importantly, link it with the function of manifestation that these rituals fulfill. At the theatre, as in other ritual settings, the community is invited to form a relationship to the re-enacted events.

³³⁵For the text, a brief analysis and the placing of the event within the larger context of ancient Greek 'song culture' see Herington 7 (who also coined the term). On the importance of this cultural background for the development of ancient Greek theatre cf. also Stoessl 1987.

³³⁶In developed tragedy variations are possible, e.g. the tradition of the *σποράδην* entry of the chorus in A. *Eu.* (*TrGF* 3.T A.1.9), although there the manner of the entrance may have been a deliberate divergence from the code; Cf. Wilson and Taplin 1993, 169-80. For a similar contrast between a scattered entry of the chorus and a well-arranged final (processional) exit cf. also A. *Seven*.

³³⁷E.g. Pl. *Laws* 817b-d; Photios s.v. *ἄγρια*; cf. Kolb 1981 on the original merging of agora and theatre and on the political significance of the analogy.

The structural association between processions and theatre is directly relevant to the pragmatic dimensions of both these activities, i.e. to the aspect of viewing, θεωρία, θέασις. Within the context of Greek culture, *pompai*, as well as *choreia*, were performed as a means of affecting not only the lives of the active participants (mainly representative members of the community), but also of those watching the performance, members of the community or even foreigners. A procession could have θεαταί (X. *Hipparch.* 3.2 τὰς μὲν οὖν πομπὰς οἶομαι ἂν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς κεχαρισμενωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶναι; X. *Hipparch.* 3.1.2 ὅπως τὰς πομπὰς ἐν ταῖς ἐορταῖς ἀξιοθεάτους ποιήσει; cf. X. *Hier.* 1.11.2 and *Poroï* 5.4.2.), θεωμένους (Plou. *Lyk.* 14.2.9 τὰς κόρας γυμνάς τε πομπεύειν καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι...τῶν νέων παρόντων καὶ θεωμένων), people watching, θεάσασθαι, perhaps from a distance (Aristophanes' *Acharnians*: 247-9 ...ὦ Διόνυσε δέσποτα/ κεχαρισμένως σοι τήνδε τὴν πομπὴν ἐμέ/ πέμπαντα... 262 σὺ δ' ὦ γύναι θεῶ μ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγου; [Aischin.] *Epist.* 10.6.2 ἡμεῖς τὴν πομπὴν ἐθεώμεθα; Theok. 2. 72 τὰν πομπὰν θάσασθαι); indeed a *pompe* was a θέα itself (X. *Eph.* 1.2.2. ἔδει δὲ πομπεύειν... πολὺ δὲ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν) calling forth and uniting the community. Watching the *heorte* virtually meant participating in the *heorte*, a meaning which took material form in the practice of *theoria*, the attendance of the festival by representative groups coming from cities other than the celebrating centre. The process of viewing aligns processions with other ritual activities (like choral performances or athletics), operating well before but also concurrently with the organization of dramatic performances and whose function is fulfilled in the interaction between actors and spectators.

The distinction between the two groups is not merely an abstraction. Even if the reactions of by-standers were lively and intense, the dividing line was hardly trespassed. Processions would seem to be unstable ground for the maintenance of this division, if one were to judge, for example, from the reality of modern rallies which openly invite spectators to join, in order to

increase their effect. Ancient reality seems to be different, however, and more readily comparable perhaps with church processions. The survival of decrees governing the whole arrangement of *pompai* and the strict appointment of *pompeis* is eloquent evidence for the delineation of boundaries.³³⁸ This cultural background builds the necessary conditions for the creation and maintenance of the division between performers and spectators which underlies the very existence of theatre. At the same time, it enriches and complicates the interaction developed in the theatre in ways hard to recover today.

With regard to theatre, the spectacular aspect of processions is important in two respects. First, the aesthetic result of a processional event derives not only from visual representation but from a combination of optical *and* aural effects. Even if on the simplest level of ritual performance music could be dispensed with, instrumental or vocal music was deeply embedded in processional practice. The essential function of sound (melodic and other) was obvious not only to the ancient legislator who tried to suppress the effect of funeral processions by curtailing their acoustic aspect, but to modern admirers of the phenomenon who have also been aware of it. Mark Twain, for example, who acknowledged processions as the 'greatest spectacle', showed an increased sensitivity in exploring the sound nuances of processions in his writings.³³⁹ From an ancient Greek perspective the fullness of experience was based on the union of sound and movement, a feature which distinguished processions from other spectacles like athletics, but associated them with ancient Greek drama, the result of which was a unified and unbroken audio-visual experience.³⁴⁰

³³⁸The joining-in of the community was not a rule (see n.98 above); exchange with spectators and close contact were rare and normally ritually prescribed (e.g. γεφυρισμοί, ἐξ ἀμάξης σκώμματα Sch. D. 18. 40a-b, 19. 504a, D.H. *Roman Ant.* vii 72.11, Harp. s.v. πομπείας καὶ πομπεύειν, Photios s.v. τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀμαξῶν). Interference, such as murders or stealing, lay outside the ritual frame.

³³⁹See Merritt 1984, 183-4.

³⁴⁰Cultural awareness would not let Aristotle classify Athenian tragedy with 'spectator sports', as Taplin 1995, 95 would seem to want him to; μουσική, in its wide sense, was too central for that.

The other important aspect of processional spectacularity is their symbolic potential to unify space and to capture time in forward and backward motion and in literal and metaphoric terms. On the level of the polis, processional ritual aims at unifying the mythico-ritual space and time of the community. On a more general level, processions provide spatial mediation between distinct loci, thus suggesting the time-flow associated with movement. This essential function distinguishes processions from other 'spectator rituals' (such as dance) with a different spatio-temporal *Symbolik*, and proves essential to the structure of Greek tragedy in which spatial shifting receives special focus. This distinctive quality of processions affects the movement of the chorus but is not limited to it. The chorus seems to be the structural pivot of tragedy and its *eisodos* (parodos) and *exodos* create links not only within the frame of *mimesis* but also with the life of the community, since throughout the performance they retain their indissolubly double role as ritual representatives of the community and as (re-enacted) characters of the past.³⁴¹ If, hypothetically, chorus movement was the sole element of the action, the introductory procession would both gather the community and prepare it to follow the unfolding of the events, creating a linkage between the here and there, now and then. At the end the processional ending would contribute towards building a contact with the contemporary life of the community, a function enhanced by the often aetiological endings of many tragedies and by the addition of such tailpieces as those addressing *Nike* (*E. Or.*, *IT*, *Pho.*).³⁴² The pivotal role of the chorus in the structure of the tragic performance and the processional dynamic encapsulated in the *parodos-stasimon-exodos* pattern should not be overlooked. Yet, in the developed form of tragedy, to which all extant tragedies belong, there is much greater structural complexity

³⁴¹Even if the two aspects are not equally present, i.e. expressed; the explicit indication of the fusion of the two identities is normally recognised in choral self-referentiality: Wilson and Taplin 1993; Henrichs 1994-5. On the double role of the chorus see also Sourvinou-Inwood (forthcoming-b).

³⁴²For a defence of these and other closing anapaests see Roberts 1987.

and less strict regularity; as a result the processional potential to create spatio-temporal relations widely penetrates the movements of both chorus and actors.

In the extant plays the role of processions is intimately connected with the spatial dimension of tragic theatre and more particularly with the aspect of μετακίνησις. The importance of the aspect of change of place (μετακίνησις, μετάβασις) for ancient Greek tragedy, and its correlation with the presentation of processions cannot be fully appreciated unless it is realized how unlike modern dramas ancient tragedy was. In contrast to nineteenth century European theatre focusing on interior scenes ('drawing room' scenes) and the analogous internal state of an individual,³⁴³ ancient Greek tragedy has a clear public character which is underlined by both the exterior locations in which the action is almost always set, and by the vigilant presence of the chorus. The chorus brings the communal dimension right inside Greek tragedy, dissolves the centrality (or introversion) of the individual, and binds the doing and suffering of the hero to the actions and reactions of a collectivity. Exceptionally the chorus may even be the very body that suffers, a collectivity under threat or distress.³⁴⁴ In this extraverted model of social relationships³⁴⁵ the alternation of characters and places brings an alternation of states and situations; associations are formed through the public appearances and departures of characters, both human and divine. As public events within the plays, exits and entrances carry a particular momentum. The sheer space available for acting turns these passages into prolonged, focused movements.³⁴⁶ The relative bareness of ancient Greek theatre space (in

³⁴³Cf. Scolnicov 1987.

³⁴⁴Griffith 1995 emphasizes the survival of the chorus, their exemption from the catastrophes that befall the hero. Although this is generally true, he himself feels obliged to introduce several qualifications to this view (even if only in his footnotes).

³⁴⁵For similar perspectives cf. e.g. Hourmouziades 1991, 119; Padel 1990, 359 and 1992 *passim*.

³⁴⁶Though scholarly interest in the dramatic potential of entries and exits is not new (cf. Müller 1886; Bodensteiner 1893), the issue has gained emphasis mainly due to Taplin's 1977 work.

comparison to modern naturalistic theatrical productions) is another important parameter: as Edmunds remarks, movement becomes the major mimetic discourse to fill in, enliven and transform space.³⁴⁷ In this theatrical context processions function as ideal means of spatial determination and dramatic signification. They are spectacularly effective and symbolically rich, with a strong mimetic character. Their capacity as public events activates the social dynamics of the tragic action; and their potential to create spatio-temporal associations and to actualize the meeting of different agents shapes and complicates the web of relationships in the play.

The appropriateness of the formal structure of tragic theatre for the re-enactment of processions is a factor of primary importance. Yet, it does not by itself explain when and why processions appear in the extant texts and whether there is any regularity in their occurrence. It is more than obvious that not all movements are processional; the fact that some are makes the phenomenon all the more interesting. It is hazardous to attempt to sketch patterns in such a fragmentary corpus as the extant tragic plays, and among at least three different authors.³⁴⁸ It is notable, however, that the occurrence of processions is connected with critical points of change, expressed in spatial terms by a movement into or out of the acting area and enacted in symbolic terms through a ritual with the power of mediation. In the world 'outside', processions are connected with transitions which aim at bringing a reshuffle in the life of the individual and the community and are directly relevant to the power of the superhuman. Likewise in the theatre major shifts into a new state can be enacted in a processional way.³⁴⁹

Such points of change are not rare in Greek tragedy. At least since the Aristotelian *Ποιητική*, it has been recognized that μεταβολή lies at the core of

³⁴⁷Edmunds 1992, 223.

³⁴⁸Since the authenticity of *Prometheus* and *Rhesos* is disputed.

³⁴⁹As will be shown below (Part II, cases relating to human sacrifices) for example, there is consistency in endowing a maiden's exit to death with processional echoes.

the tragic (Arist. *Poet.* 1452a-53a). It is this context of μεταβολή (along with the parameters of structure and setting) which makes processions, and their potential to shape and define transitions, such a dynamic force in Greek tragedy. The notion of transition needs to be emphasized. In contrast to the wider notion of change which does not necessarily assume a new beginning, transition implies a movement in process, a passage into a new state, a procedure of re-formation of relationships. The presentation of processions implies a privileging of the very process of building new relationships (good or bad) between individuals and collectivities, humans and superhumans, and in funerary contexts, between living and dead.

Processions form a vital part of the tragic theatrical code. As with all other rituals, they acquire an inherent communicative character which is readily available for theatrical exploration.³⁵⁰ In the theatre symbolic communication serves within the larger context of theatrical communication.³⁵¹ The concept of communication is highly debatable nowadays, but it is worth pointing out that the requirements for communication according to semiotic analysis is a 'minimum consensus' or a 'partial agreement',³⁵² given the polysemy of the aesthetic sign. With regard to processions, a first move towards establishing some degree of accordance is the operation of ritual communication, and particularly the reactions of on-lookers within the play.³⁵³ More important, however, is the familiarity of the audience with processional ritual as a living tradition and a cultural code of

³⁵⁰The concern with the theatrical exploration of the communicative aspect of ritual underlies all current discussions of rituals in tragedy: Foley 1985, Easterling 1988, Burkert 1985a, Seaford 1994, Segal 1982; and more focused studies e.g. Burian 1972, Zeitlin 1965, Seidensticker 1979. Focusing on processions I emphasize the distinct quality of the ritual code and I try to show (processional) ritual not simply as a means of expression but as a force to create, to transmit and to allow the experience of a situation.

³⁵¹Aspects of the communication process of Greek tragedy have been discussed by: Havelock 1980 (orality; pioneering [cf. Havelock 1963] but a bit old-fashioned); Gentili 1983 (*mousike* as *paideia*; orality); Kuch 1989 (internal, external and generic dialogue); Kuch 1991 (from orality to literacy); Segal 1982a (orality- literacy contrast); Green 1994, 3-5 (orality). None of these studies, however, has considered the contribution of ritual enactment to the wider communication mechanism.

³⁵²Fischer-Lichte 1992, 138-9.

³⁵³Cf. Nagy 1994-5, 49-52; Easterling 1996, 176-7.

their age. Tragic processions are everything other than a replica of 'real-life' ones, yet the difference is played against an existing ritual background. Instead of reducing the polysemy of the sign, the experience of the audience may have actually secured it, since it would keep them constantly in touch with the basic route of the action and alert to any divergences and twists which may be variably interpreted. In this way processions, while remaining a conventional cultural practice, become an effective theatrical code and prove that in tragedy, as in other aesthetic expressions of ancient Greek culture, creativity does not necessarily rest with total novelty but with the exploration of a living tradition.³⁵⁴ As George remarks with respect to Noh theatre, it is not originality (in the modern sense) that is sought, but uniqueness in conventionality.³⁵⁵ The cultural awareness of this living tradition neither diminishes creativity nor reduces the multivalence of theatrical expression. It does have, however, one basic effect: to lead to this minimum level of consensus,³⁵⁶ to create this sense of communality which distinguished tragedy not as an elitist art form but as a cultural expression of the whole polis, an enjoyable celebration in honour of the god Dionysos which promoted the socio-religious discourse of democratic Athens.

The common ritual experience and background works not only as a conceptual framework but also as a stimulus for audience response (which is, to some extent at least, conditioned by common participation in the rituals of the polis). Processions are a particularly interesting case. As in other 'spectator rituals' participation in processions may develop in an active and in a passive way. The special formation and arrangement, appurtenances and

³⁵⁴Cf. also Sifakis 1973; cf. id. 1984.

³⁵⁵George 1989, 76. On the conventional (but creative) aspect of ancient Greek tragedy cf. also Solomos 1972, especially 66-93, 121-32 (pointing, among other things, at the non-illusionistic character of the tragic mask: Solomos 1972, 117-20).

³⁵⁶Griffith 1995, 114-5 n.159, seems to endorse Ketzer's view (Ketzer 1988) that rituals produce 'solidarity without consensus', in the sense that members of the community with different, even opposing, views can participate in and respond to the ritual with apparent unanimity. Although I take this point (and accept it), this very act of collective participation and reaction could be termed, I think, 'minimum consensus'.

symbols of processions draw the attention of and interact with spectators. The re-enactment of processions reactivates this interaction which the audience is already accustomed to, mediates between performers and spectators, and invigorates the latter's engrossment in the theatrical action.

As has been remarked above (pp. 34-5), however, the interaction developed in 'real-life' processional ritual is more than intellectual contemplation: it is a total experience affecting all senses, activating both cerebral hemispheres.³⁵⁷ Music, colours, gestures, symbols, even fragrances, in their interlocking relation, play an important role in the final effect, which is not only the affirmation of abstract values but the transformation of physical dimensions, the creation of a physical environment in which values and concepts are rooted.³⁵⁸ The transference (or re-activation) of this all-pervasive interaction precludes a merely intellectual coding-and-decoding communication as the role of ritual (and especially of processions) in tragedy. Ritual, or rather the various particular forms of ritualization, is not an outer-world activity which is 'used' by the tragedians as 'a metaphorical language' in order to highlight or 'intensify' a social crisis or a moral disorder. The study of Greek culture as a symbolic system (which has been promoted in recent years by such eminent scholars as L. Gernet or J.-P. Vernant and their followers) has shown that myth and ritual are shaping forces, the means with which order and disorder are constructed and construed, expressed and understood, in sum, experienced. It is a contradiction in terms to say that in tragedy ritual heightens or advances a meaning; in tragedy, as in other expressions of Greek culture, it *creates* a situation. The multifaceted interaction that rituals (especially spectator rituals) provoke, captures the involvement of the audience in the creation and appreciation of the situation with all the faculties stimulated by ritual action.

³⁵⁷Schechner 1994, 638-39 and id. 1993, 240.

³⁵⁸Cf. Bourdieu 1977, 114-24, 159ff.

In this light rituals in ancient Greek tragedy do not function as merely aesthetic means. Their capacity places them within the paideutic role of Greek tragedy³⁵⁹ which is so accentuated in Aristophanes' *Frogs*.³⁶⁰ The education that tragedy provides, however, needs to be clarified within the context of ancient Greek culture in which the πεπαιδευμένος is the fully κεχορευκώς (Plato, *Laws* 672e). In this sense παιδεία is cultural training, participation in collective practices and attitudes which creates and confirms social bonds and maintains the relation with the divine (Plato, *ibid.*). The 'educational collectivization of experience' attained through participation in ritual events has long been recognized by scholars³⁶¹ and has been also propounded with regard to membership in the tragic chorus.³⁶² It is important, however, to realize the importance of this kind of education for the whole θέατρον. The place of processions suggests that participation in the re-enacted ritual event provides an enlargement of the audience's cultural experience, which works on a cognitive, emotive³⁶³ and even purely physical level; in other words it is an enlargement potentially constituting a transformation of the whole being.³⁶⁴

³⁵⁹The paideutic and generally social role of tragedy has been emphasized by anthropologically informed studies which treat tragedy not merely as a literary phenomenon but as a symbolic expression of Athenian culture: des Bouvrie 1988, Aronen 1992, Longo 1990. They discuss tragedy as a whole, however, (not specific elements in it), hence the inclusion of some generalizations not always convincing (e.g. the aspect of identification [Longo 1990, 17-18], or the emphasis on the affirmation of values). For the paideutic role of tragedy from a socio-political point of view cf. Croally 1994. For related discussions see n. 364 below.

³⁶⁰Pleasure is not excluded and is indeed important in ritual; see characteristically the use of the verb τέρω and its compounds in *h. Ap.*; cf. Lonsdale 1994-95, 30-31.

³⁶¹With regard to μουσική in ritual contexts see Calame 1977, Gentili 1988, Lonsdale 1993. More widely, ritual as cultural preparation and training: Jeanmaire 1939, Brelich 1969, Vidal-Naquet 1986, Sourvinou-Inwood 1988.

³⁶²Cf. Winkler 1990, Nagy 1994-5, Aronen 1992.

³⁶³On the inseparability of emotion and cognition see Lada 1993.

³⁶⁴I am talking about *enlargement* and *experience* because the theatrical stimuli, being different from 'real-life' ritual, call for a complicated interaction with multiple dimensions. The restriction of the perspective to whether rituals in tragedy are affirmative or subversive of the cultural 'norm' seems to be misleading. The on-going debate about how tragedy as a whole relates to the civic order suggests that monolithic answers cannot apply. For recent contributions Vernant 1988a; Goldhill 1990 (ambiguity; destabilizing force); Connor 1987 (democratic ideals; liberating effect); Griffith 1995 (persistence of aristocratic ideals). Seaford 1994 sees rituals in tragedy as reflecting the societal change from the autonomy of the *oikos* to collective polis cults (he does not say a word, however, about such plays as *E. Alkestis* or *Helen* or *Ion*). In each case qualifications must be introduced. As regards ritual

This deepening of cultural experience is not a levelling process but rather a re-creation, since it is constantly a negotiation between theatrical stimuli and personal background experience. It leaves room for immensely varied responses, while ensuring a sense of communal bonds which could be expressed in open collective reactions,³⁶⁵ as in collective crying or laughter.³⁶⁶

Such an interactive and transformational power may be a desideratum today. In modern avant-garde performances in which an attempt is made to re-incorporate, or re-gain, some of the power of ritual, the interactive process fails and the emphasis is placed on the performer.³⁶⁷ Yet, ancient Greek theatrical practice shows that the role of such rituals as processions was precisely *to implicate the audience* in the theatrical process. It is this alert response to the re-enacted ritual event which secures tragedy as an arena in which values and practices were tested, formed and transformed against the background of cultural experience. To attain this goal, tragedy differs from the illusionistic representation of reality and operates on the basis of appropriating, transforming, interweaving and expanding traditional forms of social interaction (such as *choreia* and processions, the two basic structural forms of chorus movement). These had a powerful effect upon the audience, encouraged communal bonds and were well-established ways of uniting past and present, associating with the divine and re-enforcing the well-being of the community.

enactment, situational analysis is necessary and a widening of the perspective to account for multi-layered effects.

³⁶⁵The social significance of this aspect has been recently emphasized by Taplin 1995, 113-5.

³⁶⁶Or - as a reaction to such processional events as the finale of the *Oresteia* - perhaps in collective singing. Audience reactions were very intense (see Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 272-3; Csapo and Slater 1995, 301-5) but we do not hear much about support singing (but cf. Plut *mor.* 63a ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ τραγωδοὶ χοροῦ δέονται φίλων συναδόντων ἢ θεάτρου συνεπιχροτοῦντος).

³⁶⁷Grotowski, 1988, 36-40, for example, has moved from the 'poor theatre' of the '60s to the search for the performer in the late '80s.

The power of enacted rituals: a link between inner and outer world

In discussing rituals in tragedy, various contemporary scholars have sensed, and more or less openly admitted, that ritual power may sometimes have been perceived to affect even the world of the audience.³⁶⁸ This perspective implies that tragedy (and the representation of ritual in it) does not only have an entertaining, or even didactic, function, but it is also efficacious.³⁶⁹ The study of processions supports this suggestion and seems to connect this aspect of ritual with the religious context of the dramatic performances in classical Athens.

Organized within the frame of Dionysiac worship, the tragic performance was a vital part of various festivals aiming at promoting the god's honour and thus at gaining his reciprocal favour (*charis*). The welfare of the polis depended on divine protection, hence the need to organize splendid festivals.³⁷⁰ It is perhaps difficult for us today to see how tragedy operated within this context and how plays as we know them were associated with Dionysos.³⁷¹ The thematic dissociation from the god's mythic cycle may have been the cause for complaints expressed already in antiquity (οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον).³⁷² Yet, the awareness of the correlation between tragedy and divine action seems not to have faded. In the *Frogs* it is the god Dionysos himself who mediates between the upper and the lower world in order to bring

³⁶⁸See Easterling 1988, 109, Henrichs 1994-95, 68f. (referring also to Hölscher), Krummen 1993, 216-7, Sourvinou-Inwood (forthcoming-b). Although Friedrich 1996, 270 interprets Easterling's suggestion as a 'pointe d'esprit', I prefer to take it more seriously.

³⁶⁹The way in which ritual efficacy is perceived and sought in a culture is subtle and complicated; it should not be taken to imply a 'magical', nor a 'technical' process to affect the external world. For a detailed analysis see Ahern 1979. (For a specific case of potential efficacy see my discussion of E. *Hik.* in Part II.)

³⁷⁰Cf. Pindar fr. 94b. 3-4 ἤκει γὰρ ὁ Λοξίας πρόφρων ἀθανάταν χάριν Θήβαις ἐπιμείξων; Plato *Laws* 771d θυσιῶν περὶ συνόδους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ποιῶμεθα δύο...θεῶν μὲν δὴ χάριτος ἔνεκα. Cf. *e contrario* E. *Tro.* 1071-3 φροῦδαί σοι θυσίαι χορῶν τ' / εὐφημοὶ κέλαδοι κατ' ὄρφναν τε παννυχίδες θεῶν.

³⁷¹Instead of tracing hypothetical origins in Dionysiac cult (attempted most famously by the so-called Cambridge School; for general evaluation see Friedrich 1983), modern trends detect Dionysiac elements *in* the plays; see Bierl 1991, Schlesier 1993, Seaford 1993, Henrichs 1994-95, Zeitlin 1993, Segal 1982.

³⁷²For possible interpretations according to ancient views see Seaford 1984, 11-12.

back a tragic poet and save the city (Aristophanes' *Frogs* 1418-19). Despite comic exaggeration and distortion, the choice of the divine figure as the mediating principle for the salvation of the polis is indicative of collective beliefs. Even more explicitly perhaps, in a famous self-referential statement³⁷³ the tragic chorus acknowledge, in an almost apophatic way, that they dance with a view to divine benefit: if impious acts are acceptable, then why should the chorus dance? (S. OT 895-6 εἰ γὰρ αἱ τοιάδε πράξεις τίμιαί/ τί δεῖ με χορεύειν;)³⁷⁴ This aspect was probably self-evident to ancient Athenians and despite the difficulties it raises for us, it has to be acknowledged and its consequences seriously appreciated.

Operating within a context in which divine attention was far from negligible, tragedy, though by definition extreme and distressing, should somehow possess a propitious character, or at least a character not threatening for the community. The festival context did not simply constitute a ritual frame which could contain any dissolution. Divine and heroic myths, which mostly provided the material for tragedy, incorporated traditional knowledge about the forces which shaped the world. Religious festivals activated the relevance of myths for the present. Tragedy's contribution was that it subjected the myth to manifold transformations and could bring out even the darkest sides of the divinities inhabiting the world. Still, however, the possibilities were not infinite. Schechner³⁷⁵ contrasts the seemingly endless revolutionary potential of theatre (in the modern sense presumably) with the (necessary at some point) limitations of ritual dramatic performances, taking as an example the Wachma performance of the Yaquis in Arizona. Despite the strong elements of inversion, finally, he remarks, the established order reasserts itself, the chapayekas are subjected and Christ conquers. But, by

³⁷³On the impact of which see Henrichs 1994-5.

³⁷⁴At the end of the previous antistrophe the chorus invoked the favour of the god (879-81) and asserted θεὸν οὐ λήξω ποτὲ προστάταν ἰσχων.

³⁷⁵Schechner 1993, 258-59.

analogy, would it be at all conceivable for Attic tragedy to stage the victory of Lykourgos or Pentheus over Dionysos? Within the established context of a living religious tradition a basic structure of powers (which underlies the edifice of the specific culture) is retained even at a high price. Part of the value of the tragic discourse is that it highlights this cost and does not allow any superficial contentment with an established order. Tragedy brings the antinomies to the fore and does not elide the negative forces, but at the same time chaos does *not* prevail either.³⁷⁶

The outer frame of the dramatic performance did not neutralize tragic action, but rather enhanced tragedy's potential to influence, in one way or another, the living condition of the community. How directly this influence was felt cannot be readily evinced. We know, however, from a very brief comment in Herodotos (6. 21), of the negative psychological effects of Phrynichos' production about the sack of Miletos, re-enacting the recent destruction of a community with tight bonds with the Athenian polis (καὶ ποιήσαντι Φρυνίχῳ δρᾶμα Μιλήτου ἄλωσιν καὶ διδάξαντι ἐς δάκρυά τε ἔπεσε τὸ θέητρον καὶ ἐξημίωσάν μιν ὥς ἀναμνήσαντα οἰκῆια κακὰ χιλίησι δραχμῇσι, καὶ ἐπέταξαν μηκέτι μηδένα χρᾶσθαι τούτῳ τῷ δρᾶματι). Was it only sorrow, however, (ἄχθος; ὑπεραχθεσθέντες in Herodotos) that drove the Athenians to punish the poet and to forbid *by law* any reperformance of the play? The οἰκεῖα κακά play here an important role: the closer the link of the re-enacted event with the living community, the stronger the feeling of potential influence upon the life of the audience would be.³⁷⁷ In these circumstances the power of the re-enacted rituals would be probably experienced more intensely.

³⁷⁶Both Foley 1985 (with regard to Euripides) and Burkert 1991 (with regard to Sophokles) have seen that at the end of the day some fundamental co-ordinates of life (associated with religion and ritual) are retained - even if this is simply death rituals in the midst of destruction: see Segal 1996, 150.

³⁷⁷Cf. Rosenbloom 1993 arguing that *oikeia kaka* could also refer to the Persian threat against Athens and imply audience's fear for their own fate.

The suggestion of the interconnectedness between ritual context and re-enacted ritual action seems difficult to test against the extant plays. The projection of the tragic action onto a mythic plane of past times and distant places seems in most cases to loosen or at least to obscure the link between the inner and the outer world. Yet, the role that the community celebrating the dramatic performance has *in* the tragic event is a key factor towards confirmation. Athens becomes important in this respect, but only because it happened to be the original venue of most of the extant tragedies. The contrast between the representation of Athens and other tragic cities in the surviving plays is a noticeable fact which has attracted scholarly attention and has led to valuable insights as to the socio-political role of Greek tragedy.³⁷⁸ A study of the rituals involved in each case also seems to produce illuminating results. From the point of view of processions at least, there is a marked difference: plays which involve the role (or fortune) of Athens often *include* or *conclude* with a processional movement with clear propitious features. The celebrated case is the processional ending of Aischylos' *Oresteia*, combining prayer with spatial movement for the display and encouragement of the transformation of potential disaster into potential benefit for the polis of Athens. Other cases are also important: the serene exit of Herakles' daughter in the *Herakleidae*, the honorific funeral escort to Athens concluding Euripides' *Hiketides*, the mysterious and awful *pompe* of Oidipous in *Oidipous at Kolonos*, the departure for Athens in *Iphigeneia at Tauris*.³⁷⁹ Comedy may prove helpful as to the scope of the tragic action: in a scene with clear allusions to the *Eumenides*' ending, the final exit of the *Frogs* retraces the well-omened atmosphere of the tragic finale, openly combining the processional return of

³⁷⁸Zeitlin 1990 has been influential but is rather rigid; more nuanced approaches: Sourvinou-Inwood 1989a and forthcoming-b ('manipulation of distances' approach); Said 1993 (on Argos). Notably, counter arguments to Zeitlin centre on the variable representation of Thebes and other cities (on Thebes, cf. Taplin forthcoming), not on the picture of Athens.

³⁷⁹We are not certain about the closing movements in E. *Erechtheus* but Athena's final prophecy is a good omen amidst human loss and suffering.

the poet with the prayer to the chthonic gods to grant a prosperous future to the polis of Athens away from war. Comedy is not averse to direct links with the present and in an intertextual (or 'inter-theatrical') fit it makes explicit the implicit dimension of the tragic action. In all the above cases the spatial axis marked by the procession stands in a complementary relation with the linguistic axis articulated in the form of prayers, hymns and prophecies, creating a unity which shapes the nexus of prospects for the living community.

In contrast to this recurrent pattern of propitious prospective elements for Athens (even if presented through a retrospective prism), the depiction of ritual action in different contexts shows greater variation: the disorderly features may be focused (*E. Tr.*), the action may halt at critical points (*S. El.*), no sense of a redemptive transition may be emphasized (*S. Ant.*, *E. Ba.*). This does not imply an absolute distinction. Restorative elements and positive prospects may compose or complicate the picture in cases with no Athenian involvement (*E. Hel.*, *El.*) and restitutive endings and symbolic passages may conclude Theban crises as in Euripides' *Antiope* and Aischylos' *Seven against Thebes*.³⁸⁰ The contrast rather exists between a relatively stable Athenian pattern and a more variable non-Athenian picture. It is important to stress that this tendency does not reflect Athenocentric bias but rather the fact that the original audiences of most of the extant plays were Athenian. When the play addressed a non-Athenian original audience, the positive, propitious elements

³⁸⁰In connection with restitutive endings: what can be argued is that ritual necessitates resolution, while in theatre this is not necessary. Hence the model of the Cambridge School is not verifiable. However, Aischylos seems to retain more archaising elements and to be perhaps closer to tragedy's ritual matrix; he may then have included more resolutions. Satyric drama and comedy also introduce the redemptive element. Perhaps the inclusion of comedy in the festival programme offered tragedy even more freedom to choose (cf. Taplin 1986). But this does not mean that there are no resolutions in Sophokles or Euripides. The argument is that, *if there was ritual necessity* (i.e. if the world of the audience was implicated in the tragic event), redemptive elements would be present. Tragedy seems gradually to have gained more freedom from the original ritual matrix, but there was never total abandonment. It should be noted, however, that positive elements do not mean a triumphal ending. Tragedy does not smooth over the fact of death and suffering. If necessary, it can suggest ways for the continuation of life. (It is characteristic that none of the characters implicated in previous crimes takes part in the closing *pompe* of the *Oresteia* and that Athens is honoured as a place of arbitration.) In judging a tragic ending we should be cautious against cultural bias; cf. Fowler 1989, 78-80 who remarks that cultural predisposition can determine the sense of closure.

referred to that particular community. The tradition about Aischylos staging *Aitnaiai* in Sicily is instructive: ἐλθὼν τοίνυν εἰς Σικελίαν Ἰέρωνος τότε τὴν Αἴτνην κτίζοντος ἐπεδείξατο τὰς Αἴτνας³⁸¹ οἰωνιζόμενος βίον ἀγαθὸν τοῖς συνοικίζουσι τὴν πόλιν (*TrGF* 3.T A.1.9). These distinctions strongly suggest that ritual disorder in Greek tragedy is not a goal in itself. Spatio-temporal distancing from the given outer conditions seems to permit a closer and more detailed exploration of painful crises, but as the distance diminishes the ritual indications for the overcoming of crisis are more obviously introduced.³⁸²

This does not mean that all tensions are resolved or, in the contrary case, that no traces of a transition emerge at all. The tragic synthesis has a more dialectical character. Yet major ritual action suggests general tendencies towards this or the other direction. Elements of counteracting pressure uphold the aspect of reversability of the human condition, a notion and reality which emphatically asserts itself in tragedy. In the context of instability, ritual action (as exemplified by processions) constitutes a force of attempting,³⁸³ of aiming at, a transformation.³⁸⁴ The inclusion in mythico-ritual terms of the world of the viewing community makes evident the fact that the ultimate attempt is a movement towards coherence, towards reordering and restructuring of human and super-human relations, set against a background of danger and loss. On a smaller scale the attempted transformation is felt to affect the celebrating community; on a larger scale the wider cosmos within which the place of the community is defined. The inseparability of the two aspects contributes to making tragedy both historically and contextually relevant and crucial on a Panhellenic scale.

³⁸¹ Αἰτναίας is the reading of R, T and probably B according to Radt's apparatus criticus.

³⁸²Ritual action can hardly be perceived autonomously in traditional societies with a living religion; see Tambiah's 1985 17-59 famous contribution on ritual language.

³⁸³Even in A. *Eu.* the propitiation of and benefit from the Erinyes/ Semnai is an attempt, or to put it differently, a wish: cf. Athena's words in 989-995 (ἄρα φρονοῦσιν γλώσσης ἀγαθῆς ὁδὸν εὐρίσκει<v>;) and the constantly used optative; the situation may reverse (cf. 954-5 τοῖς μὲν αἰοιδᾶς, τοῖς δ' αὖ <δα>κρύων/ βίον ἀμβλωπὸν παρέχουσα).

³⁸⁴As Seaford 1994, 366-7 has remarked, transformation is never complete, hence the need to repeat ritual, and analogically, to perform tragedy.

The multifarious role of theatrically embedded ritual points to the fact that ancient Greek tragedy represents not simply the beginning, but a particular moment in the history of European theatre. If the polarity efficacy-entertainment characterizes the development of theatre, ancient Greek tragedy represents a phase of convergence of the two. The multiple function of ritual (as exemplified by processions) - culminating in the potential to affect the outer world and to contribute actively to the effort for the well-being of the community - emphasizes the aspect of efficacy, although the tragic performances did not take place simply in order to achieve this goal. Aesthetic pleasure and the viewers' appreciation were equally important considerations. Yet, along with τέρασις came the aspect of the χάρις of the gods and the σωτηρία of the polis, let alone any more individualized benefits³⁸⁵ such as those suggested by the Aristotelean notion of κάθαρσις and the funerary uses of tragic iconographical motifs.³⁸⁶ The tragic effect is hardly realizable today. However, the study of processions, as a kind of ritualization with remarkable affinities with the tragic theatre, provides a vantage point from which an insight may be gained into the nature of ancient Greek tragedy as a traditional form of collective interaction, with ritual, social and aesthetic qualities.

³⁸⁵That the exploration of suffering and death could prove beneficial (on an individual and on a collective level) was a major aspect of ancient Greek culture, prominently manifested by tragedy itself. Cf. Diano 1961 who provides a collection of relevant sources on the benefits from μελέτη θανάτου (in connection with tragedy); Pucci 1977 focusing on Euripides and the issue of sacrifice. In the realm of ancient Greek religion the stress on the rhythm from death to life has been given by the work of W. Burkert. Despite many controversial aspects of his theory (e.g. the question of guilt) the thrust of his argument seems to me to point in the right direction.

³⁸⁶On the latter cf. Green, 1994 56; Taplin 1993, 27, according to whose formulation in fourth-century Megale Hellas tragedy 'helped people to cope with mortality and the human condition'. Whether an association with Dionysiac initiation can be sustained is highly controversial.

PART II

PROCESSIONS IN TRAGEDY

A. ENACTMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF DIVINE AND HEROIC CULT AND IN THE CONTEXT OF DEATH

i. INTRODUCTION

Human action, physical and three-dimensional, transposed to a context of *mimesis*¹ necessarily changes, or rather is adapted, due to the nature of the mimetic code and the constraints of the setting and due to deliberate choice, special focusing for the sake of sharing experience. The context of theatrical mimesis probably necessitates the least adaptation, since physicality and three-dimensionality define its very nature. In ancient Greek tragedy one type of action which is particularly and observably subject to this process is action associated with the cult of gods, heroes and the dead. Gods and heroes are tragedy's agents, and death is an ever-present reality; yet, when a cultic procedure is evoked, not the whole complex of customary action connected with the occasion is reproduced. The focus revolves and falls on various aspects. But recurrently, especially in contexts of sacred offerings and funerals, it is exhausted in the element of processional movement.

Sacrificial scenes (connected often with a wider cultic context of foundation or purification) are particularly characteristic: the procession which solemnly leads the sacrificial victim to the place of sacrifice is the only part of the sacrificial rite performed on stage.² The act of the sacrifice itself is never enacted before the audience, but the procession prepares for it and reveals the character of the rite, whether propitious or otherwise. In some cases the procession stands for the whole sacrifice but more usually a further

¹I use the term in the sense of re-enactment, impersonation; cf. Nagy 1994-5, 44.

²When the sacrifice is a bloodless offering the whole rite may be performed on stage: see the discussion of E. *Hipp.* below. But the *Hipp.* scene is one of the best examples for showing how important the procession was in the whole structure and how much focus it receives in tragedy.

description by a messenger is provided.³ Placed in a ritual context the procession marks the transition from the profane to the sacred. It also demonstrates the special relationship that is developed between god, man and nature. By placing the act of killing in the narrative but presenting the procession on stage the poet manages to control access to violence and explore at the same time the dynamics of sacrifice.

Violence is also to be avoided in the context of death. Since most tragic human deaths are violent, the moment of death is hardly ever shown in Greek tragedy. Dead bodies, however, are a recurrent spectacle, though their treatment varies in mode and significance. The bringing-on of a body does not necessarily call for the performance of funerary rites.⁴ When enactment is involved, it means *prothesis* and *ekphora*; tombs may be focal points for the action, but the interment is never shown. The investment of a death with ceremony is a means of mitigation of the violence involved in it and often a marker of honour. This is particularly stressed when the *ekphora* is evoked. Although heroization is not always alluded to, the processional carrying-out becomes a feature of distinction and marks a death as 'tamed' or exceptional. The community (smaller or larger) responds to and assimilates the loss of a member and gives the dead a place in the accepted cosmic system. With the formation of the procession, an equilibrium is in process of being achieved. It is characteristic that there are no 'disordered' or 'perverted' funeral processions in Greek tragedy. A procession may be silenced, denied or severely restricted. Or, it may not have been reached before the end of the

³Jouanna 1992, 49 notes that sacrifices in tragedy take place in invisible space, but also remarks that when a tragedian wants to give the sacrifice a spectacular dimension, he has to place it in the mouth of a messenger. But this is not the whole truth: the enacted procession gives the sacrifice its spectacular aspect which may or may not be completed by a further report. The same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, with libation scenes; cf. Jouanna 1992, 52. What deserves attention here is the special way in which the person or persons participating in the rite exit or enter.

⁴See for example S. *El.* 1466ff.

play; and this is also significant in its context.⁵ These possibilities do not necessarily signify *dis*-honour. In some exceptional instances they sharpen anticipations of great honour.⁶ More usually, they seem to suggest a *lack* of potential honour. More explicitly negative are cases in which the body (or even worse the mutilated body) is presented in an incongruous context. In Euripides' *Elektra*, for example, the corpse of Aigisthos is brought on with an escort which has victory connotations.⁷ In this case the incongruity of the context undermines the possibility of positive significance for either victim or victor. Against this background the conduct of an *ekphora* becomes a marker of order.

Although death associations should normally be absent from a sacrifice, the two become inextricable when the victim is a human, or when sacrificial echoes are incorporated in the mode of death. In these cases categorization collapses and the ritual significance becomes complicated and challenging. Amplification is further achieved when honorific colouring is also added. These extreme examples can best bring forward (in a polarized or in a hierarchically arranged form) the life-sustaining value of sacrifice and the pain of human loss and the unintelligibility of death. The 'game' between life and death may be played in a lighter tone. The interpenetration of the two sides of the same coin seems to be Euripides' special legacy particularly in his plays of 'mixed reversal' in which ritual subtlety sustains the flux between darkness and light.⁸

⁵In E. *Hipp.*, for example, the end of the play at the moment of death permits a concentration on the restoration of the father-son relationship (without intervention of any other ritual signification). However, Hippolytos' serene *ἐκπνοή*, which is allowed full view, becomes also a marker.

⁶As in S. *Aias*; see the discussion below.

⁷An instance of *στεφανηφορία*, crowning of the victor (for the terms Poll. 3. 152); see Buhmann 1972, 53f. In the text of E. *El.*: 854-5, 871-3, 882, 886-7. Further indications: ceremonial language 862, 865, 872, 880; victory song and dance 859-65, 874-79; address and thanksgiving to gods 890-1.

⁸E. fr. 638 N² (τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἔστι κατθανεῖν, τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται) has a serious ring but Aristophanes' parody in *Frogs* 1477 (cf. *Frogs* 1082) may target not only the particular verse but may 'play' with a general impression of fluidity in the theme of life and death in Euripides' plays. In Plato's *Gorgias* 492e Socrates recites up to τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν and adds καὶ ἡμεῖς τῷ ὄντι ἴσως τέθναμεν.

To encode the crucial moment of boundary-crossing between life and death, visibility and invisibility, in theatre-space involves movement. The procession maps out ritual and dramatic significance, since in ritual, as in theatre, spatial configurations define the *Symbolik* of human relations. Ritual spectacle becomes inextricable from theatrical spectacle, extending not only horizontally but also vertically. The procession bridges spaces but also times and periods, as the funeral or cultic stage-event activates experience of processional events in honour of the same heroes, gods and occasions as are dramatized in the play. The coming and going of processions creates a rhythm of retro- and pro-gression between spaces and times. This flow sustains a sense of continuity and 're-playing' of cultic experience, while it succeeds in maintaining the intensity of witnessing for the first time. Involvement in, forceful witnessing⁹ to this constant movement may justify the persistence in processional re-enactment.

In processions - both in the theatre and in 'real life' - the symbolic values of movement, symbols, gestures and costumes prevail. Language is not to be underestimated, however. As religious manifestations, processions were a complicated phenomenon combining the effects of prayer, song, appurtenancies and symbols. The language of the extant texts is the most complete surviving testimony of a world that consisted in all three: music, word and action. It is worth recovering as much of this world as possible.

⁹Easterling 1996, 177-8 has recently suggested the 'idea of witnessing' as a comprehensive model for audience response provoked by ritual in general (and lamentation ritual in particular). Processions are the primary ritual examples to activate this function.

ii. ANALYSIS OF PASSAGES¹⁰

1. EURIPIDES' *HIPPOLYTOS*

In Euripides' *Hippolytos* the hero's first entry in the prologue of the play is underlined by its spectacularity, created by the presence of a secondary chorus and the singing of a cultic hymn followed by a prayer (E. *Hipp.* 58-87). These formal features and their place in the play have long received scholarly attention, but there is scope to locate them in their proper ritual context which comprises both language *and* action. So it must be stressed that Hippolytos makes a *processional* entry as part of a sacrificial/ dedicatory ceremony. He is presented as returning from the hunt holding a wreath in his hands and at the head of a group of attendants (fellow huntsmen) whom he exhorts to follow chanting a hymn to Artemis. The procession moves in song towards the statue of Artemis and culminates with the dedication of the wreath to the goddess and a prayer by Hippolytos.

The cultic reality behind such a scene is well-known. In both art and literature the offering of branches, garlands and wreaths to cult statues and altars is repeatedly evoked,¹¹ and in one instance proved to be of utmost importance for the designation of *eusebeia* (Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F. 344). Whether large-scale animal sacrifice or modest κόσμησις, the same

¹⁰The order of presentation of the relevant tragic scenes is intended to serve my argument and not to have a bearing on chronology.

¹¹The evidence is so plentiful that for a comprehensive treatment I refer to Blech 1982, 269-302. Prominent literary examples are Alkman 60 *PMG* (cf. Ath. 15. 678a), Alkman 3. 65-68 *PMG*; cf. Kall. fr. 80.5 Pfeiffer; Aristain. 1.15.38; Theok. 18. 44 (cf. S. *OK* 483-4 for Eumenides, but probably with purificatory and propitiatory sense; cf. Burkert 1979, 44 and Burkert 1985a, 8-14). Garlands and branches play an important role in animal sacrifices as well, and branch-bearers are a constant feature in the iconography of sacrificial processions (see e.g. Basel, *MM* Auktion xviii, no. 85, cf. Bérard 1989, fig. 152; Berlin, Staat. Mus. 1686, cf. Bérard 1989, fig. 153). Suffice it to mention the well-known *thallophoria* in the Panathenaia and on the Parthenon frieze. Processions of people carrying branches or wreaths usually approach altars, but in some cases also Hermes-stelai; wreathed cult statues are common (lists of examples in Blech 1982, 449 no. 45, 443 no. 34, 447 no. 38 respectively). For historical sources for the wreathing of statues see Blech 1982, 269-71, 114.

pattern, comprising procession, hymn, prayer and gift, is set in motion for the accomplishment of an act of communication between human and divine. This context effectively brings out Hippolytos' devotion to Artemis. The processional ritual is the occasion on which the presence of god can be best experienced, hence the repeated addresses to Artemis in the hymn and the prayer. The procession enacts the approach of god and man to each other, the passage which brings close human and divine. Spatial organization is here important and highlighted from the beginning of the scene with the repeated *ἔπεσθε* (58). Proximity, or even unity with the divine, is experienced and expressed through physical dimensions.¹² It is not irrelevant that, to the attendant's admonitions to honour Aphrodite, Hippolytos does not reply *οὐκ ἀσπάζομαι Κύπριν* but *πρόσωθεν ἀσπάζομαι* (102). This reply, however, is interpreted by the *θεοράπων* as refusal to relate to Aphrodite: refusal to attain physical, spatial proximity amounts to religious distancing. The setting becomes thus important: the diametrically opposed positioning of the two statues of Artemis and Aphrodite and the contrasting ritual reaction that they provoke convey the one-sided relationship attempted by Hippolytos.

For the formation of relationships the gift is a catalyst.¹³ No wonder that in this case the offering to Artemis is a special and rare present, the fruit of Hippolytos' wanderings in the wild, reminiscent of the *ἀπαρχαί*, the first-fruit offerings to the gods. It is a wreath made of plants from virgin fields and becomes thus symbolic of wild nature, emphasising Hippolytos' link with remote fields and mountains.¹⁴ It is a fitting gift for Artemis, a very important aspect of whose persona is the wild and the activities there; in this way it becomes the symbol of Artemis herself. The procession thus bears the

¹²Yunis 1988, 101-120 discusses the context of *χάρις* and divine *φιλία* in the play in purely intellectual terms. My analysis brings out the importance of *spatial* relations (shaped by processional ritual) which have been overlooked in studies of the play.

¹³Cf. Gould 1973, 90-4, Seaford 1994, 7-10 and *passim*; in the context of festivals Gernet 1981, 13-47 is still useful. The standard anthropological work (though somehow dated) is Mauss 1967.

¹⁴For views on the symbolism of the meadow and the dedication cf. Segal 1986, 172-4 and 1993, 113 f.

seal of the goddess¹⁵ and becomes a marked sign of Hippolytos' single devotion to Artemis.

The human environment which surrounds and supports Hippolytos in this display of attachment to Artemis is also characteristic of the hero's dramatic ethos, portrayed through socio-religious activity. Hippolytos participates in a procession of male attendants stressing his almost exclusive link with a male environment.¹⁶ It is noteworthy that later in the play when he has to leave Troizen (1090ff.), he departs accompanied by the group of his comrades (1098-1109) retracing the route of his entry. Even at the end, the hero does not break his bond with the community which defines his personality and his relation to the goddess. In the enacted ritual Hippolytos relates to Artemis not as an individual but as a member of a community directly associated with activities under the protection of the goddess. Nonetheless, he occupies a distinguished position among his companions, and his prayer has a personal element aiming at an interaction between the hero and the divinity. The community participates in the ritual but functions at the same time as a sign of honour for the hero who remains the focus of the formation and the primary caller on the goddess' attention and honour. In this light the ceremony has structural parallels to the processional celebrations in honour of an athlete, as known to us from Pindar's victory odes and from vase representations, revealing the agonistic side of the hero's personality. The group of Hippolytos' attendants is characterised as a *κῶμος*, a term which here obviously does not imply revelry but religious/ ceremonial escort. This significance is not irrelevant in the context of Pindaric poetry where the term is generally taken to denote the celebration and celebratory band of friends

¹⁵That the symbols carried in processions are associated in a way with the god is an important feature of these events, stressed also in other ritual scenes in tragedy, especially in *E. Ba.* (see e.g. *Ba.* 81 and Dodds 1960 ad loc.).

¹⁶Cf. Easterling 1991, 51 and 53 for the role of this choral group to stress the male associations and generally 'to extend the range of the imaginary setting'.

and to refer more specifically to their procession or their victory song.¹⁷ In cases such as Pindar's *Olympian* 4, *Olympian* 14, *Pythian* 5, *Pythian* 6 and *Pythian* 8 the κῶμος with the victorious athlete makes its way to a temple or a shrine to offer χαριστήρια for the victory. On certain occasions the κῶμος may sing a hymn to a divinity (e.g. to Hera O.6.88, Zeus N.3.68). The parallels to the present scene are obvious: here also a κῶμος singing a hymn follows a distinguished hunter to make a sacred offering after a successful hunt.¹⁸ The religious ceremony is followed by a dinner (108-110), further underlining the similarity with the Pindaric and generally with celebrations in which the banquet lies at the centre of the festivities.

The resonances of honorific processions bring to the fore the agonistic side of Hippolytos' personality which will be explicitly declared later in the play before his final departure (1016-7): ἐγὼ δ' ἀγῶνας μὲν κρατεῖν Ἑλληνικοῦς/πρῶτος θέλοιμ' ἄν. The προπομπή that his attendants provide at his departure for exile (1098-1109) picks up and contrasts with the hero's first entry, the ceremonial style of which accentuates his excellence and honour. At the same time, however, the victory/ honorific allusions intensify the aspect of transition associated with the return of athletes and other honorific entries. On return from hunting Hippolytos needs to make the transition from the domain of nature to the domain of the *oikos*. The play dramatizes the moment of this transition which is accentuated by the performance of the procession. Ritual movements aim at attracting divine attention and safeguarding a passage. In this case the passage is demarcated by the two statues patrolling in a way the boundaries that Hippolytos needs to cross. The procession enacts this passage but it also introduces a ritual anomaly:

¹⁷Lefkowitz 1991, 182 in particular has noted the relationship of *Hipp.* 51-71 and Pindar, and has proposed that the way in which this hymn is performed may be suggestive of the way that the κῶμος sings sometimes in Pindar.

¹⁸Art adds once again the visual substantiation: on a vase in Copenhagen, N.M. 109 (Beazley ABV 135, group E; Webster 1970, 37 n.112) naked youths walk on either side of the victor who is carrying a tripod; in Heidelberg S1 (Beazley ABV 51,1; Webster 1970, 37 n.111) bearded men follow the victor.

contrary to ordinary experience in which the procession acknowledges the various ritual loci on its way, thus sustaining a sense of unity of all elements, the enacted ritual does not complete the demarcated axis but disperses before reaching the statue of Aphrodite. At the very moment of his entry into the familiar environment Hippolytos emphatically reasserts his distancing from the divinity more readily associated with the interior, while retracing his relationship with the goddess of the domain of nature which he needs to leave behind. This context (and ritual incompleteness) makes his entry ominous and confers special gravity upon Aphrodite's last words commenting upon Hippolytos' transition: οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' ἀνεωγμένας πύλας/ Ἑλίου, φάος δὲ λοίσθιον βλέπων τόδε (56-57).

With the completion of the prologue Hippolytos' act of devotion (which defines his entry to the world of the play) is contextualized and qualified. His approach to Artemis, accomplished through spatial proximity, ritual symbol and hymnal invocation, seems to suggest his unity with the goddess. The ritual, however, remains tentative, a wish, explicitly formulated through the use of the optative which concludes his prayer (87). It forms a call for response but cannot guarantee divine reciprocity.

The relationship between mortal and immortal in the play is not, however, a case of failed reciprocity accentuated by an introductory ritual performance. The enacted procession builds and displays a degree of ritual imbalance: the two statues dominating the entry space are not simply juxtaposed but also stand in a complementary relationship linking the worlds inhabited by the hero. This relationship remains unacknowledged and at the moment of transition Hippolytos is parted from both the divine and human community (with a characteristic antithesis the θεράπων stays behind to honour Aphrodite). It has been noticed that structurally the drama is framed by the appearance of the goddesses: Aphrodite's exit is followed by a hymn to Artemis; Artemis' entry (1283) is preceded by a hymnal address to Aphrodite

(1280-2).¹⁹ Instead of opposition this 'inter-succession' seems to suggest a complementarity of forces.²⁰ At the end of the play a link has been achieved with the establishment both of a heroic cult preceding marital transition in Troizen and of the *hidrysis* of a sanctuary of Aphrodite ἐφ' Ἰππολύτῳ in Athens. At the beginning, however, the balance is threatened, which proves to be costly in human suffering.

¹⁹See Barrett 1964 ad 1268-82, Halleran 1985, 64-5.

²⁰Cf. Easterling 1991, 55-6, from a different point of view, on the inseparability of the spheres of the two goddesses and the direct communication between deity and mortal at the end.

2. AISCHYLOS' *EUMENIDES*

The exodos of Aischylos' *Eumenides* takes the form of a sacred procession played out in full on stage. Torches (1005), sacrificial victims (1006), temple servants (1024) and officials (1011) move solemnly with hymns across the scenic space, echoing the civic ceremonial of fifth-century Athens. The very physical participation of divine figures (Athena and Erinyes) in the procession distinguishes the theatrical occasion from those of 'real life' and transfers it to the mythical past. But as the rituals create links between past and present, the enacted divine presence may suggest a hint at 'real-life' experience in analogous religious ceremonies.

The occasion celebrated on stage by way of procession is the reception of the appeased Erinyes into the Attic land and the escort to their new dwelling. The introduction of a god or goddess (in historical times usually in the form of a statue) into a new land or temple was a significant ritual occasion known under the name of ἱδρύσεις or καθιδρύσεις (foundation), a term attested by inscriptional and literary sources.²¹ Important ceremonial was involved and in some places in Greece specially appointed officials were in charge - practices which provide some justification for Plato's claim that ἱερὰ καὶ θεοὺς οὐ ῥάδιον ἱδρύεσθαι, μεγάλης δὲ διανοίας τινὸς ὀρθῶς δοῶν τὸ τοιοῦτον (*Laws* 909e). In the play the stature and διάνοια of Athena guarantee a splendid introductory celebration which marks both a culmination and a new beginning of reciprocal relations.

The composition and arrangement of the procession are crucial to its appreciation and interpretation; yet, the reconstruction involves considerable

²¹An inscription from Magnesia on Meander (*LSA* 33. 3, *Syll.*³ 695.3 of the 2nd c. B.C.), *Ar. Pl.* 1191-2 and Sch. ad loc., *Peace* 923 and Sch. ad loc., *Plato R.* 427b, *Laws* 909e; see generally Hock 1905; Malkin 1987, 138-60 who notes that there is little information in the sources about rites of consecration (Malkin 1987, 139 n. 17). In the sources which give a fuller description of the introduction of a god into a temple (as in the inscription from Magnesia or *Ar. Pl.*) the ceremony is centred around the procession. See also my discussion of *E. IT* below.

speculation due to textual and hermeneutical problems.²² In 1003-1012 Athena makes clear that the persons already on the scene, namely herself, the converted Erinyes and the Areopagites, will join the escort. There is no sign in the text that the herald and trumpeter²³ who entered with Athena at 567 are still on stage.²⁴ It is probable that they fulfilled their task and departed (after 569) without a signal in the text, since they are minor characters.²⁵ Although their presence, and hence participation in the *pompe*, cannot be excluded, it must be pointed out that the κῆρυξ at least (who in 'real-life' situations has the duty to πέμπειν πομπήν as the representative of Hermes, the divine πομπός) would be superfluous, since another divine figure undertakes here to act as the πομπός. Moreover, Athena's instructions which refer only to the torches (1005, 1022 and 1029) may be an *argumentum ex silentio* for the absence of herald and trumpeter in the procession.

At 566 the *keryx* is given the task to put στρατόν (implying here civilians) in order. This has been taken as a reference either to a group of extras entering with Athena as observers of the trial (distinct from the Areopagites), or to the Areopagites themselves. The latter seems improbable. κατείργω (which is a strong verb implying pressure and vehement activity) could not be used for the group of the judges. Moreover, the parallel with *Il.* 18. 503 that Kamerbeek²⁶ adduced, points to the supporters of the

²²The preparation and enactment of the procession take place in 1003-1047. The scene has often been interpreted (see for instance Verrall 1908, 173-4, and Wilamowitz 1914, 185) as a grand and pompous event with numerous attendants, spectacular *requisita* and two choruses. The text, however, does not necessarily imply all these superspectacular elements.

²³In the text (567-69) there is an address to a herald and then an order to sound the trumpet; no explicit reference to a trumpeter. But Sommerstein 1989 ad 567-9 is probably right to infer his presence from the text stressing the different functions that a herald and a trumpeter perform.

²⁴Unfortunately Taplin 1977, 393 does not discuss the exit of the herald (he does not include a trumpeter).

²⁵Nonetheless, if they have stayed till the end and participated at the procession (heralds and trumpeters were common in 'real-life' processions) their place would be at the head, since this is the regular place for them, and not in the middle behind the temple servants as Sommerstein 1989 ad 1021-47 thinks. Characteristic vase-paintings with the trumpeter at the beginning: skyphos, Bologna Mus. Civ. Inv. D. L. 109, and bowl Florence Mus. Arch. 81600. See also above Part I n. 104.

²⁶Kamerbeek 1980, 399.

litigants and general attendants of the trial. If the creation of such an atmosphere was necessary, the group of extras would have already been on stage before Athena's entry (perhaps as part of the re-arrangement of the stage). The arrival of the goddess with the judges imposes order; it does not introduce disorder. The literal presence of στρατός, however, cannot be proven by the text. In 566 and in all other places where the noun occurs (668, 683, 762, 889), it is used in an indefinite and general way. In clear contrast, the Jurors are addressed with strong cletics (681, 775, 1010-11, cf. 629) and collective nouns, which characterise them as representatives of the whole Athenian people (especially λεώς e.g. 638, ἀστών τὰ βέλτατα 487),²⁷ and which imply that they are the only Athenian presence throughout the trial and after.²⁸ If στρατός is mentioned in 566 (as well as μαρτύρια, τεκμήρια earlier on 485), this is probably because the duties and basic procedure must be ascribed and described εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.²⁹ The whole scene of the inauguration of homicide trials has an archetypal character and a symbolic tone which discourages naturalistic reconstructions.

Beside the presence of Athena, the Erinyes and the Areopagites, the text becomes unclear as to further participation in the procession. 1025-7 seems to imply processional movement of παῖδες, γυναῖκες and πρεσβύτες, but textual corruption obscures the meaning and the context. There is no indication of their attendance in the exodos and ἐξίκοιτ' ἄν seems to suggest future action. On the other hand, 1024 is an *explicit* reference to the attendance of the πρόσπολοι of Athena, i.e. the cultic personnel of her Poliadic temple. Yet, a demonstrative pronoun is missing, so it has been

²⁷In 638 and 681 the context makes it explicit that λεώς and Ἀττικὸς λεώς describe the Jurors. For the arguments against a crowd of extras besides the Jurors see Taplin 1977, 394 and 412.

²⁸There is no indication in the text to support the idea that the *prosphonesis* in 1010-11 is directed to an extra crowd of citizens brought on stage for the last part of the play.

²⁹Note that there is no κήρυγμα explicit in the text after 566.

interpreted as a reference to action ἐκτὸς τοῦ δράματος.³⁰ Joining in the procession at a later stage, however, is an unusual (and unattested) practice for such important functionaries as priests and temple servants. Their presence, if necessitated, is constitutive to the character and goal of the procession, which must be decided and demonstrated throughout its performance. 1024 is either a weak indication of their entry or a hint that they have been present for some time. The latter possibility is part of a larger controversy relating to the identity of the προπομποί mentioned at 1005 and the identity of the chorus singing the closing processional song.

The προπομποί have been identified with the Jurors,³¹ with the πρόσπολοι or with extra attendants introduced as torch-bearers in the procession. Although unequivocal evidence is not supplied by the text (hence the open debate), the structure of the speech discourages the association between the *propompoi* and the Jurors. The carrying of the torches is linked with Athena's movement: she must head the procession 'by the light of the torches'; the formation of a group is thus implied at the beginning of the *pompe* (cf. below πέμψω φέγγει). The role of the Areopagites is introduced later in Athena's speech with a strong δέ (ὕμεῖς δ' 1010) and is associated with the position of the Erinyes at the end of the formation. A distinction seems then to be implied.

The relation between the *propompoi* and the *prospoloi* is not explicit. The lack of a deictic in 1024, however, may suggest an entry earlier in the play. The announcement τῶνδε προπομπῶν can suitably include the female *prospoloi*. According to 1005 and 1006 the task of the προπομποί is to carry

³⁰See Taplin 1977, 412, who suggests that the πρόσπολοι 'would join the procession on its journey'. But cf. Sommerstein 1989 ad 1021-47 who notes in this case the incongruity between what is spoken and what would be seen; and West 1990, 293-4 who remarks that the procession exists for the theatre.

³¹The suggestion is made by Taplin 1977, 411, following Hermann; also accepted by West 1990, 293. Taplin's view is understandable: if true, this assumption would be an economic solution to dispense with all additional attendants and unsignalled secondary choruses. It is important that he combines this suggestion with the view that the πρόσπολοι do not appear on stage, for as he says: 'if the second chorus in *Eu.* entered towards the end of the play then 1005f. must mark its entry.'

the torches and to lead the animals, as is easily understood from 1005-6. These duties are often ascribed to priests and temple servants. In Aristophanes' *Ploutos* 1195, for example, the priest is to bear the torch and clear the way for Ploutos, while in literary and artistic sources the usual place for the priest or priestess in the procession is alongside or after the sacrificial victim.³² It is, therefore, a plausible conclusion that the πρόσπολοι would either form part of the group of *propompoi* or be identical with it.³³

The προπομποί have also been connected with the chorus who sing the final song (1033-1047). The absurd ascription of the song to χορός in most of the manuscripts has been corrected to προπομποί in T and to αἱ προπομποί in the margins of MF. They are also listed in the *index personarum*. Most editors print ΠΡΟΠΟΜΠΟΙ. Doubts have been expressed, however, whether the προπομποί of 1005, signalled only by a demonstrative τῶνδε would be eligible to sing the final song. Supplementary choruses are normally given a proper introduction and identification.³⁴ From this point of view the group of the judges which is a well-identified group of extras of about the right size may be a better candidate.³⁵ In the ode the imperatives βᾶτ' (1033) and δεῦρ' ἵτε (1041) indicate that the singing chorus precedes the group of the goddesses and shows them the way. This task seems to have been ascribed to the Jurors by Athena at 1010-11. Moreover, it is more appropriate for a group of men to exhort the women (i.e. Athena's attendants) to respond to their song with the ὀλολυγή (1043, 1047).³⁶ In this respect the invocatory χωρῖται (1035)

³²For some examples see Eitrem 1920, 87. In n. 4 his discussion of the procession at Ar. *Pl.* is mistaken because he distinguishes the 'Fackelträger' from the 'Priester'. The text, however, leaves no doubt that these two functions coincide.

³³Sommerstein 1989, ad 1021-47 reaches the same conclusion, i.e. that προπομποί and πρόσπολοι are the same people. The interpretation proposed here leaves open the possibility that some of the προπομποί may have been (male) attendants, distinct from the female servants of Athena. This is not simply conjecture: in 1022-4 the structure πέμψω φέγγει.../ ξὺν προσπόλοισιν seems to imply a distinction between torch-bearers (cf. φέγγει) and *prospoloi*.

³⁴See Taplin 1977, 230-38 and 410-11.

³⁵As suggested by Taplin 1977; he identifies the Jurors with the προπομποί, which I reject, but this does not make his suggestion valueless.

³⁶For the meaning of ὀλολυγή and its connection with women see Deubner 1941, 4 and *passim*; reference to the *Eu. ibid.* 19-20. He thinks that the ὀλολυγή is directed either to the

would refer not to the male participants of the procession but would have the general meaning of citizens and would be comparable with the corresponding πανδαμεί of 1039. This is a well-established practice: as the sacred procession moves across the space of the community, the call for εὐφημία must be repeatedly emphasized.

Nevertheless, the possibility that the temple servants sing cannot be ruled out. If they are identified with the προπομποί, they have been announced at 1005. Their entry is further justified if they are also to sing. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that the call for εὐφημία is more appropriately made by the cult-servants (since they are present),³⁷ - even though the Jurors themselves may not be disqualified, since they have gained great stature through the play and represent a sacred institution. A call for *ololyge*, however, addressed by women to men may seem unnatural. On the other hand, the addressees of the calls may be not participants in the procession but the imagined community through which the procession is believed to move. Other schemata of choral execution cannot be ruled out either; for example, a singing group of male torch-bearers with the female participants responding with *ololyge*; or an assignment of the commands to a different voice.³⁸ It may be relevant to say that in processions singing choruses are usually distinguished from priests and requisita-bearers. But definite and authoritative answers cannot be given, since the text remains inexplicit.

Closely related with the composition is the issue of the order of the procession. Athena is unequivocally the divine *pompos*, the leader and head of the procession. The torches have been twice linked with her movement, hence

people or to the singers themselves. It has become common to observe that the cry at the end of the *Eu.* has acquired its proper function after its perversion throughout the trilogy.

³⁷West 1990, 294. However, if the Areopagites sing, the ritual cries may be uttered by someone, other than the chorus, who holds a hieratic position, the priestess for instance. A similar situation is described in the inscription mentioned above (LSA 33) where choruses of maidens sing the hymns but it is the νεωκόρος who commands the εὐφημία. It is disputable, though, whether in the *Eu.* a change of voice would be acceptable.

³⁸For a collection of various proposals see Podlecki 1989 ad 1032-47.

they must follow.³⁹ The sacrificial animals would come next, with the cult servants coming with them or after. In processions priestly groups precede other civic officials, hence the Areopagites would follow the *prospoloi*.⁴⁰ The formation would be closed by the long row of the Erinyes-Semnai, perhaps adorned with purple garments for the occasion.⁴¹

The arrangement of the procession emphatically stresses the honour of the Σεμναὶ θεαί. The principal deity of the city, attended by the highest sacred and civic officials, initiates and establishes the cult of the appeased goddesses in Athens with splendour and spectacularity. The enacted procession is a prelude and a kind of mythological prototype for future celebrations which Athena herself seems to foresee (1025-9). This does not mean, however, that the stage spectacle is a reflection of the historical feast for the Semnai. Although the historical picture is by no means complete, it is at least suggestive of considerable variation. According to the surviving evidence⁴² the procession was under the care of the *genos* of the Hesychides who first made a sacrifice to the hero Hesychos. The offerings to the Semnai consisted of cakes and wineless libations. The *genos* of the Eupatridai was excluded from the celebration,⁴³ and the preparations were to be executed by irreproachable youths.⁴⁴ On the other hand, information about the sanctuary and prayers to the Semnai shows that their cult was of central civic significance. The preparation of the feast was a duty of the *hieropoioi* (three

³⁹If a *keryx* and a trumpeter were present, they would need to come immediately after Athena, as they normally occupy the first position (Sommerstein 1989 ad 1021-47, p. 278 thinks logically, but implausibly in terms of ritual practice). In this way the link between the goddess and the torches (which she explicitly made) would break. This seems to be another element which supports their absence.

⁴⁰Podlecki's assertion (Podlecki 1989 ad 1025) that the olive-wood statue would be given a place of honour in the procession is untenable. Statues were not taken in procession without *ritual* reason. Moreover, the focus falls on the Erinyes; the carrying of the statue would confuse. Finally, the presence of Athena herself probably makes the carrying of the statue redundant.

⁴¹1028 is highly controversial; cf. Sommerstein 1989 ad loc.

⁴²Mainly Sch. S. OK 489 and Philon *every good man is free* 140.

⁴³On the Eupatridai and the Hesychides and their role in the historical procession see now Parker 1996, 298-9, 323-4.

⁴⁴The information about the ephebes in Philon *every good man is free* 140 has been confirmed by inscriptional evidence at least for the third century (SEG xxvi 98.9)

or ten in number);⁴⁵ and officials of high status like Demosthenes and Lykourgos are known to have been in charge. Although detailed information is missing, the feast seems to have been distinguished for its solemnity.

The splendour of the feast is probably evoked in the scene of the *Eumenides*. The importance that Athena attaches to the procession may reflect its significance for contemporary civic life, and the chthonic dimension - even if not expressed in wineless cake-offerings - is not lost. The torches are a usual attribute of mythical figures with chthonic power like Persephone, Hades and also the Erinyes⁴⁶ and become thus a cult symbol;⁴⁷ the characterisation of the victims as σφάγια is also appropriate for sacrifices to the chthonians;⁴⁸ and the φοινικόβαπτα ἐσθήματα, if actually worn, would evoke associations of φοινικοῦν with φόνιος and φοινίσσω and chthonic cult practices.⁴⁹ The emphasis on these elements permits the combination of chthonic resonances with the brilliance attested for other introduction or re-installation ceremonies, such as the procession of the Palladion and the εἰσαγωγή ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας, accomplished also μετὰ φωτός, μετὰ πάσης

⁴⁵See D. 21. 115 and Deinarchos 8 fr. 2 Conomis. The number of the *hieropoioi* is disputable.

⁴⁶The extant vases illustrating the Erinyes with torches are dated in the fourth century (the first in 380/ 360 B.C. See *LIMC* s.v. *Erinyes*; and below n. 519). But in the Classical period we have many examples of other figures in the underworld with torches; cf. for example scenes with Kore and Demeter: amphora, New York Metr. Mus. 41.162.134 (ARV² 650, 9); cup, Napoli Mus. Naz. 82534 (ARV² 1261); lekythos, Berlin Staatl. Mus. 3175 (ARV² 747, 28) etc.

⁴⁷As Eitrem 1920, 100 suggested; cf. Pfuhl's suggestion for the multiple symbolism and usage of torches in processions (Pfuhl 1900, 76 n. 17 and 91 with n. 22).

⁴⁸See Stengel 1910, 92ff.; Easterling 1988, 99 n. 29 reporting a communication with Prof. Henrichs, raises the issue whether the term σφάγια implies 'a sacrifice imagined as taking place while the procession makes its way'. The procession, however, is part of the sacrificial process. Moreover, obvious cases such as X. *Lak.* 13. 3, Plou. *Lyk.* 22 (escorting of σφάγια παντοῖα in military expeditions), Th. 6. 69 (μάντεις σφάγια προὔφερον) suggest the transportation of live σφάγια. (Cf. also below the cases of human sacrifice in tragedy where the term σφάγιον is used before the sacrifice).

⁴⁹Cf. e.g. *Il.* 18. 538 for ὅλοη Κῆρ: εἶμα δ' ἔχ' ἄμφ' ὤμοισι δαφεινέον αἵματι φωτῶν; D. L. 6.102 Ἐρινύος ἀναλαβὼν σχῆμα... χιτῶν φαιὸς ποδήρης, περὶ αὐτῷ ζώνη φοινικῇ; in contexts of oaths, initiation, execration: Plou. *Dion* 56, Lys. 6. 107. 52 κατηράσαντο πρὸς ἐσπέραν, καὶ φοινικίδας ἀνέσεισαν; Max. Tyr. 14. 2 for the manteion of Trophonios; with military and blood associations (cf. also Wunderlich 1925, 73ff.); Plou. *Arist.* 21 the archon in Plataia dons a crimson garment to sacrifice to Zeus, Hermes Chthonios and the heroes. For the linguistic associations cf. also Wunderlich 1925, 106-8.

εὐκοσμίας.⁵⁰ The Athenian presence in the procession is also representative of the whole Athenian community which is symbolically shown to receive and honour the Erinyes. In contrast to the role of the *genos* (or the exclusion of the *genos*) in the historical celebration, in the play the ceremony becomes more universal.

It is obvious that strict adherence to historical practices for the occasion is avoided. Details of neither the historical feast for the Semnai nor of *hidrysis*-ritual (e.g. χύτραι-offerings consisting of pulses)⁵¹ are reproduced. The scene seems to contain generic characteristics of Athenian ceremonies incorporating elements which relate to the chthonians and to installation but which also evoke the atmosphere of panegyric public festivals like the Panathenaia, a connection which is hardly to be avoided. The all-inclusive character of the procession is probably the closest reminiscence of the Panathenaic ἐορτή. The analogy, however, has been probably overstressed by modern scholars, influenced by Headlam's interpretation of the φοινικόβαπτα ἐσθήματα as characteristic of the metics in the Panathenaic ceremony.⁵² It should be mentioned that the *phoinikoun* colour of metics' garments has nothing intrinsically Panathenaic about it. While Photios (the lexicographical source that Headlam adduces) connects the practice with the Panathenaia, in other sources (e.g. Harp. s.v. σκαφηφόροι, Poll. 3. 55) the role of the metics in processions is mentioned generally ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς, while in Souda (s.v. ἀσκοφορεῖν) both the participation of metics and the purple colour of their chitons are explicitly associated with Dionysiac processions (ἐν ταῖς Διονυσιακοῖς πομπαῖς, τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐπράττετο, τὰ δὲ τοῖς μετοίκοις ποιεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν νομοθετησάντων προσετέτακτο. οἱ μὲν οὖν μέτοικοι χιτῶνας ἐνεδύοντο χρῶμα ἔχοντας φοινικοῦν καὶ σκάφας

⁵⁰IG II² 1006, 11f., 75f.; IG II² 1008, 9f.; IG II² 1011, 10f.

⁵¹See Hock 1905, 59-63.

⁵²See Headlam 1906; for some acceptances and echoes see Thomson 1966 ad 1027-31, Lebeck 1971, 15, Taplin 1977, 413, Easterling 1988, 99-100, Sommerstein 1989 ad 1028, Podlecki 1989 ad 1027ff., Bowie 1993, 27.

ἔφερον...).⁵³ The colour of the garment seems thus to reflect a generalized practice and is not sufficient support for a 'Panathenaic' interpretation.⁵⁴ On the other hand, the presence of Athena and her priestess⁵⁵ may suggest a link, especially since the composition and hierarchical ordering of the procession symbolically represents the Athenian community (with the metics forming the last part). Although other associations should not be obscured, the 'Panathenaic' tone is valuable for displaying unmistakably the Athens-related character and function of the procession. In modern studies of the *Oresteia* it has become a commonplace to stress the restorative power of the processional finale in relation to social practices and phenomena developed previously in the trilogy in negative contexts.⁵⁶ 'Now' community is reordered, male and female are united, ritual cries and music have a positive function.⁵⁷ The strong topical relevance of the procession (upheld by its 'Panathenaic' tone) should check attempts to discern in it the retracing and positive reversal of major social issues of the trilogy. It is not the Argive community, torn by conflict and disorder in the first two plays, which celebrates the beginning of a new era at the finale. It is Athens which has escaped the threat posed by the Erinyes after the acquittal of Orestes (*Eu.* 778ff.) and which has reverted the potential danger into potential benefit through the mediation of Athena. The procession celebrates the salvation of

⁵³In other places the ἄστοί are mentioned to celebrate πορφυροῖς καὶ ποικίλοις ἱματίοις (Sch. Ar. *Plou.*; cf. Ar. *Lys.* 1140 λαμπρὸς ἐν φοινικίδι; S. *Tr.* 613, E. *Hek.* 464, *Bakch.* 973, A. *Ag.* 1270).

⁵⁴Headlam himself acknowledges that: see Headlam 1906, 269-72. Bowie 1993, 27-31 extends the analysis of the Panathenaic associations and their potential significance for an ancient audience, especially their contribution (in the context of other ritual and mythic patterns in the play) to the appreciation of the Ephialtic reforms.

⁵⁵In the extant sources there is no reference to the priestess of Athena Polias participating in the procession for the Semnai. In the Sch. on S. *OK* 489 there is a puzzling καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς which has been emended in various ways (ἱερείας Brunck, ἱερᾶς <πομπῆς> Hermann, ἡσυχίας Robert), but it offers no clue. It is interesting that Mommsen 1864, 171, who first made a connection of the scene with the Panathenaia (on different grounds), proposes for the feast of the Semnai (which remains for modern scholarship *temporis incertus*) a temporal association with the Panathenaia.

⁵⁶For the restoration of peace and normality, ritual and order at the end of the trilogy Zeitlin 1965 and Macleod 1983 are important studies. Acknowledgments of this aspect have become widespread.

⁵⁷See Sommerstein 1989 ad 1021-47.

the city and the victory of Athena and Athens who absolved Orestes and propitiated the Erinyes. The victorious tone of the *ololyge* cannot be missed. Victory is the main concern of the goddess and her first and ultimate order to the Eumenides for bestowal on her city (903, 915 and 1009). Moreover, the beautiful metaphor of the Athenians nestling under the wings of Athena (1001-1002) may have some reference to her attribute, the winged Nike.⁵⁸ The socio-religious dynamics shaped in the procession, an ideal hierarchy and order in the relationships between animals, men and gods, are thus *contrasted* with earlier disequilibrium, and prove Athens as a kind of prototype of human and divine relations.

The concrete thematic link between the finale and the other parts of the trilogy is the presence and action of the Erinyes. Throughout the trilogy the Erinyes have been the agents of disaster whether embodied by Klytaimnestra or haunting the *oikos* of the Atreidai (A. Ag. 1186-93, 1433, cf. 1501-3). Moving from Argos to Athens they have carried their menace against the latter community, whose mediation deprives them of their honours (gained at the expense of the Argive royal *oikos*). The reversal of the menace is achieved, however, not through expulsion but through the inclusion and incorporation of the dangerous powers and the granting of honours. While earlier in the play a sharp and unbridgeable distinction was drawn between chthonic and Olympian divinities represented by the Erinyes and Apollo respectively,⁵⁹ at the end Athena herself receives the appeased Erinyes and guarantees their due honour. The procession enacts the incorporation of the Erinyes-Semnai in the Athenian community and visually represents the fact that they have found a place in it. It is significant that the introduction of the cult is not characterised as *hidrysis* (which would probably

⁵⁸Athena was often thought of as Ἀθηνᾶ Νίκη and was worshipped as such in a small temple at the entrance of the Acropolis (dated in 427 B.C., 31 years after the *Oresteia*, although the architectural design was ready in 448).

⁵⁹On this issue cf. Sidwell 1996, 48-9.

imply human action in establishing a divinity) but as a μετοικία and particularly as a μετοικία (or ξυνοικία) Παλλάδος (916, 1018). The term suggests acceptance from both sides for the sharing of space, honour and power; it stresses the division of power between the divinities themselves. Although 'metics' is a kind of metaphor, and in other places terms for 'co-residents' (ξυνοικήτωρ 833, ξυνοικίαν 916), or even terms which apply to citizens (γαμόρω 890) are used, the emphasis on this metaphor at the moment when the honorary reception is arranged (1010-1011) may evoke the idea of προστάτης, the citizen who protects and is accountable for the metic. Here the role is assumed by Athena and the sacred bodies of the city, a fact which points to the honorary status of the new residents. The appeased Erinyes are the recipients of the honour; they are received into the city with torches and hymns explicitly addressed and relating to them. The goddess and the authorities open the way for them. In honorific processions the part that comes last, preceding a potential crowd of followers, marks an important stage.⁶⁰ In the theatre the function of the followers is probably left to the audience who accompany with their eyes and thoughts the departing chorus.

The twofold character of the procession, as a victorious ordered display of society and an honorific escort bearing the marks of the honoured body, should not be obscured in favour of Panathenaic connections. By assuming the role of metics in the procession, the symbolic representation of the whole Athenian community is made possible. Besides and beyond the human community, however, the balance of divine powers is represented.⁶¹ Throughout the third play the dynamics of superhuman power were the main

⁶⁰In A. *Hik.* another chorus of suppliants this time (cf. Taplin 1977, 407 remarking that in the *Eu.* we have the reverse of a suppliant play: the pursuer stays, while the suppliant departs) are received and led off respectfully to their new abodes by representatives of the city (the Argive bodyguards). There the honorary chorus hold also the last position, like the Erinyes here. It is characteristic that in the *Hik.* the acceptance of Danaos and his daughters is also formulated as a right of μετοικία (609). Cf. Gould 1973, 79 who stresses the element of honour in the act of acceptance of *hiketeia* and notes that the response of the supplicated is that of the ξεινοδόκος.

⁶¹Cf. Lebeck 1971, 142 who observes that the prologue, referring to the harmonious union between old gods and new, prefigures the play's resolution.

issue: divine action and its conflicting results for human life encapsulated in Orestes' acquittal and the danger for Athens. With the arrangement of the procession a re-ordering of powers has been achieved and positive consequences may be expected. Framed by both celestial and chthonic powers, the procession provides some assurance for the protection of the human community. In this context the role of Athena and Athens proves to be crucial not only for the ordering of human relations but also for the reconstitution of cosmic powers. It is this cosmic balance which guarantees and indirectly confirms the salvation of both Orestes and Athens.

In the new order Olympians retain the primary role, represented by Athena who leads. The Erinyes, associated throughout the trilogy with death and blood, receive their place in the procession as 'metics', honoured but in a way also subordinated, or at least dependent. Athena herself, however, sees the need to contain the power of the Erinyes and makes them part of the body of society (embracing gods, men and nature) as represented emblematically in the procession. The power associated with death proves to be necessary for the stability of society, and its proper acknowledgment in a wider hierarchical order renders benefits. In the procession this order receives its first material formation and opens up the possibility of positive reciprocity.

A procession is always a passage, a process, never a complete and static transformation. The trilogy ends with a celebratory ritual. Yet, the visual dimension of the spectacle closing with the terror-inducing πρόσωπα of the Erinyes, and perhaps their scarlet robes, evoking associations with blood, would bring home to the audience that what is celebrated is the introduction of a tremendous and ambivalent power. The ordered procession shows this power contained, and the music counterpoints the terrific spectacle with the tone of εὐφροσύνη. Like night euphemistically called εὐφρόνη, the wish for *euphrosyne* aims at the prevalence of the positive side, a result achieved

mutually: εὐφρονας εὐφρονες (992), ὑπ' εὐφροني πομπᾷ (1034), ἔλαοι καὶ εὐθύφρονες (1040). The need for reciprocity and the tenuousness of the balance, however, is explicitly expressed by Athena herself, the πομπός who presides over the transition in which the whole community is involved, warning in advance of negative consequences (931-7, 954, 989). The *Oresteia* closes with society enacting a passage to potential prosperity. Quite apart from questions and tensions that might be still suspended,⁶² the procession shows potential danger inherent in the transition, assimilated in the very structure of the new order.

It is perhaps surprising that while the negative side is not elided either by language or by ὄψις, the celebratory tone prevails. Ambivalence, however, (in contrast to ambiguity) does not mean indecisiveness or lack of choice.⁶³ In this case the accent falls upon a positive conclusion, formulated with the repeated imperatives of the closing song as an accentuated request. At the beginning of the play another paradoxically formulated request was placed in a context which emphasized the negative side: αἴλινον, αἴλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω (121). To account for a celebratory tragic ending with an ambivalent spectacle is perhaps difficult. Scholars who have detected the importance of the incorporation ritual and the multiple implications of the *opsis* in this scene have seen in it a level of self-referentiality, an identification of the incorporation of the Erinyes with the incorporation of tragedy.⁶⁴ There is probably no need to move that far. The ritual seems to address the question of a wider cosmic balance which shapes and supports a social order and becomes the foundation of civic institutions. The fact that at one level tragedy itself is also part of this order (since it deals with Athens and Athenian society with clear references to its contemporary structure) may be possibly inferred.

⁶²View argued primarily by Vernant 1988a, 28-30 and Goldhill 1984, 280-83; for a reply see Seaford in the following note.

⁶³Cf. Seaford 1996, 290-91.

⁶⁴See Wilson-Taplin 1993, 175-6 (referring also to earlier intimations of similar conclusions) and Taplin 1996, 198-9.

The enacted ritual, however, emphasizes the place and role of superhuman beings associated primarily with death and the destruction of life.⁶⁵ The issue of death and its potential positive transformation, the beneficial action of Chthonic powers, next to their menacing ones, are general *cultural* preoccupations which tragedy explores but does not solely represent or identify with. Years ago, when Winnington-Ingram discerned in the closing scene of the *Eumenides* the incorporation of potential evil, an attempt at a unity accounting for both good and bad, he proposed this as a 'religious function of tragedy' and he associated it with the end of *Oidipous at Kolonos* as well.⁶⁶ The fact that extant tragedies do not always conclude with the same attempt does not necessarily mean that the end of the *Oresteia* is metatheatrical and aesthetically oriented.⁶⁷

Still, the positive expectations shaped at the closure of the *Eumenides*, set against other extant tragic endings, seem to be rather exceptional, and to pose problems.⁶⁸ For the *Oresteia* an influence from comedy has been seriously proposed,⁶⁹ or at least an approach of the two genres realised particularly in the festive finale.⁷⁰ Ritual studies of both tragedy and comedy, however, have shown that mythico-ritual exempla surviving in cult often assist in shaping the dramatic action. The *anodos* pattern, for example, inherent in Persephone's myth, seems to be at the core of tragic plays which are distinguished for their comic qualities and are known, or at least conjectured,

⁶⁵The familiarity of Aischylos' contemporary audience with Erinyes-Semnai in cult, their association with them as divine powers makes it difficult - in a scene which so openly alludes to 'real-life' cult practices - to reduce their presence to allegorical and especially self-referential symbols.

⁶⁶Winnington-Ingram 1954; cf. id. 1983, 154-74.

⁶⁷Taplin himself talks about the end of the *Eu.* as 'emblematic of the function of tragedy' (1996, 198) and this is, in my opinion, a more fortunate expression than 'self-referential allegory' (Wilson-Taplin 1993, 175).

⁶⁸Although this reaction may often result from partial neglect of important qualifications and the complicated context (e.g. in the *Oresteia* the finale does not enact the positive reversal of fortune of the community torn asunder earlier in the play and does not hail a 'new era' for that community; moreover the 'all-inclusiveness' of the procession misses representatives of the Argive community, Orestes himself takes farewell before the appeasement of the Erinyes.

⁶⁹See Herington 1963, 120-2.

⁷⁰See Taplin 1996, 196-9.

to have been used in the place of a satyr-play.⁷¹ Recently the descent-ascent pattern and its association with mystic initiation has been argued to permeate the structure of Aristophanes' *Frogs* with Aischylos' ascent from the underworld as a kind of dramatic analogue of Persephone's *anodos* in cult.⁷²

The example of the *Frogs* is suggestive since the finale of this play has been adduced as a close parallel to the *Eumenides*.⁷³ There is no doubt that the processional action of the two scenes bears close resemblances. Yet, the significance of the procession lies not only in its composition, songs and symbols but also in its route and direction; the ultimate goal of the movement is of primary importance. In comedy the procession moves from the lower to the upper world, from Ploutos' domain to the Theatre of Dionysos. In tragedy the processional axis unites the Areopagos with the underworld; the ultimate point of arrival is the ὠγύγια κεύθη γᾶς (1036). Surprisingly perhaps, the celebratory ritual of the *Eumenides* demarcates an axis parallel to that of a funeral procession. In comedy and in cult the *anodos* of the mythic or comic figure makes the earth blossom and affects a regeneration of the world. The paradox of tragedy, deeply rooted in ancient Greek cultic reality, is that acceptance of death may also prove beneficial. In spite of its celebratory tone, the closing action of the *Eumenides* is established in tragic tradition.

⁷¹E. *Alk.*, *IT*, *Helen*; for the conjecture - however plausible - see Sutton 1972 (for further references see the discussion of E. *IT* and *Helen* below).

⁷²By Lada-Richards in an as yet unpublished paper titled 'Comic Descent, Comic Ascent, and Mystic Initiation: Dionysus in Theatre and Ritual'.

⁷³See Taplin 1996, 198f.

3. THREE CASES RELATING TO HUMAN SACRIFICES

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Though excluded from the cultic reality of fifth-century Athens,⁷⁴ human sacrifice was a vital part of the mythic stories of that age. The challenge to the imagination that these stories present is fully acknowledged by Greek tragedy which, feeding on the mythic past, not only surrounds human deaths with the metaphors of animal sacrifice, but again and again brings to the foreground and even plays out conditions in which human beings (men but most often women) are ritually led to death in obedience to a superhuman will. In all these cases communication with divine (or heroic) agents is sought through the intermediacy not of an animal - as in actual practice - but of a human victim.⁷⁵ Although titles of lost plays by Aischylos or Sophokles suggest that the theme and the presentation of such ritual action may have been the centre of these plays,⁷⁶ in the surviving corpus of tragedies the celebrated cases which include the re-enactment of the decision-making process and the execution of such a ritual (apart from the killing which is always accomplished ἐκτὸς σκηνῆς) are Euripides' *Herakleidai*, *Hekabe*, *Phoinissai* and *Iphigeneia in Aulis*. The focus of this study falls on *Herakleidai*, *Hekabe*, and *Iphigeneia in Aulis* because the re-enactment of the *pompe* is included in the sacrificial scenes of these plays. In the *Phoinissai* (834-1018)

⁷⁴The sacrifice of three Persian captives before the battle of Salamis (Plou. *Them.* 13.2-5, Phainias fr. 25 Wehrli) has been shown by Henrichs 1981 to be unhistorical. Hughes 1991 dismisses the possibility of human sacrifices ever being practiced in the Greek world (including Minoan Crete, for which the archaeological evidence - brought to light by Sakellarakis 1979 and 1981 - is often considered of special weight; see e.g. Warren 1988, 4-9); cf. Burkert's 1994 review which remains sceptical. Bonnechere 1994 reaches the same conclusion, though using different methodology.

⁷⁵To invest the attempt at Megara's execution by the tyrant Lykos (E. *Herakles* 442-513) with the metaphor of sacrifice does not constitute a human sacrifice, although the metaphoric language - and ritual - used can be revealing for both the phenomenon and its tragic adaptation. Generally, executions, suicides, and voluntary acceptance of natural death (as in E. *Andr.*, *Hik.* or *Alk.*) are different and lack the religious context.

⁷⁶For example, Aischylos' *Herakleidai*, *Iphigeneia*, *Athamas*; Sophokles' *Athamas*, *Phrixos*, *Polyxena*, *Iphigeneia*.

the exceptional circumstances, which compel Menoikeus to go to death alone, deprive the scene of the details which give a clear shape to the ritual action.⁷⁷

The famous descriptions of Iphigeneia's violent death encapsulated in the parodos in Aischylos' *Agamemnon* (227-47) and in the prologue and first episode in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris* (15-30, 359-71) are important for the present discussion but only as a foil to the scenes examined. In the corrupted sacrifices of those plays the whole ritual procedure has been reduced to a single act, the act of killing. The descriptions dwell on the moment preceding the death blow and concentrate primarily on the violence necessary to carry out the action, the reduction of the human to animal as a result of this violence and on the victims' reactions. The ritual beginnings of such unpropitious actions are not hard to imagine. The texts do not describe them but give some hints: in Aischylos desperate cries and entreaties fill the air (228-30), while in *Iphigeneia in Tauris* Iphigeneia turns to supplication for her salvation (361-71); both actions are powerful indications of the resistance of the victim.

The references to the violent and unpropitious sacrificial acts in the *Agamemnon* and the *Iphigeneia in Tauris* serve to bring out the key-feature which distinguishes the other Euripidean scenes and gives them their special atmosphere, i.e. the consent of the victim.⁷⁸ In all three cases the need for a human sacrifice is presented as a difficulty, as an anomaly. The demand of the superhuman agent shocks, objections are raised and the issue is debated. However, the situation is critical: the request for a human sacrifice precisely denotes the extremity of the crisis. What is repeatedly stressed is the necessity, the irrevocable obligation to save family and city, or to honour

⁷⁷A sacrificial scene including the processional exit of the victim was probably included in the *Erechtheus* but unfortunately this part of the play has not survived; for the extant fragments and a reconstruction of the play see Carrara 1977 and most recently Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, 148-194. On the treatment of the myth and its importance in the wider context of Attic mythology see Parker 1987, 202-4. (Some further discussion of E. *Erechth.* will be provided below.)

⁷⁸Throughout the paper I use the term 'victim' as a translation of the Greek θύμα or σφάγιον. It is not meant to have a tinge of the modern sense of 'victimization'.

heroes and gods and let the ships sail away. Under the weight of necessity the prospective victims comply; their acquiescence prevents a recourse to violence as in Aischylos' *Agamemnon* and Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, or an ultimate disaster. A horrific sacrifice is avoided and the fear of pollution is averted (as explicitly said by the daughter of Herakles in the *Herakleidae* 558-9). As in 'real-life' sacrificial rituals, the nodding of the victim - be it conscious or unconscious - is necessary for the legitimation of the rite.⁷⁹

In the plays under discussion the victim's acquiescence gives scope to ceremony and lets the ritual unfold. The symbolic adornment of the victim, the ceremonial escort and then the various details of the ritual killing that may be reported constitute a framework which contains and restricts the revulsion against human death. Although the adornment of the victim may or - more likely - may not have been performed on stage, the ritual escort, the *pompe*, identified as it was with the exit from the stage, was acted out before the eyes of the audience and affected the audience's response. It is the spatio-temporal immediacy of processional action, fully incorporated in theatrical action and differentiated in this respect from other parts of the sacrificial ritual evoked in the play, that makes processional symbolism so important for the appreciation of these scenes. Close study of the ritual suggests that one-sided approaches to tragic human sacrifices - seen either as exaltations of the heroic individual, or merely as pathetic (or even horrific) deaths without any positive effect - cannot hold.⁸⁰ There are complexities inherent in the

⁷⁹Cf. LSG 151.1.8. The importance of the consent for the evaluation of the ritual action in these scenes has also been stressed by O'Connor-Visser 1987.

⁸⁰By way of example I refer to Schmitt 1921 for the first view and to Nancy 1983 for the second; Bonnechere 1994, 260-71 tries both to accept and refute Nancy's view stressing the patriotism of the scenes set against a disillusioned treatment of war situations; further references to exponents of either of these views (with counter arguments) in the analysis of the passages. (For E. *Erechtheus* Parker 1987, 202 supports an ideological and non-ironic treatment of the sacrifice.) I shall not deal with feminist approaches (e.g. Rabinowitz 1993, 31-66, cf. 103-124) which are polarized and find the scenes either pathetic or wrought in male bias (forgetting - to say the least - that even today, for better or for worse, excellence in a male dominated environment is considered a distinction for a woman); for balanced views (from a female perspective) on the role of women in mythical human sacrifices see Kearns 1990, 341 and Connelly 1996, 79f.

issues of life and death as well as in the sacrificial ritual itself which the enacted ritual brings to the foreground, and which an interpretational controversy based on primarily ethical and ideological oppositions fails to account for.

In all three plays the exit of the sacrificial victim does not constitute an ordinary departure. Ritual markers in the text (reference to symbols, ritual language) indicate that the exit is invested with symbolic significance, sharply distinguishing it from ordinary coming and goings and leaving no doubt as to the goal of the movement. Joining the procession marks the embracing of the option of death and the beginning of the sacrificial action. As often with rituals in 'real life', the processional resonances of the scenes intensify rather than obscure the ultimate objective of the action.

In contrast to ordinary sacrificial procedures in which the imminent fact of death is known to the participants and the spectators but remains unknown to the animal victim, in the tragic examples of human sacrifice under study the victim consciously joins the procession with full knowledge of the consequences. More importantly, the victims favour the formation of the procession and control its performance, a gesture which seals their conscious acceptance of death. The appeal to human reason in order to face a situation of death leads to the adoption of a heroic attitude, since in ancient Greek culture acceptability of death is justified in the context of war and heroic performance. As a result, the rhetoric of heroism and the heroic endurance displayed by the victims are major motifs of these scenes. In Euripides' *Erechtheus*, however, the treatment of the theme may have been different. There are indications that the girl went away ignorant of her fate and the ritual enacted was a pretence made up by her parents. The evidence comes from Aristeides (I p.191 Dind.), who attests προσάγαγεῖν δ' αὐτὴν κοσμήσασα ἡ μήτηρ ὥσπερ εἰς θεωρίαν πέμπουσα, but it is not conclusive since - as Cropp 1995, 151 remarks - ὥσπερ εἰς θεωρίαν πέμπουσα can refer simply to the

adornment of the victim. The Greek at least does not exclude the possibility,⁸¹ which would make good sense in keeping with the fact that Praxithea, the mother, and not the victim, pronounces the patriotic rhesis in this play.⁸² If that was the case, tension in the scene might be created through irony and pathetic double-entendre, while the parallel between the ignorance of the human *sphagion* with that of an animal would probably support and intensify the parallel of their innocence.

The highlighting of the prospect of death in the enacted ritual is connected with a major effect that the procession brings about in these scenes. If in 'real life' the sacrificial procession unites the community to present a gift to the divinity (Plato *Euthphr.* 14c τὸ θύειν δωρεῖσθαι ἔστι τοῖς θεοῖς), in the cases of human sacrifice tragedy accentuates the separation that is inextricably interwoven with the fact of death. In all three scenes the procession departs after a scene of farewell; the spectacle of the moving escort is juxtaposed with the picture of abandonment and mourning of those left behind. The rift in the group caused by the sacrificial demand (and commenced with the formation of the procession) may be compared with (though it remains distinct from) the division enacted and experienced in death rituals. The *ekphora* signifies the separation of the dead from the familiar environment, and with the interment a permanent seal is placed between those below and those above. In the funerary ritual, however, the whole group is present at and involved in the *ek-phora* of the deceased member. In the tragic scenes, however, family members stay outside the procession, not only because a sacrificial *pompe* is different from an *ekphora* (different dynamics are generated in each case), but also because in either case participation and proper conduct in the procession would mean involvement in the ultimate purpose of the action (the destruction of the victim, the removal

⁸¹Supported also by Kamerbeek 1991, 113.

⁸²At least this is the only rhesis that survived; but I agree with Schmitt 1921, 66 who finds it unlikely that a second patriotic rhesis would have been uttered.

of the dead). As a result Iolaos refuses to join in, while Hekabe and Klytaimnestra are excluded (as they threaten the proper execution of the rite). The separation that the extra-ordinary rite effects is mitigated through the injection of symbolic significance that is associated with social practices which involve distancing (if not separation) from the group or the community, but which lie closer to ordinary experience, i.e. heroic values, honorific awards, unavoidability of physical death, relation with the divine. The diverse ritual resonances which are blended with the central sacrificial action in each of the three scenes differentiate the significance of the spectacle and lend it particular quality.

However strong the impression of the imminence of death and of separation may be, it is only one element in the picture. On another level, the consent of the victim and the proper performance of the procession creates a propitious atmosphere. The leading away of Makaria, Polyxena or Iphigeneia is not like the snatching of Astyanax from Andromache in the *Troades* (709-98), or even like leading Andromache to death in the *Andromache* (494-765). The procession marks the passage from the profane to the sacred and participation in it transforms the victim, as it sets it in a special relation to the divine (or to the world of the dead in the case of Polyxena). The re-enacted ritual retains a distinctly sacred and dignified character which anticipates a positive outcome. The immediate results will probably be felt by the sacrificial community which presents the offering. Still, the distinct conduct of the human victims seems to suggest that they benefit as well.

The communal purpose that the Euripidean human sacrifices seem to serve, has connected them with the various mythic examples of human oblation in public crises (such as war, famine etc.), a motif perceived by modern scholars to relate (to some extent) with the scapegoat pattern.⁸³

⁸³See Burkert 1979, 59-77, Parker 1983, 258-69, Kearns 1989, 56-63 (cf. Kearns 1990, 335-7); on scapegoats see Bremmer 1983, 299-320.

However, single explanations cannot suffice. In his investigation of the broad outline of the scapegoat complex (defined as the abandonment of a human to an opposite force to ensure the safety of the rest of the community), Burkert includes the Euripidean cases but takes care to exclude the Polyxena example (which is of a different nature and function).⁸⁴ Further distinctions should be introduced in the cases of Herakles' daughter and Iphigeneia. Iphigeneia's death is more readily classified as a *proteleia* sacrifice before battle, and it serves the community in the sense that as a *proteleia* it is a propitiation of the divinity (which in *Iphigeneia at Aulis* causes the ἄπλοια) and an expiation for the deaths to follow.⁸⁵ Makaria's sacrifice is the one which can be more associated with the type 'human death to avert evil'. Her sacrifice does not fall into the prescribed pre-battle sacrificial process but is a prerequisite of it. Persephone, as the recipient of her sacrifice, can also be connected with this general motif,⁸⁶ as it is generally admitted that she symbolizes death, the opposite force, or the threat that the enemies impose, to which the *parthenos* yields in order to save the rest of the community. Yet, even in this case the parallels with the scapegoat rituals are restricted. As has been stressed by Parker,⁸⁷ in contrast to that pattern the mythic examples of human sacrifices involve death, not expulsion. In the scapegoat ritual and in many of the related myths there is a strong emphasis on topical markers, on exclusion outside the borders of the community. Such emphasis is missing in the *Herakleidae*, the destination of the procession is not mentioned at all; and when in *Hekabe* and *Iphigeneia at Aulis* (which differ in other respects

⁸⁴Burkert 1979, 173 n. 29; not noted by Mossman 1995, 145 n.11.

⁸⁵On various aspects of maiden sacrifice see Burkert 1983, 58-68; in relation to Iphigeneia in particular see Lloyd-Jones 1983; Jameson 1991, 213-5.

⁸⁶To this general motif belong, among others, the cases of king Kodros of Athens (Pherekydes *FGrHist* 3F154; Hellanikos *FGrHist* 323aF23; Lykourg. 1. 84ff.; but polysemy and patriotic ideology inform his case); the seer dying first in the battle against the thirty tyrants (X. *Hell.* 2.4. 18-19); Roman *devotio* (as in Livy 8. 9ff; see Versnel 1981).

⁸⁷Parker 1983, 259. Burkert 1987, 172 also admits that the basic action is abandonment, adding that if there is annihilation "it is characteristically left to 'the others'."

anyway) the locus of sacrifice is referred to, it seems to be associated with the space (even temporarily) occupied by the community.⁸⁸ Moreover, the procession is nothing like a violent forcing-out, as so often in 'real-life' scapegoat rituals. In *Hekabe* and *Iphigeneia at Aulis* it is presented more as an escort for the presentation of a gift to the divinity (or hero). In the *Herakleidae* the impression may have been similar, although there are no textual indications to stress this function; if the silence implies association with the scapegoat pattern, then this case would belong to the mythic instances in which "the victim may be 'led away' peacefully".⁸⁹ The recognition of the various ritual and mythic associations of the scenes is important. Despite the common motif of voluntary sacrifice the scenes cannot be reduced to a single schema. Variations in tone cannot be irrelevant to this mythic and cultic background. Given this background it is perhaps not surprising that the *Herakleidae* scene seems to have the most propitious character, while in the other scenes with different ritual contexts different dynamics are developed. In all cases, however, the re-enacted ritual, the *pompe*, retains its solemnity attracting, however, different associations and varying in its import.

The peaceful escort, imbued with symbolic significance, is a decisive parameter of the total action of these scenes which makes the spectacle memorable but at the same time complex and perhaps puzzling. The paradox they convey - both a display of the proximity of death and an anticipation of victory, success and honours - is hard to grasp and even harder to accept. Students of the plays feel the need to take sides. The polarity of life and death, however, is inherent in the very phenomenon of sacrifice. Even if in the Olympian animal sacrifice the celebratory tone prevailed, the myths of human sacrifices and their tragic exploration bring the tension to the foreground. The young heroines led to sacrifice would have strongly engaged the pity of the

⁸⁸It is interesting, however, that Menoikeus meets his death falling from the city's wall (*Pho.* 1009-10, 1091).

⁸⁹Burkert 1979, 71.

spectators. Judging from the performance of the ritual, however, they would refrain from actually condemning the sacrifice. They would probably come to accept the necessity of sacrifice and its implications; and they would acknowledge the ἀνάγκη δαιμόνων (*Pho.* 1000), assisted in some cases by the ἀνάγκη τῆς τύχης (cf. *IA* 1403).

3.2 EURIPIDES' *HERAKLEIDAI*

In Euripides' *Herakleidai* the protection of the suppliants by Athens involves war with Eurystheus and the Argives. Persephone's requirement, however, for a special offering, a virgin of noble birth (408-9)⁹⁰ provokes crisis: the Athenian⁹¹ helpers of the suppliants are at a loss and the decision to fight for their protection is suspended (410-24, 471-3). The difficulty of abiding by the goddess' will and avoiding a defeat is overcome only because the victim offers herself up willingly. One of the daughters of Herakles (in the hypothesis to the play she is called Makaria⁹²) decides to die in order to ensure the safety of her family.

Although the reasons for the sacrifice and Persephone's role in the rite are not elaborated in the text, the ritual elements inform the action and transform the *parthenos*' decision from a fearful prospect to a propitious symbolic gesture. The link with the ritual order is first achieved in linguistic terms. The verb σφάζω and its cognates which are used to refer to the girl's death (408, 490, 493, 502, 562, 583), (though probably not void of connotations hinting at the tension underlying human sacrifice), are used as *termini technici* to describe the type of sacrifice appropriate for the chthonic cult of Persephone, and generally to denote the emphasis of the sacrifice on blood.⁹³ Furthermore, the action gradually becomes ritual action. Once her consent to the sacrifice is expressed (a resolution which averts the fear of

⁹⁰A human sacrifice as a prerequisite to the whole enterprise: see Jameson 1991, 214-5; on the problem of 822 see below n. 105. Wilkins 1993 ad 399-409 and ad 528 is probably wrong to equate the maiden-sacrifice with the circumstances of the ordinary pre-battle σφάγια sacrifices.

⁹¹The names 'Athenians' and 'Athens' will be used, since in the play the chorus are addressed as Athenians (e.g. 69) and the χώρα that the suppliants are said to have reached and which will protect them is also called Ἀθῆναι; although the actual location is the Attic Tetrapolis, it is visualised as part of κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν (38). On the location see Wilamowitz 1935a, 77-9; Zuntz 1955, 97-102; Wilkins 1990a, 330 (who stresses that the choice of Marathon is not without significance).

⁹²On the name found in later sources see Wilamowitz 1935a, 69-70; O' Connor-Visser 1987, 37; Wilkins 1990a, 331; Wilkins 1993, xvi and xix.

⁹³On the ritual terms see Casabona 1966, 155-96; Jameson 1991, 200-02.

pollution 558-9, 562-4), Herakles' daughter consecrates herself as a sacrificial victim by taking part in the ritual procedure which starts with the procession: she wants to be wreathed with garlands and led off to the place of sacrifice (528-9).⁹⁴ In 560 she asks Iolaos to follow as well and she speaks as if she has already joined the procession. She finally exits after 596 escorted by Demophon and possibly his attendants.⁹⁵ Demophon must lead the way and Herakles' daughter must follow. The attendants, if any, will either go with the king or come after the girl.⁹⁶ Although no other sacrificial symbols are used in this unpretentious cortège (garlands, *κανοῦν*, incense etc.),⁹⁷ the movement has a distinct sacred character, felt not only by the participants but also perceived by the spectators: as the *parthenos* moves to exit, Iolaos admits that her body *κατῆροται*, has been devoted, consecrated for sacrifice to Persephone (601).⁹⁸ Her position in the sacrificial *pompe* separates her from the realm of the profane and her previous status, and places her in a sacred context. Though the only sign, the procession is strong enough to mark the transition from one world to the other. The emphasis on the ritual pattern averts the revulsion to human sacrifice and signifies the transformation of the

⁹⁴ The breaching of Porson's law may be an indication of textual corruption (although West 1982, 84-5 categorises the line as an exception to Porson's law), but there is no need for excision (contra Page 1934, 39, influenced as he was by Wilamowitz' theory; see below n. 110); see also Wilkins 1993 ad loc.

⁹⁵ It is not clear whether Akamas is also present as in the first scene. The text at least offers no indication: Demophon alone is addressed (381) and he is, of course, the one who speaks. Avery 1971, 548 supports the possibility that Akamas returns with Demophon at 381.

⁹⁶ Burnett 1976, 17 imagines a conflated exit (chorus of women coming out to wreath and escort the *parthenos*, the suppliants miming farewell etc.) which is unlikely and wholly ungrounded in the text.

⁹⁷ This absence may point to the exceptional and unfestive nature of this sacrifice which is further suggested by the expressed concern for a proper funeral (561 covering with πέπλοι, 568 κοσμεῖσθαι is a word appropriate for funeral rites, 587-8 burial in Argos; it should be emphasized that 561 refers to a practice *after* the moment of death: Connelly 1996, 62 either distorts the facts or has misunderstood the Greek text). There is also the general and rather pessimistic reflection upon death closing the *parthenos*' final rhesis (593-6). Nevertheless, the unfestive tone is intimately combined with the sacred atmosphere, and is particularly mitigated through the emphasis on the heroic aspect of the girl's decision which will be analysed below.

⁹⁸ Wilkins 1993 ad loc. says that *κατῆροται* is used in a loose sense because no rite has yet been performed. But he himself notes at 528-30 that with the imperatives of that passage the girl sets the pace of the procession, and he compares her with the sacrificial animals that are said to lead the procession themselves.

victim. Through the proper attitude of the victim in the ritual process a propitious relation with the divine has begun to form, a relation conspicuous in the enacted *pompe* which lets expectations arise for future divine good will.

Although the *parthenos*' consent associates her with the motif of the θεήλατος βοῦς, her conduct is not inspired or compelled by an inextricable divine will. Emphasis is placed on the exercise of human reason and human motivation. The ritual aspect of the *parthenos*' death is combined with a forceful rhetoric of heroism which stresses her courage, free choice and wish to gain εὐκλεια (534).⁹⁹ Notions characteristic of heroic (or rejected anti-heroic) manly attitudes and values are deployed by her or applied to her to argue her case for a sacrificial death (510, 534, 537, 555, 569, 590, 597, 621-24). Her death is made comparable to the example of the heroic warrior, the model of death in the service of others in return for honours.¹⁰⁰ The analogy is implicit in 503-7, 531-4 and especially in the chorus' song in 618-28.¹⁰¹ The chorus makes an association between the death of the *parthenos* and that of the noble warrior, notably through the application of the term ἀγαθός¹⁰² to the *parthenos* and through the use of themes which are *topoi* of the funeral oration pertaining to nobility, fame and ἀρετή.¹⁰³ In accordance with the model of the warrior (or even of the Athenian hoplite) the chorus interprets the *parthenos*' sacrifice as πρό τ' ἀδελφῶν καὶ γᾶς (622),¹⁰⁴ although she herself proclaimed a more archaising and probably feminine heroism in the

⁹⁹On the rhetoric of the scene see especially the analysis of Schmitt 1921, 28-30, 44-46; also Wilkins 1990, 183-4 for a concise comparison with other relevant tragic scenes.

¹⁰⁰For the application of notions of praise and manly valour to the female sacrificial victim see Loraux 1987, 31-48.

¹⁰¹It is clearly spelt out in E. *Erech.* 50. 14-25 Austin (fr. 360. 14-25 Nauck/ Cropp), in a situation and a context very similar to that in *Hkld.*

¹⁰²The term used par excellence to denote the dead warriors in the *epitaphioi*. See Loraux 1986, 3, 100-01, 116-7 and *passim*.

¹⁰³See Loraux 1986, 98-104. Not only the stasimon but the whole scene contains notions found in the funeral speeches as have already been noticed by scholars; see especially Wilkins 1990, 179-81 and 1993 ad 533 and 619-28.

¹⁰⁴The background of similar mythic human deaths leading to the *soteirai* types of heroines and protectresses of Athens (cf. on the topic Kearns 1990) must be relevant here; it gives support to Wilkins' thesis that in view of these associations her death cannot be interpreted ironically.

service of the *genos* and of personal honour (ἀδελφῶν τῶνδε κάμαντις ὑπερ 532, προῦθانون γένους 590). At all events, both the rhetoric deployed in the scene and the chorus' reaction suggest that in the *parthenos*' departure some analogies may be found with the departure of the hero for battle. The heroic dimension of the scene combined with the ritual character of the action makes the *parthenos*' death exceptional, deviating from both the horror that human killing evokes and the total submission that the sacrificial pattern involves.

In the shaping of the action there are at least two points (relating to the *pompe*) which seem to have been designed in order to bring the heroic aspect to the foreground and merge it with the ritual frame. First, the destination of the procession does not receive any attention (it is actually left without specific mention),¹⁰⁵ although normally the route of the procession and the points of departure and arrival are emphasized and specifically delineated. In this case it is the sheer fact of participation, of joining the sacrificial escort that presents difficulties and needs to be focused. On the other hand, the *parthenos*' willingness to be led ὅπου δεῖ (528) stresses her total devotion to the service of the others in analogy with the model of the warrior, and especially of the hoplite who is led wherever required. It seems obvious, thus, that the emphasis on heroism and nobility (which may limit the potential passivity of the sacrificial victim) also entails, to some extent, a de-emphasizing of the religious foci of the ritual movement.

The lack of emphasis on the divine recipient of the sacrifice may also be related with an attempt to shift the focus from the religious to the heroic aspect of the scene. It seems at least to imply that in this context the weight falls on the acceptance of death in a wider sacred context. If Persephone

¹⁰⁵The information in 821-2 which depict *sphagia* sacrifices taking place ἐν μεταίχμῳ can hardly have anything to do with the *parthenos*' case. Along with many other scholars I consider the lines corrupt (or even interpolated). See Wilkins 1993 ad loc, and from a ritual point of view the succinct arguments by Jameson 1991, 215.

connotes death, as has been argued,¹⁰⁶ this association locks well with the general battle context of the play: the dedication of the *parthenos*' life to Persephone *qua* death comes closer to the prospect of death which lies behind any warrior's decision to fight, and thus supports the general parallelism that the elaboration of the scene seems to draw. In this way the arrangement of the ritual action of the scene and the elements of heroism which imply a parallel with the warrior's option are subtly intertwined and mutually enforcing.

The scene is thus constructed with a view to a synthesis of heroic tone and sacred atmosphere.¹⁰⁷ This synthesis with its emphasis on free choice and initiative in participating in the ritual action clearly suggests an energetic approach, a dynamic collaboration of human and divine factors towards the fulfilment of the desired end. This dynamic schema of relationship formation between the two realms, exemplified by the *parthenos*' command of the sacrificial ritual (notice particularly 528-30, 547-51, 560-63), is a prominent motif of the play reaching its fullest dimensions in the following scenes of Iolaos' insistence on fighting, his heroic performance in battle and finally his rejuvenation in battle (680-747, 843-63).¹⁰⁸

The twin effect of the balance between sacred and heroic is the placing of the heroic choice and the service to the *genos* and the community (with all

¹⁰⁶Versnel 1981, 163-79, especially 174-9. Other connotations of the divine figure may not be totally absent: see for example Wilkins 1993, xxiv and ad 408-9 drawing on Burkert 1979, 74-7 and 1983, 58ff. Lloyd-Jones 1983, 101 (Persephone an 'heiress' of the Mistress of Animals); Kearns 1989, 58.

¹⁰⁷This careful balance gives the scene its memorable quality, recognised by many scholars (e.g. Zuntz 1955, 31-2, 43-4, Fitton 1961, 452, Stoessl 1956, 217-8, Burnett 1976, 16, Burian 1977, 8-9), although Wilamowitz's (1935b, 88) discontent at the easiness of Makaria's decision and unopposed arguments has been shared by other critics (e.g. Schmitt 1921, 28-9, 55-6), even if they do not reach the same conclusions (see below n. 110).

¹⁰⁸This dynamic collaboration of humans and gods exemplified in the 'idealistic' part of the play as it has been characterised (Burian 1977, 11, 'pure' Fitton 1961, 453-4), proves Eurystheus' argument about his compelled submission to Hera to be simply an excuse. (Cf. Agamemnon's arguments in *Il.* 19. 86-136 which sound hardly convincing within the Iliadic context of double motivation.) Hence, Burian is wrong when he contends that the play's assumptions about gods would work in favour of Eurystheus (Burian 1977, 17-9). Even if in the final scene neither the chorus nor Alkmene dispute this argument, as Burian notes, no one seems to endorse it either, or even pay any heed to it. The only fact that matters in the dispute is the laws of the polis.

its suggested analogies with the warrior's service to the polis) in a sacred context, in the frame of fulfilment of a divine obligation. In this way the rhetoric of heroism is combined with sacredness and the weight of the divine, and ritual necessity is alleviated by individual initiative and altruistic motives. The balance of heroic and sacred tone confers upon the *parthenos'* processional exit a solemnity and honour that makes any display of further lament and pathos, let alone bitterness and anger,¹⁰⁹ redundant.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, the provision for a decorous death and burial in the homeland as an acknowledgement of the *parthenos'* offering (565-9, 586-9, 598-9 - an honour bestowed also to the Athenian war dead who received a magnificent burial at home) anticipates the need for dealing with the issue of burial (an issue cropping up in all analogous scenes). The emphasis on the honours that the *parthenos* will acquire after death (τιμωτάτη ἔση 598-9) and the final καὶ χαῖτε addressed to her (600)¹¹¹ are strong indications of an exceptional fate awaiting her (incompatible with any future wild expression of anger and grief) and underline the conclusive tone of the separation. The following stasimon is the standard convention implying the completion of the action initiated with the processional exit of the victim. This song, permeated with gnomic wisdom

¹⁰⁹Emotions that Wilamowitz 1935b, 89 ascribed to Alkmene in the alleged missing scene (see following note).

¹¹⁰The vexed question whether a part of the *Herakleidae* is missing, first posed by Hermann in 1824 (in Matthiae's edition of Euripides' plays) who suspected only the finale of the play, was then carried forward by Kirchoff (in his edition of Euripides in 1855), who surmised a lacuna after 630, and it received its greater dimensions with Wilamowitz' theory (Wilamowitz 1935b) of the alleged mutilation and reworking of the original text of the *Hklid*. Wilamowitz' hypothesis is extravagant and far-fetched (among other things it asks us to believe that the altered text of a second-rate fourth-century theatre company, which contrary to the trend of the age tried to play down pathos instead of enforcing it, made its way into a popular edition) and has justly met with opposition (for early reactions see Schmitt 1921, 52-6). Zuntz 1947 and 1955 has been most influential against Wilamowitz' theory, and in recent years - despite some rather weak attempts to prove the mutilation of the extant text (e.g. Lesky 1977; contrary evidence Cropp 1980) - critics tend to put forward arguments which support the incompatibility of any further extended treatment of the *parthenos'* death after her exit with the tone and meaning of the scene; see Burnett 1976, 15-7; Burian 1977, 8-10; O'Connor-Visser 1987, 41-3; Wilkins 1993 xxvii-xxx.

¹¹¹On the semantic connotations of χαῖτε addressed to dead or to persons about to die see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 180-218.

(608-17) and combining praise and consolation (618-28), further mitigates the pain of death and upholds the honorific aspect of the *parthenos*' sacrifice.

The effect of the scene can be more fully appreciated in juxtaposition with the following scene, the departure of Iolaos for battle (especially 720-47). The two exits, characterised by considerable spectacle, are a kind of mirror scenes, as they concentrate on a display of heroism performed not by typical heroic characters, but by anti-types normally dissociated from heroism, namely a young woman and an old man. In both cases the achievement of heroism is sought through an attempted relation with the divine (in the case of Iolaos most explicit in 851-53). It is probably significant that in the first case the *parthenos* comes out of the temple of Zeus, while in the second Iolaos obtains his armour from the temple of Zeus (695-99, 720-21). Both exits thus present a challenge to common assumptions about heroism and its agents, and both lay emphasis on the human initiative, the human dynamic contribution towards a relationship with the divine.

The final action in the sacrificial scene stands also in interaction with the scene that precedes. The previous episode came to an end with the acceptance of the suppliants' plea. Yet, the suppliants are not raised from their supplication spot, they remain there and hence retain their position of dependency upon Athens. Contrary to this picture the following exit has the suppliants (the *parthenos* as their representative) actively collaborating with the Athenians for the first time (thus returning them in a sense the *charis* owed), in a ritual action in which the focus is one of the suppliants themselves. In the next episode Iolaos, who had previously refused to follow Demophon, exits along with Hyllos' servant; and from then on the focus turns upon the Herakleids and Iolaos themselves and the way in which they effect their own salvation.¹¹²

¹¹²Seeing the significance of and interaction between the various exits, it is a pity that the end of the play is corrupted. After Hermann, editors usually posit a lacuna of a few lines after 1052, but the corruption may be more extensive. Apart from various unclear or

The investigation of the significance of the action in the *parthenos*' scene and of the links that it forms with various other motifs and parts of the play, makes it obvious that, though an entity in itself, and an episode excisable without any alteration elsewhere in the text, this scene cannot be made redundant without cost. The play may seem to have been composed with a technique that Aristotle may have called ἐπεισοδιώδης, but its parts do not form an inorganic whole.¹¹³ Its structure rather comes closer to that of an Aeschylean trilogy or tetralogy. The appreciation of the whole, however, rests upon a good grasp and a sensitive understanding of the parts and of their interrelations.

even incomprehensible points made in the text (e.g. 1023, 1050 etc.), it is also not wholly obvious how the play comes to an end without any indication of how the suppliants are raised from their supplication spot. Moreover, the treatment of Eurystheus in this scene seems to me problematic and not all too favourable (as critics often see him); Burnett 1976, 12, 23-6, though overstating sometimes, has some good arguments about the sophistry and irony in Eurystheus' argumentation. See also Halleran 1985, 16 who comments on the disaffecting mode of his entrance.

¹¹³Stoessl 1956, 211 has remarked that the technique of the *Hklid.* is close to that of the *Andr.* and *Hek.* which have also been censured for similar qualities.

3.3 EURIPIDES' *IPHIGENEIA IN AULIS*¹¹⁴

It is probably a commonplace, but let it be stated once again programmatically: in the *Iphigeneia at Aulis* the issue of human sacrifice is characterised by tension; tension between the need for the sacrifice which is dependent on the need for the campaign, and the moral justification of the campaign.¹¹⁵

In contrast to the *Herakleidai*, the sacrifice of the maiden does not function as the ultimate measure against the threat of a foreign invasion, but seems to have more in common with the sacrifices aimed at attracting the favour of the divine preliminary to wars, and at providing evidence of this favour before the commencement of the war.¹¹⁶ For the war planned in this play divine favour (expressed with unmistakable signs: wind or no wind 88, 352) can be obtained with an extraordinary offering: either the daughter of the στρατηλάτης must be sacrificed to Artemis,¹¹⁷ or the expedition must be cancelled (90-93; 358; 879). In 'real life', an expedition cannot be undertaken unless τὰ ἱερὰ καλά; in the context of the play that can be only Iphigeneia.

The victim required is the daughter of the leader. More particularly, the text makes a direct connection between the leadership and the provision for the sacrifice (350-57). This is not unusual: for a misfortune of the

¹¹⁴Substantial parts of the play, especially the prologue and the exodos, have undergone textual corruption, hence any interpretation of the play as a whole remains speculative. I shall try to refer to lines belonging to the parts considered genuine, or at least to lines with a meaning supported by the genuine parts of the play. The passage to be studied has some problems but the pressing authenticity questions start from 1510 onwards; see Page 1934, 122-216; Stockert 1992 ad loc. Diggle (Oxford edition 1994) is generally cautious and sceptical.

¹¹⁵The oracular demand takes the form of an open choice: see 91-3, a spurious passage, but the meaning is corroborated by 358-9.

¹¹⁶For pre-battle sacrifices see Pritchett 1971, 109-15 and 1979, 83-90; Jameson 1991.

¹¹⁷Connected by Jameson 1991, 214 with Artemis Agrotera; to her *sphagia* are usually sacrificed, although in Athens at her festival they performed θυσίας (*Ath. Pol.* 58.1 and Rhodes 1981 ad loc.); Henrichs 1981, 219 n. 4 notes that the language of Olympian sacrifice is often used for human sacrifices. Probably it is not necessary to find an exact 'real-life' correlative, especially since in 'real-life' human sacrifices did not take place; the basic lines of parallel need to be established.

community (here the war community, the army) the king is blamed;¹¹⁸ so in the play, for the ἄπλoια, it is Agamemnon's τύχη that does not help (351-2; cf. 537). The emphasis on the gods as causes of Agamemnon's misfortunes in 351 and 537 may suggest the need for a sacrifice which would restore the relation with the divine. Having originally agreed to sacrifice his daughter (360-2) Agamemnon cannot retreat (or at least so he says 511-2, 522-35). There is great eagerness for the expedition (1264-5), and the army has been staying in Aulis for a long time spending their time in idleness (192-230), as they wait for the weather to change; a certain tension and impatience has developed (804-16). When the oracle's prophecy is disclosed, the army demands the sacrifice reacting violently to any opposition (1347-64).

These factors which define the need for Iphigeneia's sacrifice - as a preliminary to war, the leader's daughter as the victim, the pressure of a critical situation for the community - all become complicated as they are qualified by the moral conditions in the play: the questionable purpose and necessity of the war (382-99, 484-500), the ambitious and volatile leaders (341-62), the manipulation and passion of the army (1360-66, 1264-1272).¹¹⁹ Although the moral issues may threaten the legitimacy of the sacrifice, it is important to note that they are interwoven in a plot which follows a mythically recurrent, sacrificial pattern of action: communal crisis, oracle, designation of noble victim and responsibility of the leader, opposition to the

¹¹⁸For the motif see Parker 1983, 265-7; Lloyd-Jones 1983, 88. In myths of human sacrifice the man who offers his daughter in public crises, receives in compensation exceptional honours; see for example Embaros' story in Suda s.v. Ἐμβαρός εἶμι; Aristodemos' case in Paus. 4.9.7.

¹¹⁹Space does not allow me to analyse in detail the moral issues of the play; I simply refer to significant lines and major bibliography. Relevant discussions: Conacher 1967, 249-64, mainly 261-64; O'Connor-Visser 1987, 204-10; Stockert 1992, 3-21 and especially 22-38 (with bibliography); the moral questions have been particularly stressed by ironic interpretations of the play, e.g. Vellacott 1975, 42-45, 173-7, 201-4, 219-21 (whose viewpoint is so tendentious, however, that I can hardly take him seriously). A judicious criticism of ironic readings in Foley 1985, 92 who emphasizes that a strictly ironic reading of a plot resolved through ritual throws into question not only the myth and its interpretation but the entire socio-religious system. It must be noted that many discussions of moral issues are shaky, because they take the text for granted and use many uncertain, or even spurious lines (e.g. 411).

sacrifice, mass reaction.¹²⁰ The designation of the action and its recognition by an audience familiar with myths about sacrifices, would contain and uphold the prospect of human sacrifice.

The arrival of the victim (590ff.) and the preparations for a sacrifice, a *proteleia* (673-7, 718-9, 1110-14; cf. also the spurious 414-39), bring the issue of sacrifice to the foreground. The climax of this process, conducive to the atmosphere surrounding the prospect of human sacrifice, is the popular reaction, the mob's urge for the execution of the sacrifice and their determination to suppress opposition. Provoked by Achilles' opposition (1348-9), the army intervenes and takes the situation into its own hands (1352-3, 1361-2). Anxiety in view of a dangerous enterprise, frustration and prolongation of the liminal period of the army (withdrawn from ordinary social life in a distant place, ready to embark on the expedition, yet unable to do so) may account for this reaction,¹²¹ although Odysseus' influence may have made things even more acute (1362-4; cf. 525-6). The intervention of the army signifies the irreversibility of the situation and the inevitability of death.¹²² Violence threatens to break out and have Iphigeneia led to death by force (1361-6). With this development, it seems, there is hardly a choice

¹²⁰The sacrificial pattern of the play has been also detected by Masaracchia 1983 reaching an opposite result. Since her claims have been so far unanswered (no reference in Foley 1985), it should be pointed out that, first, she lays too much stress on the similarities with the case narrated by Paus. 4.9.4ff. (contrast Schwenn 1915, 138 who has warned that late writers who elaborate stories of human sacrifices, as Rhianos does in this case, may have been influenced by Euripides); and second, she uses the pattern in order to interpret Iphigeneia's μεταβολή as a ritually covered deception in accordance with the 'comedy of innocence' pattern of 'real-life' sacrificial ritual. Apart from any other considerations, Masaracchia seems to have failed to realize that the notion 'comedy of innocence', as developed by Meuli and Burkert, applies to the psychic tensions of the performers and not simply to the ignorance of the animal. Her shaky methodological premises lead to methodologically erroneous results: Euripides' view is allegedly identified with that of Klytaimnestra (Masaracchia 1983, 77); the chorus 'should not' accept the sacrifice (*ibid.* 75); and, most indicatively, Agamemnon's deception of Iphigeneia is parallel to Dionysos' deception of Pentheus in the *Bakchai* (*ibid.* 73-4)! It must be added that Masaracchia (like other scholars who propose ironic readings) fails to analyse the ritual exit of Iphigeneia, which is - as I shall try to show - most important for the understanding of the play.

¹²¹The importance of these factors for the mob's reaction in crises have been indicated by Henrichs 1981.

¹²²Common result in other similar myths too; e.g. Apollodoros' evidence (8.9.4) for E. Phrixos συναναγκαζόμενος (sc. Ἀθάμας) ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν γῆν οἰκούντων τῷ βωμῷ παρέστησε Φρῆξον; Phainias' story in Plou. *Them.* 13. 3-4; Paus. 4.9.9.

whether to die or not, but only *how* to die. And it is at this juncture, - when arguments for and against are expressed, dispositions disclosed and attempts at safety exhausted - that Iphigeneia decides¹²³ to exert her liberty at least upon death.¹²⁴

Iphigeneia's change of mind would not have become so well-known¹²⁵, were it not accompanied by a complete change of mood and ideas. Overcoming her previous fear Iphigeneia utters an imposing rhesis (properly addressed to her mother) which reveals the attitudes that bring her to terms with death (1369-1401). Foley¹²⁶ has shown the way in which marriage, intertwined with sacrifice from the beginning, provides the motivation for a willing self-sacrifice. Along with the desire to prevent the violation of marriage and ensure proper marital rites for Greek women (1380-2), a whole range of factors plays a role: panhellenic sentiments (1378, 1384, 1386, 1389, 1397), Greek pride (1400-01), a sense of responsibility to prevent more deaths (when Iphigeneia's own is inevitable 1372-3),¹²⁷ the Greek urge to win *kleos* in the face of death (1375-6, 1383-4) and a wish to comply with the divine command (1395-6). Iphigeneia's argumentation is a rationalization of the causes of her death, but also an idealization. The unsound morality of the whole question of the war contrasts with the nature and value of Iphigeneia's arguments.¹²⁸ This contrast or gap, however, is necessary and purposeful: in

¹²³ Although argued from a different perspective, the connection of Iphigeneia's decision with the plot of the play has been stressed by Griffin 1990, 147-8.

¹²⁴ Cf. Stockert 1992, 34-8 who argues on a philosophical basis that Iphigeneia's decision would be considered as free by ancient Greek criteria.

¹²⁵ Since Aristoteles' famous criticism in *Poet.* 1454a, 26-33 (Iphigeneia paradigm of ἀνώμαλον ἦθος), Iphigeneia's μεταβολή has been the central issue of the interpretation of the play. Numerous explanations have been proposed and various evaluations given. For a summary of basic (positive and negative) views see Stockert 1992, 4-5; Luschig 1988 concludes that the aim of the play is ambiguity. For further views see also my footnotes below and above.

¹²⁶ See Foley 1985, 65-105.

¹²⁷ Achilles' influence on Iphigeneia has been emphasized (or even over-emphasized) by Schmitt 1921, 22 and Smith 1979, 173-80. See now the sensible discussion by Sansone 1991 who also includes some good arguments against ironic interpretations of the play (especially Sansone 1991, 165-7).

¹²⁸ Iphigeneia displays Panhellenic sentiments, but the extent to which Panhellenic ideals inform the debate about the campaign is controversial; cf. Said 1989-90 against views (especially Mellert-Hoffmann's 1969) that the Panhellenic motif runs through the play.

an unstable¹²⁹ political world the self-sacrifice of an innocent person can be meaningful, only when made for a good cause. Reversing the prospect of death from violent to voluntary, Iphigeneia presents in a sublimated form (and hence in a way unlikely to have an effect on the world of the drama) the values contested earlier in the play. Instead of dying as a martyr, Iphigeneia decides to die for ideals.¹³⁰

The heightened tone of Iphigeneia's argumentation is also reflected in the ritual prepared and re-enacted on stage. Overcoming the danger of becoming the victim of 'ritual murder perpetrated by mob action',¹³¹ Iphigeneia arranges the performance of a proper sacrificial ritual commencing with the accompaniment of song and music.¹³² Even if Iphigeneia's festive tone has surprised some critics (especially after her mourning monody 1283-1335), the ordered character of the ritual cannot be questioned; and this fact along with the meeting of the conditions set by the oracle constitute the main criteria for the acceptability of her sacrifice.¹³³

As with other sacrificial deaths the only part of the sacrificial procedure that is re-enacted on stage is the procession which reveals the significance and special character of Iphigeneia's death. From 1458ff. the

However, idealistic tinges about the Trojan war permeate the odes (see Foley 1985, 78-84). Zeitlin 1995 sets the discussion on a new level connecting epic and Panhellenism as stages of the past, contrasting them with the present and asserting the largely visual articulation of a new and complex *kleos*.

¹²⁹I emphasize the notion of instability rather than corruption. The constant changes of mind, which Knox 1979, 243-6 has shown to be a prominent feature of the play's characters, manifest fluidity, not necessarily wickedness, a vacillation between an awareness of positive human values and personal passion and ambition.

¹³⁰It is this contrast which saves Iphigeneia's idealized stance from an interpretation of mere 'exploitation' or 'self-deception'; views argued - to me unconvincingly - by Sieger 1980, who concludes that Iphigeneia went mad; but he completely omits an analysis of the last part of the play. Since he stresses 1251-2 *μαίνεται δς εὔχεται/ θανεῖν*, it must be noted that Iphigeneia does *not εὔχεται* but simply *accepts* death.

¹³¹Henrichs 1981, 216-7.

¹³²The P. Leid. inv. 510 contained the musical notation of 1500-09 and 783-92 of the *Iphigeneia in Aulis*; the notation of the first passage is illegible, though; on the second see Comotti 1977.

¹³³The festive tone is a particular feature of the scene and not a necessary accompaniment of a propitious choice of death. Polyxena in *Hek.* demonstrates an example of acceptance of death tuned differently. The heightened tone supports the association between Iphigeneia and Artemis, as will be argued below.

heroine calls for the arrangement of the procession defining its members: her mother will be excluded, her father's ὄπαδοί (1462, probably more than one, 1475) will escort her; and the chorus (though not following) will sing a celebratory song (1467f.) accompanying it with dance (1480). These arrangements are placed in the context of the sacrificial preparations (1469-72, 1477-8), and although the sacrificial equipment she calls for (κανᾶ 1470, στέφνη 1477, χέρονιβες 1478) may be left to the imagination,¹³⁴ even the reference to them gives the cortège the colour of a sacrificial procession. The appeal for εὐφημία (1469) and the absence of lamentation (1490) complete the picture of the sacred and solemn occasion. At 1474 the verb ἔρχομαι and the directly following ἄγετε (1475) may imply first movements for the formation of the procession. At 1508 the escort may be on the move, while after 1520 it is probably out of sight.¹³⁵

The character of the procession seems to be closely bound with Iphigeneia's attitude towards voluntary death. The celebratory tone of the ritual, and especially the appeal for a paian and a dance (1468, 1480), may not be irrelevant to the fact that Iphigeneia sees her disrupted wedding with Achilles replaced not by a marriage with Hades but by a 'marriage' with Greece (1397). On the other hand, it is connected with the epinician atmosphere created in the scene (responding to her wish to win glory); Iphigeneia joins the procession not as a victim but as a victor, ἐλέπτολις (1475). The wreaths equally decorate the head of a victor, a bride and the participants of a sacrifice.¹³⁶ The appeal for a paian (1468), which can be also

¹³⁴905 (καταστέψασ') suggests that Iphigenia came to Aulis wreathed as a bride; she may have her wreath still on. But we do not need to postulate the entry of mute attendants carrying the sacrificial equipment; the text offers no support.

¹³⁵The text of Iphigeneia's monody has some problems. The expression πότνια μήτηρ (1488-9) sounds strange, especially if addressed to Artemis (why should Iphigeneia remind the goddess that lamentation is not appropriate in a sacrificial context?); if addressed to her mother it may constitute deliberate distancing. The chorus' response (1510ff.) is even more problematic; see Stockert 1992 ad loc. The whole passage may be an early reworking of Iphigeneia's last words (farewell to the land, to light etc.) followed by a paian; this would correspond to the heroine's request in 1467-9. The rarity of a paian sung by women has been noted by both Käppel 1992, 81, 45f. and Rutherford 1995, 119-20.

¹³⁶See Blech 1982, 76, 81, 127ff., 392.

related to marriages,¹³⁷ and for sacrificial preparations (1470ff), aim at the celebration of a victorious salvation (1473-4), as if the consequences of Iphigeneia's death are already present. Artemis is invoked as a guarantor of victory, while the role of the chorus, asked to sing a paian for Iphigeneia, may be compared to the *κῶμος* escorting the victorious athlete (1491-2).

Undoubtedly, however, the most important dimension of the performed ritual event is the sacred one. Iphigeneia departs on a procession which marks the beginning of the sacred procedure and places her in a cultic and ritual context. She willingly dedicates herself to the goddess and the procession enacts the restored relationship with Artemis. The dominance of Artemis' figure in the ritual is a key element for the interpretation of the scene. It is an often observed fact that after the mention of Artemis in relation to the oracle and the sacrifice (91, 359, 531, 883), the goddess stays in the background and the issue of sacrifice is debated on a solely human basis. With Iphigeneia's *μεταστροφή* Artemis is gradually re-introduced into the picture (1395ff.) and occupies the centre in the performance of the sacrificial procession. Iphigeneia's wish to comply with the goddess' demand transforms her sacrificial ritual into a celebratory ceremony in honour of Artemis: the destination of the procession will be a place sacred to the goddess (*Ἀρτέμιδος λειμών* 1463).¹³⁸ The paian - a form of cultic song particularly associated with Apollo and Artemis - will be addressed to her; dances and songs are called for, to be held around the altar; and Iphigeneia herself sings in her honour, imposes the sacred tone and orchestrates the celebration. The whole ceremony is sealed by Artemis' presence as the recipient of the sacrifice and the honour. As with 'real-life' processions, movement, music and song are moulded into one entity, one whole, which has the function of

¹³⁷See Foley 1985, 76; Avagianou 1991, 10; Käppel 1992, 50f., 315-17; Rutherford 1995, 116.

¹³⁸Topography here is important, since in the 'world of the audience' Aulis was a celebrated cult-centre of Artemis.

bearing the imprint of the divinity and of forming a relation with the divinity. The emphatic appeal to Artemis in the arrangement and performance of the ritual, which builds upon the power of the sacrificial ritual to establish communication with the divine, makes Iphigeneia's exit a movement towards, an approach to the divinity.

The powerful spectacle of this procession¹³⁹ cannot have been unrelated to the mythic and cultic associations between Artemis and Iphigeneia.¹⁴⁰ The stage event would activate the knowledge of the audience who would respond with enriched awareness to the spectacle and to the ways in which it correlates with other elements in the scene and supports the traditional associations of the two figures. Iphigeneia's control of the ritual is a strong sign in this direction. In contrast to the other sacrificial scenes, in which either the *pompoi* arrive at the stage to lead the victim (*Hek.*), or at least important ritual details are arranged by others (e.g. the destination and the funeral in the *Hkld.*), in the *Iphigeneia in Aulis* it is the victim who chooses her escort,¹⁴¹ specifies the destination, commands the singing, arranges the movement, urges the response of the others, sets the pace and the tone, and most importantly, imposes the festive and holy atmosphere, preventing any ill-omened sign. The whole procedure seems to be inspired and set in motion by Iphigeneia herself, heading towards a meeting with Artemis, the recipient of the sacrifice. Although in the normal sacrificial ritual the community gathers to present the victim to the divinity, in this play the focus falls on the

¹³⁹The importance of the spectacular, visual register for the positive evaluation of Iphigeneia's death has been stressed by Zeitlin 1995. But she focuses mainly on the visual qualities of the narrative and not on the effects of processional action (which she acknowledges, though; Zeitlin 1995, 189).

¹⁴⁰On these see for example Lloyd-Jones 1983, 91-101 (the article primarily aims at interpreting Iphigeneia's sacrifice in A. Ag.).

¹⁴¹Iphigeneia's *pompoi* are insignificant mute attendants; their secondary role brings forward Iphigeneia's distinction in the ritual. The choice of *pompoi* is not mere theatrical necessity; only a minor change in the plot would have been needed to let Achilles on stage and make him Iphigeneia's *pompos*; Odysseus and a retinue could even arrive, or even Agamemnon. But then the dynamics of the schema would be completely different.

victim herself, who takes the initiative, and on her relationship with the divine.¹⁴²

The approach of the two figures that the procession reflects, gives meaning to and complements Iphigeneia's earlier directions to Klytaimnestra about her death (1436-49). The sacredness and exceptional nature of her case, which was stressed through her appeal for no mourning expressions after her death (1441-2) and the indication of the altar as her tomb (1444),¹⁴³ is substantially supported by the performance of the ritual which enacts the approach of the two figures and places Iphigeneia under the protection of the divinity. Although Herakles' daughter and Polyxena receive burial honours from the community that they help and save, Iphigeneia identifies her funerary honours with her consecration to the divinity through whom she achieves her σωτηρία. As she herself says: σέσωμαι (1440), and her conviction of the exceptional nature of her death is such that even Klytaimnestra is persuaded to respect it (1445).

Iphigeneia wishes to save Greece with her death (1420; cf. 1473-4), but the sacrificial ritual which allows that, focuses on *her soteria*. Taking the sacrificial ritual into her hands at the moment when it was threatened by polluting violence, Iphigeneia turns the flow of events and ensures a propitious end, for her at least. If the community that may profit from the ritual debated the sacrifice in 'secular' terms, Iphigeneia - just as she is to set

¹⁴²It is interesting that in early vases showing Iphigeneia's sacrifice (Iphigeneia approaching the altar), Artemis herself may be present (attic oenochoe Kiel, Univ. B 538, volute krater BM F 159; in *LIMC* s.v. *Iphigenia* nos 1 and 11) or the palm tree, associated with her cult, may stand behind the altar (lekythos Palermo, Mus. Reg. NI 1886) - representations which support the relationship between the two figures. In Timanthes' famous painting (best described in Pliny *NH* 35.36.12; see discussion in *LIMC* s.v. *Iphigenia* no. 4) Artemis might also attend; cf. also Roman mosaics and murals: *LIMC* s.v. *Iphigenia* nos. 38 and 39. (Connelly 1996, 67 has overlooked these examples which invalidate her interpretation of the gods' apparent indifference to the processional action on the Parthenon.)

¹⁴³Taking into consideration ancient fears of pollution and the strict division of altars and tombs (see Parker 1983, 30, 34-40), the audience may have understood something more than merely the burning of the sacrificial victim on the altar (as England 1891 ad loc. takes it). Zeitlin 1995, 189 draws a parallel with Athenian civic ceremonial for war-dead and Iphigeneia's claims for *kleos*.

off to meet death - turns to the divinity who may provide some help, and Achilles, self-declared θεός (973), proves unable to assist (1349-73). The processional departure would heighten the audience's expectations of a positive end for Iphigeneia, while - pointedly - she would be leaving the rest of the community behind.¹⁴⁴

The reversal from a model of potential aggression to a model of communication and honour for the sacrificial victim¹⁴⁵ is particularly accentuated through the incorporation of the epinician resonances in the ritual (associated with the *kleos*-expectations of the victim). Iphigeneia's participation in the procession as ἐλέπτολις (1475) (a result of pressing the argument about her death - 90-93, 358, 879, 1259-75 - to its logical conclusions) supports the concentration of the focus on her figure, since in victory processions the centre of the ritual is the νικητής and the purpose of the ritual relates to him. It is characteristic that this honorific distinction is celebrated in connection with the sacrifice, suggesting an emphasis on the interdependence of these two aspects. Inherent in this intertwining, however, is the paradox that behind human victory lies death and that through death victory may be obtained. It is in connection with this paradox that the procession, which would normally lead and integrate the victor back into the community, actually separates and carries Iphigeneia away from human community into the realm of a different existence.

Iphigeneia's isolation which started with her abandonment by her father (1276-8, 1312-4) and with the army's hostility towards her (1346-65), is completed with her voluntary participation in the sacrificial ritual which

¹⁴⁴No *deus ex machina* or messenger speech is needed to suggest a positive end for Iphigeneia; the ritual exit is strong enough, even if not explicit. Ailianos' fragment (*On Animals* 8.39) from Euripides' 'Iphigeneia' has many problems in terms of language, meaning and history of the tradition of the text; see O'Connor-Visser 1987, 134-5, Page 1934, 200. The extant messenger speech is an interpolation; see Page 1934, 192-204, Stockert 1992, 79-87. If the play ended with Iphigeneia's exit (or soon after that) the result would probably be comparable to effect of the end of *S. Tr.*: the ritual has a sacred character, but little immediate effect upon the other characters who remain confused.

¹⁴⁵For the two models, usually presented separately in the various myths about human sacrifices, see Burkert 1979, 70-1.

distances her from Achilles, her mother and the chorus. The sacrificial group that she will join at the locus of the sacrifice will also contribute to her exclusion from the living community. Notwithstanding the festive tone of the scene, the separation that death involves cannot be concealed; yet the solemnity or even the festivity of the re-enacted ritual supports the communication with the Olympian divinity, a dimension the scene strongly asserts. It is the sacredness of Iphigeneia's death which sustains both the purpose of the sacrifice and the seriousness of the causes, which she proclaimed she would die for. However, as Iphigeneia moves in a ritual which brings forward her relationship with a different order, it remains questionable how deeply rooted these causes are in the world she leaves behind. The cost for these causes, and for the victory that Iphigeneia celebrates is her death. It is a death, however, which saves her from a worse fate threatened by the community. The community, on the other hand, is also saved from violent chaos.¹⁴⁶ Other effects, however, seem not to be elaborated.

It is noteworthy that in Euripides the theme of voluntary sacrifice, which was earlier directed towards the safety of the community, finally focuses on an emblematic presentation of the ways in which it may prove a form of salvation also for the individual, when trapped in a situation of conflict, moral fluidity and violence.

¹⁴⁶This aspect is particularly treated by Foley 1985, 85-102 adjusting her analysis to the Girardian model. The salvation of the community from violence through ritual at the expence of *oikos*-solidarity is argued by Seaford 1994, but without special focus on *IA*.

3.4 EURIPIDES' *HEKABE*

In comparison with the other human sacrificial victims Polyxena in Euripides' *Hekabe* is "a different case altogether: a 'marginal' victim who serves as a funerary sacrifice".¹⁴⁷ Both the 'marginality' of the victim (i.e. outside the group of the sacrificers) and the funerary context may make it easier for the sacrificing community to dispense with the victim (although in the play disagreement is depicted), and probably for the audience to accept the sacrificial conditions.¹⁴⁸ Even Hekabe's counter-argument based on ritual grounds seems to be rather weak (260): *μᾶλλον* lessens the force of her objection, whereas *μόνον*, metrically acceptable in that position, would have changed the tone completely. Nonetheless, the extremity of the ritual measure requires the consent of the victim to circumvent pollution. The strength needed, however, in order to accept death on the tomb of an enemy is immense and the consequences for the group of the sacrificial victim hardly bearable.

Although the debate between Odysseus and Hekabe about Polyxena's sacrifice has little bearing on the sacred aspects of her death, the ritual order is firmly established in the action of the scene. Odysseus enters as *πομπός* and *κομιστής* of the victim (222) and these terms imply his specific ritual role of escorting the victim to the place of sacrifice.¹⁴⁹ The appointment of Odysseus in the role of *pompos* cannot be accidental. It would be possible to choose a

¹⁴⁷ Henrichs 1981, 238. In the wider war context, however, Polyxena's sacrifice marks the closure of the Trojan campaign and the departure of the ships for Greece; it thus stands in relationship with Iphigeneia's death. According to Burkert 1983, 58-67 both preliminary and funerary sacrifices at the beginning and end of the war serve to atone for the killings in battle, a meaning probably touched on by Hekabe in 262-3.

¹⁴⁸ Even in historical times captives were ritually slaughtered on the tomb of Philopoimen (Plou. *Phil.* 21), as were the suspects for Philip's assassination on his tomb by Alexander the Great (Ju. *Epist.* 11. 2.1). And even if Phainias' story (ap. Plou. *Them.* 13. 2-5) was unhistorical, its preservation till Ploutarchos' time is suggestive.

¹⁴⁹ The term *πομπός* used elsewhere in Euripides only in *Ba.* in religious contexts, and *κομιστής* or *κομιστής* used at *Andr.* 1268 and *Hik.* 25 in solemn contexts as well. See also Collard 1991 ad loc. In the text Odysseus' reference to the *ἱερεὺς* of the sacrifice (224), just after announcing himself as the *πομπός*, points at the ritual implications of the whole description in 220-4.

person who would not cause any moral complications,¹⁵⁰ in order to play this role (Talthybios, for example, who as *keryx* mediates in the transportation of Cassandra and Astyanax in the *Tr.* 230-461 and 706-98, and appears later in the play to announce the death of Polyxena 484-628). Odysseus' selection, however, is telling; his presence is almost synonymous with an agent of death, and his role as the *pompos* maintains the prospect of death - the scope of his mediation - in the foreground, a fact emphatically stressed also by Polyxena as she urges to be led away (ἄγ' οὖν μ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, καὶ διέργασαί μ' ἄγων 369; cf. 432).

Polyxena's offering to Achilles has often been characterised as a 'Totenbraut' sacrifice, a definition that stands only if placed in a large anthropological perspective in comparison with female deaths in funerary contexts in other cultures.¹⁵¹ The tragic text, however, lends no support to any view of Polyxena's and Achilles' union in death,¹⁵² although her final passage to death calls forth her nuptials but in reverse: emphasis is placed on the failure to complete the nuptial transition (416 ἄνυμφος ἀνυμέναιος) and the motif 'marriage to Hades', explicitly referred to in other scenes,¹⁵³ may be implied in her words (368) Ἄϊδη προστιθεῖσ' ἐμὸν δέμας¹⁵⁴ or in Hekabe's words 612 νύμφην τε ἄνυμφον παρθένον τ' ἀπάρθενον. As in the 'marriage to

¹⁵⁰The moral issues, connected with the conditions of slavery and the reversal of order that the war entails, are complicated, although the sacrifice itself is presented as an accepted part of the myth and not questioned; see also Steiger 1912, 74, Adkins 1966, 198-9, Steidle 1968, 44 n. 2, and O'Connor-Visser 1987, 66-7. It is the acceptability of the sacrifice and its consequences that is explored in the play. Mitchell-Boyask's 1993 analysis of the sacrifice as a perverted ritual contains many misconceptions. For example, his main proof that the sacrifice is perverted and thus fails is the lack of wind immediately after the sacrifice. But, apart from any other considerations, in tragedy even perverted sacrifices make winds blow, as *A. Ag.* shows.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Schwenn 1915, 63-4, Henrichs 1981, 237.

¹⁵² Later versions of the myth are mainly romanticised; for a good discussion see Fontinoy 1955 who also notes the absence of nuptial implications in Euripides; cf. also Mossman 1995, 154 and 259 who discusses generally the problem of wedding imagery in the play (not necessarily related to Achilles) in opposition to Loraux 1987, 31-48.

¹⁵³ Explicit references: *S. Ant.* 816, *E. Tr.* 445, *IA* 461, etc. See my discussion of the wedding passages below; emphasis on the motif by Loraux 1987, 37-42; the text of *Hekabe* is, however, subtle and associations should not be very pressed. General discussion of the motif in tragedy Rehm 1994 *passim* (no specific discussion of *Hek.*).

¹⁵⁴ Cf. *IA* 1397 δίδωμι σῶμα τοῦμὸν Ἑλλάδι.

death' scenes, the tone is far from celebratory. Polyxena's last words resound with funeral motifs such as the meeting with the dead (422)¹⁵⁵ and farewell to the light (435).¹⁵⁶ There is no mention of wreaths or other sacred symbols, and Polyxena does not want to follow adorned with garlands but rather veiled with her garment (432 κόμιζ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, μ' ἀμφιθείς κάρα πέπλους). The act here signified is probably *not* the covering of the dead face or body at the hour of death,¹⁵⁷ but the ritual veiling which signifies a marginal or transitional state. Its use in the context of mourning and grief is well attested,¹⁵⁸ and particularly memorable from Aischylos' dramatic deployment in the *Niobe* (for the homonymous heroine) and in *Phrygians* and *Myrmidons* for Achilles.¹⁵⁹ The text seems to provide linguistic support for this interpretation: compared with ἀμφιβάλλω and ἀμφικαλύπτω in Euripides,¹⁶⁰ ἀμφιτίθημι (ἀμφιθείς κάρα πέπλους) seems to suggest the veiling of the head which left the face exposed and not total covering. In this context the πέπλος would combine associations of mourning rituals with the bridal veil in a 'marriage to death' related ritual. At the same time it could probably function as an act of consecration analogous to the wreathing of the sacrificial victim.¹⁶¹ The contrast between wreath (claimed by Herakles' daughter in the *Herakleidae* and Iphigeneia in the *Iphigeneia in Aulis*) and veil (claimed by Polyxena) is instructive as to the tone of the scene; but the expression of the wish (in all three cases by the human victims themselves) and the appeal to someone *else* to perform the act (particularly stressed in

¹⁵⁵Cf. S. *Ant.* 898-900.

¹⁵⁶Cf. E. *Alk.* 244, S. *Ant.* 806 and 878, S. *Ai.* 856, S. *OK* 1549, S. *OT* 1183 and A. *Ag.* 1323.

¹⁵⁷Occurring elsewhere in tragedy as in *Tr.* 627, 777, *Hipp.* 1458 and *Hkld.* 561; cf. also in *Hek.* 487; it is in this context that Collard 1991 ad 432, Taplin 1978, 71-2, Seaford 1984a, 249 interpret Polyxena's veiling.

¹⁵⁸See e.g. Hom. *Il.* 24. 93-4, *Od.* 8. 92, *H. Dem.* 40ff., Plato *Phd.* 117c.

¹⁵⁹For the recurrent iconographical motif, allegedly influenced by tragedy, see *LIMC* s.v. *Achilles*, nos. 437-57.

¹⁶⁰Cf. *Herakles* 361 πυρσῶ δ' ἀμφεκαλύφθη/ ξανθὸν κρᾶτ' ἐπινωτίσας/ δεινοῦ χάσματι θηρός, 465 στολήν τε θηρὸς ἀμφέβαλλε σῶ κάρα/ λέοντος.

¹⁶¹For veiling as an act of consecration (in the context of Roman *devotio*, however) see Versnel 1981.

Hekabe) underlines their voluntariness and their compliance with the sacrificial pattern: before joining the procession the victim must be prepared and ritually adorned, to be distinguished among the participants and bear the marks of its consecration. In the play the role is fulfilled by Odysseus, the advocate of and mediator in Polyxena's death, and the adornment is a funerary symbol. When finally the procession is formed (Odysseus, Polyxena, and possibly attendant soldiers), it leaves in silence bearing symbols of death, reminding us less of a sacrificial *pompe*, and perhaps more of a funerary escort.¹⁶² The procession stands in contrast to the triumphant exit of Iphigeneia, but on the other hand it enacts Polyxena's free but tragic choice (349-68) and her voluntary participation in a rite determined by necessity (346 τοῦ τ' ἀναγκαίου χάριν).

The prospect of death is the decisive dimension of Polyxena's ritualised exit. The sober tone which characterises the scene and links it with funerary transitions, is probably not irrelevant to the context of heroic cult which surrounds Polyxena's sacrifice. In 'real life', rituals in honour of chthonic divinities and the dead were usually characterised by dark colours, late time of the day, the head of the animal to be sacrificed facing towards the earth, lamentation and dark clothes.¹⁶³ The re-enacted ritual respects and reflects, to some extent, the appropriate atmosphere,¹⁶⁴ but its significance is not exhausted in that. The sober dimension is more directly linked with Polyxena's motives (death better than slavery), the purpose of her sacrifice (in honour of an enemy), the context of the war and especially with the consequences of her death for Hekabe. The funerary resonances of the procession highlight the

¹⁶²Or even of the escort of the soul to Hades, a collective belief familiar from representations on funerary vases; for a vivid tragic representation see E. *Alk.* 245-72, 379-92. The text of *Hekabe* gives some hints: as she is about to leave, Polyxena announces (414) ἄπειμι δὴ κάτω; and in 219 she has already mentioned the escort γῆς ὑποπεμπομένην σκότον.

¹⁶³See Burkert 1985, 199-200.

¹⁶⁴Similarly in *IA* the celebratory tone may have to do with the context of a sacrifice to an Olympian divinity; in *Hkld.* there is a moderate tone which does not contradict the chthonic context and matches the heroic aspects of the scene.

aspect of separation from the community of the living, of parting from family and friends. Responding to this overriding significance, Hekabe (438-40) tries to follow the moving procession, stretching her hands to her consecrated daughter, and pleading to keep her back¹⁶⁵ - to no avail: the procession has already transformed Polyxena.

Despite increased pathos the scene is free from any aspect of fatalistic resignation to death. Hekabe's last reaction is indicative. Polyxena, on the other hand, tries to command her fate by exercising control over the *mode* of her death: having expressed her consent, Polyxena urges the formation of the procession (369), gives instructions for its arrangement and symbols (432-7), takes up her role. She 'stage-manages' the ritual to confirm her freedom of will. The symbolism of the procession, however, unmitigated by any heroic or sacred dimension (contrary to the cases in the *Hkld.* and *IA*), underlines the pain of separation.¹⁶⁶ In this play it is the messenger's report (518-582) which has an assuaging effect upon the community (or the representative of the group) from which the victim is taken, as it reveals Polyxena's exceptionally heroic conduct at the moment of the highest intensity, at the moment of the death blow (547-70).¹⁶⁷ Polyxena's *physical* acceptance of death, underlined in

¹⁶⁵Mossman 1995, 57 - influenced perhaps by Kakoyannis' film *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, as she reveals in n. 36 - wrongly suggest that Polyxena may yield to Hekabe's pleas and that she leaves at 440. This is impossible for a consecrated victim. Moreover, the text (432-40) leaves no doubt that a) Polyxena is determined and will not turn back; and b) that Hekabe addresses the departed. See also Steidle 1968, 46.

¹⁶⁶Gellie 1980, 32-4 judges that Polyxena's 'stage-managing' of the sacrifice shows her 'happy (my italics) acceptance of death', that the scenes 'have been drained of tragic import', even that Polyxena 'must be the kind of girl who make us feel good when she dies'. I think that the ritual action and its associations with 'real-life' conditions suggests that Euripides' contemporary audiences (and readers) would react differently.

¹⁶⁷Some scholars - influenced presumably by psychoanalytic theories - have probably gone too far in stressing the sexual aspect of Polyxena's conduct: Gellie 1980, 34; Michelini 1987, 164-6; Segal 1993, 172-3; Gregory 1991, 97 and n. 23 (her readings of necrophilia in 568-70 and 604-6 are unacceptable); Zeitlin 1991, 73-4, 78 (more restrained); Thalmann 1993, 143-8; Mitchell-Boyask 1993, 120-3. Loraux 1987, 57-61 is right to stress that Polyxena's motives are heroic, but her view that the male participants in the sacrifice interpreted her action differently is questionable. The text at least suggests the contrary: 579-80 τῇ περισσ' εὐκαρδίῳ/ ψυχὴν τ' ἀρίστην and the instance of φυλλοβολία (574) acknowledge the performance of ἀνδρεία. For non-erotic interpretations see, on the aspect of *oiktos* caused by Polyxena's death and Euripides' poetics of pity Pucci 1977, 169-71, 179-81; from a narrative perspective de Jong 1991, 88-9, 143; general objections and emphasis on elements of pathos Mossman 1995, 142-63.

her decision to face the death blow unshaken, frontally, taking off even the last symbolic covering against its force (547-65), is a complement to her initial moral acceptance of death, signified by her original consent and her command of a procession with a clear mourning character.

The spectacle of the procession introduces the pathetic, mourning side of human death, while the description of the actual sacrifice contributes the honorific side of it. The two pictures do not contradict but rather complement each other, creating a balance which saves the representation of the sacrifice from either of the extremes of idealisation or fatalism. More importantly perhaps, both stages of the sacrifice and their particular modes of performance create a frame which contains the exceptional violence inherent in the sacrifice of a human being. With its emphasis on the funerary character, the procession reflects the ἀνάγκη of death, inevitable for any human being, to which Polyxena (and Hekabe) complies. The procession at least creates the context for a gradual and not abrupt confrontation with this necessity, for a smooth transition to a different order of things.¹⁶⁸ The reassuring function of the procession, which contributes towards coming to terms with death, is combined with the elements of 'belle mort' - of a heroic death which exalts the physical and moral beauty of the warrior (reflecting the dominant ideology about a positive death) - which are essential for the acceptability of human death. The honorific treatment of the body (571-80; cf. 672-3) closes this frame which surrounds Polyxena's death with a tone of moderation and respect. Even if the pain of death can hardly be soothed, the proper execution of the ritual with all the aspects analysed above, has an effect upon Hekabe¹⁶⁹ who reacts with moderation and accepts στεγρὰ ἀνάγκη (1295).

¹⁶⁸This function is supported by the associations of the re-enacted ritual with funerary rituals which aim at facilitating the transition of the dead (and of those left behind); see Part I, discussion of funeral processions. Reassurances for a safe transition lie also at the heart of collective beliefs about the escort of the soul to Hades; see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, ch. 5.

¹⁶⁹She acknowledges that after listening to Talthybios 591-2 τὸ δ' αὖ λίαν παρεῖλες ἀγγελθεῖσά μοι/ γενναῖος.

Polyxena's sacrifice, however, stands in contrast to the horrific death of Polydoros which reveals the corruption and hypocrisy lying behind it (710-5, 952-1002) and signifies ritual disrespect: the body is maltreated (716-8), shamelessly cast away (697-708), deprived of burial and hence of the possibility of a smooth transition.¹⁷⁰ Besides the fact of death it is the mode of death, secret, offensive and abrupt, which triggers Hekabe's extreme reaction.¹⁷¹ The successive deaths of Polydoros and Polyxena accumulate pain and suffering for Hekabe; moreover, the timing of the revelation of Polydoros' death - before the conduct of the funerary ritual, especially the mourning, with its anxiety-releasing effect - may be felt to aggravate the emotional climate and to anticipate a violent outburst.¹⁷² Nonetheless, the contrast between the different conditions of death is a parameter which contributes significantly to a better understanding of different responses.

¹⁷⁰Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 304-21 shows that according to fifth-century eschatological beliefs the soul could enter Hades even before the body was buried; but burial was still necessary for the soul 'to be properly and honorably integrated into the community of the dead' (Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 310).

¹⁷¹Michelini 1987, 170, Zeitlin 1991, 85 and *passim*, Mossman 1995, 174-7, 188-9 note that in ancient Greek culture vengeance is retribution not only for the fact but also for the *kind* of injustice.

¹⁷²This is an important aspect which, I think, would have been felt by an audience deeply accustomed with death rituals, even if it was not rationalized and explicitly formulated in the text. The dramatic importance of the power of funeral ceremonies as an emotional outlet is also pointed out by Zeitlin 1991, 84-5 in her comparison of *Hek.* with *E. Tr.*

4. SOPHOKLES' *TRACHINIAI*

The *Trachiniai* is not least among Sophokles' plays for the emphasis it lays on stage spectacle.¹⁷³ The play is especially indebted to ritual movements, and especially to processional ceremonies, echoes of which are incorporated in the action in the form of re-enactments, descriptions and allusions. These include the resonances of wedding celebrations in the first stasimon (205-15); the entry of Lichas with the cortège of the enslaved women (225ff.); the expectations of a victorious entry of the hero (181-6, 633-663), and the beginning of the victory procession (752) but with the corrupted sacrifice (756) which turns the flow of events; towards the end of the play the processional entry of the defeated Herakles in a deeply mourning context (964-71); and finally the solemn processional exodos (1264ff.).

This recurrent echo of processional motifs can hardly be accidental. From the very beginning of the play it is explicitly stated that the moment dramatized is a moment of crisis: τῷδε τῷ χρόνῳ Herakles will either make the transition from a life of μόχθοι to an ἀλύπητον βίον, or die (79-81, 166-8; cf. 1169-71).¹⁷⁴ As Deianeira remarks, Herakles finds himself at a ῥοπή (ἐν ῥοπῇ τοιᾷδε κειμένῳ 82), on the verge of time, at a turning-point, at a point of transition. The imparting of this information stirs up tension and draws attention to the figure of Herakles (though not present for another 800 lines). From this point onwards the action of the play elaborates the ways in which this transition is effected. In 'real life' major transitions are marked by processional ritual: at the critical moment the community gathers to escort, assist and protect the person who undergoes the change. In the play Herakles'

¹⁷³Both song and stage action evoke formal elements of weddings, victory celebrations and funerals. See Burton 1980, 3, 43-44, 50-53, 55, 59, 77; Stinton 1990, 413.

¹⁷⁴Crisis in Sophokles is often punctuated by strong time markers; see for instance *Ai.* 801-2 καθ' ἡμέραν/ τὴν νῦν ὁ τούτῳ θάνατον ἢ βίον φέρει; *OT* 438 ἥδ' ἡμέρα φύσει σε καὶ διαφθερεῖ; cf. *Ant.* 996 βεβῶς αὖ νῦν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ τύχης, 1078 φανεῖ γάρ, οὐ μακροῦ χρόνου τριβή.

change implies the abandonment of a previous style of life (a πολύπρονος βίος 117-8, being υπόπτολιν 647) and the integration into a more normal way of living. The evocation of processional ritual underlines the concept of transition and the dangers related to it. At the same time the recurrence of processional echoes becomes a form of anticipation and prefiguration of the hero's reception, and at the end it proves an effective medium for the accomplishment of a complete reversal of expectations. In this context the final procession, i.e. the one which affects the true transition of the hero, assumes exceptional importance.

The arrival of Lichas with the captives is a major theatrical moment (223-8). Although the number of attendants cannot be exactly estimated, the text indicates that it was considerable (πολλῷ στόλῳ 496, servants for both Herakles' house and the temples 245). The garlanded herald as a πομπός would lead at the front, and Iole would follow at the head of the long series of women, her posture and probably dress distinctively different (307-313).¹⁷⁵ The end of the formation might be occupied by armed attendants to indicate that the women were under detention. This impressive entry would call for an explanation. Herald's do not normally have the task of escorting captives. It would be more likely for captives to be included in the retinue of the victorious general (cf. Th. 4.37 and 39). This expectation is supported by the play: the first messenger announces that Herakles comes ἄγοντ' ἀπαρχὰς θεοῖσι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις (182)¹⁷⁶ and Lichas introduces the captives as κτῆμα θεοῖσι κριτόν (245). The connection is obvious: although Herakles has not yet appeared, part of his escort is already on stage. We have already started witnessing the return of the hero. Expectations for a victorious escort have already been shaped. But so have also the fears, which are traditionally

¹⁷⁵On Iole's appearance see the discussion in Seale 1982, 188-9; also the note in Easterling 1982 ad 313. The women generally would be in mourning dress, since they have lost loved ones (282-3).

¹⁷⁶ἀπαρχὰς is a general term but it may well imply a hint at the captives; see Kamerbeek 1957 ad loc; Segal 1981, 65.

associated with victories and victorious entries¹⁷⁷: the misfortune of the women hints at the fragility of εὐπραγία (295 ταρβεῖν τὸν εὖ πράσσοντα μὴ σφαλῇ ποτε). The first indications of victory introduce the first ominous hints.

The ominous character of the procession and its indirect association with ritual events is further revealed with the disclosure of Iole's identity (352-67, 380-82, 476-89). Iole has been led to Trachis as a δάμαρ for Herakles (428; the verb ἄγειν is also used for wedding escorts). In this light the entrance of the captives acquires new significance, explicitly revealed by the chorus later in the play (841-62).¹⁷⁸ Most acutely the chorus, as an alert spectator, interprets the confrontation of the two women in the context of an anomalous wedding procession.¹⁷⁹ At the moment of the encounter Deianeira stands in interaction with the spectacle of the captive women (having a distinguished maiden at the head and the rest following behind, in an arrangement so reminiscent of the nuptial escort), and she seems to suspect the enigma of the situation. Despite the captives' silence a complex interaction is created involving Lichas, Deianeira and Iole (and in the background of the scene the messenger and the chorus). Although the verbal dialogue remains confined to two characters only, the processional event introduces the third factor which complicates the communication.¹⁸⁰

The significance of the stage action in the captives' scene depends also on timing: the retinue of the captive women enters the stage, as soon as the chorus conclude their jubilant lyric song celebrating Herakles' victory and the

¹⁷⁷See Slater 1984 and my discussion of A. Ag. 782-984 below (processions in the context of marriage).

¹⁷⁸For the wedding imagery and the processional echoes in this song see my analysis of wedding passages further below.

¹⁷⁹The chorus' reaction offers a valuable indication of the potential reaction of the audience to analogous scenes which echo ritual motifs.

¹⁸⁰The extent of the narrative and the confinement of the dialogue to mainly two characters were seen by Reinhardt 1979 as features of early dramatic technique. His analysis is valuable, but in his effort to prove the early date of Sophokles' techniques (mainly dialogue techniques) in this play he often underestimates the significance of the dramatic action. He was the first, however, to notice the parallels of this scene with the reception of Cassandra in A. Ag. (cf. Kapsomenos 1963, 77-9).

reunion with Deianeira (205-24).¹⁸¹ With the disclosure of the truth the expectations of a happy reunion have suffered a reversal and a first sinister indication concerning Herakles' victory is introduced.

If the arrival of the captive women has shaken the hopes for the reunion, it has not had the same effect on the expectations of a victorious return. The splitting and doubling of Herakles' victorious escort and the arrival of a preliminary part increases the anticipation of Herakles' glorious homecoming. In the second stasimon the chorus envisage Herakles on his way back *πάσας ἀρετᾶς λάφυρ' ἔχων* (645-6), and address a summons to all the inhabitants of Trachis and the nearby area, who will soon celebrate with music the return of Herakles (633-44). This stasimon¹⁸² picks up the mood of the earlier short lyric song (205) and expands its victory themes. The conventional form of the stasimon (which may be classed as *prosphonetikon* and associated with the celebration of a return or with an anticipated return¹⁸³) has been recognised and more recently thoroughly analyzed by Stinton.¹⁸⁴ What must also be noticed, however, is the conventional occasion and celebration which the chorus pictures in this song, a glimpse of which has already been allowed in the earlier short lyric outburst: the processional arrival of the victor and his escort, and his reception by the community with music, and often amidst the cries of the *ololyge* and the singing of the *paian*. This picture¹⁸⁵ is often expanded to combine both victory and wedding, in which case the traditional pattern has bride and bridegroom returning

¹⁸¹The song contains features connected with both wedding and victory (especially characteristic the combination of *paian* and *ololyge*); see Burton 1980, 50-53, Easterling 1982 ad loc. It is interesting that the chorus end their song with the exclamation of the *paian* as soon as the cortège appears approaching; in Sappho 44 Voigt and Ar. *Birds* 1763 the *paian* also arises at the end of the wedding procession; Avagianou 1991, 12 takes it as a standard feature of the wedding ceremony.

¹⁸²One of Sophokles' well-known optimistic odes before the disaster; see Kranz 1933, 213-4.

¹⁸³See Cairns 1972, 21-3.

¹⁸⁴Stinton 1990, 406-413 with a sensitive approach to its particular tragic features.

¹⁸⁵Drawn clearly in the sources, see my discussion of victory and honorific examples in Part I. For the combination of victory and wedding see e.g. Hes. fr. 211 M-W and Sappho 44 Voigt.

together.¹⁸⁶ In the *Trachiniai*, however, two separate arrivals are performed, and the reason is *not* to be found in an attempt at concealing Iole's role (480). In the play the emphasis lies elsewhere: Iole's escort to Trachis is presented (especially from Deianeira's point of view) as the dispatch of a gift (494, 542). A δῶρον calls for an ἀντί-δωρον; the sending of Iole is balanced by the dispatch of the *peplos* (494, 603). Lichas functions as the πομπός who mediates between Herakles and Deianeira through the conveyance of gifts (cf. 616-9). This neat intertwining of Herakles' and Deianeira's actions reveals an implicit hint at the interrelation and reciprocity lying at the heart of their suffering.

Both gifts wreak havoc. As a result Herakles' anticipated triumphant entry, prepared for through a number of victory associations (the first lyric song, the group of the captives, the *prosphonetikon*, even the *peplos*, a fitting present for a victor expected to appear in a splendid garment καινὸς ἐν καινῷ πεπλώματι 613), fails completely. This subversion receives major attention: being a *nostos*-play the *Trachiniai* turn Herakles' entrance into 'the focus and conclusion of the tragedy', as has been pointed out by Taplin.¹⁸⁷ The focal scene, when it is finally reached, must be a total reversal of the picture of the καλλίνικος Herakles of lyric poetry.¹⁸⁸

When Herakles arrives at Trachis (962ff.), a funereal escort comes into sight. Instead of the community receiving and escorting the hero,

¹⁸⁶Even in cases of illegitimate relations as in A. Ag. See my discussion of wedding examples below.

¹⁸⁷See Taplin 1977, 84. The original parallel was with A. *Persai*; A. Ag. and E. *Her.* have also been added. E. *Andr.* also has some parallels; see my discussion below. The differences in the development of this pattern in the various plays should not be overlooked. In the *Tr.* the preparation for Herakles' entry through the evocation of other processional events is unique.

¹⁸⁸ See Galinsky 1972, 15-39 for Herakles' treatment in Archaic poetry, Pindar and Bakchylides (in 20-21 he notes that some lyric poets give him more ordinary dimensions). *Kallinikos* and *alexikakos* remain Herakles' cultic titles; see Burkert 1985, 208-11. The sacrificial context in which the reversal takes place substantiates the victory and stresses the importance of the motif in the play: see 750-65 in which Herakles proceeds, with spoils (νίκης ἄγων τροπαῖα κάκροθίνια 751), to demarcate territory, found an altar (βωμοῦς ὀρίξει τεμενίαν τε φυλλάδα 754, cf. 237-8) and offer sacrifice (760-61, cf. 240). For this common pattern cf. Pi. O. 10. 35-59 (foundation of the Olympic games) and Pi. fr. 140a (consecration of altar to Zeus and Apollo).

Herakles is surrounded and carried by foreigners (ἐξόμιλος βάσις ξένων). The rhythm is imposed by the heavy but noiseless (ἄψοφον) movement of the cortège which is noticed by the chorus in its attempt to define the significance of the procession (πῇ δ' αὖ φορεῖ νιν; 965).¹⁸⁹ When the cortège approaches and the chorus can see Herakles lying on the bier ἀναύδατος (968), speechless and motionless under the cover (1078) (a symbol associated with the conveyance of dead bodies), the funereal impression is so strong that the chorus cannot tell if he is alive or dead (969-70). Hyllos who enters from the house¹⁹⁰ and receives the procession, reacts to the spectacle as to a real funeral escort: lamenting, he addresses the apparent dead (971-3; 977); and in the actual performance he may have raised his hand in the typical male gesture of greeting the dead.¹⁹¹ Bringing the hero back home (even if Trachis is not actual home), the escort recalls the conveyance of dead bodies from battle. Yet, the procession is headed by a πρέσβυς (977 γέρον) and not by a man of an age suitable for warrior, and it is not at all certain that the rest are soldiers of the ὄμιλος in Herakles' service as Kamerbeek suggests.¹⁹² The heroic tone is thus absent or at least played down, while the mourning features prevail. The procession conveys Herakles' isolation, impotence and ultimate defeat.¹⁹³

The effect of this stage event is not ἐκπληξίς. Herakles' misfortune had already been communicated by Hyllos in vivid imagery (750-806). Here the

¹⁸⁹This is an important and explicit indication of the way in which spectators of processions tried to make sense of the spectacle.

¹⁹⁰In view of 901-2 many scholars hold that Hyllos enters with the escort. This is persuasively refuted by Winnington-Ingram 1969, 44-46. If anything, Hyllos' question at 977 sounds totally unnatural on the lips of a member of the escort, and in fact of the closest relative of the transported diseased man.

¹⁹¹Cf. E. *Hik.* 771-74 εἴμ' ἴν' αἶρω χεῖρ' ἀπαντήσας νεκροῖς/ ἄιδου τε μολπὰς ἐκχέω δακρυρρόους,/ φίλους προσανδῶν.

¹⁹²Kamerbeek 1957 ad 964. Seale 1982, 204 thinks that a group of foreign mercenaries would 'capture the rootlessness of the great warrior' (the aspect of the rootless great hero is brought out by Winnington-Ingram 1969, 45). Still, there is no textual indication as to the particular status of the attendants. In Hyllos' description an unspecified 'we' is used (804) and general reference to a 'crowd' is made (783, 795 with Easterling 1982 ad loc.).

¹⁹³The sense of defeat is emphasized by Herakles himself in his rhesis (cf. the vocabulary of defeat in 1063, 1102, 1104).

emphasis lies on the act of 'looking-on', on θέαμα and the emotions it excites. The chorus explicitly state that they are afraid to look at Herakles (εἰσιδοῦσα 958) in his δυσάπαλλάκτοις ὀδύναις (959). When they see Herakles on the bier they respond with an exclamation of mourning and horror (αἰαῖ 968). Seeing the procession approaching, Hyllos bursts into lamentation and self-bemoaning (971-3); this spectacle is βάρος ἄπλετον (982). And when Herakles gives the first indications that he is alive (983-6), it becomes even more difficult for Hyllos to 'see' (λεύσσω 992). The procession underlines this emphasis on 'seeing' and its mournful character works most effectively to stir up the emotion of pity. The potential of spectacle to arouse pity¹⁹⁴ is even more provocatively explored later in the play when Herakles with a magnificent theatrical gesture uncovers his body to expose his deformity (1053-6) to public view (1079 ἰδοῦ, θεᾷσθε πάντες ἄθλιον δέμας).¹⁹⁵ This is probably the kind of ὄψις, against which Aristotle's strictures were directed (*Poet.* 1453b). Yet, such a display of physical πάθη must have had an enormous effect upon the audience. In a culture which valued physical strength and beauty so highly, and which celebrated this value so abundantly in art, deformity is utter humiliation. Suffering from such a πῆμα, one can only rely on others' οἶκτος. But being the object of οἶκτος is not a desirable state; in Herodotos' words (3.52) φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶν ἢ οἰκτίρεσθαι. Herakles' accentuation of the notion of οἶκτος, and his repeated invitation to be pitied (1070-71, 1080) reveals desperation. To watch the greatest hero suffer in this way must have been a shocking experience. The horror and pity experienced and expressed by the chorus (1044-45, 1112-13) is a telling indication. This aspect of Herakles' presentation in this scene must be taken seriously under

¹⁹⁴Cf. Lada 1993, 105-8.

¹⁹⁵How would this be staged? How naturalistic would the staging be? These are difficult questions to answer but, I think, the text suggests that the audience would probably view something more than the horrified reaction of Hyllos and the chorus, as Easterling 1982 ad 1079 proposes.

consideration for a critical evaluation of the hero's treatment in the play.¹⁹⁶ The audience's sense of pity, stirred up by the power of the spectacle (and also assisted by the singing of the lament earlier in the scene), would have mitigated their appreciation of the *δύσοργον* quality (1118) of the hero's character.

The tension from the hero's display of suffering disperses as soon as he hears the truth (1140-42). A change of mood is immediately perceived. Herakles acquires an insight into the present situation which the others cannot for the present fully appreciate. In his response he stresses the sense of understanding: *φρονῶ* (1145), *λαμπρὰ συμβαίνει* (1174). His suffering is no more an unexpected, absurd and incomprehensible stroke of misfortune, which calls for revenge. It falls into the expected course of events of his life defined and predicted by Zeus himself through his oracles (1159-63 older oracle, 1165-71 Dodonaean oracle). Interpreted in this light, his suffering becomes detached from Deianeira's agency and Deianeira herself is completely forgotten. From this point onwards Herakles has control over the situation, empowered, as can be inferred, with the knowledge of the oracles and the will of Zeus.¹⁹⁷ He speaks with an air of authority and arranges the subsequent action: his body - ravaged by the *νόσος* but still living - must be burnt ritually on a pyre on Mount Oita (1191-1202); second, Hyllos must marry Iole (1219-29).¹⁹⁸ Despite Hyllos' shocked reaction, Herakles' will

¹⁹⁶Views claiming Herakles' eligibility for pity accumulate: see Rehm 1994, 79 and 81, noting that the female qualities of Herakles' suffering would increase the audience's sympathy for him; also Holt 1989, 77-9 making a general case against the views that see Herakles as purely violent and cruel. For earlier views which acknowledge that to some extent Herakles would command some pity (not less because he is the 'best of men'), see Easterling 1982, 6-7 and 1981, 60-61; Winnington-Ingram 1980, 83 n.32; Waldock 1951, 84-90 (general case against negative evaluation of Herakles).

¹⁹⁷For this view see also Easterling 1981, 64 and Easterling 1982, 8 and ad 1149-50. On the apparent inconsistencies of the oracles in the play cf. Davies 1991, 268-9.

¹⁹⁸For the interpretation of this second requirement Rehm 1994, 79-83 is a valuable corrective of the older psychological interpretations and a necessary complement to the views acknowledging only the demands of the legend. His ritual-orientated interpretation (Herakles acting as *kyrios* for both Hyllos and Iole, arranging a marriage to ensure the survival of the *oikos*) and its results for the general tone of the last scene would fit my interpretation for the funeral-sacrificial dimension of the scene (see my analysis below),

prevails. The play ends with the procession taking Herakles to Mount Oita for cremation.

Herakles' death on the pyre has been a central problem of the interpretation of the play. According to extant sources dating from the fifth century onwards the death on the pyre was related to the story of Herakles' apotheosis, i.e. his translation to Olympus and his reception into the company of the gods.¹⁹⁹ The connection of these two events in the mythology of the hero has (and should have) received greater attention since the discovery of a cult of Herakles on Mount Oita from the Geometric times to the Roman period which involved the burning of animals, effigies and other objects in a bonfire.²⁰⁰ With these data available it has become controversial whether the reference to Herakles' death on the pyre is meant to be understood as a reference to his apotheosis as well, or not. Although another full examination²⁰¹ is here out of place, it is worth repeating that the reference to the death on the pyre was not necessary for the end of the play and its inclusion demands an explanation.²⁰² The most recent study of the problem²⁰³ confronts the issue as a dilemma between glorification and

although he himself does not analyse, and does not seem to realize, the significance of the first requirement.

¹⁹⁹The fifth-century sources include S. *Ph.* 727-9; E. *Hkld.* 910-18; Hdt. 7. 198 (indirect); three vases (around 420-380) showing the pyre with some indications of divine intervention and escape from death (nymphs quenching the fire, chariot with Herakles in the sky): a) Munich 2360 (Jahn 384) (*ARV*² 1186.30), b) S. Agata de' Goti, Mustilli collection (*ARV*² 1420.5) c) New York 52.11.18.

²⁰⁰Report of excavations in Pappadakis 1919; the discussion of the cult which had a wide influence is M. P. Nilsson 1951a, 348-54, originally published in 1922.

²⁰¹The two fairly recent thorough discussions include Holt 1989 (for his views see below); and Easterling 1981 (very similar in Easterling 1982, 9-11) who allows for an ironic allusion to the cult and the attachment of some significance to the manner of Herakles' death as presented in the play although emphasizing the mortality of Herakles ('in the spirit of *Iliad* 18'); opposed to her Stinton 1991, 479-90 (originally published in 1986), arguing against any hint at apotheosis or ambiguity as to Herakles' death at the end of the play; Stinton 1991, 493-507 is also important for showing that reference to death by fire would not automatically imply apotheosis (contrast for example Burkert 1985, 198 and Shapiro 1983, 16 who seem to connect fire with apotheosis but without arguments). For an overview of various (earlier) scholarly opinions on the issue of apotheosis see Holt 1989, 69. For a most recent view see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 197 (apotheosis not signalled in the text but the audience's knowledge deconstructed the fact of death).

²⁰²Linforth 1952, 255-67

²⁰³Holt 1989.

annihilation and opts for Herakles' glorification (be that an heroization, a deification or even pure exaltation, the text does not specify). The following analysis acknowledges that the cultic reality and the mythological tradition about Herakles' heroization/ deification was so strong - while the literary tradition of an ordinary mortal death so restricted²⁰⁴- that with the reference to Mount Oita the recollection of the cultic status of the hero would be inevitable. The mode of the final departure, which is also disputed ground in the scholarly debate, seems to support this association. The analysis of the ritual indications is a useful guide in this direction.

The announcement of Herakles' requirements is preceded by a formal oath to Zeus, executed in full ritual precision. This is the first indication that what is to follow will be under the surveillance of the god. Strikingly the ritual procedure that he prescribes for his death is markedly different from an ordinary funeral. He is not to die at home; his relation to the *oikos* is not fully re-established even at death. He is to be carried alive to the heights of Mount Oita, a summit which is repeatedly referred to in the play as sacred to Zeus (1191 Οἴτης Ζηνὸς ὑψιστον πάγον; 200 ὦ Ζεῦ, τὸν Οἴτης ἄτομον ὃς λειμῶν' ἔχεις; ἄτομον a clear indication that it is dedicated to Zeus; also 436-7 and 634-5). The place where the ritual will be executed is further specified as a sacrificial spot (1192 θυτήρ γε πολλὰ δὴ σταθεὶς ἄνω/ 1193 ἐνταῦθα...). At this very place a pyre must be piled up not from any type of wood but specifically from oak, the tree sacred to Zeus, and wild olive, the tree brought to Greece by Herakles himself and consecrated to Zeus in the grove at Pisa (P.O. 13ff. Paus. 5 7.7).²⁰⁵ He is to be cremated on that pyre still living, while no tears are to be shed (γόου δὲ μηδὲν εἰσίτω δάκρυ/ ἀλλ' ἀστένακτος κἀδάκρυτος

²⁰⁴Mainly *Iliad* 18. 117-9; in the *Iliad*, however, the Dioskouroi are also ordinary dead (3. 243-4); contrast other epics in which the heroes' acquisition of an exceptional status after death is an important motif. For the discussion of other sources (especially E. *Hkld.* 910-4 and *Her.* 1331) which seem to imply a sort of mortality for Herakles see Holt 1989, 72-3.

²⁰⁵This is more likely the symbolism of the olive wood here than the connection (that Holt 1989, 76 only mentions) with Athena who has not been introduced at all in this play; see also Kamerbeek 1957 ad 1195.

1119-20). This last prescription is most illuminating: lamentation is essential at a funeral but restricted at sacrifices. The ritual lines then converge: they are all clear resonances of a sacrificial ritual to Zeus.

The point to be stressed is the connection of the prescribed ritual with Zeus.²⁰⁶ At a propitious sacrifice the victim is consecrated to the god in honour of whom the ritual is executed²⁰⁷. Ordinary deaths, on the other hand, are constantly presented as a commitment to the gods of the underworld, as a metaphorical sacrifice to Hades or Persephone.²⁰⁸ By presenting himself as a voluntary victim in a propitious ritual in honour of Zeus (in contrast to the aggression that erupted and destroyed the sacrifices at Kenaion) Herakles places himself under the protection of Zeus, commits himself to Zeus. In tragedy human sacrifices are usually executed for some public good. In the *Trachiniae*, however, the sacrificial metaphor serves only Herakles' purposes: it is an attempt at and a demonstration of the establishing of an intimate relationship between Herakles and Zeus. This clear indication of a deviation from the ordinary funerary procedure and of an association with Zeus would not be included, were it to have no significance. For the audience it would work as a stimulus to activate their knowledge of the honour bestowed by Zeus upon Herakles after death, and hence to encourage further the link with the cultic reality achieved through the reference to the ritual on Mount Oita.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶This aspect has not been stressed, although the sacrificial indications have been noticed with varying emphasis: Segal 1981, 100-101; Easterling 1982, 9-10; Holt 1989, 78.

²⁰⁷I stress the notion of consecration, not of identification between god and victim. See Burkert 1985, 64-66.

²⁰⁸An undisputable example: E. *Alk.* 74-6 στείχω δ' ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὥς κατάρξωμαι ξίφει/ ἱερὸς γὰρ οὗτος τῶν κατὰ χθονὸς θεῶν/ οὔτου τόδ' ἔγχεος κρατὸς ἀγνίστη τρίχα.

²⁰⁹Since Herakles was recognized as both a hero and a god, the honours can be either heroic (cf. the case Hippolytos-Artemis in E. *Hipp.* 1423-1430) or divine. The play builds up the framework in which the expectations for the bestowal of honours can be activated without specifying the actual result. Yet, the audience's knowledge of the *type* of the cult on Mt Oita (either heroic, as Stinton 1991, 496-501, has argued, or divine, as it is usually taken after Nilsson) would probably make a connection between the spectacle and the character of the cult unavoidable. Since the reconciliation between the death on the pyre and the story of the deification was achieved in the fifth century (as Stinton himself admits) and since the play places strong emphasis on the Olympian side of Zeus, Zeus of 'the highest', of the summits (contrast Zeus *chthonios* in *OK* 1606) and on the restriction of

In the world of the play, however, Herakles' death remains a human death, even if it is placed into the context of sacrifice. Even in an ordinary sacrifice the horror of death cannot be completely erased, implied as it is in the attempt to conceal the implements of aggression and to invest it with drama culminating in the cry of the *ololyge* and the death blow.²¹⁰ This is even more so in the cases of *enagismos* and in the mythic examples of human sacrifices. In tragic cases of voluntary human sacrifice tension is recurrently produced between the sacrificial victim's acceptance of death and the shocked and mournful reaction of the other characters.²¹¹ In the *Trachiniae* Herakles displays an enormous resolution to assure the fulfilment of what must be done, and an awareness that his death will be an ἱάσις (1209) and a παῦλα κακῶν (1255), expressions which may imply - besides the relief from physical pain - the attainment of an exceptional status through death. Comparable are the cases of heroization in Greek tragedy, in which the characters and/ or the chorus react in a traditionally mournful way despite the signs or even the assurance of an exceptional lot. Heroization did not mean escape from death but only investment of the dead with an exceptional power. Hence the lament of Antigone and Ismene at Oidipous' death in *Oidipous at Kolonos* (1606-22),²¹² the mourning for Hippolytos and for Medeia's children despite assurances for their heroization (E. *Hipp.* 1454-61; *Med.* 1379-1414), and the

lamentation, an association with the the apotheosis-version of Herakles' end is more likely than his heroization. Cf. March 1987, 49-77 who supports the reading of apotheosis; and Sourvinou-Iwood 1995, 86-7 who argues for a development in the perception of Herakles' afterlife fate and that in the fifth century the apotheosis would be taken for granted (despite the literary tradition).

²¹⁰The degree of emphasis on the aspect of death at an ordinary sacrifice is the notorious point of disagreement between the Burkert approach and the Vernant approach. Peirce 1993 has stressed that in vase iconography *thysia* (not *enagismos*) connotes celebration. Yet, some symbolic parts of the procedure cannot easily be eliminated, even if vases reflect the overall joyful tone of the occasion; cf. also van Straten 1995, 187 who notes that Burkert's results are not irreconcilable with iconographical data.

²¹¹Cf. the relation of Iphigeneia and Klytaimnestra in E. *IA*, the *parthenos* and Iolaos in the *Hklid*, Menoikeus and Kreon in the *Pho.* and Polyxena and Hekabe in the *Hek.* For the necessary qualifications and variations of the different cases see the relevant discussions in my analysis.

²¹²It is important to note that there was lament and expressions of sympathy mainly before death; after Oidipous' death the two sisters are advised to give up lament: see especially 1720-23 and 1751-53.

chorus' lamentation for Alkestis (E. *Alk.* 234-37, 609-10, 741-46, 872-77, 879-94) in spite of their singing of her future cult (445-54, 1000-05).²¹³ Closer still is the case of Euripides' *Andromache*: in the death scene of that play lamentation is also restricted (1270), after indications have been given of Neoptolemos' heroic honours and promises for Peleus' deification (1239-42, 1255-6).²¹⁴ There, however, the change of atmosphere is made through divine intervention. In the *Trachiniai* there is only the new air of authority with which Herakles speaks and his knowledge of oracles that the others have never heard before.

In the procession that is being formed to proceed to Mount Oita, Herakles will be carried away neither unconscious nor violently reacting. He himself gives the first order for the arrangement and the departure of the escort and he is the first to keep the holy *euphemia* which he instituted (1259-63). The attendants who brought Herakles to Trachis will again lift up and carry the bier to Mount Oita (1255, 1264-5). Behind the bier (or next to it) Hyllos will also follow as the representative of the *oikos*. The chorus may also join in,²¹⁵ since 1275-8 (σύ, παρθέν' 1275) sounds more natural if spoken by Hyllos as part of his arrangement of the procession than by the *koryphaios* as a call to the rest of the chorus to leave the orchestra.²¹⁶ The result would be an impressive *exeunt omnes* with the chorus closing the procession as the main witnesses of all πάθη throughout the play and as the representatives of the community.

²¹³On *Alkestis* see also my discussion below.

²¹⁴See my discussion of all these issues below in the analysis of E. *Andr.* It is interesting that in parallel to the *Trachiniai* Thetis' instructions include the arrangement of a marriage for Andromache and the founding of a new dynasty.

²¹⁵The possibility that Iole is addressed at 1275 seems unlikely; see Easterling 1981, 70-71 and 1982 ad loc; her arguments are supported by Davies 1991 ad loc. Some fairly recent attempts to defend it include Hoey 1977, 288-9 and Burton 1980, 81-82; Rehm 1994, 82 does not exclude it.

²¹⁶In either case the singular addressed to the chorus is unusual: see Kaimio 1970, 190-91. But it is much more so on the lips of the *koryphaios* for which there is no real parallel in extant tragedy; cf. also Easterling 1982 ad loc. (For an example of a character addressing the chorus in singular, interchangeably with plural, see E. *IT* 1067-70 in the wider context of 1056-74.)

The procession has the appearance, and evokes the arrangement of an ἐκφορά, with the bier being the focal point of the formation, and relatives and friends also escorting. Herakles, however, is alert and in control of the ritual action. There are no funerary symbols like ornaments for the dead or chthonic statues, there are no dirges or lamentation. Equally, there are no festive symbols like wreaths. The absence of lamentation and the keeping of holy *euphemia*, however, impose a sacred atmosphere and create a link with Herakles' earlier instructions for the execution of his exceptional funerary ritual. The sacrificial resonances are clear but subtle at the same time. There is a balance and harmony between the different features of the ritual. As the procession moves across the orchestra in silence, combining tragic and sacred elements, it displays a solemnity and dignity remarkable for processional exits. The effect of this scene can be fully appreciated if set against Herakles' first introductory escort. The two processional events are set in counterpoint at the beginning and the end of the last part of the play and between them mark Herakles' movements in and out of the acting area. Herakles' previous helplessness and total abandonment to the service of others is here replaced with his power over the action and over the *nosos*. The noiseless heavy step (implying almost a reluctance to move) is here contrasted with firm forward movement (cf. the exhortations in 1255 and 1264). The effort to suppress mourning cries in order to avoid an outburst of violence (974-6) gives way to a complete abstinence from lamentation in the service of propitious ritual. The alienation that marked Herakles' position in that escort is here overcome: his closest φίλος is in charge of the ritual and members of his (even temporary) community may well also attend. Most importantly, the first escort exhibited Herakles' defeat and the breaking of his relation to Zeus, since he was carried back, and away from a place which he attempted to dedicate to Zeus, after the disaster during the sacrifice to the god.²¹⁷ In the

²¹⁷For the sacrificial context as the symbolic network of relationships which can reveal

final procession, on the contrary, the hero has acquired a new authority and retraces his way back to a locus sacred to Zeus for a ritual which is clearly set under the protection of the god.²¹⁸ Being the beginning of a ritual which bears sacrificial associations, the procession marks the procedure of sacralization: when the procession departs, Herakles is already consecrated to Zeus. The sacrificial echoes distinguish the final procession from the deeply grieving tone of the former one. A change has definitely occurred. But it is not a mysterious turn of events, but rather a subtle one, imbued with ritual allusions. Following them up we realize the distinctiveness of Herakles' death.

With the conveyance to Mount Oita Herakles' ῥοπή βίου is complete; likewise in *Oidipous at Kolonos* the ῥοπή βίου is effected when Oidipous receives the first sign that he must proceed to the appointed place of interment. The crisis which Herakles had to survive, ends with his death; the dilemma ζῆν ἀλυσπῆτω βίῳ or θανεῖν (166-8) is paradoxically solved as death which brings rest from suffering. This means, however, that Herakles fails to make the transition to a normal way of life, to reintegrate into the *oikos* and the community. Throughout the play the focus has been concentrated on his attempt to reintegrate and the others' effort to receive him. The relationship with Deianeira is extensively treated because the transition to the *oikos* is given particular attention. Reintegration into the *oikos* fails because Herakles tries to introduce an element alien to the stability of the *oikos*. The confusion of roles and relationships is perceived as soon as Deianeira is confronted with the train of the captive women headed by Iole. In keeping with an established tragic pattern no two women with the role of δάμαρ can remain in the same *oikos*.²¹⁹ Deianeira dies; but owing to the reciprocity established between

the collapse of distinctions sustaining civilization see Segal 1977, 141-43; and id. 1981, 61-78. Cf. also Burkert 1985a, 16f. on the catastrophic performance of the rites at Kenaion which retain, nonetheless, their aetiological relationship to the cult of Zeus Kenaios.

²¹⁸Cf. Thetis' command in E. *Andr.* 1239-40 which also involves the reiteration of the way back to Delphi after Neoptolemos' punishment there.

²¹⁹Cf. Klytaimnestra-Kassandra in A. *Ag.*, Medeia-Kreon's daughter in E. *Med.*, Hermione-Andromache in E. *Andr.*

Herakles and herself through the exchange of gifts he has to die too. Before Herakles' death, however, the interconnectedness of events must be explored, since in tragedy the various facets of life do not exist in isolation. The failure to maintain the stability of the *oikos* generates or reflects a change in the long chain of interrelated events. Herakles' relation to Zeus suffers and the expectations of his reception by the community also fail.²²⁰

This journey of return and transition and the dynamics of relationships that it generates is punctuated by the repeated evocation of processional (and wider ritual) events. It seems appropriate, then, that the final transition that completes the *ῥοπήβιον*, is also effected in procession. Herakles' attempt to achieve an *εὐαίωνα βίον* by mortal standards failed, but at the end with the revelation of the truth and the understanding of Zeus' oracles, a last effort is made to restore his relation to the god. The escort that is formed for his transportation to Oita may give the impression that Herakles' integration into the family and the community is also achieved. As a funeral ritual, however, the procession marks Herakles' separation from that environment. The signs of separation are also obvious in Deianeira's absence. The absence of female relatives at the funeral rites (mainly *πρόθεσις* and *ἐκφορά*) of a family member is always a striking feature which calls for an explanation. Deianeira's absence, like Herakles' absence in the first part of the play, underlines the unbridgeable gap between the two characters.²²¹ The separative dimension is also emphasized through the route and destination of the procession: away from the *oikos* and the polis to the borders of organized society, to the dwelling of the divinity. The destination, however, also defines the goal of this ritual movement, i.e. the re-establishment of the relationship

²²⁰Segal 1981, 62 sees the sacrifice at Kenaion as the focal point in the movement from outer to inner world, and hence as the failure of the ritual mediation between city and the wild. This may be so, but I see a point in emphasizing the inextricable *interconnection* of all the events in this movement (as I would define it) from exclusion to inclusion.

²²¹The two worlds, male and female, interact throughout the play, as Rehm 1994, 72-83 shows. But a meeting or union of Herakles and Deianeira has proved to be impossible.

with Zeus. The sacrificial resonances highlight the sacral dimension: Herakles' consecration to the god of Oita. Ζεύς is also the last word of the play, and this whole last verse spoken while the procession starts to move out of sight must have had an impact upon the audience. The distinctive features of the ritual accentuate both Herakles' death and his sacralization to Zeus. This double perspective would excite expectations for the role of Zeus at Herakles' death (filled with the audience' knowledge of the cult) without at any moment deviating from the power of the spectacle on stage, loaded with pain, suffering, bewilderment, but also with endurance, support and solemn anticipation. The last verse is an obvious comment on the action already completed, but it is also a comment on the very immediate action on stage. It does not simply contrast but *accentuates* Zeus' role at this exceptional ritual that is under way. At the moment when Hyllos complains about the gods' lack of care with regard to Herakles, Herakles himself assumes his role in a ritual with sacrificial resonances echoing his sacralization to these very gods. In this context Hyllos' reaction challenges even more the expectations of the ways in which Zeus will respond to this act of consecration.

As in every sacrifice, however, the procession is only the beginning. No more than that is imparted in the play. Yet, it is a solemn and propitious beginning. No matter what may happen at the actual spot of this funeral-sacrifice, the processional event brings forward the fact that after his failed attempts Herakles dynamically enters the process of forming a stable relationship, demonstrably with the community which he leaves behind, but mainly with his divine father to whom he is consecrated. And this is what bears great importance in the context of the play. Having watched the various processional events throughout the play and the dynamics of society that they reflect, the audience (the contemporary audience with their experience of processional ceremonies) can best appreciate the significance of the processional closure. This significance goes beyond the categories of good or

bad end. It reveals the complexity of the formation of relationships, and the price at which this formation is achieved, and the consequences for all involved. Most difficult and hard to grasp perhaps is the relationship to the divine. After a painful experience which involved a breach in the relation with gods, and particularly Zeus (painful not only for the hero, and not only due to divine impenetrability but also due to human πάθη and restricted knowledge) Herakles undertakes - as there is no other alternative - to link his final transition with the shaping of a propitious relationship with the divine. There is a directness in the manner in which he resolves to do that which shocks: the horror of death lies therein. For the audience, however, there also lies the expectation that in one way or another Zeus will not be ἄβουλος τέκνοισι (140).

5. EURIPIDES' *IPHIGENEIA IN TAURIS* AND *HELEN*

One of the interesting common features between Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Tauris* and *Helen* (plays which have been shown to develop the same structural form)²²² is the fact that in both of them the μηχανήμα deployed for escape and salvation (and enacted on stage) is a processional ritual. The significance of this selection has not been assessed, as the ritual is normally dismissed as void of any 'real' import and acknowledged only as part of the intrigue-motif,²²³ a 'witty' gesture to outwit the credulous 'barbarians'. Even from the point of view of ethnic stereotyping the choice and enactment of a *pompe* is important. The processional ritual is shown to have the potential to combine elements, able to impress and persuade 'barbarians': the extravagant and pompous as well as the profoundly religious and metaphysically powerful, believed to characterise foreign attitudes to religion.²²⁴ The spectacle and the atmosphere that the processional ritual can impose prove to be its ambivalent power exerted not only upon participants but primarily upon spectators, the entire community responding to the spectacle. Both these features have been exaggerated in the plays with the result that large-scale ceremonies are organized which are apparently lacking seriousness and organic connection with the whole.²²⁵

In both plays, however, the processional formation and departure mark a dramatic climax. The processions constitute major breakthroughs in the action and their significance in the dramatic context stands in relation to

²²²For the typological features and relation of the two plays see Platnauer 1938, xv, Matthiessen 1964, Seidensticker 1982, 199-201. *Helen* is considered to be the expanded version of the structure.

²²³On the motif and the associated plays see Solmsen 1932 and Matthiessen 1964, *passim*.

²²⁴Cf. Hall 1989, 143-54 who does not discuss, however, differentiations in ritual modes.

²²⁵For the procession as a mere elaborate visual effect see e.g. Hartigan 1991, 93; for the perception of loose connection; cf. Hourmouziades 1991, 151.

their ritual character.²²⁶ The quality particularly emphasized is their mediation in transitions. In both cases the dark, difficult side of the transition is emphasized, although the final movement proves to be positive. A tension is created between ritual exaggeration and ritual subtlety, but the points of contact between ritual appearance and dramatic reality need to be investigated and assessed.

5.1 IPHIGENEIA IN TAURIS

In *Iphigeneia* the ritual conducted is, in the heroine's words, a καθαρός (1221) which will involve the image of the goddess Artemis and the two strangers. In the play only the beginning of a purification ritual is enacted, the display of the implements and participants involved, all arranged in a long procession coming out of the temple in 1222-25. Following Iphigeneia's words, the polluted prisoners must come first (attended by the guards 1206),²²⁷ then temple servants carrying the idol's robes and ornaments must follow, then the animals for blood purification, the torch-bearers and some other attendants which are left undefined (probably servants with *thymiaterion*, water bowls or other equipment). Iphigeneia holding the idol may stay behind and close the scene with her last words. Some of the king's ὄπαδοί may have also followed her (1208).

With the arrangement of the procession Iphigeneia imposes a tone of solemnity, and the whole formation is set in motion with an address to the divinity. Iphigeneia's invocation is important because it indicates the objectives

²²⁶This emphasis is important with respect to the generic features of these plays which have been seen to oscillate between tragedy and comedy (the standard widespread view); or to display satyric qualities, as argued by Sutton 1972 (cf. Seidensticker 1982, 164-5 on *Helen* and Burnett 1971, 72 n. 23 on *IT*). Far from a satyric deceit, the processions stand in a subtle and intrinsic relation to the ritual pattern and issues of the play. Moreover, the ambivalent, difficult side of the ritual stressed in the plays seems to assert their links to the tradition of tragedy.

²²⁷Cf. Halleran 1985, 30 n. 53 'since they do not take part in the dialogue the announcement marks their arrival.'

of the action, viz. νύψις φόνου and θυσία οὐ γρή (1230-1). Despite implicit signalling and double-entendre, the character of the ritual is registered in Iphigeneia's request and placed in a context of communication with the divine. A subtle connection between implicit purpose and explicit action is organised and placed within the wider nexus of human-divine relationships in the play. The procession sustains the connection. Its composition does not simply correspond to an assemblage of some typical purificatory elements (such as fire, animals and probably sulphur) which would serve the purpose of convincing the king and the Taurians. The prisoners, conspicuous from their position and their veiled heads, and the divine statue, prominently held by Iphigeneia, constitute a double focus which fulfills Iphigeneia's well-defined aims, those of purification and sacrifice.

Purification is not simply a pretext. Orestes is a matricide and Pylades may have also incurred pollution through contact with him. Although Orestes has been absolved by Apollo, their coming to the Taurian land and their departure with the statue has been divinely prescribed as a kind of further purification or the completion of purification for Orestes (970-982). The presence of the veiled captives at the head of the procession²²⁸ and the exclusion of any other participants (1210, 1212, 1226), in combination with the appropriate equipment (fire, water, blood), support strongly this allusion. Unlike ordinary sacrifices, in this procession the presence of the miasma, invented or real, separates not only for dramatic reasons but also for ritual ones. In this context of pollution the presence of the guards in the procession can be only dramatically justified. Their common ritual experience, however,

²²⁸ According to the general pattern of processions, members with no distinct ritual duty should come after the sacred part. Orestes and Pylades, however, are considered future sacrificial victims and subject to purification. Their position at the front stresses the immediate connection with the purification ritual. In the messenger's speech (1329-1334) the arrangement of the procession and the position of the strangers are not very clear. If they have retained the same place as in 1222 (which is more logical than to suppose a change on the way), we must assume that Iphigenia signed to the attendants, moved to the front and took the prisoners, and then turned back and left.

make them accept easily their exclusion from the rite at its crucial moment (1335, 1342-3).

Purification eliminates the pollution which creates division and separation in the community.²²⁹ Nevertheless, the start of the purification ritual, i.e. the formation of the procession, marks the beginning of reincorporation. Purification is in essence a rite of passage.²³⁰ The polluted person abandons an old and disruptive state and enters a new, pure one. The procession marks the passage from one stage to the other which must not be abrupt. Moreover, in the procession the polluted person, isolated so far, first finds an ordered place in a group.

From this perspective the procession dramatises the departure not only from the Taurian land but also from the maddened condition of Orestes. The process towards the new status has been set in motion. The procession creates a context of purificatory transition and gives expression to Iphigeneia's expectations for a genuine καθαρός (1221; ἦν νύψω φόνον 1229).

The combination of purification of mortals with the transportation of a cult statue does not seem to have an attested historical parallel. The fusion of the two practices is not only dramatically necessary; it is a sign of mythological times when the fortunes of heroic mortals had an exceptional closeness to the action of the divine, a relation which will be firmly attested at the end with the intervention of Athena. The association of the two acts has been justified as part of ἀγνίζειν (1199), in the context of a purification through sea water. There is nothing peculiar in the prescription of a bath for a cult statue; the practice is attested for several places in ancient Greece.²³¹ In

²²⁹Pollution through killing creates disorder in the community, while purification strengthens the unity of the group; on both these aspects see Parker 1983, 18-31 and 104-130 who generally argues that cultural beliefs about pollution and purification derive from an ideal of order.

²³⁰ See van Gennep 1960, 10-11, 20-21 who categorises it as a preliminal rite, a rite of separation from previous surroundings.

²³¹ Most explicitly and with suggested parallels LSG 154B, 17-32; but see also n. 234 below.

this case, however, there is a ritual detail, inferred only *ex silentio*, that seems to dissociate the carrying of the statue from the purification of the mortals, and may leave space for other interpretations. In contrast to the veiling of the captives²³² there is no reference to a cover for the statue, though implicitly polluted; and all indications from Thoas' reaction at its sight (1157, 1176) suggest that the statue is carried unveiled. This aspect may not seem particularly significant at first sight, yet in the context of Athenian rituals it seems to carry some weight. As the surviving evidence suggests, the only feature popularly connected with the Πλυντήρια²³³ - the major purificatory celebration for a cult statue in Athens - and associated with the atmosphere of an ἀποφράς ἡμέρα, is the covering of the statue (Πλυντήρια ἤγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῦ ἔδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς X. *Hell.* 1.4.12; τόν τε κόσμον ἀφελόντες καὶ τὸ ἔδος κατακαλύψαντες, ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα τῶν ἀποφράδων τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζουνσι Plou. *Alk.* 34.1). Although there is no explicit evidence connecting the veiling of the statue at the Plynteria with its supposed transportation to and bathing in the sea,²³⁴

²³²Cf. also 1218 for the insistence on the covering of Thoas.

²³³On the Plynteria see Pfuhr 1900, 89-92; Deubner 1932, 17-22; Parke 1977, 152-5; Simon 1983, 48; Parker 1983, 26-8; id. 1996, 307-8.

²³⁴The hypothesis of a *pompe* to the sea with the statue is based mainly on the following evidence: a) lexicographical details about a *pompe* at the Plynteria: Phot. ἡγητηρία· παλάθη ἦν σύκων ἦν ἐν τῇ πομπῇ τῶν Πλυντηρίων φέρουσι; similar Hsch. s.v. ἡγητηρία. b) A reference to an ἐξαγωγή and an εἰσαγωγή of the Pallas in the ephebic inscriptions e.g. *IG II²* 1006, 11, 1011, 10; cf. Phot. s.v. οἱ νομοφύλακες τίνες; Suda s.v. οἱ νομοφύλακες τίνες; Poll. 8.94. But the occasion is left unspecified. c) The general ancient Greek practice of bathing of statues attested in the cults of Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Hera, Magna Mater (cf. Bömer 1956, nos. 41, 63, 64, 65, 70, 74, 76, 83, 99, 160, 162, 163, 180 of his list, Ginouvès 1962, 283-98, Bulloch 1985, 8-10). In relation to a) it is probably worth drawing attention to the practice attested for the cult of Aphrodite Pandemos in Athens (*Syll.*³ 375): the cleansing of the statues of Aphrodite and Peitho (cf. Paus. 1.22.3) must be performed *in the temple* ὅταν ἢ ἡ πομπή τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τῇ Πανδήμῳ (cf. also Pfuhr 1900, 97). As to b) the transportation of the Pallas has been associated with other occasions (see Burkert 1970; also Nagy 1991, but contrast Parker 1996, 308 n. 63); a conclusive argument *against* the possibility of association with the Plynteria has *not* been given, however (Burkert's 1970 attempt has proved ill-based: see Nagy 1991 and Christopoulos 1992). Finally, the bath of cult statues has different connotations according to context (revitalizing, purificatory, nuptial, initiatory etc.): cf. Parker 1983, 27f., Avagianou 1991, 36-62. The scholion to Kall. *Hymn* 5.1 suggests an analogy with the Plynteria but with no real evidence and with no particulars as to the extent of the similarity (the general parallel is recurrently mentioned in scholarly works; e.g. Bulloch 1985, 11). In Kallimachos' text participation in the ceremony is attested only for women and especially for those in the

the symbol of the veil in the context of an ill-omened occasion seems imbued with significance²³⁵ absent from the enacted ritual in the play.

This absence constitutes an implicit connection with the 'real' cause of the statue's transportation, its foundation in a new place and a new temple (ἰδρῦσαι 1453, καθιδρῦσαιντο 1481). Purifications and foundations constituted major occasions for the carrying of a statue in procession according to ancient Greek custom.²³⁶ Ceremony was necessary for any transportation (which was often uplifted to a proper public celebration and repeatedly commemorated²³⁷); but foundations were particularly demanding: they run the risk of being cancelled, if not conducted with divine sanctions and due solemnity.²³⁸ In the play a hint at a foundation sacrifice is given at 1231 (θύσωμεν οὐ χρή),²³⁹ and the enacted ritual has the form of a sacrificial procession, in which torches and sacrificial animals were prominent parts, and the arrangement comprised the introductory part of *requisita* and the sacred part of priests and priestesses, with the statue following.

Between pretext and cause the play has given shape to a ritual which fulfills both dramatic necessity and ritual requirements in a wider mythical context. Despite all the deception and theatrical convention the procession in its complicated form hints at Orestes' release from suffering, Iphigeneia's restoration and the passage to a new ritual order. The procession

service of Athena. (Cf. γεραράδες, αἱ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Ἀργεὶ ἄγαλμα ἐνδύουσαι *An. Bekk.* 231 presumably not noticed by Bulloch 1985).

²³⁵κατακαλύπτεσθαι has also been restored in the text of the inscription concerning the purification of the Kourotrophos in Kos ([κατακαλυπτέτω δὲ καὶ] ἐξαγέτω ἅ ἱέρεια Κοροτρόφον κατὰ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν *LSG* 154B, 24f.).

²³⁶See Nilsson 1951, 177-9.

²³⁷As the Ἰσιτήρια feast for Artemis Leukophryene in *LSA* 33. 25 (the most detailed description of a foundation procession).

²³⁸Cf. for example the foundation myth of the Tonaia in Samos: Menodotos *FGrHist* 541F1 (ap. Ath. 672b-e).

²³⁹On foundation see also my analysis of the *Eumenides* and the references given there. Although foundation sacrifice does not feature in surviving historical documents of the fifth century (cf. the omen-taking ceremony before the foundation of Brea in *IG* I³ 46), it does so in Aristophanes: *Peace* 937-1126 and *Birds* 848-94 (with a beautiful procession there; see also Dunbar 1995 ad 848-9).

recapitulates the motifs of purification and sacrifice, prominent in the play;²⁴⁰ it enacts the preliminaries to a human sacrifice; and at the same time it reverses the process by putting a deliberate stop to the practice. It becomes, thus, the link to a *symbolic* enactment of human sacrifice without human loss, as it will be established in *Halai Araphenides* (1449-61). Although the procession marks only the beginning, or rather the first attempt at this transition, the hints and the subtle connections with a wider ritual context create expectations for a positive outcome which will be confirmed at the end with Athena's intervention. As the deity principally residing in and supervising Athens, she will head the procession which will establish a new cult in her dwelling place.²⁴¹

²⁴⁰For the motif of sacrifice (and secondarily of purification) in the play see Conacher 1967, 306, Burnett 1971, 47-9, 58-60, Sansone 1975, Hartigan 1986, 121-2; but the importance of the procession has been overlooked. Sansone 1975 has interesting remarks but I cannot agree with his suggestion that the scene of Orestes' crisis and arrest enacts a symbolic human sacrifice (Sansone 1975, especially 286).

²⁴¹For Athena, or a hero under her protection, conducting introduction-processions to Athens in tragedy see my discussion of *A. Eu.*, and *E. Hik.*; cf. also *E. Ion* 1616f. (for a new hereditary kingdom). For the god leading the procession to his/ her dwelling place for the establishment of cult see Apollo in *h. Ap.* 514ff. Dionysos leading the chorus of maenads into Thebes in *Bakchai* (especially 1-166). This context invalidates Hartigan's ironic interpretation of Athena's mediation (Hartigan 1986, 124-5).

5.2 HELEN

In *Helen* the procession appears in the same structural position and fulfills the same purpose, i.e. to effect a ritual beginning, a passage to new life. The connections in this case, however, are not with a sacred cultic context but with a context symbolizing death and the regeneration of life. Accordingly, the enacted ritual is a funeral procession which sustains the effort for a separation from a situation of immobility, suspension and symbolic death and for incorporation into a new phase of existence.

From its very inception the play has placed the theme of life and death at its centre by making Proteus' tomb a ritual, dramatic and theatrical focus. The opening tableau represents a suppliant clinging to a tomb for protection, and for more than half of the play the tomb proves vital as a refuge, protection, an asylum and a witness. With the compliance of Theonoe the escape process is set in motion and culminates in the staging of the procession which, in its way, complements the representation of the theme of life and death. In the mock-funeral that Helen orchestrates in order to ensure a successful departure from Egypt, the theme of life and death is chained to the play's major antitheses, namely the problem of appearance and reality and the potential gap between ὄνομα and πράγμα (σῶμα in the play 66-7), questions that the play opens in a number of different and challenging ways.²⁴²

²⁴²The study of *Helen* as a play exploring serious theological and philosophical issues and especially the theme of illusion and deception, has been largely based on the contributions of Solmsen 1934, Zuntz 1960 and Pippin 1960. This approach also informs the discussions by Conacher 1967, 265-339, Kannicht 1969, 21-77 and Segal 1971. The views on *Helen*, however, are notoriously conflicting; Dale, for example, thinks the *Helen* should not be taken too seriously (Dale 1967, xii-xxi, echoed also by Webster 1967, 201); Matthiessen 1968 argues against metaphysical readings of the play and especially of Theonoe's scene (he mainly argues against Zuntz) and stresses that *Helen* is a play for the stage. The problem with 'serious' readings is that they find profundity fragmentarily dispersed and concentrated mainly on Theonoe's role (Burnett 1971, 100 characteristically concludes that Theonoe 'saves a serious poet from frivolity'); on the other hand, escapism cannot, in my view at least, account for the allegedly 'tragicomic' or even 'comic' character of the play. Modern studies seem to reduce the 'seriousness' of the play to political statements (Rehm 1994, 125-7) or to a decadent self-referential artistic reflection (Downing 1990); the complete artistic statement on the fullness of life is missing.

Helen's orchestration of the ritual is not pure fantasy: in the Athenian public funeral for the war dead an empty bier for the ἀφανείς (Th. 2.34) was carried along in the grand *ekphora*, and empty tombs for unrecovered bodies were erected all over the Greek world.²⁴³ It is mainly the novelty of the place of interment which has to be persuasively argued for. And it succeeds. The μηχανή²⁴⁴ is fully set in motion in 1390 when after the necessary preparations the ritual proper can commence. In the absence of a body (or an urn) *prothesis* seems out of place, hence the death ritual concentrates on the *ekphora* and the symbolic burial.

From 1391 the *ekphora* must make its entry into the orchestra. The servants who carry the ἐνάλια περὶσμάτα must move in the exact order and arrangement prescribed by Menelaos to whom the role of the organizer and supervisor of the ritual has been ascribed (χωρεῖτ' ἐφεξῆς ὡς ἔταξεν ὁ ξένος, δμῶες).²⁴⁵ Although no details of the spectacle are given, the major components of this exceptional procession can be retrieved with probability from Menelaos' account of the alleged Greek funerary customs for those lost in the sea (1250-78). Attendants carrying the χθονὸς βλαστήματα (1265) would go first; others leading the sacrificial animals (1255-59)²⁴⁶ would follow; the bier covered with rich clothing (1261, cf. 1243) would come next; and Menelaos, dressed up in new clothes and armour (1375-84), would close the procession. That Menelaos would be at the end of the formation can be easily inferred from the fact that he speaks last, uttering his prayer to Zeus, when the procession has already been on the move (1441-50).²⁴⁷ Helen may have

²⁴³See Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 273; Pritchett 1985, 257-60.

²⁴⁴μηχανή is a favourite word in Ar. *Thesm.* (88, 756, 927, 1132) which contains - as is well-known - a parody of Euripides and especially of his plays of 412 B.C. The comedy abounds in intrigues and escape plans which are frustrated.

²⁴⁵Due to his role Menelaos must exit along with the other members of the procession, i.e. at 1390ff.

²⁴⁶In 1567-8 (cf. 1258) a horse appears to be led onto the ship along with the bull. Dale 1967 ad 1563-8 finds the lines suspect, but Kannicht 1969 ad 1567-8 defends them (emphasizing that μονάμπυκος can denote only a horse and not a bull) and Diggle accepts them as genuine in his text. If this is so, would the horse also appear on stage in the procession?

²⁴⁷Cf. *IT* 1230-33, *Hik.* 949-54 and my discussions of these scenes.

taken a position near the bier as was customary for the relatives in 'real-life' *ekphorai*. The composition just described forms the necessary minimum according to the information provided in the text. In actual performance the procession may have acquired great proportions which have left no explicit trace in the text. However, it is obvious that Theoklymenos is anxious to show off his wealth (1254), and his command to the servants who follow him out of the palace (1390-91) may imply that the large number of attendants might bring the whole formation into confusion and disarray.

Even though a fictional ritual, the procession has the form of a large-scale, almost epic, *ekphora* featuring the bier, the offerings to the dead and the presence of sacrificial animals (in particular oxen) which, though not a fifth-century Athenian custom, used to be a widespread custom witnessed already in the Homeric epics.²⁴⁸ The orderly formation accentuates the major incongruity in the ceremony (apparent only to the audience), namely the close juxtaposition of the empty bier with the moving Menelaos, living and clad in full armour. The armour is not simply an embellishment, an attribute of Menelaos as *miles gloriosus*:²⁴⁹ it stresses the force and vitality of life, symbolizes the regaining of his lost identity and looks forward to the 'contests' which will follow this exceptional funeral and sacrifice (1591-1610). This underlined assertion of life makes the contrast with the empty bier all the more striking and transforms the situation into a deep irony: the κενὸς τάφος (1057, 1060) that Helen is performing ceases to be the standard ritual term and acquires a literal significance, a funeral for no one, a κενὴ δόκησις (36)²⁵⁰ for those unable to see the truth. The linguistic parallel is suggestive of the association of this scene with the wider epistemological and ontological problem introduced through the dichotomy of the figure of Helen into the

²⁴⁸For the evidence see the discussion of funeral processions in Part I.

²⁴⁹For Menelaos' traits of this comic type see Griffin 1953, 37.

²⁵⁰The importance of this notion for the interpretation of the play has been pointed out by Zuntz 1960.

real Helen and an εἰδωλον. The nature and composition of this procession mirrors and recapitulates the same preoccupation but in different terms, more tangible and more direct: the two mutually refuting sides of the same coin (life and death/ reality and deception) are set side-by-side in clear theatrical display; and this spectacular juxtaposition, while entertaining, makes the appreciation of the problem all the more effective.

In contrast to the *Iphigeneia in Tauris* in which the transition involves the transportation of a statue, a sacred priesthood and a new cult, what is at stake in Helen's and Menelaos' risky plan is reunion, re-marriage and restoration of *kleos*. These are the *goals* of the action. Unlike the Odyssean plot, which has often been seen as the mirror of the *Helen*²⁵¹ and in which the reunion of the partners takes place upon the hero's return at *home*, in the *Helen* neither Menelaos nor Helen have yet achieved a return home. They meet at an alien and hostile place, from which they must escape together and proceed to Sparta. The focus then seems to fall on the *passage* from disorder to normality, on the dangerous point of transition, of change.

The moment in the life of the two protagonists dramatized in the play is characterised by disorder and tension. Their critical condition is underlined by the symbolism of death. Besides its lovely springs (1-3), Egypt has features associated with the underworld.²⁵² Seeing the palace, Teukros thinks of the 'House of Ploutos' (68-70), and Menelaos expects to find a rich and hospitable lord (430-3). Helen herself arrives in Egypt after having been snatched in a way comparable to that of Persephone (244-8).²⁵³ There she is threatened by

²⁵¹See especially Segal 1971a, 592-7 and *passim* (cf. Segal 1967 for the victory of order over disorder in the *Odyssey*); also Foley 1992, 136-8. The Odyssean motifs of the *Helen*, without much emphasis on the ritual pattern, have been studied mainly by Steiger 1908 and Eisner 1980. The intertwining of the plot of the *Odyssey* and of the *h.Dem.* (see below n. 253) as the basis for the construction of the *Helen* is usually taken for granted (e.g. Foley 1992, 136). This involves some reductionism. From a gender perspective, Holmberg 1995 finds a conscious *contrast* with the Penelope of the epic (and with the epic Helen) in the creation of the Euripidean figure of Helen.

²⁵²This is well illustrated in various discussions; see Iesi 1965, 56-69, Guépin 1968, 130-31, Wolff 1973, 63-5, Robinson 1979, 164-6, Foley 1992, 136.

²⁵³The primary literary source for Persephone's abduction and descent is the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*. For the proposed parallels between the myth and the play (which have

the erotic pursuit of the king, whose name seems to evoke epithets for Hades.²⁵⁴ Menelaos in his turn arrives in Egypt shipwrecked, having suffered severe loss only to find his life threatened with extinction. Residence in Egypt means for the couple a crisis equal to death: death signifies the major breakdown of order and life.²⁵⁵ The procession marks the departure from this sphere of danger and disorder, and the transition to an ordered life. As in real funerary rituals, the procession underscores the point of separation from a phase of inertia and intense mourning and marks the beginning of reincorporation into normal life.

The function of the procession as a ritual which signals the abandonment of a period of dissolution is also made manifest in the uncanny sacrificial character of this procession. The animals which are led along to the ship point to the violence which is going to follow. In normal sacrificial ritual there is an attempt to conceal the imminent violence: the sacrificial knife is thus hidden in the *kanoun*, not shown. In this procession, however, Menelaos, the future sacrificial killer, parades fully covered in arms and the sword which is to cut the throat of the bull is publicly demonstrated. This allusion to impending violence is a clear marker of the crucial importance of the sacrifice for the success of the whole plan. The sacrifice of the animal and the killing of the Egyptian men which it inaugurates (1581-1610), are the turning point in the fortunes of Helen and Menelaos. In a paradoxical way the shedding of blood must precede the regeneration of life and order.

In literature and in drama rituals often have a compressed form, incorporating features which probably belong to different phases, or which have contrasting characters. The wholeness of experience is often evoked in

been extended to the general structure and themes of the *Helen*) see Lattimore 1964, 52-3; Guépin 1968, 128-33; Segal 1971a, 569-73 and 593-600; Foley 1992, especially 134-8; Rehm 1994, 121-2.

²⁵⁴Klymenos and Periklymenos; noticed originally by Guépin 1968, 131; also Robinson 1979, 166.

²⁵⁵In the state of the *Laws* (828d) Plato seeks to dedicate the last month of the year to Plouton, since as he writes, dissolution is just as good and necessary as the genesis of the new.

the succinct synthesis of a single act. Within this framework the procession in *Helen*, being itself a ritual of transition, embodies features which look backwards and forwards in the wider ritual pattern of the action. In contrast to the violence of sacrificial killing, the cultivated food which is also carried along in the procession anticipates a new beginning and the restoration of civilization. Beside the bier of the alleged dead hero there stands the hero himself in new clothes and armour. The bath he received before the procession has a purificatory character which initiates the process of his rebirth, and the new clothing and armour also point at the restoration of his identity. A latent wedding symbolism cannot be excluded either²⁵⁶: Helen's departure from Egypt has been described with terms denoting abduction (911, 1374) and the abduction motif can be traced in the Athenian, but especially in the Spartan wedding rite.²⁵⁷ Moreover, the symbolic death that the bride undergoes at the wedding, and in particular the mourning of the bride, may be implied in the funerary character of the procession which affects the recovery of the lost bride.²⁵⁸ This interplay of ritual allusions, however, is safely kept in the background only as a latent anticipation of the union which is to be properly fulfilled at Sparta. It is only after the couple's escape from Egypt and the propitious sacrifice that the Dioskouroi will escort them safely back to Sparta (1664-5), repeating and revitalizing thus in a way the role that they once had at their sister's nuptial escort (639-40).

Thus, the enacted ritual is not simply the beginning of a disguised nuptial escort. The play seems to stress the dark sacrificial and funerary side of this ritual which is connected with the sphere of death and disorder which

²⁵⁶The wedding associations have been stressed by Pippin 1960, Wolff 1973, and Foley 1992.

²⁵⁷See Plou. *Lyk.* 15.5 and 48; den Boer 1954, 227-37; Jenkins 1983.

²⁵⁸See my discussion of wedding processions. The funerary character of the scene can be better associated with the Athenian perspective of the wedding transition as symbolic death than with the Spartan wedding rite which Wolff 1973 and Foley 1992, 140 propose. As Foley herself notes, the most explicit common motif between the Spartan rite and Helen's situation here is the cutting of the hair. But in the Spartan ritual this is part of a process of sex reversal, while here it is of mourning.

the partners attempt to leave behind. The function of the processional ritual is to effect the abandonment of this anomalous state, but while the procession is on the move this abandonment has not yet been fulfilled. An evocation of wedding rituals may be included, but it is again the negative side of the nuptial transition which is brought forward (even if only in a fictional ritual).²⁵⁹ Putting the stress on the dark features of the ritual, the tone seems to change not only in respect of this particular scene but probably in respect of the whole play. Despite the movement from misfortune to happiness the play concentrates on a point of tension, of transition, of change. The positive rhythm is played against a background of anomaly and disorder. The completion of union and restoration of order is anticipated but not yet achieved.

The enacted procession becomes a means of symbolic recapitulation of the mourning and 'death' that Helen went through (fearing Menelaos also dead), while Menelaos was alive and fighting at Troy for the past years. The emblematic re-experience of death becomes also an attempted 'exodos' from a death-like situation. It is tempting to see this 'exodos' as an analogue to the Kore's *anodos* in the wider mythic context of Kore's disappearance and re-emergence from the underworld. The suggested parallels, however, should not oversimplify the picture which the play composes.²⁶⁰ Helen may have been snatched by Hermes from a *locus amoenus* similar to that in the myth of Persephone, but Hermes is not Hades; and more importantly, in the return a contrast is built between the role of Hermes and the Dioskouroi. In the 'Mother ode' (1301-67), which has often been seen as the mirror of the *anodos* pattern in the play, the mother goddess forgets her mourning, not

²⁵⁹In contrast to tragedy, in 'real life' an attempt would be made to overcome this negative side, while in comedy this side is ignored and only the joy of the wedding is highlighted. The wedding associations of this scene, however, have been seen as one of the 'comic' motifs of this play. The play itself seems to lean on the one side towards the comic and on the other towards the tragic. Like the procession, however, the play belongs more to tragedy than to comedy.

²⁶⁰An impression formed from the literature cited above n. 253. The parallels between Helen and Persephone have been overstressed, I feel.

because of the return of her daughter (as happens in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*), but through the mediation of Aphrodite, the Charites and the Muses; in the text no reference to the *anodos* of the daughter is made.²⁶¹ This alteration and complication of the pattern is much more meaningful in the context of the play in which the theme of the regeneration of life is sustained through wedding symbolism (the wedding of Helen and Menelaos, re-experienced in 637-40 and implicitly doubled in the processional departure, and the wedding of Hermione, anticipated in the future 1476-7), and through the motif of choruses and dances which Helen will join in Sparta (1465-75). The broad and selective parallels with the Kore pattern serve mainly to create the sense of a *rhythm*, a *kathodos-anodos* motion, which is important for the appreciation of the course of events, but which does not seem to press the analogy as far as characters and roles. The procession seems poised between the two sides, a transitional link anticipating an upward direction. It is *after* the departure of the procession that the chorus sings the *propemptikon*,²⁶² the song which accompanies the moving *pompe* even from afar, wishing a positive outcome²⁶³ and Helen's reincorporation into the normal and festive life of the community (1465-78).

With its backwards and forwards perspective the procession becomes a key for the understanding of the two-sided motion of the play, of the alternating rhythm (supported by the broad parallel with the Kore pattern) which penetrates the themes and structure of the play. *Helen* is predominantly a rhythmic play,²⁶⁴ developing - through its many reversals, contrast and

²⁶¹This is observed by Robinson 1979, 164-5 but he attributes this silence to Euripides' intention to maintain suspense.

²⁶²See Kannicht 1969 ad 1451-1511.

²⁶³In the chorus' song the flying of the migrating birds is directed northwards (1487-94), an indication of the beginning of spring and its related connotations.

²⁶⁴The adoption of a freer style of composition, in which dramatic action alternates with lyrical passages perhaps enhances the 'musical', 'song-like' quality of the play which achieves the harmony of *παίζειν ἅμα καὶ σπουδάζειν*.

doublets²⁶⁵ - an upwards-downwards, backwards-forwards movement, extending in opposite directions from 'Hades' to Olympos, from δύσκλεια to deification. A fluctuating pattern is articulated, giving manifold and multi-layered expressions to the ἀμφίλογοι τύχαι which penetrate this vision of life, which moves, like the waves of the sea, from sorrow to joy and from life to death under the conflicting interests of divinities.²⁶⁶ The events of life are traced and reversed in the rhythm of a swinging pendulum, this way and that. This is a novel rhythm, differentiated from both the heavy, slow, long-lasting movement of a normal tragedy and from the bombastic, incongruent and enthusiastic echo of a comedy. Hence it puzzles and confuses.²⁶⁷ It is this constant counterpoint, this cyclic alteration which makes the Trojan war (and metonymically every war) look futile but also placed in perspective. In the aftermath of the Sicilian expedition the play has given the impression of being a comic diversion from the disaster.²⁶⁸ It seems, however, neither to console nor purely to entertain but to open perspectives in which the war and misfortunes, if unavoidable, could be better, or at least differently, assessed. These wide perspectives, expressed rhythmically and effectively, as a statement and not as a wish,²⁶⁹ are particularly necessary at points of transitions when the old has gone and the new is still in the womb. The play focuses on the theme of transition by presenting, at a dramatically climactic moment, a procession which bridges dissolution and regeneration and which dramatizes a dangerous passage to a happy state. In the case of the *Helen* the transition achieved its goal: in 'real life', let alone in tragedy, transitions may

²⁶⁵Doubling acknowledged for both *IT* and *Helen*: see Steiger 1908, 221, Pippin 1960, 154, Burnett 1971, 48, Segal 1971a, 584, Downing 1990.

²⁶⁶Contrast 674 (Hera as destroyer) with 1005 (Hera as benefactor); see also 880-86.

²⁶⁷See e.g. Lesky 1983, 315; Pippin 1960 characterizes *Helen* as a 'comedy of ideas'; Seidensticker 1982, 196-8 finds the play a 'Tragikomödie' and recognizes its tragic side mainly in the theme of the vanity of the Trojan war.

²⁶⁸Cf. Pippin 1960, 155, Zuntz 1960, 201-4.

²⁶⁹Contrast the closing wish in E. *IT* 1490-1.

not be always successful. In the perspective of this play, however, even repeated failures cannot but be followed sometime by a positive reversal.

6. EURIPIDES' *ALKESTIS*.

If one wanted to search for the re-enactment of a proper *ekphora* in the corpus of extant Greek tragedies the obvious example would be the *ekphora* scene in Euripides' *Alkestis*. Both the description of the ritual action in 606-9 (ἀνδρῶν Φεραίων εὐμενῆς παρουσία,/ νέκυν μὲν ἤδη πάντ' ἔχοντα πρόσπολοι/ φέρουσιν ἄρδην πρὸς τάφον τε καὶ πυράν) and the clear characterization of this procedure as an *ekphora* in 422 (ἀλλ', ἐκφορὰν γὰρ τοῦδε θήσομαι νεκροῦ) leave no doubt that the scene in 606-746 reflects the ritual carrying-out of the body to the place of interment.

As far as the text goes, the funeral procession consists of Admetos,²⁷⁰ the group of attendants who carry the bier with the dead body lifted up high, and the chorus who joins in after the end of the *agon* between Admetos and Pheres (741-6). The mourning tokens are conspicuous: Admetos at least is clearly said to have his hair cut (827) and to wear black clothes (923); other attendants may also wear mourning attire. As 607 implies, the deceased may be covered and decked with funerary adornment which would probably include funerary garments,²⁷¹ a crown, wreaths and fillets.²⁷² The text is silent about other features of the procession²⁷³ but it would not be far-fetched to conjecture the presence of other attendants carrying further

²⁷⁰He seems to come out of the palace first as he announces to the chorus what they are going to see next (607-8) and invites them to address the deceased in a ritual manner (609-10)

²⁷¹In tragedy often defined as *peplos* e.g. *E. Hek.* 578, *Her.* 329, 702, *El.* 1227f., *Tr.* 1143f., but elsewhere *himatia* are mentioned, e.g. *Plou. Sol.* 21, cf. *LSG* 97 A 2.

²⁷²The preparation of the dead body is synoptically described with the term *περιστεύω* in tragedy; see e.g. *Alk.* 664. This ritual procedure is presented and exploited for comic effect in two Aristophanic scenes, i.e. *Lys.* 599-613 and *Ek.* 537-8, cf. 1030-1036. Wreaths and fillets are often shown in representations of *prothesis* scenes in vase-paintings, usually hanging from the walls; see Zschietzschmann 1928, 23 and Garland 1985, 24 and 139.

²⁷³In 845 (cf. 851) there is reference to blood sacrifices conducted at the tomb but there is no hint whatsoever in the text of sacrificial animals being included in the funeral escort. The detail about blood sacrifices is probably supplied in order to enhance the gruesome picture of the figure of Death and in order to provide a justification of the presence of Death at the tomb where the fight with Herakles took place (1142). On *prosphagmata* and restriction of blood sacrifices in funerals see Part I.

funerary equipment and offerings to be placed in the tomb or used at the grave.²⁷⁴ It is not clear whether Alkestis' children also attended the *ekphora*.

The clear description of the funerary procedure to be followed with the explicit designation of the various ritual stages may be connected with the fact that Alkestis' death is unfolded as a normal process, distinguished from the extraordinary, heroic or violent deaths in other tragedies. Indeed, as Segal notes, the *Alkestis* is 'virtually unique in classical literature for its account of a normal death in the house'.²⁷⁵ This normalcy, however, the meticulous preparation and anticipation of the fact of death, the conscious undergoing and control over the mortuary procedure²⁷⁶ gives Alkestis' death also a remarkable quality: by choosing and controlling a socially accepted and (paradoxically even on a small scale) life-preserving death, Alkestis becomes exceptional and honoured.²⁷⁷

The particular honour that Alkestis acquires in the play seems to be connected with the relative prominence of the *ekphora* (in comparison to *prothesis*). Although in tragedy, the traditional laying-out ritual cannot be properly re-enacted, since it requires an indoor milieu, the intense lamentation which accompanies the presentation of dead bodies on stage²⁷⁸ strongly evokes the *prothesis* which thus emerges as the major funerary ritual conducted in the extant tragedies. In the *Alkestis*, however, lamentation is not extensive. It is only the male child who bursts into a lyric lament (393-415), as soon as Alkestis expires. Admetos himself refrains from an open recourse to lamentation, although he heavily mourns for himself on his way back from the

²⁷⁴The presence of this group in the escort would render Admetos' later statement (632) that the dead Alkestis is in no need of Pheres' offerings more meaningful. For the presence of people bearing funerary items see also the discussion of funeral processions in Part I.

²⁷⁵Segal 1993c, 214.

²⁷⁶It is worth stressing that in the report of the *θεράπαινα* (152ff.) emphasis is placed not only on the fact of death but especially on the way of death.

²⁷⁷Alkestis' *kleos* is thus dependent on her husband (as Foley 1992 argues) and particularly on her offer to die in his place, but also on the way *she* encounters and handles this death.

²⁷⁸And in some cases other actions related to *prothesis* e.g. adornment; see E. *Tr.* 1118-1250.

funeral. It is only through the chorus' words in 598-600 that we get a glimpse of the mourning going on in the palace. Admetos' first announcement of death rituals in honour of Alkestis relates to the *ekphora* (422)²⁷⁹ and to the public mourning which should afflict all Thessalians (425-31).²⁸⁰ The chorus' reaction is also remarkable: the parodos and the first stasimon create expectations of a display of intense mourning but in the event of Alkestis' death they turn to eulogy with reassurances of eternal memory (434-476) and of exceptional honours in Hades (741-7). The honorable status that the chorus ascribes to Alkestis is emphatically and conclusively expressed in the *chaire*-address²⁸¹ in 1004: χαῖρ', ὦ πότνι', εὖ δὲ δοίης. It is at this climactic point of the chorus' explicit conviction of a finer existence for Alkestis that she re-enters escorted by Herakles.

In 'real-life' public funerals the procession seems to be of special importance as a means of displaying the glory of the dead. In Homer and in the aristocratic tradition lamentation is the *geras thanonton* par excellence and a major way to incorporate and display honour and praise.²⁸² In Athens exceptional and heroised dead are distinguished by civic ceremonial which leaves room for lamentation but centres mainly on praise which rejects *threnos*. In *Alkestis* the portrait of the heroine bears many allusions to the portrait of Patroklos in the *Iliad*,²⁸³ and the scene of Alkestis' *ekphora* probably reflects an honorific tone similar to that of the description of Patroklos' funeral procession. However, the different positions that Admetos and Achilles occupy in the procession, create a different result: Achilles walks by the bier resting his hands on the head of his beloved comrade, in a gesture

²⁷⁹Of course, he is there addressing the chorus who will be able to attend only the *ekphora*.

²⁸⁰Later on, however, when debating with his father and referring to the future death rituals on his honour that he denies to perform, he finds it natural to mention only the *prothesis* (663-4); naming the *prothesis* ritual seems to be a synoptic way to refer to the whole funeral.

²⁸¹On its significance see Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 197.

²⁸²See Loraux 1986, 42ff.

²⁸³Cf. Garner 1990, 64ff.

which reflects intense grief and which is also performed by women. Admetos, on the other hand, is detached from the bier (as the verb φέρουσι implies) and invites the chorus as representatives of the public to react to the spectacle and to give the tone to the ceremony. Even if Euripides had Patroklos in mind when he shaped his *Alkestis*, the expression of mourning in the play is closer to the Athenian than to the Homeric spirit. Although in the *Alkestis* the Homeric and aristocratic tradition of mourning and honouring the dead would probably seem more appropriate, since the play deals with the death of a mythical member of a royal house; and although at the beginning of the play the first references to expressions of mourning seem to comply with this tradition,²⁸⁴ finally it is proved that the glorification of Alkestis' death is achieved in a way that recalls also the honouring of the dead of the democratic city. The honoured dead is here a named member of the aristocracy but Alkestis is glorified by a collectivity, the chorus of Thessalian elders,²⁸⁵ who represent the public.

The abstinence from lamentation in the execution of Alkestis' funeral may also be connected with the fact that in the play the death-rites are solely performed by men (there are only indirect references to what might be going on in the palace). While in Homer both men and women may on occasion lament in similar ways,²⁸⁶ voicing similar themes and expressing grief in a violent and almost suicidal fashion, in Athens male and female roles seem to have been more strictly segregated. Lamentation is closely associated with women²⁸⁷ whereas men are encouraged to avoid excesses of grief.²⁸⁸ In the *ekphora* they are entrusted with a controlling role over the group of women

²⁸⁴Especially the parodos and Admetos' instructions 425-31; cf. Hdt. 6.58, Paus. 4.14.4-5, An. Bekk. 281. 26.

²⁸⁵As Dale 1954 ad 77-135 notes, the age and sex of the chorus becomes clear at 212, and the scholiast confirms that they were old men of Pherai.

²⁸⁶Their roles are differentiated in that men perform formal *threnoi*, while the female relatives improvise *gooi*; see *Il.* 24. 720ff.

²⁸⁷Cf. Loraux 1990, 39-41 and *passim*.

²⁸⁸Cf. Archil. fr. 13W; E. *Her.* 536, E. *Tr.* 948-52, Pl. *R.* 395d (and cf. *ibid.* 387e-389e, 603e- 604e).

whose attendance is anyway restricted. In the case of a public funeral the roles are also clearly distinguished; the lament is relegated to the women, but the men are virtually in control of the whole ceremony and especially of its climax, the funeral oration. Both in the public and in the private domain the procession is a part of the funerary ritual which belongs to the care of men.

The avoidance of lamentation, although an attested masculine attitude towards grief in Classical Athens, does not always characterise male characters in Greek tragedy. Teukros in *Aias*, Kreon in *Antigone*, Adrastos in Euripides' *Hiketides*, Peleus in *Andromache* (let alone Xerxes in the *Persai*) are all good examples of the contrary. Nevertheless, each case should be seen in context. In all the above-mentioned examples the bemourned people have suffered a violent death. In some cases the relocation of the death in a positive context changes the atmosphere.²⁸⁹ Accordingly Alkestis' *belle mort* receives different treatment. It is also characteristic that Alkestis is the only woman in whose honour the *whole* funeral is performed in the extant Greek tragedies.²⁹⁰ In this context the emphasis on the *ekphora* fulfills both the needs of a masculine expression of grief and the need for the exaltation of Alkestis in death.

The significance of the *ekphora* both for the theme of Alkestis' honour and for the dramatic structure of the play is also conspicuous in the fact that a retardation scene is introduced when the procession is fully displayed and about to set off.²⁹¹ From the direction of one of the parodos Pheres, Admetos' father, is coming to pay his respects, followed by attendants carrying gifts for the dead Alkestis. Pheres' funerary *κόσμος* (612-3, 618, 631), or at least some of it, must consist of garments, wreaths and similar objects, since Admetos makes clear that the dead Alkestis will not wear them (631).

²⁸⁹As in the case of the *Andromache*; see the discussion below.

²⁹⁰In most cases the lamentation is for a male relative. The question is: how much was a husband expected to lament for his wife, and especially for a wife who died a particularly honourable death?

²⁹¹Burnett 1971, 29 finds Pheres 'technically unwanted in this action'.

The rejection of Pheres' gifts, which is announced in 631-2, would be more emphatic if rich offerings were shown adorning the corpse or being carried by attendants in the *ekphora*. The presentation of Pheres' gifts then fails, and the two groups finally depart in opposing directions.

The meeting of father and son at the time when the funeral procession was being conducted is not without significance. The funeral procession provides the best setting for the staging of the breach between father and son. Death rituals normally re-inforce the solidarity of the group and the procession in particular reflects this solidarity in public. The participants of a procession are marked by special ties in distinction to other non-participants. In the scene with Pheres the dead body becomes the boundary for the debate about life and death²⁹² and for the confirmation of alliances. It is important that Admetos shuns his hereditary prerogatives (the as yet uninherited part, 686-8) along with his duties towards his father.²⁹³ In this light Alkestis does not seem to be the most expendable family member (as a wife who has produced male heirs),²⁹⁴ whose death affects less the intactness and stability of the *oikos*. Admetos chooses his allegiance with his wife, and a rift in the father-son relationship is created. The aristocratic *oikos* of Pherai is divided and the processional action is an effective symbolic re-enactment of the family division that is accomplished in the verbal agon.

The confrontation of the two escorts is important for other reasons as well. Bringing gifts to the deceased is an attested custom which is usually accomplished within the context of the *prothesis*, when the displayed body calls for a last contact with the community.²⁹⁵ When the deceased is raised up

²⁹²Cf. the view of Burnett 1971, 41-2 that the scene has artistic and verbal echoes of the confrontation between Apollo and Thanatos in the prologue.

²⁹³I agree with Buxton 1987, 26 that Admetos' aggression is intelligible within the context of grief and bereavement (especially in the presence of the dead body). Aggression, and most often self-inflicted aggression, are traditional reactions of mourning.

²⁹⁴Cf. Vickers 1973, 117-19; Vellacott 1974, 101ff.

²⁹⁵See e.g. Th. 2.34.2, E. Tr. 1207-8. For the practice see Humphreys 1993, 87; for pictorial representations see Zschietzschmann 1928, 29 and pl. XVIII.111.

to be carried out, he/ she 'has already got everything' (607). In the *Alkestis*, then, the presentation of the gifts at the time of the *ekphora* does not only serve practical needs (the *ekphora* takes place outdoors, while the *prothesis* normally indoors) but it also shows that Pheres has arrived late. The ritual procedure supplies implicit support to Admetos' rejection of Pheres' offerings as redundant.

The retarded execution of the *ekphora*, its prolonged exposure before the audience is an indication of the significance of the ritual in the structure of the play. The procession constitutes a climactic point which is further accentuated by the emptying of the orchestra. The separation that the processional ritual effects acquires a physical dimension in the vacuum that the procession creates as it moves out. Highlighting the aspect of separation is also connected with the relatively underplayed value of the *prothesis* and the distinguishing of the *ekphora* in this play. Although the action develops the issue of Alkestis' death as a process, the rhythm is governed by an emphasis on the rites of separation. This sets the unfolding of the play at a fast pace. The stage of the *ekphora* is soon reached, i.e. the funeral is almost completed, so that the theme of Alkestis' salvation from Death can be satisfactorily expanded. The contrast between separation and return is enacted through opposing movements (Alkestis' carrying-out, Admetos' return, Alkestis' re-entry) which suggest the transient state of affairs and the interpenetration of life and death.

With the emptying of the orchestra, as Rehm notes, space is 'created anew'.²⁹⁶ The vacuum left behind both affirms the segregation of Alkestis - previously placed 'betwixt and between' - and awaits the generation of a new situation. If the first part of the play was Alkestis' tragedy, the second is that of Admetos. The return from the funeral bears obvious similarities to the departure: Admetos, the attendants and the chorus who first leave to go and

²⁹⁶Rehm 1996, 50.

bury Alkestis now come back. The processional return of Admetos and the immobilization of the procession in front of the threshold boundary evinces his position in a transitional state. The evocation of the wedding procession stresses the reversal of his fortune and the juxtaposition of this escort with Alkestis' *ekphora* accentuates the consequences of bereavement. In contrast to the solemn praise accompanying Alkestis' transportation the new beginning that the procession marks for Admetos is placed in an atmosphere of loud wailing. The contrast is further sharpened: Admetos' open expression of grief in this scene is opposed to his controlled behaviour displayed earlier in the play. The chorus react with eulogy in the event of Alkestis' death but engage in lamentation with Admetos on their return from the funeral. While the *ekphora* was the high point of honour for Alkestis, the returning escort marks a point of low ebb for Admetos.

The shift of lamentation from Alkestis to Admetos shows the latter in an ambivalent state, assimilating the position Alkestis had earlier in the play and suffering an *ὁμοιοπάθεια* to the dead which is a mark of bereavement (Arist. fr. 108 Rose): he is symbolically dead.²⁹⁷ This state of suspension anticipates the turning of events. It is interesting that the transitional status which precedes Admetos' re-entry to marriage is signified as symbolic death. For Alkestis, on the other hand, retracing her marital transition signifies life: since it is a case of remarriage, Alkestis (festively dressed and veiled in a way reminiscent of a bride)²⁹⁸ is taken from her place of residence (here Hades,

²⁹⁷For bereavement marking social 'death' cf. also Hertz 1960. The location of Admetos in a context of traditional mourning, his embracing of established roles and reactions (showing the bereaved to refuse to separate from the dead and the community helping in the transition) seems to throw at least a non-negative light upon his personality; cf. Buxton 1987, 25-7. The debt of the play to popular oral tradition, customs and rites seems to be extensive and further investigation (along the line of Lesky's 1925 pioneering work; cf. also Megas 1933) is needed for a fuller appreciation of characters and plot (the offering of *xenia*, for example, by hiding the fact of death is a recurrent motif in modern Greek folk poetry); for a recent contribution see Jakob 1995.

²⁹⁸On Alkestis' appearance and its associations see Buxton 1987, 20-1 and Foley 1992, 138-9.

or at least the tomb) by a φίλος of the groom²⁹⁹ and is delivered to the bridegroom (Admetos) waiting outside the house. The joining of the two escorts and the final union of the partners marks the climax of the interpenetration of life and death motif and the interchangeability of roles: Admetos, alive, but dressed in black reunites with Alkestis, festively dressed, but half-dead and mysterious in her silence. The states of the two partners, so sharply distinguished in the play, could not have come closer. For both of them re-entry into the *oikos* means renewal of life. This new life is yet to come; death signals, conspicuous in Alkestis' silence and Admetos' bereavement tokens, show that the transition is not yet complete. The drama has κωμικωτέραν but not κωμικὴν τὴν καταστροφὴν;³⁰⁰ death-related signs undercut the celebratory tone even of a 'pro-satyrical' tragedy.

²⁹⁹In this context Herakles' νυμφαγωγία confirms ritually and visually his φιλία with Admetos.

³⁰⁰The comment included in the hypothesis; see Dale 1954, xxxl. For an interpretation see Hourmouziades 1986, 83-84.

7. EURIPIDES' *ANDROMACHE*.

Euripides' *Andromache* assimilates the structure of a *nostos*-play focusing on the return of a prominent hero, the head of the *oikos*, whose entry receives particular attention. In the *Andromache* Neoptolemos' return is gradually prepared for at an escalating pace, with Orestes' revelation (995-1006) being the climax in the series of anticipatory references (49-55, 76-8, 255, 268, 342-4, 507-8, 523-5, 925-7, 990). The news of the planning of murder imbues expectations with feelings of agony. When Neoptolemos finally arrives, he is dead, reversing both the pattern and the shaped expectations. The chorus announces the spectacle ambiguously (1166-7): ὁδε ἄναξ... φοράδην... πελάζει. The return of and initial confrontation with the dead body is a climax which provokes ambivalent reactions but it marks also the beginning of a process leading to permanent transformation.

With the arrival of the cortège in front of the palace lamentation breaks off (1173ff). Although the lamentation is performed outdoors and no details of a proper laying-out are given, the procedure closely reflects the ritual of *prothesis*: the antiphonal *goos* of relatives and friends (Peleus and chorus), the physical contact of the bereaved with the dead (1181), the tearing of hair and beating of the head (1209-11) and the general defilement of the body of the mourner (1225 πίπνοντα) are all traditional expressions of mourning performed at the ritual laying-out, as known especially from the epics. In a wider spectrum the events of the last scene (arrival of body, lamentation and carrying out to the place of interment) correspond to the traditional pattern of Greek funerary rituals: arrival of body, *prothesis*, *ekphora*.

Yet, in this play there is a marked difference of tone in the re-enactment of the *prothesis* and the *ekphora*. The heavy atmosphere that surrounds the arrival of the corpse prevails in the ensuing lamentation scene which is

characterised by a gradual increase in despair,³⁰¹ an intensification of lament and a multiplication of wild expressions of mourning culminating in Peleus' fall to the ground (1225). This tone goes hand in hand with the content of the lamentation in which the causes of death (1186-96), the extinction of the *genos* (1177, 1205, 1222) and Peleus' helplessness (1176-7, 1179, 1206-7, 1214-8, 1221) are stressed³⁰² at the expense of the traditional praise to the dead.³⁰³ The unheroic manner of Neoptolemos' death and the consequent difficulty in eulogy, admitted by Peleus and the chorus (1182-5 εἶθε δ' ὑπ' Ἰλίου ἦναρε δαίμων/ ...οὕτως ...ἐτιμᾶτ' ἄν), are major causes for the emphasis on the results for the bereaved and hence for the amplifying despair in the scene.

In contrast to this scene of lamentation, the funeral procession closing the tragedy is conducted in a solemn atmosphere free from excesses of despair. Although the enacted *prothesis* ritual has close affinities to the epic traditional mourning, in which lamentation is the γέρας θανόντων, performed not only in *prothesis* but also in *ekphora* and burial, in the play's *ekphora* lamentation ceases (παύω δὲ λύπην 1276) and the tone turns sober, almost festive (1273-8). Nothing improper is seen in this change (which is exceptional even by classical standards which favoured abstinence from displays of mourning), since the catalyst for it is Thetis' divine appearance and prophecies. This marked change in the mood of Peleus (who is in charge of the *ekphora*) and in the general tone of the ritual cannot be explained away simply as a gesture of gratuitous obedience to the goddess (1233-4, 1270, 1276),³⁰⁴ but can be better understood in a context of positive evaluation of

³⁰¹In contrast to E. *Alk.* in which the chorus try to console Admetos and to minimize the negative effect of Alkestis' death (890-94, 926-33), the chorus here stir up and intensify Peleus' grief; cf. especially 1214-5, 1218, 1221.

³⁰²For the special focus on Peleus in the lament see also Van der Valk 1985, 97.

³⁰³For praise in lamentation see *Il.* 19.287-8, 295-300, 315-20, 24.729-30, 749-50, 771-2, A. *Pers.* 647-56, 709-12, *Ch.* 345-62, S. *Ai.* 921-4, 996-7, Bion 1.71. Cf. Reiner 1938, 18-24, 62-3, 116-20; Alexiou 1974, 182-4. The praise element was particularly prominent in literary *threnoi*; see Alexiou 1974, 104-8; Cannatà Fera 1990, 28-31.

³⁰⁴Commenting on 1273-8 Lloyd 1994 notes: 'the instructions of the *deus ex machina* are usually accepted enthusiastically by the humans'. The question is why.

death, as shaped by Thetis' divine instructions. The point of Thetis' interference is to widen the perspective in which the dramatic developments are to be perceived and to reverse their totally negative effect by revealing honours kept in store for Peleus and his descendants. That the predicted course of action is perceived as positive by the characters within the play, is highlighted in Peleus' last comments through the use of ὀξύως (1274) and the theoretical reaffirmation of the positive consequences of a good marriage. With regard to Neoptolemos' death the transformation of the ritual atmosphere, the allocation of a distinguished place of burial in the sacred precinct of Apollo (1240)³⁰⁵ and the power of his tomb to confer dishonour (ὄνειδος 1241) upon the perpetrators of his murder (hence indirect honour upon him) seem to change the whole perception of his death and to justify - at least in part and in conjunction with the other prospects of future honours for Peleus (1258) and the continuation of the *genos* (1246-51) - a change to pure solemnity in the conduct of his death ritual.³⁰⁶

The importance of Peleus' future deification for the accomplishment of this shift in tone should not be overlooked. In his response to Thetis (1273ff.) Peleus combines his change of mood (1276) with his reassurance that he will follow her directions and go to Mount Pelion to meet her (1277-8). From his words it seems that he will make this journey immediately after Neoptolemos' burial (θάψας εἰμι 1277). If this is true, then the final procession does not only mark the transportation of the dead Neoptolemos to Delphi, but also Peleus' final departure from Phthia. The procession takes both Peleus and Neoptolemos outside civic space and outside normal existence. In this way the fates of Neoptolemos and Peleus are intertwined and the one lends

³⁰⁵The prepositional clause qualifies the participle but it is clear that Peleus will bury Neoptolemos at the place which he has to go to. I doubt, though, whether the text means that his tomb will be next to the Pythian hearth as Fontenrose 1960, 217f. takes it; the phrase - like Πυθική ἑστία in 1067 - seems to be a periphrastical definition of the sacred precinct, important of course for the symbolic significance of the hearth in Apollo's temple. Cf. Burkert 1983, 116-30.

³⁰⁶Cf. the fact that Pindar included the same series of facts in his honorific version of Neoptolemos' myth (Pi. N. 7. 33-47) and contrast Pi. *Paian* 6. 100-120.

significance to the other. In contrast to the explicit reference to Peleus' divine status, Neoptolemos' acquisition of a heroic status is left implicit, discernible for the audience in the exceptional granting of burial in a sanctuary and in the reference to the tomb (and its function) which would activate the audience's knowledge of Neoptolemos as a hero.³⁰⁷ The implicit hint, however, is strengthened visually and ritually through the combination of Peleus' and Neoptolemos' fate in a common processional departure from the living environment of Phthia, conducted in a remarkable atmosphere. Within this exceptional ambiance the two central figures, Neoptolemos and Peleus, are distinguished, transformed and transplanted to a different level.³⁰⁸ The outstanding character of this *ekphora* is the first actual affirmation of Thetis' promises for the acquisition by Neoptolemos and Peleus of a future honorific status. In the construction of the scene a subtle and implicit process is, thus, to be discerned which neither loses sight of the complex dimensions involved in and defining Neoptolemos' death nor does it obscure the potential of Neoptolemos' glorification. The main issues which were developed in the play in various forms and expressions - relation to the divine, descent, marriage, death - are treated interdependently, and at the end a chain of interrelated events is created which sustains and supports the potential of a positive direction according to established legend.

It has been long recognised that the plot of Euripides' *Andromache* falls into more than one part, and scholars usually speak of a 'double plot' play³⁰⁹ or of a threefold structure.³¹⁰ In this structure the part about Neoptolemos' fate has been recognised as a tragedy within a tragedy, and even as a better tragedy than the rest, a dignified work about human error and divine

³⁰⁷For Neoptolemos/Pyrros' cult in Delphi see Fontenrose 1960, Burkert 1983, 119f. Neoptolemos' tomb was a conspicuous site: see Paus. 10.24.6, 1.4.4.

³⁰⁸The effect of this scene and the permanent and dignified transformation and reversal that Thetis' appearance effects, has been noted by other scholars (e.g. Burnett 1971, 153-5, Kovacs 1980, 75) but has not been analysed in ritual terms.

³⁰⁹See Kovacs 1980, 50-54.

³¹⁰See Stevens 1971, 7.

retribution.³¹¹ Within this frame the processional closure works successfully, as it marks a sort of restoration for the dead hero, or at least the re-establishment of his honour. Standing in contrast to the first introductory escort which left Delphi in embarrassment (1158), the final procession to burial takes the same route back in honour,³¹² thus marking the beginning of a renewed relation to the god who will accommodate the hero's tomb in his precinct. Apart from Neoptolemos, in this mini-tragedy special emphasis was laid on the grief and misfortune of Peleus. To this thematic line the procession also forms an appropriate ending, since it symbolically reflects the change of Peleus' fortune and hints at his future elevation to an honorific status.

The formation of the procession must have been simple. The same group of attendants who brought Neoptolemos' body from Delphi seems also to take him back on a bier which is probably raised high,³¹³ while Peleus walks at its side or after it (as usual with relatives in funeral processions). Any special gestures (e.g. touching the head of the dead) are not hinted at in the text and look rather unlikely, since they have a deeply mournful connotation which would oppose the general atmosphere and Peleus' promise (παύω δὲ λύπην 1276). More particularly, if the last lines (1279-82) are genuine,³¹⁴ they may be pronounced after the procession has set off (which cannot be earlier than 1278) and Peleus may follow behind. The chorus also leave the orchestra, but they do not form part of the procession. It is Peleus who will carry out the burial and then go to Mount Pelion (1277); there is no reason and no hint that the chorus should also follow.

³¹¹See Burnett 1971, 150-6.

³¹²In *S. Tr.* a similar procedure is followed; the closing procession retraces a route to a locus sacred to Zeus.

³¹³Cf. *E. Alk.* 607-609.

³¹⁴And probably they are, since they look like a comment on Thetis' repeated words 'in favour of wedlock with you' (1231 and 1253) and on the general theme of play about successful marriages; see also Sommerstein's discussion (Sommerstein 1988) in defence of these lines.

The main problem concerning the formation of the procession is the disputed presence of Andromache and the child in the final scene. The positive evidence is indeed slight. The unclear address σοί in 1041 is usually taken to refer to Andromache, and hence to imply her entry with Peleus. In terms of structure such addresses normally refer to somebody already mentioned in the lyric part or in the previous epeisodion and in this case Hermione would be a better candidate.³¹⁵ However, the meaning of the line and especially the expression δύσφρονες λῦπαι (1042) make it hard to see how they could be applied to Hermione. The difficulty of the passage leaves either possibility uncertain, but Mastronarde may be along the right line when he takes σοί to refer to Andromache but to establish an 'artificial contact'.³¹⁶ The use of τόνδε in 1246 with reference to the child is the only other supportive evidence for the presence of Andromache and the child, but its force is not significant since the use of demonstratives in tragedy does not necessarily imply the physical presence of the character.³¹⁷

The linguistic factor is prominently against their presence. The θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς normally addresses all relevant parties directly, whether on stage or not. In this particular case, not only is Andromache herself not addressed - whether present or not - but the announcement about her fate is made with an emphatic address to Peleus (γέγον), as if the prediction were made for Peleus to know. From a hermeneutical point of view Andromache's silence is a difficulty.³¹⁸ The enacted *prothesis* ritual evokes epic or heroic

³¹⁵See Halleran 1985, 68-9 and 78 who notes that such addresses usually refer to somebody mentioned previously although he thinks that the present case is an exception to this rule. The difficulties for understanding Andromache behind that σοί have been indicated by Steidle 1968, 122-3 who defends a reference to Hermione. Hermione was also understood in earlier times, as the reading of ms A and V⁷Q suggest.

³¹⁶Mastronarde 1979, 101 and 95-101 general discussion.

³¹⁷On the problem of demonstratives on stage see Taplin 1977, 150f. and Mastronarde 1979, 96 with further references. For *Andromache* in particular see Stevens 1971 ad 710, 735, 967 and 1243. The use of τόνδε is here justified from the structure of the Greek: emphasis on the role of the child needs to be drawn and the following, general and indefinite in meaning, clause requires that something specific is qualified (which would fit the metre): τόνδε fulfills both emphasis and concreteness.

³¹⁸I shall avoid repeating well-known arguments and objections; see the discussion in Steidle 1968, 118-24 who makes a good case for Andromache's absence from the exodos,

patterns of mourning in the context of which lamentation is and must be offered by all.³¹⁹ Besides Andromache's silence, the lack of any reaction from the child, who is capable of lamenting as seen in 504-36, is also difficult to understand. Moreover, if the child were present, Peleus' emphasis on the extinction of the *genos* (1177f., 1205, 1216) and on his solitude (1207, 1216, 1220) generated by the death of his only descendant would become inexplicable, especially in the light of his previous defence of Andromache's child against Menelaos (634-9, 713-4, 723-4), and of the later prophecy of Thetis who sees in this child the continuation of Aiakos' *genos* (1246-50). In all likelihood, then, Andromache and the child are not present in the scene, since there is no clear indication in the text and the general action of the scene stands against their inclusion in it.

The elimination from the picture of Andromache and the child seems to raise the question of the coherence of the play. A closing tableau incorporating the woman and the child might seem to make a fitting end to a play in which Andromache, as the title suggests, plays a central role. An all-inclusive processional tableau, however, can find neither textual nor interpretative (ritual) support in this case. Peleus shows total negligence of Andromache and her child in his last words (1273-82) and Thetis' revelation make it clear that a different fate awaits them in future. Even if Andromache and the child were present,³²⁰ they would have to leave from a different direction. This would function as a visual affirmation that Andromache's fate takes a different route. The non-inclusion of Andromache and the child in the concluding *ekphora* is dramatically important. The play explores the climax of

Stevens 1971 ad 1047-1288, Kovacs 1980, 49. Erbse 1966 has tried to account for Andromache's silence by interpreting it as a kind of protest. This is subjective, against social standards and it does not address the other problems that I mention. Counter-discussion also in Stevens 1971, 10f.

³¹⁹Including slaves; Cf. *Iliad* 19. 282-302 Briseis and other slaves. In Sparta in the death ritual for a dead king the helots were made even by force to lament for the honoured deceased: see Hdt. 6. 58.

³²⁰A possibility that cannot be excluded, even if the weight of evidence is to the contrary. I would place their entry after Thetis' appearance, probably at 1243, even if this seems 'unnatural' by modern standards.

Andromache's changing fortunes. Within a single 'dramatic day'³²¹ the most drastic turns of event take place in Andromache's life since her captivity: the culmination of her misery in Neoptolemos' household as a slave, the unexpected escape from death, and finally - as the audience is informed - the prospect of a new marriage and honours for her child. Andromache's release from Neoptolemos' *oikos* prophesied by Thetis is best hinted at through her absence from the final funeral procession.³²² From this point of view Peleus' participation in the *ekphora* acquires an added significance: Andromache and the child, placed under his protection earlier in the play, will now face a new situation. In Andromache's absence from the moving procession the audience would probably recognize that the future has more surprises in store for her.³²³ Despite the uncertainty about the situation in Phthia after the departure of the procession, the positive note that Thetis' appearance has struck and the solemn atmosphere that prevails in the exodos is a hopeful sign that the future may be less bleak for all.

The funeral procession at the end of Euripides' *Andromache* may make better sense in the context of 'Neoptolemos' tragedy'. The audience, however, would hardly miss the point as to its relation to the whole tragedy.

³²¹See Hourmouziades 1991, 110-14 on the dramatic and unrealistic sense of time in Greek tragedy.

³²²By analogy Hermione's absence from the *ekphora* reflects her breaking of the bonds with Neoptolemos' *oikos*.

³²³Their absence leaves open a number of mythological possibilities for the realization of Thetis' prediction. But if they were present, how would their exit be interpreted and what would be the direction of the movement?

8. EURIPIDES' *TROADES*

In the midst of dead bodies lying unburied in the imaginative surroundings of the acting space in Euripides' *Troades* (1085, 1313), Astyanax, the last and youngest male member of the Trojan royal family, is granted formal burial. Andromache's restraint from cursing the Greeks for the violent death of her son, which seems to transgress even the Greek military code,³²⁴ is bought at the price of permission of burial (734-9), as if the order of the ritual could reverse the disorder of the killing. The burial is indeed performed in an orderly way, so far as this is possible (cf. 1144, 1201) in the extreme conditions of defeat at war and of the sacking of a city, in which the *oikos* is destroyed and the male members of the *oikos*, who have specific duties at the funeral,³²⁵ are all dead. Even under these conditions the funeral is given more than the absolutely minimum dimensions;³²⁶ the ordinary rhythm of the ritual is retained and the major stages (introductory escort 1118-22, washing of the body 1150-52, laying-out and lament 1156-1245, *ekphora* 1246-50 and burial 1153-4) are all gone through.

In the play the weight falls on the *prothesis*, conducted by and controlled by Hekabe and the other Trojan women. The *prothesis* scene, however, is framed by two movements: the carrying-in of the dead body into the orchestra and the carrying-out to the place of interment. The recognition of the fact of death in the static presence of the body in the orchestra is punctuated by the ritual movements, which signal the passage first from living to dead and then from visibility to invisibility. The entrance of the dead Astyanax is announced with anapaests (1118-22), a marker of an important

³²⁴Cf. Andromache's words in 764 which describe the Greeks as 'barbarians' for their act, i.e. acting not within the norm of Greek identity.

³²⁵Mainly at the *ekphora* and the interment; see Part I.

³²⁶Cf. the lamentation offered in the place of a burial by Andromache to Polyxena (626-7) in the *Tr.*, or the symbolic burial for Polyneikes in *S. Ant.*.

entry which involves some kind of spectacle.³²⁷ The announcement serves to draw attention to this spectacle: the introductory escort allows the first confrontation with the dead person, who is suspended at a sharp point between life and death before being fully transformed into the adorned and laid-out corpse. The introductory escort is the first indication of honour and respect towards the dead. This aspect is stressed in the play: Talthybios is not an executor of commands but a personally involved collaborator in the ritual (1130-31, 1151-3).

The second and final movement, the exit of the body, is ritually more important, since it accomplishes the passage to the permanent status of the dead outside ordinary human society. In the text the carrying-out of the dead, the *ekphora*, is not much elaborated; only 1246 suggests its formation and no details are provided. Nonetheless, it is important, as the last part of the funeral of Astyanax enacted on stage.

After she has completed the adornment and lamentation of the dead, Hekabe asks that he be taken away for burial: χωρεῖτε, θάπτειτ' ἄθλιω τύμβῳ νεκρόν (1246). This line is the only sign that the procession to the place of interment starts being arranged. The dimensions of this *ekphora* would not be considerable. From Hekabe's utterance it is obvious that she refers to the bearers of the body of Astyanax, and neither Hekabe nor the chorus would join the escort (they stay behind as 1251ff. show). But who are the people addressed in 1246? If mentioned at all, the issue of the identity of the addressees is usually solved by the assumption that they are Hekabe's attendants.³²⁸ However, the presence or entry of these attendants is another vague issue which has not been assessed as worthy of more than an *ad hoc* and passing reference. Lee, followed by Halleran, takes it that they entered at

³²⁷See Halleran 1985, 17-18.

³²⁸Lee 1976 ad 1246, Halleran 1985, 114 n. 68, Barlow 1986 ad 1200, Biehl 1989 ad 1207-86. (No discussion in Hourmouziades 1965).

1207f.,³²⁹ Biehl assumes that they are present 'je nach Bedarf', and others refer to attendants in 462 and/or 1207 but without further discussion of or connection between the various passages.³³⁰ In the play there are three places where the presence of attendants can be inferred: 351 (ἔσφέρετε πεύκας), 462-5 (Ἑκάβης γεραιᾶς φύλακες ... αἴρετ' εἰς ὀρθὸν δέμας), and 1200 (φέρετε, κομίζετε κόσμον) in connection with 1207-8 (αἶδε ... φέρουσι). It is hardly probable that members of the chorus come in and out of the *skene* during the course of the play (hence 351 and 1200 cannot be addressed to them); in Greek tragedy the chorus is not on errands. Moreover, there is nothing to suggest that 462-5 refers to the chorus: they are not Hekabe's φύλακες; they have come out only to share in lament (143-5, 165-7); physical contact between chorus and actor is unlikely.³³¹ In all probability, then, all three cases mentioned above indicate the presence of attendants throughout the course (or most of the course) of the play. They may have formed part of the opening tableau of the play at Hekabe's 'cancelled entry',³³² or they may have entered under the cover of Kassandra's entrance.

There is no doubt, then, that Hekabe's attendants are present on stage during the lament for the dead Astyanax. The text offers, however, no indication whatsoever that they function as bearers of Astyanax' body. This role seems highly improbable for Hekabe's φύλακες. It is indeed much more likely that the Greek attendants who originally brought in the dead body would also carry it out. In 1153-5 Talthybios clearly states that he is going away to dig the tomb, and he may well have exited as soon as he finishes his

³²⁹This assumption makes Hekabe's request at 1207 sound like a shout to those inside, which seems to me improbable.

³³⁰E.g. Hourmouziades 1965, 70.

³³¹Cf. Hourmouziades 1965, 69-70 who takes the lines to show the chorus' detachment; and cf. also Lee who on the one hand understands 462-5 as an address of the leader to the other members of the chorus and who, on the other hand, notes that close contact is highly unusual (Lee 1965 ad 462 and ad 1200 respectively). Kaimio 1988, 12 stress that the addressees are Hekabe's attendants, not the chorus.

³³²Cf. E. *Hek.* opening scene (which has structural parallels to the one in the *Tr.*) in which Hekabe appears supported by attendants.

speech (1155). Hekabe, then, turns to the bearers of the shield who have stayed behind, asks them to put it down on the ground and begins the lament.³³³ When *prothesis* is completed, Hekabe does not say κομίζετε (as it would be expected if her attendants were addressed) but χωρεῖτε, θάπτετε. The verbs and the precise reference to the τύμβος (ἀθλίῳ τύμβῳ) suggest that the people who are to transport the body also have some responsibility at the burial. Female Trojan slaves could hardly be given such directions. Moreover, Talthybios explicitly said (1147) that the Greek men would perform the burial. The carrying of the dead and the burial were traditional tasks of men.³³⁴ The substitution of female attendants in this case (due to the lack of any male φίλοι) would be inappropriate in the context of the play, i.e. a context of war, fire, confusion, captivity and bloodshed. Practical questions, although of secondary importance, should not be ignored (if they can lead to better solutions): how could female Trojan captives move around the Greek camp? How would they know the location of the tomb? Taken together, all these reasons make it highly unlikely that extras acting as female Trojan attendants would serve as Hekabe's addressees in 1246 and bearers of Astyanax's body laid out on Hektor's shield in the *ekphora*. It seems more probable to infer that one or two of Talthybios' attendants who brought the body in, stayed behind, were present during the lament and finally carried off the body.

The procession is far from complete. In fact, it comprises the minimum constituents of an *ekphora*, i.e. the pall-bearers and the bier (here a shield) with the dead. What differentiates it from a common transportation is, first, its place within the wider pattern of funerary rituals referred to or enacted in the play; and second, the ritual character of the focus of the procession, that is

³³³ 1158-1206 are not an *epitaphios logos*, as Biehl 1989 ad 1158-1202 says, but a goos in the traditional narrative style, very close to the style of the laments in *Il.* 24; for the categorisation - with specific reference to these lines in the *Tr.* - see Alexiou 1974, 102-3 and 132.

³³⁴ In *A.* Seven the biers are carried by men, although the ritual is conducted by the female chorus; see my discussion below.

the dead who has acquired the transformed status of an almost sacred object, cleaned, adorned and mourned.³³⁵ The recognizably ritual character of the enacted event informs the whole scene with meaning. The incomplete character of the *ekphora* and the juxtaposition between the moving escort and the prostrate Hekabe enacts the separation and dichotomy that war effects upon the *oikos*, since in 'real-life' peace-time *ekphorai* family members would normally be present.

The contrast between the moving procession and Hekabe³³⁶ may have further implications. Hekabe does not make any effort to leave her place and attend the procession, and from her strict and unemotional command in 1246, she seems almost unwilling to desert her position. Participation in the *ekphora* means not only for the dead but also for the living a change of status, a step closer to the phase of reincorporation into normality. Hekabe's inaction, characterised as passivity by critics,³³⁷ and underlined in this scene through the contrast with the spectacle of the moving procession, may indicate Hekabe's refusal to change her status as a mourner, her wish not to stop lamenting for the people, not to lose contact with the land which is now destroyed.³³⁸

The absence of Trojan participation in the *ekphora* is a sign of incompleteness but not necessarily of ritual disorder.³³⁹ The wider ritual pattern and character are retained, and the major function of the whole

³³⁵The anapaestic lament of the chorus, which follows the departure of the procession, (1251-55) may perhaps have set the pace for its movement and stressed the ritual atmosphere.

³³⁶1156 shows that Hekabe is on the ground and there is no sign that she stands up.

³³⁷So Harder 1993, 255 with a slightly negative overtone; cf. also Steidle 1968, 50.

³³⁸When the transportation of the captives is announced, Hekabe turns backwards not forwards to ships (1275-83). In the mythological traditions Hekabe does not reach Greece; she seems to be the mother-figure rooted in the Trojan land.

³³⁹Contrast Croally 1994, 75-7 whose discussion of the funeral of Astyanax is not wholly satisfactory; one major indication of ritual disorder that he finds in the play, is the wedding symbolism in the funeral of a male; but it is well known that this kind of symbolism in funerals is applicable to both male and female premature deaths; see Alexiou and Dronke 1971; and Alexiou 1974, 5, 27; and my discussion of wedding processions, especially the case of Phaethon. For the blending of wedding and funeral symbolism in the enacted ritual for Astyanax see also Rehm 1994, 133-4.

funerary ritual, i.e. to ensure the transition to Hades, is accomplished. Moreover, in a context of war, and especially in a heroic context of war (such as the one evoked in the play), the attainment of funeral is a marker of honour.³⁴⁰ This dimension is particularly stressed in the play. Astyanax is buried on his father's shield - the most important and characteristic part of the heroic armour - and burial in armour was an exceptional distinction.³⁴¹ The shield itself is crowned as an object of praise³⁴², while Astyanax lies in it adorned like a bridegroom and crowned like a victor in hunting (cf. 1209-15).³⁴³ The ritual focus of the procession, then, has a clear honorific character.

In a wider spectrum, the funeral that Astyanax receives conforms with the pattern of honour that Kassandra has sketched for the Trojan dead (386-90); he has been laid out *χερσὶν ὧν ἐχρῆν ὑπο*, and will be buried in his homeland. Astyanax, of course, has not died defending his homeland; but the shield and the symbolism of the invisible presence of Hektor³⁴⁴ that it carries, are perhaps efforts to recompense for that. Moreover, Talthybios who brought Astyanax' body back, is presented as close to a *φίλος* as possible (cf. 388), since he has cried for Andromache, has shared her grief and has washed Astyanax' body. Astyanax then, the last male representative of Troy, is presented as dying a heroic death, a death which confers *kleos* not only upon him, but upon all Trojans, since with his death he closes the Trojan cycle and with him all hopes for Troy's resurrection also die (cf. 702-5).³⁴⁵ In this

³⁴⁰For the handling of the corpse and its significance within the frame of heroic expectations see Segal 1971.

³⁴¹The primary example is *Il.* 6.416-20.

³⁴²Cf. Scodel 1980, 118.

³⁴³These acts constitute a form of symbolic substitution of male maturity; before returning to earth the dead must be restored to a state of completeness.

³⁴⁴Contrast Segal 1993, 30-31 who stresses the figure of absence in this symbolism; cf. Pucci 1977, 182-3 who concludes that Euripides' song substitutes the presence of the monument.

³⁴⁵I suspect that Euripides here 'plays' with the Iliadic pattern; in the epic Hektor's fate is identified with the fate of the city and his death alludes to the sack of the city. In the play Astyanax is identified with Hektor and his death seals the destruction of the city. Both

context the symbolism of Hektor's shield and of the funerary κόσμος (1200) is important. Within the constraints of war and slavery the funerary equipment needs to adapt and adjust to the materials available, to the Φρύγια σκυλεύματα accumulated with the female population of Troy. In the hands of the women the constraint is transformed into an accomplishment: the most highly valued object identified with the hero embodying the glory and fall of Troy is used as a bier; and the νεοτέρων στέφη, precious items selected out of the Trojan booty and representing the symbolic wealth of Troy, are going to be buried along with Astyanax. The *ekphora* of the adorned Astyanax symbolically represents (and enacts) the loss and disappearance of glorious Troy.

The picture, however, is not free of all ambivalences. The spectacle of the moving procession having as its focus a small child lying in a shield (i.e. the connection of physical impotence and violence) may have seemed incongruous and may have brought even more to the fore the fact that Astyanax was not a warrior but the victim of appalling atrocity.³⁴⁶ Moreover, despite Talthybios' efforts, the fact cannot change that the Greeks, who carry out the escorts and the burial, are not φίλοι but ἔχθροί, the enemies who brought about this death.³⁴⁷ These deviations may suggest a latent tension in the character of the funerary honours for Astyanax and may have hinted at the violence inherent in a death at war. The tradition of heroic death, in which the body of the young warrior was a symbol of beauty and

works end with the funeral, because it is the ritual which ensures the commemoration of the dead and of all that his personality denotes.

³⁴⁶All the more so since the procession follows Hekabe's lament, in which many points were based upon the contrast between the death of a warrior and Astyanax's death; note especially the tone of the contrived epigram 1189-91. Cf. further E. *Her.* 1176 οὐ γὰρ δορός γε παῖδες ἴστανται πέλας; E. *Hek.* 14f.

³⁴⁷The fusion between Greeks and barbarians, friends and enemies, has often been remarked and studied by critics; see for example Scodel 1980, 210ff. and Croally 1994, 103-119. (Craik 1990 sees this coalescence of Greeks and Trojans in the suggested double-entendre of words; I cannot share her impression of erotic innuendos in most of the words and expressions that she studies.) In the case of Astyanax's funeral the role of the Greeks seems ambivalent: on the one hand, they collaborate and form the community which honours Astyanax; on the other, they are the perpetrators of his murder.

honour, may have concealed - in the consciousness of the audience - the violence involved in that death. The substitution of the body of a child in the *Troades* probably reveals this dimension.

The fusion between Astyanax and Hektor, the heroic symbols in the scene, the identification of Astyanax with the hope for Troy's resurrection, even the very name Astyanax meaning the 'king of the city', all these elements together make the ritual performed on stage an enactment of the death and funeral of Troy. It is a dignified death, honoured even by the enemies who collaborate in the ritual. But this honorific end, the play seems to suggest, should not conceal the violence which caused it.

The significance of the enacted rituals for Astyanax can be more fully appreciated if seen in the wider perspective of the whole play. Processional ritual has already been employed twice earlier in the play in the Cassandra and Andromache scene.³⁴⁸ The repetition of this ritual pattern, which is in all cases combined with the lament and which frames the *agon* scene based not on ritual but on rhetoric, enhances the cohesion of this play, which has often been characterised as episodic.³⁴⁹ The analogy in the structural pattern informs also the meaning. Set against the perverted character of the previous processions, the solemnity of Astyanax' *ekphora* becomes more evident.³⁵⁰ The dignity of the ritual in this case constitutes a climax: the evocation of processional ritual in the first two cases serves to highlight the individual fate of female captives. Astyanax' death, however, symbolizes the fate of Troy as a whole, and the *ekphora*, coming close to the end of the play, marks an important transition: it is immediately after this act that complete destruction by fire and abandonment follows.

³⁴⁸I shall discuss these scenes below in the section concerning processions relating to marriage.

³⁴⁹Wilamowitz's influence can be traced here; see Wilamowitz 1919, 3. 263.

³⁵⁰The dignified character of Astyanax' burial (in contrast to other rituals in the play) has been observed also by Easterling 1993, 19.

The analogy between the three processional scenes is also indicative for the effect of the ritual at a social level. In all three cases the procession (contrary to its normal function) enacts the separation and dissolution of community in the extreme conditions of war, since in none of them does Hekabe or the chorus participate. In respect of Astyanax's *ekphora* this dimension is more acute: the *ekphora* does not simply fail to enhance the feeling of community between family members, but actually marks the separation of the women from all the heroic past and the hoped future of Troy. The *ekphora* normally has the function of separation from one status to another, but in this case this function has been overstressed at the expense of other more unifying social effects.³⁵¹ The failure of the social function of the ritual *ekphora* - in spite of all its dignity - is most deeply sensed by the characters in the play. It is at the very moment of the preparation of the procession that Hekabe realizes the futility of πλούσια κτερίσματα; the emphasis here falls on πλούσια, not on κτερίσματα, constituting a questioning of the spectacle and its honorific element: for the dead the richness of adornment makes no difference; this habit is empty pomp for the living (1247-9). In a world with no community to relate to the spectacle, the spectacle does not have value any more.³⁵² In this particular instance the wealth of Troy proves to be barren and cannot conceal the fact that it is condemned to die.

The enactment of a procession in a play functions on two levels: first on the level of relation to the spectators in the play; and second, on the level of relation to the audience in the theatre. As the procession carrying Astyanax's body made its way out of the staging area, the spectators in the

³⁵¹The funerary rituals for Astyanax, and especially the *prothesis* ritual, do indeed create a sense of community and continuity, as Hekabe's insight in 1242-5 suggests. This function, however, does not directly affect the members of the destroyed community. On the tragedy of Hekabe's insight see also Segal 1993, 34.

³⁵²It is often remarked that with the death of Astyanax Hekabe adopts an almost nihilistic attitude (see Havelock 1968, Sartre 1968). The loss of all hope and the questioning of the gods are true facts. However, the women transform their pain through ritual; and they do persist in the performance of ritual, even if ritual is undercut to some extent; but undercutting and self-contradicting are features of lamentation as Easterling 1993, 19 and 23 n. 39 has noticed.

theatre (despite all notions of questioning, separation and ambivalence) would be probably most impressed by the dignity of Astyanax's (and hence Troy's) funeral, an honour, of which most of the victorious Greeks, eager to sail away from Troy, would be definitely deprived. In this context the honorific elaboration of death does make sense - as Hekabe herself seems to acknowledge (1242-5) - because it ensures continuity: by expressing their pain in poetic lament and by adapting the *ekphora*, the women of Troy manage to confer upon their suffering a dignity and expressiveness which wins the immortality of poetic ritual commemoration.

9. AISCHYLOS' *SEVEN AGAINST THEBES*

Every attempt towards the interpretation of the last part (822ff.) of Aischylos' *Seven against Thebes* needs to engage with the problem of the authenticity of the text. The evidence provided after the publication of the *didaskalia* to the *Seven* in 1848,³⁵³ that the *Seven* was the last play of Aischylos' Theban trilogy, casts serious doubts on the authority of the exodos of the play.³⁵⁴ It seemed highly improbable that a wholly new issue, that of Polyneikes' burial, would be opened up at the end of an Aeschylean trilogy. Detailed studies of dramatic technique, language and metre which followed adduced further cumulative evidence to support the un-Aeschylean character of the lines. Counteraction was also lively and it was mainly based on the grounds that we know very little about Aischylos' trilogies and general technique and on the fact that some features in the disputed scene can make good sense.³⁵⁵ For those scholars however, who prefer not to take the *paradosis* for granted and to proceed from what is known about Aischylos' dramaturgy, the presence of the two sisters in the lament and the scene with the herald are unacceptable.³⁵⁶ The thorough analysis of stage problems that the transmitted text imposes; the form and structure of the lament which have been shown to be inappropriate for the sisters; and the popularity (proved by recent papyri discoveries) of the other Theban plays which included the theme of Polyneikes' burial (especially of Euripides' *Phoinissai*), have strengthened the view of modern scholars that the end of Aischylos' play has been tampered with.³⁵⁷ Not unjustly, the prevailing view among contemporary

³⁵³See *TrGF* DID C 4b.

³⁵⁴Lloyd-Jones 1959 traces back the history of the problem and provides a summary of the most influential views expressed up till 1959.

³⁵⁵Among the most important attempts to defend the *paradosis* are Lloyd-Jones 1959 and more recently Erbse 1974. Lloyd-Jones must be credited with the greatest influence.

³⁵⁶The foremost post-Lloyd-Jones efforts to discredit the scenes are: Fraenkel 1964, Dawe 1967, Nicolaus 1967, Taplin 1977, 169-171, and Hutchinson 1985 ad 1005-78.

³⁵⁷Scholars have detected the influence of both *S. Antigone* and *E. Phoinissai* in 1005ff. in the transmitted text of the *Seven against Thebes*. Recently Sier 1991, 15ff. has argued for

scholars is that both the sisters' arrival for the lament and the herald scene are later (probably not much later)³⁵⁸ additions. In the most recent editions of the text (Hutchinson 1985 and West 1990), 861-874 and 1005-1078 have been athetised.

According to this philological emendation the finale of the play consists of the lyric lament of the chorus for the two dead brothers and concludes with the carrying-off of the bodies for burial. Although these two dramatic acts, the lament and the escort, correspond to the 'real-life' rituals of *prothesis* and *ekphora* for the dead, the typical conditions for the performance of these rituals are not met. The chorus of Theban women (*parthenoi* 110, 171) are not close relatives, there is no indoor environment and no formal preparation of the bodies has taken place (bath, adornment). The lament is performed presumably in a public place, probably the same site at which they carried out their supplication and where Eteokles admonished the Theban citizens³⁵⁹ Even if not the normal procedure, public lamentation is not contrary to epic practices.³⁶⁰ And in the context of the play the laying-out of the bodies on the stage and their bewailing by the women, who perform the ritual gestures (854-

similarities with S. *Aias* as well (on 1013-24 and 1047 of the *Seven*); the similarities are less striking in this case. Attempts like that of A.L. Brown 1976 to reach a middle solution - i.e. to exclude the presence of the sisters and to excise the dialogue between the herald and Antigone but leave the rest - have not met with wide approval. Hutchinson does not even discuss Brown's general thesis; he only makes a few mainly linguistic remarks. Apart from all the structural and stylistic problems that remain disputable - especially the abrupt introduction of the herald and the division of the chorus - an extra problems lies in 1069; *propompoi* makes only sense if there are other people whom the chorus escorts - and it has always this function in tragedy. Moreover, Brown's interpretation of *ξυνθάψομεν* is unsatisfactory (he relegates it to a footnote p. 208); even if we are to understand from 1068 that other Thebans may express the wish to bury Polyneikes, they are not on stage; but *συν* - is very concrete. Besides, what would motivate the chorus to put themselves in such danger for someone who has acted as an enemy of the polis and is not even a relative?

³⁵⁸See Hutchinson 1985 ad 1005-78 for the chronology of the interpolation. Foley 1993, 139 prefers a date within the fifth century but she does not have strong arguments.

³⁵⁹There is no indication of a shift of locality in the text; in the early plays of A., however, in which there is not yet a painted skene representing a particular place, locality is somewhat fluid.

³⁶⁰The plays are set in the heroic past and evoke analogous practices; tragedy, however, mainly develops as a dialogue between past and present; see Vernant 1988a, 23-47 and especially 30. In the *Iliad* the Trojans first lament for Hektor at the gates (24.707-717). The funerary legislation which clearly states that the *prothesis* must be conducted inside may imply that, before that, lamentation could be performed in public. In Classical Athens public lamentation was tolerated only in state burials. On all these topics see Part I.

60) characteristic of *prothesis* scenes on vases, leave no doubt that the lament of the chorus over the dead bodies is a tragic version of a ritual *prothesis*; *πρόκεισαι* exclaims the chorus³⁶¹ (965) in full awareness of their ritual role.

Naturally, the completion of the lament marks the beginning of the *ekphora*. No need for the specific technical term; the raising of the bodies and their transportation to the place of interment can be nothing else but the funeral procession. In the *Seven* it is conducted with full ceremony. The biers must be lifted up by the attendants (probably dressed as soldiers) who first brought them in, and the chorus must follow closely, or probably surround them. At this moment the emotion has reached a high pitch; loud wailing with succeeding exclamations sets the tone. The broad reflection of the previous stanzas has ceded its place to short rhythmic cries which set the procession's pace.³⁶²

The two rituals, that of the *prothesis* and the *ekphora*, are thus intrinsically connected. In the course of the lament the links between song and journey are established twice in metaphors. In the first case (854-60) the physical appearance of the bodies³⁶³ incites the women to parallel their lamentation³⁶⁴ to the escort of the deceased across Acheron to Hades.³⁶⁵ Later on (915-17) the lamentation of the women becomes once again the escort of the deceased; the text is corrupt but in all likelihood the meaning involved the two brothers. West's text which involves a small alteration of the *paradosis*³⁶⁶ exactly restores the picture of the lament escorting in funeral

³⁶¹Probably the leader of a semichorus; see Hutchinson 1985 ad 822-1004.

³⁶²See also Reiner 1938, 51f. who notes that the lament at the *ekphora* cannot have the full-scale development of ideas which characterises the *prothesis* lamentation.

³⁶³See Taplin 1977, 173-76 who argues that without the anapaests 861-73 the bodies must have been brought forward by 854.

³⁶⁴*πίτυλον* is interpreted by scholars as 'rhythmic gestures'; i.e. gestures in accompaniment of a song as the text makes clear, namely *γῶων ὧ φίλαι κατ' οὖρον/ ἐρέσσει' ἀμφὶ κρατὶ πόμπιμον χερσὶν/ πίτυλον*.

³⁶⁵The picture evokes in multiple ways associations with escorts: the favourable wind, Charon and his boat as *pompas* of the dead, the *theoria* to Delos; rowing choreography must also have been involved.

³⁶⁶Only a transposition of the word *ἀχάεις* in the reading of ms. I; cf. also the reading of P7Q.

procession the two brothers. In this poetic picture *domon* is not a problem; the ritual performed (in the world of the play) in a public site stands for the normal *prothesis* conducted in the house.³⁶⁷ The two procedures are inextricably interwoven.³⁶⁸ The transitional state of the deceased cannot be concealed under the motionless presence of the bodies at the *prothesis*. Since the living cannot physically participate in the transition of the dead, the lament mediates between the two worlds. By incorporating the imagery of funeral escort the lament becomes a refusal of separation and an assertion of the social bonds at the time of the dangerous transition.

The need to sustain the ties with the deceased signifies the importance of the funeral procession in the context of funeral rites. While the procession signifies the physical separation of the deceased from the familiar environment, it also provides the opportunity for the bereaved to participate in the last visible phase of the transition of the dead. It is not accidental that in the play the emotions are heightened when the procession is about to be formed. The substitution of shorter line-by-line antiphony for the previous elaborate deliveries (961ff.) prepare the passage from *prothesis* to *ekphora*, for which short ejaculations and rhythmic cries are more appropriate.³⁶⁹ The tone remains the same and the equality with which the chorus treated the brothers in their lament is also kept in the procession. There is no hint at any special distinction for either of them. Gestures of affection³⁷⁰ would probably be avoided. The restrained stance that the chorus displayed in the lament is presumably also displayed in the *ekphora* - at least there is no contrary indication. The chorus express their deep pain but the distinction

³⁶⁷See also West 1990, 123.

³⁶⁸See Alexiou 1974, 189-193 who traces the theme of the journey also in modern Greek laments and establishes connections with ancient Greek precedents.

³⁶⁹There is a strong parallel in structure and function between *A. Pers.* 1002-77 and 961-1004 of the *Seven*. See Hutchinson 1985 ad 822-1004. The general structural parallel of the lament in the *Pers.* (853-1076) and the *Seven* (822-1004) has been noted by Broadhead 1960, 316 and analysed by Taplin 1977, 170-172 and 175.

³⁷⁰E.g. the touching of the head; these are probably limited to the close relatives or special friends (Achilles in Patroklos' case for instance; *Il.* 23. 136f.).

between the ritual behaviour of relatives and non-relatives is observed.³⁷¹ The procession also reflects the reticence towards praise and glorification which also characterized the chorus' lament. There is no chariot for the transportation of the dead,³⁷² nor is there the crowd of Myrmidons as in Patroklos' funeral (*Il.* 23.128-137). There is not even a reference to any special adornment of the dead. The *ekphora* is a truly solemn event with wide participation, intense emotions expressed in ritual cries and the proper concern for a proper burial and for a *timiotaton* place of interment (1003);³⁷³ it is lacking, though, any grand feature that would add to the distinction of the dead. The abstinence from praise and exaltation in the last scene is the most extraordinary feature, which invests the song and action of the scene with cohesion and which differentiates it from expected normal practices towards the dead, considering that both brothers are *anaktes* (921) and leaders of the hosts. In the *Seven* it must be the emphasis on the curse and the mutual fratricide that excludes any attempt at glorification.³⁷⁴ The composition and execution of the funeral procession in the *Seven* (which is intimately

³⁷¹I would hardly expect the chorus to display the attitude prescribed for the relatives in the funerary ritual, even though they describe themselves as *philoï* (909). Most of the divergences of the chorus' lament noted by Hutchinson 1985 ad 822-1004. and Foley 1993, 135f. (e.g. the omission of self-pity) can be attributed to their being unrelated to the deceased (on the general structure and themes of a *goos* see Reiner 1938, 11-18 and 24-27). The feature which can hardly be accounted for by this explanation is the lack of praise. It is also worth noting that some devices of praise are actually distorted; see 922-25 and 951-2 and Hutchinson 1985 ad loc.

³⁷²As in the Geometric *ekphorai*; see Part I. Cf. also the wagons for the dead in Athenian public funerals in Th. 2. 32.

³⁷³Hutchinson 1985 ad loc. considers only the royal associations of a conspicuous place of burial. *τίμιος* (1003 *ἔπου τιμιώτατον*), however, signifies honour, and in relation to a tomb it may suggest a hint at future hero cult; cf. also 241 of the same play *τίμιον ἔδος* for the acropolis where the chorus run for supplication; A. *Eu.* 854 *τιμία ἔδρα* for the sanctuary of the Eumenides.

³⁷⁴Apart from the involvement of the whole city in grief (900-902) and the *τιμιώτατον* place of their tomb (1003), the city's mourning is important: the subjects - *πόλις, πύργοι, πέδον* - seem to imply not only the human population but also the material environment, which becomes animated as an effect of the brothers' death. The participation of the whole nature, this cosmogonic effect that loss and death might have, is a recurrent theme of Greek poetry and is characteristic of very important - usually ill-omened - events. Bion's *Epitaphios for Adonis* is probably the most extensive and best preserved example, but already in Homer the mourning of Achilles' horses is one of the most memorable scenes in the *Iliad* 17. 426-440. For the recurrence and significance of the motif see Alexiou 1974, 56, 60, 70, 94, 158, 166, 168-9. It is worth observing that in medieval and modern Greek laments the theme is particularly prominent in laments for the fall of cities; see Alexiou 1974, 90-101.

connected with the lament) is a symbolic but explicit way to establish that from the play's (and the chorus') religious point of view the two brothers on account of their fate are equal and united in death, disassociated - to a great extent - from their political and military personae.

This deep religious perspective in the assessment of the fratricide and of the fate of Laios' *oikos* in general is made possible by the female identity of the chorus. The firm religious outlook that characterizes the group of the women who form the chorus in the play is made clear from the beginning of the play.³⁷⁵ The fact that they are *parthenoi* cannot be without significance; of all different ages of a woman the *parthenos* probably plays the most crucial (and perhaps the most ambivalent) role in Greek religion.³⁷⁶ By being unrelated to the brothers these women enjoy the privilege of a detached standpoint. Members of the family would give in to praise and would attract attention to themselves, to the bereaved. Thus, the emphasis on the fulfilment of the curse, on the gravity of the fratricide and the destruction of the *oikos* - prevailing in the last part of the play (822ff. but also cf. 720-91) - would not have been achieved. Moreover, the associations with the succession of the throne of Thebes could hardly be overlooked.³⁷⁷ A male chorus either of young warriors or of old men is bound to have raised political issues (especially the enemy - defender polarity). The conscious effort to avoid a male involvement is shown by the fact that the *parthenoi* not only lament the dead but also arrange and set the funeral procession in motion. Both in Homer and in Classical practice the women dominate the first part of the funeral ritual, i.e. the preparation of the corpse and the *prothesis*, in which

³⁷⁵See Brown 1977.

³⁷⁶It is a *parthenos* who leads the sacrificial procession and who can also be sacrificed; the groups of *parthenoi* sing and have various ritual roles at religious festivals; finally they are connected with sexuality and marriage and all that is associated with them. For the case of Athenian *parthenoi* see Brulé 1987; for outside Athens Calame 1977; in association with sexuality and sacrifice Burkert 1983, 58-68.

³⁷⁷Antigone's associations with Haimon is loaded with such implications especially in E. *Ph.* (e.g. 1586f.; the lines belong to a disputed passage but the broad issue is probably Euripidean).

they have the primary duty to lament the dead. For the procession and the burial, men were in charge.³⁷⁸ In Classical Athens the women's presence in the procession was legally curtailed³⁷⁹ and in public funerals the procession was arranged by the state. But in the *Seven*, in which the two dead are leaders of armies and rival rulers of Thebes, the bodies are delegated to the women for both lamentation and burial. The *active presence* of the female chorus in the *ekphora* of the two dead *anaktes* is probably the most provocative feature of the chorus' role in the play.

The young female chorus in the *Seven* fulfills to a large extent Gould's recently proposed pattern of the 'socially marginal' tragic chorus who do not represent the political authority of the city, but contribute with their voice and movement an experience alternative to that of the dominant (male) hero.³⁸⁰ Their identity enables them to remove the issue from its narrow political basis and, drawing on social memory and ritual experience, to broaden the perspective, to place it in the wider context of Theban history, to make the connections between past, present and future and to address the ritual and religious implications of the brothers' act. This does not mean, however, 'exclusion from the tragic action',³⁸¹ unless action is taken to mean effective, influence-exerting, decision-making *interaction* with the tragic protagonist. From 822ff. the tragic chorus dominate the action of the play. If they found in the lament the opportunity to assert their public presence,³⁸² the execution

³⁷⁸For sex differentiation in funerary rituals see Sourvinou-Inwood 1981, 26-28 and 1995a, 113-14.

³⁷⁹Unrelated *parthenoi* could not participate at all.

³⁸⁰See Gould 1996.

³⁸¹Gould 1996, 221.

³⁸²Foley 1993, 134-38 goes so far as to suggest that the women's lament is a political statement against Eteokles' politics. To support her view of the resisting stance of the chorus in the *Seven*, Foley goes on to analyse (138-140) the disputed herald scene (which, she thinks, reflects if not Aeschylus' then at least fifth-century civic ideology). Although it is not clear from her text, she probably does not see any relation between the chorus' attitude in the lament and in the final scene; if we take the final scene into account, the attitude in the lament belongs not so much to the chorus as to the sisters. As to the chorus' defiance of a public verdict, I must admit that I find it a wholly unlikely treatment of the Classical period (the decree itself does not look of Classical age anyway; it contains no sanctions). Having half the chorus (representing here the female population of Thebes) disobeying a

of the *ekphora* provides an intensification, probably a radical one, of this attitude: the powerful presence of the women in the *ekphora* constitutes a reversal of the balance of power exhibited in the first part of the play.³⁸³ If with their *σποράδην* entry and panic the female collectivity introduced a destabilizing, threatening element in the controlled structure of Thebes at the beginning of the play,³⁸⁴ the terms have now been reversed: the fratricide is major disorder which the orderly arrangement and ritual awareness of the chorus opposes and attempts to contain. By constituting the procession - a prerogative which has been yielded to the women in this play³⁸⁵ - the female chorus demarcates the central space of the city;³⁸⁶ this is a 'challenge',³⁸⁷ but not visualised as a dangerous one. Characterized by a sensitivity that perceives the implications of the brothers' death for the whole of Thebes and with a true concern for the fate of Thebes,³⁸⁸ the women treat the deceased with due religious respect, while reducing them to sole bearers of their destructive fate. The trilogy closes with a 'socially and ritually rooted' response of a female collectivity to the ultimately disorderly fact of death: along with retaining the bonds with the dead in ritual (lament and *ekphora*), the women mediate in the separation of the brothers³⁸⁹ from the living world of Thebes.

public decree would probably amount almost to a civil *stasis*. Having Antigone - a heroine and an individual - protesting is quite another thing.

³⁸³In a footnote (237 n. 19) Gould 1996 acknowledges that the *ritual* significance of their role does empower an - in other respects - authority-lacking chorus; on this aspect see also my discussion of E. Hik. below.

³⁸⁴Cf. Gould 1996, 228.

³⁸⁵Hence it is not a 'protest' but rather a recognition of female justice; cf. Orwin 1980 (although his belief in the final disputed scene I cannot accept).

³⁸⁶The procession sets off from a probably central public place (see above n. 359) to go through the city to the place of interment.

³⁸⁷So in Zeitlin 1990a, 109 on women's occupation of public space. On space and women in tragedy see also Easterling 1987 who advises caution against generalisations along gender lines in Greek tragedy.

³⁸⁸Apart from early fears (681f., 734-40, 748) see also 923 and 951f.

³⁸⁹A separation with the least possible future consequences for Thebes.

10. EURIPIDES, *HIKETIDES*.

General outline.

In 1955 Zuntz treated Euripides' *Hiketides* as a 'political' play, both in order to reverse a stream of scholarship which denounced this drama as a 'Gelegenheitsstück' held together in an overflow of 'political allusions', and in order to evince that the perspective of the play was 'political' only in the sense that it made 'problems of human fellowship the material for artistic creation'.³⁹⁰ Whether in a narrower or in a wider sense, the political issues of the play (notably the role of Athens in international politics of the time and the debate about the possibility of justification of war) have been at the centre of scholarly interests and dominate scholarly interpretations. The play starts with the Argives' supplication to Athens for the recovery of the Argive dead lying unburied in front of Thebes, but complicates the picture, as it does not come to an end with the success of the war and the recovery of the bodies, but goes on to incorporate the burial of the dead, with the result that the focus is directed onto the bereaved Argives and their reaction towards the dead. This 'second part' of the play (as has been called) is seen either as a picture of the suffering caused by war, or as a review of the political issues of the first part, even as a satirical reversal of the premises set out in the first part. The interpretations proposed range from outright acceptances of patriotic motives to utter rejections of any positive dimension and the detection of deep irony about the achievements of any war.³⁹¹ In this light the rituals that dominate the second part of the play have been seen either as a background

³⁹⁰See Zuntz 1955, 3-25; the quotations are from pp. ix-x.

³⁹¹Among critiques of the whole play Zuntz' analysis, followed by Collard 1975, most eminently belongs to the first category. Shaw 1982 finds in the play two opposing patterns of action, one successful (Athens), the other extreme (Argos); Greenwood 1953 acknowledges the play's serious pathos but believes that even just war is condemned; Conacher 1956, while sympathising with Zuntz, finds 'certain ironies and disturbing flashes' especially in regard to 'the treatment of the gods and of religion'. Gamble 1970 recognizes in the play a deliberate ambivalence. Fitton 1961 is the critic most eager to find a satirical ambivalence in the play.

highlighting the suffering,³⁹² or as imparting an emotionally charged atmosphere which leads to the rejection of *logos* established as the measurement of the action in the first part.³⁹³

These approaches tend, however, to overlook two facts: first, the weight of the ritual action of the first part and its significance for the public issues debated; and second, the ritual basis of the political alliance achieved at the end of the play. The political questions lie indeed at the heart of the drama but this political preoccupation is put within a frame of ritual action.³⁹⁴ The play starts with a ritual (namely, supplication³⁹⁵) which threatens the well-being of Athens - undercutting as it does Aithra's propitious sacrifice - and ends with a ritual (funeral and funerary procession) which ensures the well-being of Athens. From the Argive point of view the introductory ritual reflects the extreme situation and the disorder which threatens the order of their lives, while the final ritual marks, on the one hand, the success of their supplication and, on the other, their reincorporation into normal conditions of life. The ritual axis is particularly stressed because the play's setting is not a political locality but a religious centre, situated at the interchange between

³⁹²This viewpoint has the result of regarding the presentation of the burial in the play only as a piece of contrast to the main action of the play. As Zuntz 1955, 11 has formulated it 'the action has reached its goal; the passion goes on.' But see the critique of this view in Burian 1985, 218 n. 35.

³⁹³This second view is mainly propounded by Burian 1985 who actually follows and expands Smith's 1966 analysis and results. Compare Smith 1966, 153 'within the context of the funeral the poet shows... suspension of judgement in the presence of passion' and 167 'the Athenian expedition... is set in the context of the limitations involved in its achievement and the limitations that tend to make such precedents unusual and ineffective' and Burian 1985, 154 'a legitimate ideal... whose limitations are obvious in its failure to master the *kosmos* of emotion that dominates the second half of the play', 155 'even admirable aspirations and achievements are beset by uncertainty and subject to distortion by passion and the passage of time'. He deviates in few points, the most important of which is the assessment of Adrastus' eulogy (a 'satire' for Smith 1966, 162f. and a 'failed attempt at genuine praise' for Burian 1985, 147).

³⁹⁴'Political' here is used in a narrow and modern sense connoting public, secular, male and civic. As many modern analyses of E. *Hik.* concentrate on the issues of politics in this sense, my intention is to show that the issues dealt with in the play are not viewed in this narrow way, but in the wider perspective of the interconnection of ritual and politics. This interconnection lies at the heart of the polis-formation and has been often analysed from a historical point of view.

³⁹⁵For the significance of this ritual in ancient Greek culture see Gould 1973. It is interesting that Gould 1973, 89f. notes that in tragic enactments of *hiketia* (as in A. *Hik.*, E. *Hik.* and S. *OK*) political concerns merge with socio-religious concerns.

Athens and Argos. The significance of this setting runs as an undercurrent throughout the play;³⁹⁶ it punctuates the extremity of the circumstances and the precariousness of the balance maintained, since an unpropitious action can attract the hostility of the divinity. Within this ritual context the positive conclusion accomplished at the end of the play (burial of the dead, end of supplication, incorporation into civic life and alliance for the benefit of Athens) indicates that the political decision of Athens and its results are justified. In the play this achievement is attributed not to political means only, however, but to the interlocking of ritual and political action. This dimension has not been previously appreciated.

The confrontation between Adrastus and Theseus in 110-261 proves that the discourse between these two political figures fails. It is the ritual action of the mothers (who have only a human and religious role) which touches Theseus (288) and, more importantly, motivates and activates Aithra to argue for their case. Aithra's political argumentation (314-330) derives, then, from strong religious premises,³⁹⁷ and it is through her mediation that the political consent of Athens is gained. The ideological basis for the fight against Thebes is provided by the confrontation between Theseus and the Theban herald (399-584). The political antithesis increases Theseus' involvement. The suppliants primarily request Theseus to achieve ἀναίρεσιν νεκρῶν,³⁹⁸ and leave it open whether he conducts the funeral or not, as long

³⁹⁶The importance of ritual action and setting would be more easily perceived in the actual performance in which ὄψις and λόγος would be united. For the modern critic the text preserves only the words of the debate between Theseus and the Theban herald; but the audience would see Theseus and the Theban arguing in front of the temple of Demeter, before the eyes of the bereaved chorus, dressed in black, their supplicatory branches in their hands, occupying the area around the altar. The impression would be very different. Cf. Rehm 1988, 286 who notes that the audience watches the events of the first scene 'through the filter of the women'. I will return to the significance of the setting of the play in the discussion below.

³⁹⁷Cf. Conacher 1956, 16: 'it should be admitted at the outset that Aethra views the supplication in a religious light'.

³⁹⁸To request ἀναίρεσιν νεκρῶν equalled admission of defeat (see Pritchett 1985, 257-9). The Argive situation, however, is even more humiliating, since they have to achieve that through supplication for the aid of somebody else.

as the bodies do not remain unburied.³⁹⁹ Gradually (346, 358⁴⁰⁰), however, and out of the clash with the Theban herald (526, 531, 559, 560), Theseus grows conscious that he is responsible for the burial of the dead, and (especially after 571) that his victory over Thebes entails - in one way or another - Athens' offering of funeral rites to the dead. The persistent use of the verb θάπτω is a strong indication of Theseus' deep involvement in the case of the burial of the dead. In this way the audience is prepared to expect that, in the event of a victory, Theseus would probably undertake burial as well.

The burial of the dead, then, grows out of Athens' involvement in the Argive case as a necessary completion of the task undertaken - and it is from its completion that the Athenian achievement can be assessed.⁴⁰¹ In the part dedicated to the burial of the dead (778-1234) the action of the play almost overlaps with ritual action. The ritual procedure is shaped by the interaction between processions and laments which gives it its clear funerary character. However, as the analysis - following the introductory sketch of the whole ritual pattern - will show, the purely funerary character of the ritual is repeatedly undercut, and the ritual movements acquire a different character which relates them to the war context. The ritual escort of the bodies is fused with the return of a defeated army, the *ekphora* approximates to the composition of military parading and, in the group-defining process that the

³⁹⁹Expressions deploying a form of the verb κομίζω: 25, 126, 273, 633; cf. 495 and 754 where it is clear that the expectation is to bring the bodies back. The same wish periphrastically: 61-2 and 69-70. But the wish that Theseus would bury the dead is expressed in 130: πάντες <σ> ἰκνοῦνται Δαναῖδαι θάψαι νεκρούς. The verb θάπτω may be used here in a causative sense (26 τάφου μεταίτιον), but its straightforward meaning cannot be easily overlooked. Other general forms of the entreaty: 168 σῶσον νεκρούς (Adrastos), 282-3 μὴδ' ἀτάφους κατίδης, 285 τάφον ἐξανύσασθαι (mothers).

⁴⁰⁰ See Collard 1975 ad 346-7 'the middle marks Theseus' deeper involvement with the cause; so 285, 358')

⁴⁰¹In view of Theseus' genuine commitment to the burial of the dead, it is possible to give a wider interpretation to an important distinction made in the first part. In 591-2 Theseus asks Adrastos not to mingle his fate with his; the meaning here probably extends beyond the immediate context of the ensuing battle to the performance of the burial rites as well. In any case, it becomes obvious from the text that Theseus proceeds to bury the dead, not as a gesture of collaboration with or help to the Argives, but on his own initiative and responsibility. It is the Argives who participate in and attend the rites that Theseus is organising.

rituals effect, the boys start to become aware of their future military role. Funerals are well-known venues for the assertion of political messages; this is more so in the case of war dead, since their death is the ultimate result of political decisions. In a context of defeat (the Argive defeat in the *Hiketides*) the display of the disastrous results, and the participation in the funeral of those responsible for the decisions, turn the ceremony into an arena of debate about the significance of the war, and an attempt to come to terms with the defeat. The result, as the play suggests, is a contradictory political discourse which fails to persuade. The ritual symbolism of the action intimates Theseus' attempt to dissociate himself from the Argive military group: he takes on a role at the *prothesis* (traditionally a female domain), he seems to occupy different positions in the processions, he stays detached from the political arguments and he generally tries to uphold the *ritual* significance of the funeral.

Nonetheless, the all-male character of the ceremony (and particularly of the processions) implies the establishment of a relation in terms of social dynamics. This relation threatens the significance of Theseus' war, since the Argive political viewpoint stands in contrast with the discourse achieved in the first part of the play.⁴⁰² However, an agreement between Athens and Argos based upon the premises of such a relationship *fails* again through the intervention of Athena (1183ff.). The political agreement that Athens finally wins for its benefit derives from a *ritual* source: the performance of the burial on Attic soil (1183-1212) and the mediation of the mothers (1232-4). Like Aithra at the beginning of the play, the mothers mediate in a public decision, not by political means but by sticking to their ritual roles as mourners for pure human loss, and as spectators of the ceremonial procedures.⁴⁰³ While

⁴⁰²The most obvious example noticed by the critics who are keen to present the contrast of political ideas - without however analysing the ritual - in the two parts of the play is the contradiction between 306-331 and 949-54; see Smith 1966, 163-4 and Burian 1985, 150.

⁴⁰³The importance of the role of the chorus in E. *Hik.* may seem peculiar in the light of Gould's 1996 discussion. But he himself acknowledges (p. 237 n. 19) that 'the fact of

the mothers -even with a reduced role- stay in interaction with both the ritual and the political character of the funeral, the solitary performances of Evadne and Iphis (984-1113) fail to have a wider effect in the context of the play.⁴⁰⁴ In this tightly-knit ritual web of the funeral-part of the play the dominant position has been given to the presentation of processions as the ritual barometers of the dynamics of community. The analysis which follows, will elaborate the points made above and will expose the way in which the interconnection between ritual and politics and the positive solution of the play are ultimately achieved.⁴⁰⁵

Detailed Analysis.

Theseus conducts a separate burial of the mass of the army and of the Seven⁴⁰⁶; while he completes the funeral for the first in Eleutherai (759), located at the Attic border with Thebes,⁴⁰⁷ he brings the bodies of the latter back to Eleusis, a fact which - in the context of the play - must have been motivated by the strong entreaties of the mothers (61-2, 69). The ritual pattern that is followed, however, presents a complicated picture. The anticipated procedure would be either to cremate the corpses of the Seven along with the others and bring the bones back (the procedure followed normally by fifth-century Athens and many other Greek cities⁴⁰⁸), or to offer

collective supplication and its ritual significance gives the chorus a power of initiative that the tragic chorus in general does not possess'. When Gould stresses the social marginality of the chorus and their deprivation of tragic authority, he means political, civic authority. In fact, my analysis is very much in line with and strengthens Gould's position. What I wish to emphasize is that the chorus' larger, 'religious and cosmic' (Gould 1996, 236 n. 18) perspective must be included in the interpretation of the play.

⁴⁰⁴They are of significance to the spectators, i.e. the mothers and the audience; see the analysis below. Cf. also Rehm 1994, 120.

⁴⁰⁵My point of view about the ritual pattern of the play does not imply any pietistic ideas on the side of Euripides. Simply the play seems to propose a ritual solution in a world where the political *logos* alone does not suffice.

⁴⁰⁶The term is and will be used conventionally. As Collard 1975, I.18 notes 'in the play the number [seven] applies both to the chorus and the bodies of their dead sons only as a symbol of their collective identity.'

⁴⁰⁷An indication that the transportation was done only for the shortest distance necessary to ensure burial in friendly territory.

⁴⁰⁸See Pritchett 1985, 249-51.

the dead the initial escort back and then hand them in to the mothers for the rest of the funeral (mainly *prothesis*, *ekphora* and interment). Theseus, however, first accomplishes a part of the *prothesis* (washes and lays out the bodies 762-65), and then brings the bodies back to Eleusis for cremation. The escort then to Eleusis is a sort of *ekphora*, and Adrastus - sensing its significance - rushes out to meet it and greet the dead (771) with the symbolic ritual gesture connected with the ritual (*prothesis* and) carrying-out of the dead.⁴⁰⁹ On the other hand, the reception of the bodies and the lamentation over the bodies by family members (798ff.) recalls the ritual of *prothesis*. The *prothesis* simulation, however, is again undercut: contact with the dead bodies cannot be achieved (941-8) and a eulogy, resonant with echoes of the Athenian *epitaphios logos* normally performed after burial, is also intruded (857-917). Finally, the dead bodies are taken in procession to be cremated, but the mothers do not take part in the escort (940-59). To make things even more complicated, the escort returns bringing the ashes of the dead (1113ff.); antiphonal lamentation bursts forth again (1123-64); and a final procession is to take place, in which the bones will be carried back to Argos for their final disposal (1175-82). In this last stage the procedure evokes the Athenian public ritual for the war dead: lamentation over the bones, carrying-out of the bones and final public burial (followed by the *epitaphios logos* mentioned above).

Far from a general analogy with 'real-life' ritual, the rough outline of the ritual events in this part of the play shows that there is a blending of various ritual resonances which greatly complicates the understanding of the action of these scenes.⁴¹⁰ In this ritual complexity the processions stand out for their ever-present dominance. It is noteworthy, however, that the mothers participate only in the final one.

⁴⁰⁹Cf. A. Ch. 8-9, E. Alk. 767-8.

⁴¹⁰Cf. Whitehorne 1986, 68-9 who has noticed the fusion of private and public funerary resonances but does not go into the details of the ritual pattern.

In both the private and public funerary ritual the processions seem to be the domain of men who organised the ritual, carried the bier - the focus in the procession - and formed probably the largest part (especially in the public ritual in which attendance was open to all men). Female attendance was also important, however, and so the chorus' absence from the *ekphora* which takes the bodies for cremation (in contrast to Adrastos' and the boys' participation) cannot be attributed only to dramatic necessity (to keep the chorus in the orchestra for the next scene). Good theatre transforms need into significance. In this particular case, the exclusion of the mothers from the procession can only be seen in relation to their much reduced role in *prothesis* as well. It has often been said that the mothers' diminished role in the funeral rites as enacted in this play probably reflects contemporary efforts by the Athenian city state (represented here by Theseus) to reduce women's traditional power in funerals, and to incorporate them only as part of the state's major role in these rituals.⁴¹¹ But how far can the argument about the civic dimension of the enacted rituals be pressed in a play, the setting of which is a sacred sanctuary situated at the borders of Attica, with a Panhellenic and not a strongly Athenian character, and in which the bereaved characters are a king and citizens not of Athens but of a different *polis* which still has a *tyrannos* (1189)?⁴¹²

On the other hand, Theseus' involvement in the funeral, and especially in the *prothesis* ritual, is presented in a sympathetic light. Theseus responds to

⁴¹¹See Whitehorne 1986, 70; Foley 1993, 121-123; Scully 1996, 77.

⁴¹²In opposition to Foley 1993, who believes that by keeping to their lament the women resist the dominant ideology, Loraux 1986, 48-9 believes that after Adrastos' oration the mothers are incorporated into 'civic universe'; but which is this civic universe? Loraux' conclusion is based on wrong premises, since she takes Theseus to invite 'Adrastus to deliver a speech that will put an end to the morbid relish of maternal grief' (Loraux 1986, 48). But her interpretation is a far cry from the text of 843; the mothers are not Adrastos' addressees; see also below. Foley 1993 corrects and talks about an 'Atticizing' attempt, but she still draws parallels with and conclusions from the historical information pertaining to the Athenian polis, as if the mothers were Athenian citizens. The laudatory comment in the mothers' lament (κλεινοτάτους ἐν Ἀργείοις 965), which Loraux sees as a token of their incorporation, may have to do with the praise in the Adrastos' speech, but the effectiveness of the didactic tone of the speech is doubtful; see below.

the mothers' pleas and brings back the bodies of their sons, so that they could at least see them, which is actually their ultimate wish and expectation (781-5). Theseus performed the first *prothesis* rituals himself, although the physical state of the bodies was repelling: *πικρῶς* in 762 refers to the decay of the bodies long left unburied on the battlefield (note *ποτέ* in 13) and probably picks up an analogous detail in Aischylos' *Eleusinians* (fr. 269 ὥργα τὸ προᾶγμα...διεμύδαιν' ἤδη νέκυς).⁴¹³ This is a realistic touch aimed at an audience familiar with war conditions;⁴¹⁴ but at the same time it is a measurement of the nature and significance of Theseus' action who is presented here as overlooking both physical and ritual pollution contracted through contact with a dead body. What is more, Theseus is reported to have performed this 'shameful' (767) task with *ἀγάπη* (764 ὅτ' ἠγάπα νεκρούς), an indication of emotion and concern more readily characterising women in ancient Greek mentality.⁴¹⁵ Rehm, then, seems to be right when he notes that instead of a constraint upon women, the play highlights 'Theseus' willingness to assume a female role.'⁴¹⁶ In a way Theseus, and in his person Athens itself, performs the mothers' role in a context which excluded the mothers' presence and the reality of which would overthrow the mothers' ideals. At the beginning of the play the mothers begged to embrace the *θαλερὰ σώματα* of their sons (61-2) and their *λυγρὰ μέλη* (70). Both these expressions have an epic ring⁴¹⁷ and allude to an epic conception of the dead body of the warrior as the

⁴¹³Information about this play is very restricted. We basically know that Aischylos' dramatization did not involve war with Thebes (from Plou. *Thes.* 29); see *TrGF* 3. *53a.

⁴¹⁴If the play were produced after the defeat at Delion (see the discussion in Collard 1975, I.8-14), then this realistic presentation would be necessary to make the story *κατὰ τὸ εἶκός*; after the precedent of the Athenian dead left unburied at Delion for seventeen days (Th. 4. 97-101), both Euripides and the audience would be disillusioned about the preservation of dead bodies after death (as usually presented in the epic). In ancient Greece it was generally recognized that after five days of exposure the bodies could not be transported and had to be cremated at the battlefield; see Pritchett 1985, 235-40.

⁴¹⁵Cf. below Iphis' remarks 1098-1103.

⁴¹⁶See Rehm 1994, 116.

⁴¹⁷See Collard 1975 ad loc., although *θαλερός* does not only connote youth in Homer, but also freshness and sturdiness.

emblem of physical beauty.⁴¹⁸ Theseus, however, once again presented as acting out of concern for the mothers, prevents the mothers from touching the bodies precisely because the bodies are not θαλερά and any view of them would cause only λύπη (946). It is obvious that the play gradually reveals that it is the context of war (in which, it is true, men were the protagonists), which usurps mothers of their traditional prerogatives. In this way the play dramatizes the mothers' complaint expressed at the beginning (51-3): φθιμένους παῖδας ἔμούς οὔτε δόμοις προθέμαν.⁴¹⁹ The war has disturbed everything; no proper *prothesis* can take place except in a segmented and incomplete form.⁴²⁰ The mothers hesitate to touch the bodies (hence their request 815-7), dislocated as they are from the traditional environment in which they would preside.⁴²¹ Throughout the play the mothers occupy the same position around the altar which they have had from the beginning, when they performed their supplication;⁴²² this is a clear sign that they are still symbolically defined by the suspension of their normal roles and the transitionality of the suppliant's status.

⁴¹⁸Cf. Hekabe's lament for Hektor in *Il.* 24. 757-59, praising the freshness and beauty of the body; cf. also Tyrtaios fr. 10 W, 21-32.

⁴¹⁹A complaint probably of Athenian mothers as well.

⁴²⁰The incompleteness of the *prothesis* (and probably the lack of feminine care for the dead) is stressed by the fact that no adornment is performed.

⁴²¹Whether the mothers touched the biers bearing the bodies is questionable especially in view of 941-7 (Hourmouziades 1965, 81 takes 815ff. to mean that the mothers touch the bodies) which is usually taken to imply that they did not; cf. Collard 1975, 1. 26; Whitehorne 1986, 68. Since the negative understanding is used widely in interpretations today (see e.g. Scully 1996), it is worth looking closely at the action prescribed in the text. With the end of the eulogy arrangements for the interment are made (933-39); at 940 the procession must set off: Theseus clearly orders στείχέτω; following, Adrastos instructs the chorus ἴτε τέκνων πέλας (941); with Theseus' intervention he changes the guidelines to μένειν χορή. It is obvious that a movement leading to the place of burial is organized; the chorus is initially included, then excluded; the chorus must stay (in the orchestra) while the others exit. The reason for this change is the ὄψις (ἰδοῦσαι 944) and the ψαῦσις of the dead (943). During the scene the bodies were presumably covered; at the burial, the text seems to imply, the bodies would have to be uncovered and, as a token of affection, touched. It is this confrontation that seems to be withheld.

⁴²²Rehm 1988 has shown that the supplication was performed in the orchestra and not split between the orchestra and the stage (whatever the latter might have been in Euripides' time). It is worth mentioning at this instance that ancient Greek staging might have involved much more extensive usage of the orchestra than it is usually supposed; cf. Ley and Ewans 1985. This is particularly appropriate for the staging of processions; see Hourmouziades 1965, 80-81.

Both in the *prothesis* and in the ensuing *ekphora* the mothers react from the position of spectators, a role which they - consciously or unconsciously - anticipated even before the arrival of the bodies (781-5). Their response to Adrastos, who commands the lament (798), is ultimately connected with their response to the spectacle of the biers with the bodies (824-5).⁴²³ Beyond its function as a funeral escort, the procession of the dead warriors headed by their leader, is a dramatization of the conclusion of the whole campaign, the defeated return of its protagonists, with the leader, first in order, bearing all the responsibility for the deaths that follow behind him.⁴²⁴ With this clear evocation of the theme of defeat, Adrastos' leading role in the lament, his desperate cries, his effort to present the dead as unjustly victimized (811-14) and the general suicidal tone come as no surprise.⁴²⁵ The violence of his last utterance is such that it seems that he reaches a point of culmination and exhaustion (a collapse to the earth or at least a kneeling upon the earth cannot be excluded from the original staging of the play; cf. *Andr.* 1225). Although moderate conclusions can be drawn

⁴²³From Adrastos' praise (857ff.), in which he refers to the bodies lying in the orchestra, it seems that five bodies were brought in. See also Collard 1975 ad 794-954B. The boys probably did not follow him, when he went out to greet the dead (his words in 772-5 have a clear personal tone); so, they would not participate in this first escort.

⁴²⁴Interestingly enough Zuntz 1955, 11-12 has pointed out the parallels between this kommos, the lament in A. *Seven* and especially the kommos in the *Persai*. The parallels with the *Persai* are impressive (in both cases a defeated king leads a kind of procession and starts the lament), all the more so since in both plays it is the punishment of *hybris* (cf. 494-5 ἄνδρας.../...ῥβρις οὖς ἀπώλεσεν; 530 χῆ δίκη διοίχεται), the destruction and the defeat that constitute the context of the lament.

⁴²⁵Adrastos' part in the kommos (and later in the play) implies an attempt at psychological representation: his reaction seems to be motivated not only by grief but also by feelings of guilt. He does not admit, however, his responsibility (hence his effort to present the dead as 'unjustly slain'). I would be reluctant therefore to follow Collard 1972, 48 and 1975, I.31 that Adrastos' is 'rehabilitated'. Besides, how would the notion of rehabilitation be visualised in Greek terms? In the *Iliad* Achilles' feelings of guilt (what we call guilt; for his own perception see 18.98-105) at Patroklos' death are discharged in further violence. And tragedy has many examples in which the realization of one's folly or fate leads to some form of violence usually against oneself: Aias' suicide, Oidipous' self-blinding, Deianeira's suicide etc. The notion of moral recognition and moral change are most problematic in Greek culture.

from this tragedy (833-6),⁴²⁶ eulogy - a formal part of the traditional lament - is out of the question.⁴²⁷

Adrastos' oration which follows, may be an attempt to fill this gap. The vehicle, however, of this eulogy is not the traditional dirge but the form of a public speech. Theseus asks Adrastos to speak (841-2)⁴²⁸ on the one quality that he acknowledged for the Seven in the first part of the play (161), and to speak for a particular audience (843), presumably the Athenian youths who fought with Theseus.⁴²⁹ The speech has often been found to bear an analogy in content and setting to the *epitaphios logos* pronounced at the Kerameikos in Athens in honour of those who fell at battle.⁴³⁰ The dissimilarities,

⁴²⁶To reduce the meaning of 832-36 to a phrase like 'the chorus speaks of the Erinyes of Oedipous' house that caused all the trouble' (Smith 1966, 162) is simplistic. It first effaces the distinction between σύ and ἡμᾶς that the chorus makes, and the implicit criticism (mixed with detached sympathy) of Adrastos' judgement. Second, the reference to the ἀρχὴ κακῶν is a well established procedure in ancient Greek thought and particularly characteristic of tragedy which tries to draw the wider mythological context of the action. Thirdly, finding a metaphysical cause of the misfortune is not at all incompatible with personal responsibility (a connection well known both in Homer and in tragedy); the recognition of a metaphysical cause only deepens the perception of the tragic fate.

⁴²⁷On the tradition of praise of the dead in lament see my reference above n. 303 (*Andr.* discussion)

⁴²⁸The high pitch of emotion that the lament reached with Adrastos' last utterance (828-31) and the chorus' concluding remarks on the Ἐρινύς suggest that the lament came to completion. It is important to note that in this kommos Adrastos has the leading part and the mothers respond; so in terms of antiphonal structure if he has given up, they cannot go on. This is not noticed by Scully 1996, 76; and Theseus does not 'intervene' with Adrastos' and the mothers' lament, as Foley 1993, 119 suggests. Cf. also Collard's note on the corrupted passage (Collard 1975, ad 838-40) 'Theseus... at first held back his request to Adrastos from a wish not to interrupt his lament for the dead: that is clear from the imperfect ἐξήντλεις'.

⁴²⁹νέοισιν ἀστῶν τῶνδ' has been taken by some to imply the Argive boys; but cf. Collard 1975 ad 842b-3 who notes that Theseus cannot call the Epigonoί ἀστοί. It is also noteworthy that Theseus refers to the νέοι of the group of the ἀστοί; and the notion of νέος carries much baggage in this play. In 843 it is made very clear who the audience of Adrastos will be. The mothers are *not*: even in this case the mothers are turned into spectators of Adrastos' 'performance'. (I think that many critics who comment that Adrastos fails - or achieves (according to Loraux) - to relieve the mothers, have actually missed this point).

⁴³⁰Wilamowitz' long lasting influence is conspicuous in this instance; see Wilamowitz 1919, 13-19, and id. 1893, I. 249. For a comparison with the Athenian public *epitaphios* see Collard 1972, 43 and 1975 ad 857-917 and Loraux 1986, 47-9, 107-8. Zuntz 1955, 13f. stresses the differences in circumstance between the two occasions. All three of them take the oration seriously (although Zuntz notes its flatness 'to the point of wrecking the play'). Adrastos' speech provides always the major ground for the satirical, ironical or at least pessimistic interpretations of the play. Wecklein (ed. min. 1912 ad 858) early supposed a satirical purpose to the oration but without extending its dimensions. Other early critics found recourse to excision (e.g. Grube 1961, 237f. 'it does not seem as if Euripides could have written what we have'.)

however, are striking⁴³¹ and the general analogy may have been used to throw them in relief. As regards the context of the speech in the play, the divergence from the 'real-life' public ceremony is so remarkable that it may actually account for the failure of its didactic purpose. In 'real life' the funeral oration was delivered after all physical traces of death were hidden into the earth (Th. 2.34.6 ἐπειδὴν δὲ κρύψωσι γῇ), and only the tomb as a commemorative emblem was visible.⁴³² In the oration itself it was eternal remembrance, and not the fact of death, that was manipulated and promoted.⁴³³ On the contrary, in the play Adrastus pronounces his eulogy in full view of the bodies (even pointing to them, 860). But θάνατος παρ' ὄμμα (it has already been noted in this play 484-5) does not encourage but discourage. The juxtaposition of Adrastus' praise of the Seven's εὐανδρία and its direct results, the dead bodies (with all that their death implies, namely punishment and defeat), casts doubts on the validity of the conclusion of the speech, deepens the sense of pity for the dead and makes the mothers' cry (918-9 ἰὼ τέκνον, δυστυχῇ σ' ἔτρεφον) sound even more powerful. In front of them the mothers can only see the black fate of their sons and of themselves. Theseus seems also detached; his praise (925-31)⁴³⁴ does not include any token of εὐανδρία, only the favour of the gods and the value of human relationships. Even more tragic is Adrastus' reaction (949-55): the powerful spectacle of the moving procession and the sense of community with the dead that participation in it provokes, throws Adrastus to the other extreme, to an utter rejection of all toils and thus to a profound self-contradiction. The

⁴³¹I feel great sympathy with Collard 1975 ad 857-917 who notes that 'it is wrong to exaggerate its debt, admittedly unique in Tragedy, to the public *epitaphios*' and who places Adrastus' praise in the wider context of ancient Greek laudatory traditions for the dead; (for epic vestiges of *epitaphios* see e.g. Thebais fr. 10 Bernabé, and cf. Pi. O. 6.15ff. and Sch. ad loc., Tyrt. fr. 12W, Pl. *Phaidr.* 269d).

⁴³²Th. 2.34.8 actually notes that the speaker moved from the cemetery to a lofty stage: προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ σήματος ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένον.

⁴³³See Loraux 1986, 2-3.

⁴³⁴The attribution of lines in ms. L seems erroneous. Adrastus has completed his speech and has drawn his conclusions; it is most unlikely that he returned with two extra pieces of praise so different in tone and theme; cf. also the use of ἡμεῖς in 929 which implies a contrast with the previous speaker.

conclusion of the scene highlights the discrepancies inherent in a context of defeat, always so difficult to be politically assessed: failure of heroics, despair and effacement of all distinctions, or - as will be seen later - feelings of further aggression and revenge.

The procession that carries the bodies off to cremation permits the mothers a last view of their sons (937-54). For the audience the spatial and ritual arrangement of this scene must have been a vivid image of the division of the family that the war effects. Headed by Theseus and his soldiers, and closed by Adrastos and the boys⁴³⁵ the procession displays the commitment of the Seven to an all-male environment which excludes the mothers. The divergence from an ordinary *ekphora*, in which the women's presence would be conspicuous, stresses its character and function as a wartime *ekphora*, a ceremony which seals the pre-eminence of the warrior aspect over all other aspects in the personality of the dead. The character of the ritual, however, has further implications for its participants. It first emphasizes - in theatrical and symbolic terms - the fact that the honour paid by Athens has been won through battle. On the other hand, it suggests that Adrastos and the boys participate not only (or not mainly) as kin, but as fellow-combatants and members (and future members) of the same warrior community. An arrangement in which the Athenian group would occupy a distinctly separate position from Adrastos and the boys would display the different relation (even in terms of war-tactics) of the two groups towards the dead. Finally, from their place as spectators the mothers can perceive the role of Theseus and Athens as generous hosts of the funerals and the dependence of the Argives - and particularly of the Argive force - for both the battle and for the burial of the dead. In the context of the play the mothers are the direct

⁴³⁵Theseus gives first the command for the setting-off of the procession and is supposed to show the way to the place of cremation; Adrastos speaks last and presumably the procession is already on the move, when he concludes his reflections. The boys would follow him, since from the beginning they are presented to stay by him.

recipients of the effect of the spectacle. Their role as spectators, however, has further implications in the wider theatre context, as they share this function with the audience, and in this way they mediate between the audience and the spectacle on stage. Necessarily, therefore, the audience looks on through the eyes of the mothers as well as with their own.

Set against the instability and emotional fluctuation of Adrastus' reactions, the mothers' necessary distance from the performance of the ritual and the spectators' angle, begins to emerge as a privilege. This advantage is further exploited in the following scene in which the action is based on resonances of processional ritual. The presentation of Evadne's attempt to unite with Kapaneus in death as a perverted wedding procession (984-1071) engages the mothers as spectators in a process of ritual communication.⁴³⁶ The chorus (along with the audience) as spectators of successively enacted rituals can feel in a most forceful manner the incompatibility of Evadne's wedding ritual with the processions which have already taken place, and the incongruity of her ritual behaviour within this context. The common basic ritual schema (i.e. the processional formation) that the enacted rituals share, sets Evadne's performance in direct opposition to the preceding and the following scene. Instead of participating in her husband's funeral procession⁴³⁷, Evadne forms a solitary wedding procession and thus sets herself outside the boundaries of the traditional expressions of grief with disastrous results. Likewise, her father Iphis, refusing to participate in the funerary ritual (1107), resorts to another violent extreme (starvation to death 1105-6). Both Iphis and Evadne choose not to conform with the traditional patterns of mourning⁴³⁸ which set 'socially constructed limits on

⁴³⁶A discussion of the wedding resonances in this scene is also provided below in the analysis of marriage-relating examples.

⁴³⁷This is what is appropriate, not what is possible in the context of the play.

⁴³⁸With Evadne's scene a cross-gender relationship between people mourning and people being mourned is formed: mothers mourn for sons and father for daughter.

the potentially unlimited, natural expression of grief⁴³⁹ and are thus led to actual self-destruction.⁴⁴⁰ Witnessing and sharing others' grief (generated by the same ultimate cause as theirs) expands the mothers' vision: in their lamenting response to Iphis (1078-9) their personal suffering is incorporated into the fate of the whole city (μετέλαχες τύχας Οιδίποδα, γέρον,/ μέρος καὶ σὺ <καὶ> πόλις ἐμὰ τλάμων).

With this enlarged vision the mothers engage in renewed lament with the boys who return bearing the urns with their fathers' bones and ashes (1123-63). This procession does not have a definite place in the pattern of funerary rituals, nonetheless its analogy to the Athenian public *ekphora*, and its purpose in the play to carry the bones back to Argos, suggest that it is another form of ritual carrying-out, invested with much significance, as it mediates in the final separation of the living from any material remain of the dead. Furthermore, in the context of the play the entrance of the boys (1114ff.) stands in polarity to the previous entrance of Adrastus with the corpses (the fact that both entrances are followed by the performance of a lament stresses the analogy and contrast of the two scenes). The leading of the boys in this procession and the disappearance of the ravaged bodies of the dead from sight, marks a move away from the past and underlines the passage into a new phase of the history of Argos, a phase however which - as the procession symbolically reflects - will be shaped by the intimate relationship between the new military force and the old.⁴⁴¹ As the lawful descendants (and attendants at the cremation) the boys have been entrusted with the heritage of their fathers. From the Athenian point of view, however,

⁴³⁹See Seaford 1985, 320.

⁴⁴⁰Traditional mourning and lament, though threatening self-annihilation, have a pain-releasing function which wards off utter despair and destruction.

⁴⁴¹The association between the cortège of the boys in the play and the 'real-life' parade of the orphans of the war dead in full armour through the orchestra immediately before the dramatic performances (a fifth-century practice abolished some time in the fourth century; see Pickard-Cambridge 1988, 59), would encourage the understanding of the role of the boys as the new Argive warriors. For the relation between the procession of the boys in the play and that of the orphans in the theatre of Dionysos cf. also Rehm 1994, 118-9.

the presentation of the bones to the boys (and not to Adrastus or the mothers) may be another attempt to avoid mingling with the fate of a defeated Argos (cf. 591). The legacy of the Seven is heavy; as they carry the ashes, the boys for the first time express the wish to revenge the death of their fathers (1142-4, 1149-51). The mothers - deprived also this time of the bodies of their children and with a deepened feeling of suffering - react to a resurgence of violence (1146-8). The course of fate, however, cannot change. Athena's divine prophecy of the future Argive campaign (1214-1226) neither encourages nor approves; it simply states the facts: *κοῦκ ἔστιν ἄλλως* (1224).

Athena does not appear 'to cut a knot'. Ambivalences, however, have dominated in the second part of the play, opinions have clashed and contradictions have been exposed. The political discourse developed during the funeral seems to blur the bases of lawful honour to the dead (531-536, 559-63) and of shared humanity (*τί δ' αἰσχρὸν ἀνθρώποισι τὰλλήλων κακά;* 768) established as motives for the performance of the rituals. Under this light the approach between Athens and Argos in 1164-83 is based on unsafe ground. Theseus has overestimated the power of man's *logos* in attempting to make alliances without invoking or asking for the ratification of the gods. The attempt fails and the main contribution of Athena's intervention is to disperse any clouds of doubt as to the value and consequences of Theseus' *μόχθος*. The alliance that Athena commands has its roots in a ritual basis. An oath is to be taken and the ritual symbols of sacrifice will be combined with the symbols of burial (1187-1212). Hence, the benefits for Athens will spring not only from the *πόνος* in battle but primarily from the extended form of the *πόνος* which comprises involvement in the funeral. The sacred symbol, which will guarantee the protection of Athens, is the knife buried in the earth - made a sacred *temenos* (1211) - where the bodies were cremated (1205-12), a variation on the theme of the symbolic power invested in the tomb in Greek religion. Moreover, as long as the Argives are on Attic soil Athena

commands Theseus to honour the dead and finally to escort them ceremonially out (1210): πέμπε γῆς ἔξω νεκρούς. Sharing in the grief for the dead can ensure prosperity for Athens.

In her rhesis Athena made Adrastos accountable for the oath (1188-90) and Theseus agreed to bind him in oath (1229); but, when it comes to the Argives to give their consent, it is neither Adrastos who replies to Athena's requests (contrary to his behaviour earlier in the play 1176-9), nor the boys, but the mothers (1232-4). Unable to offer proper *prothesis* rituals to their sons, spectators of their *ekphora* and respondents in the lament, the mothers now take the lead, acknowledge Theseus' labours for them and endorse this one-sided alliance (στείχωμεν, ἄδρασθ', ὄρκια δῶμεν/ τῷδ' ἀνδρὶ πόλει τ' ἄξια δ' ἡμῖν/ προμεμοχθήκασι σέβεσθαι). The mothers' reaction (prepared through their role as spectators who witnessed Theseus' involvement) is a clear, unqualified affirmation of Theseus' μόχθος for Argos coming from the Argive side. In contrast to Adrastos who had first effaced all distinctions in 948-54, and later rushed to assure Theseus of Argos' appreciation of his πόνοσ (1178-9), the mothers repeat what they had already recognised at an early stage of the action (373-4): καλὸν <δ> ἄγαλμα πόλεσιν εὐσεβῆς πόνοσ/ χάριν τ' ἔχει τὰν ἐς αἰεῖ.⁴⁴²

Among the many processions in this play it is only the final one which is joined by both Theseus and the mothers. In the enacted funerary rites Theseus and the chorus in a way exchanged roles. Theseus laid out the corpses, when the mothers could not, participated in the *ekphora* when the mothers did not; and after the cremations he stayed behind while the mothers prepared to join in to return to Argos. The final procession, then, displays a unique fullness in the play, and in this way it reflects in symbolic terms the

⁴⁴²It is obvious from this statement and from the mothers' reaction at the very end that they do not resist 'the dominant discourse of the play' (i.e. 'the heroic discourse of courage') in the way that Foley 1993, 117-29 presents it. And I hope I have shown that the play does not betray a uniform 'dominant discourse' of courage, nor that Theseus is presented as the proponent of such a discourse.

unity achieved - through πόνοϛ and participation in death rituals - between Athens and Argos. At the beginning of the play Athens' engagement in the πόνοϛ was achieved through supplication ritual; likewise, at the end alliance cannot be accomplished except in ritual terms.

The ritual solution that is given in this play is not irrelevant to its ritual setting. Like the divine mother Demeter, who restored the abundance of the fruit of the earth when she overcame her desperate grief for her daughter (*H. Dem.* 470-73), the Argive mothers - having gone through most of the funerary ritual and being at the stage of reincorporation into normal life - overcome their grief and ensure peace and prosperity for Athens (as far as the Argive side is concerned at least). The success of their supplication, conclusively marked by the abandonment of the suppliants' position, makes possible the propitious result of Aithra's prayers and sacrifices to Demeter and Kore (27-34).⁴⁴³ In spatial terms Eleusis is also important: located at the Athenian periphery near the borders with the Peloponnese, Eleusis becomes the pole from which the procession sets off to go to Athens, and then to leave Athens and return - via Eleusis presumably - to Argos. Thus, the procession symbolically demarcates the territory that needs to be protected.⁴⁴⁴

The final procession is a funerary one. The urns with the bones of the dead, a focal point in the whole formation, carried by the male offspring of the dead, followed by Adrastos, and finally, the mothers, dressed in black and in all likelihood closing the procession, would make its character unmistakable. It has already been observed that this final escort bears some resemblance to the Athenian public *ekphora* of the war dead. Among other deviations one dissimilarity is striking and should not be overlooked: here the bones of the most distinguished noble warriors (representing in a way the

⁴⁴³Conacher 1956, 16 n. 20 has remarked that the Eleusinian setting and the reference to the festival of Proerosia (27-34) make us see 'the whole of the subsequent action as a kind of fertility ritual ensuring Athenian and Argive prosperity.'

⁴⁴⁴For the importance of the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis and the other Athenian Eleusinia in demarcating territory see Part I p. 42 and n. 157.

whole army) are carried, while in Athens the bones of all Athenian dead at war, arranged in tribes, were given funerary honours. Without disregarding the differences, then, attention should be paid to the analogous structure of the two events within the wider pattern of funerary rituals. In Athens the public burial duplicates or re-enacts and completes the funeral rites already performed (in one way or another) at the battlefield; likewise in the play the final procession is an extension or duplication of the *ekphora* which carried the bones for cremation. This 're-playing' of the *ekphora* is full of import. After staging the original carrying-out for its multiple significance analysed above, the play closes with a procession which has as its ultimate purpose to mediate in the return and burial of the bones of the dead, and which is going to be introduced into Athens (following Athena's command), in order to assure benefit for Athens. It is vital, therefore, - precisely because it is a death ritual, and thus associated with all the ambivalence and fear that death may provoke - that the procession evokes a ritual familiar to the Athenian audience and is rated as highly honourable by the audience. And this it certainly does.

An all-inclusive ritual formation must have exerted a great impact and created an impressive spectacle. As a general dramatic device, however, a single processional arrangement cannot exhaust its significance in the production of an effective closure. Unification of movement does not necessarily mean the reaching of an end, nor does division of movement mean suspension.⁴⁴⁵ Any procession can signify both the end and the beginning of an action and in tragedy the signification of processional configurations varies according to context.⁴⁴⁶ It is mainly the hierarchical

⁴⁴⁵Usually non-attendance of funerary rituals is interpreted as undercutting the sense of closure of the plays: see Roberts 1993 (with respect to lamentation); cf. Taplin 1996, 196-8. Critique from Segal 1996, 163; Segal's model (on which cf. also Segal 1993, 25-33) is qualified by Easterling 1996 who stresses the complexities of tragic closures leaving audiences 'with nothing too sentimental or neatly packaged' (Easterling 1996, 179).

⁴⁴⁶In *E. Alk.* for example a division in the funeral procession is staged, but with the departure of the *ekphora* a strong conclusion is achieved accentuated by the emptying of the orchestra. In the *Bakchai*, on the other hand, (whether the end is Euripidean or not) a

evaluation of unity in contrast to division that makes a unified processional movement (with the assistance of considerable spectacle) look more positive; but it does not so much affect the sense of ending (or suspension) *per se*. On the other hand, in a unified movement the ritual focus is not split and the attention of spectators is more fully engaged in one particular direction. There is nothing intrinsically end-related in that, but it can be used as a focusing technique, if necessary. This does not entail, however, that any other configuration is by definition incomplete. The social dynamics and the ritual focus change but the non-unified processional movement would not necessarily signify lack of completion.

In the *Hiketides* unification of movement is directly related to the socio-religious issues developed in the play. The ritual displays the unity achieved on the human level, ending a play in which united action has been much debated. The procession sustains the potential of positive reciprocal interaction and strengthens the prospect of possible benefit from the incorporation of the dead heroes and their mourning. At the same time the focused movement enhances the audience's experience of a potential positive conclusion. Since the *Hiketides* is a play staged in Athens by Athenians within the context of a religious festival and watched predominantly by Athenians, a play in which Athens plays the protagonistic role and in particular the role of the saviour, the engaging conclusion may have encouraged an experience of potential positive effect beyond the world of the drama.⁴⁴⁷ This level of efficacy is not meant as part of a mechanical process of external action aiming at external results. (Tragedy is not magical ritual of a Frazerian type.) Within the world of the play the enacted ritual builds the expectations of

division of group movement is effected along the ritual lines defined by pollution. The processional division and departure marks the end of a period of disorder in Thebes, but the social significance of this division is painful, though ritually necessary.

⁴⁴⁷This possibility has been raised more positively by Krummen 1993, 216-7 who draws on Easterling's suggestion (Easterling 1988, 109; see my discussion in Part I p. 95), and tentatively proposes that the *Hiketides*, along with the *Herakleidai* and *Oidipous at Kolonos*, may be meant to generate the goodwill and benediction of the gods and heroes by presenting 'the good city' to them.

positive result for the *future* Athens to which the audience also belongs. With the engagement of the audience the 'cry' for a propitious effect, that the processional ritual conveys, can be extended to contemporary Athens as well. But this works on the level of experience, not on the level of a conscious mechanical procedure.⁴⁴⁸ It is efficacy which aims, as Lienhardt has suggested,⁴⁴⁹ at the alteration of the experience of events. This attempt at a transformation of negative experience into a wish for positive results may have seemed particularly imperative in times of external dangers and difficulties, such as the years of the Peloponnesian war.

Startlingly, however, this propitious effect is sought through a *death ritual*, through the introduction of 'death' into the polis. The play as a whole has displayed the benefit obtained from a critical involvement in death rituals, even as (or perhaps particularly as) a spectator; and the processional ending exemplifies this function most fully. The procession in which Theseus, acting under the guidance of Athena, leads a chorus into the city, or rather two choruses, and a hero (whose *πάθη* were honoured through the performance of tragic choruses in Sikyon before Dionysos according to Herodotos 5.67) may be an attempt to evince and reaffirm the benefit deriving from 'death experiences', such as those that tragedy explores. This potentially beneficial transformation and incorporation of death is closely reminiscent of the end of the *Oresteia*. Critics have recognised Euripides' debt to the *Oresteia* for the composition of his *Hiketides* and have noticed the similarity between the two endings.⁴⁵⁰ With respect to the issue of death the analogy is also impressive. Euripides, instead of having Athena introducing the chorus, has Theseus leading on after Athena's command; and, instead of having a chorus of chthonic powers symbolizing death, has a group of human beings - children

⁴⁴⁸Anthropology has shown that on a basic level the ritual efficacy involves the experience of the participant, independently from the intention for an external result; cf. Tambiah 1985, 43, 52-53; Ahern 1979, 15-6.

⁴⁴⁹See Lienhardt 1961, 280.

⁴⁵⁰See Zuntz 1955, 11-12 and Smith 1966, 165-7.

and old women - struck by death. The differences in the analogy are all in the Euripidean mode. The importance of the analogy lies in the conviction present in both cases that the incorporation of death becomes a means to assure the opposite, to ward it off.

11. SOPHOKLES' *AIAS*

In his discussion of Sophokles' *Aias* Winnington-Ingram says that in the part of the play after the hero's suicide (865) we 'learn nothing new about Aias, but a great deal about Teukros, Menelaos, Agamemnon and Odysseus'⁴⁵¹. True, the scenes which follow the suicide afford a considerable insight into the larger world which surrounded Aias and which had - to a certain extent - determined his actions. However, the issue of Aias' burial is raised not so much in order to allow the depiction of the other characters, and to develop the discourse between their ideas and the ideas expressed earlier in the play, but rather in order to address and complete the major issue of the play: the heroic figure of Aias and his tragic fate.

From the beginning of the play the problem is: 'what will become of Aias' - as Easterling simply and aptly formulated it.⁴⁵² The answer to this question is not given by the hero's death. A suicide (or a murder, or even a physical death) might well make a good end to a modern drama, but not to a Greek tragedy about the end of an epic hero.⁴⁵³ From an ancient Greek perspective the life cycle of a man is completed not with the fact of death but with the disposal of the body. The funeral affects the transition from this to the other world, establishes the bonds between the deceased and the community, sustains the relation between gods and men and articulates the social characteristics of the personality of the deceased for the last time.⁴⁵⁴ If the funeral had been of minor significance, then the battles around dead

⁴⁵¹See Winnington-Ingram 1980, 59f.

⁴⁵²See Easterling 1988, 91.

⁴⁵³Winnington-Ingram would agree with that, since he himself acknowledges the 'Greek preoccupation with the disposal of a dead body' (1980, 57). Nevertheless, I want to stress that the interest of the rest of the play (and it is my intention to show that it is the *rest* of the play and not a 'second' part) lies not so much in Odysseus, Menelaos, Agamemnon and Teukros as in the issue of burial in respect to Aias himself.

⁴⁵⁴See Sourvinou-Inwood 1981, 26f. In Homer there is an interrelation between the *geras*, the gift of honour, and the social stature of its recipient; it is not accidental that the funeral rites - especially the lament - are called *geras thanonton*. See also 825 for Aias' *geras*.

bodies, the mutilation of corpses, or the debates over exposition or deposition of exceptional dead would have been futile and meaningless. The persistence of these attitudes shows, however, that they had an important function in a society in which a life's achievements were assessed in a retrospective light from death and burial backwards.⁴⁵⁵ In Sophokles' *Aias* the burial finale of the play sets it on a par not only with other tragedies but more importantly with the epic. In the *Iliad* the portraits of the heroes who fall in battle, are usually completed with the description of their burial or of their exposure, and the poem itself closes with Hektor's burial. As to the lost epics with related subject matter, we know that the *Aithiopis* narrated the death and burial of Achilles, and in the *Little Iliad*, which dealt with Aias' story, the burial (an inhumation, presented as Agamemnon's dishonouring measure against Aias), also received attention.⁴⁵⁶ In a play permeated by epic echoes⁴⁵⁷ the interest in and emphasis on burial makes a normal closure and establishes a further structural and thematic link with the epic tradition.

Charged with this significance, the handling of the burial theme allows the audience to reach a new assessment of Aias. Contrary to Winnington-Ingram's view that in the final part of the play we learn nothing about Aias, there are two important new perceptions to be gained from the unfolding of the burial issue: the symbolic enactment of Aias' heroization and his reintegration into the community. To support his thesis Winnington-Ingram dismisses⁴⁵⁸ the views about the 'rehabilitation' or 'consecration' of Aias and rejects Burian's conclusion that the supplication ritual in 1171-81 enacts - at least symbolically - Aias' transformation into a hero.⁴⁵⁹ The argument in

⁴⁵⁵This idea is deeply embedded in Classical thought. The most famous formulations are perhaps in Hdt. 1.32 and S. *Tr.* 1ff (cf. also Pl. *Hipp. maj.* 291d-e; Arist. *Eth. Nik.* 1100a 10ff.). See also Humphreys 1993, xxx.

⁴⁵⁶See March 1991-3, 4ff. Holt 1992 argues that the explanation found in the *Little Iliad* for the differentiation of Aias' burial from other heroic cremations was a makeshift of the epic poet; see also Easterling 1988, 97.

⁴⁵⁷See Easterling 1984 and Garner 1990, 49-64.

⁴⁵⁸Winnington-Ingram 1980, 57f.

⁴⁵⁹See Burian 1972.

favour of Burian's conclusions has been, however, largely expanded nowadays, leaving no doubt that in the play the dead Aias is treated as a hero *in statu nascendi*.⁴⁶⁰ In the consciousness of both Teukros and the chorus Aias is invested with the power to protect his friends and to harm his enemies, a power ultimately connected with the hero's tomb, the locus of the hero's supernatural power, which Aias - well before acquiring a tomb - is explicitly said to control (κατέχειν 1167). However, Aias' heroic potential to exert power from his tomb is threatened, as long as the burial issue is not settled. With Odysseus' intervention (1318ff.) Aias' reincorporation into the community is achieved. The performance (or even the tolerance of the performance) of funeral rites within the community stands in direct polarity to the two major symbolic acts of expulsion threatened against Aias (and his dependants) earlier in the play, i.e. stoning (728 cf. 254) and exposure. At the same time, the act of Aias' reacceptance into the community becomes the condition which empowers the prospect of his heroization. With the conclusion of the play, then, the 'individualistic', 'uncompromising', 'remote, gigantic' Aias has acquired a place within the closer and the larger community, as well as in the wider order of the world overseen by the gods.⁴⁶¹

⁴⁶⁰Easterling 1988 and the extensive treatment of Aias' burial by March 1991-3 are important contributions in defining Aias' exceptional status after death in the play. But above all Henrichs 1992 gives concrete and conclusive arguments from the point of view of religion; he also corrects the view - accepted in all cited works - that in the supplication ritual Aias' dead body is also in need of protection. On the issue of Aias' heroisation see also Seaford 1994, 392-405.

⁴⁶¹Since he acquires supernatural powers. See also 998f. for a divine reaction to Aias' death with emphasis on Αχαιοὺς πάντα. In the light of this turn of events, it is worth considering how far the play encourages the audience to think that Aias might be aware of the possible dimensions of the σωτηρία that he foresees in 691f. (καὶ τάχ' ἂν μ' ἴσως πύθοιοιθε, κεί νῦν δυστυχῶ, σεσωσμένον). Henrichs believes that Aias dies without the slightest awareness of his future status. It is true that in the play the community defines Aias' heroic status; nevertheless, there are some features which create suspicion. First, Aias is sure that his armour will be buried with him (this statement, isolated, can be dismissed as another display of assertion). Second, in his final two monologues Aias refrains from any reference to Odysseus let alone from cursing him, which is strange in the light of his earlier attitude, especially his earlier prayer to Zeus in 387-91. Thirdly, many of the insights reached in his 'deception speech' do come true at the end; see Taplin 1979; also Seaford 1994, 136-7 and 395-400 for the connection of this speech with the future cult of Aias. Cf. also Blundell 1989, 64-66 where she discusses some hints of divine stature in Aias.

The connection between heroization and integration which has been achieved, heightens the expectations for the actual conduct of the burial. It comes then as a surprise that Odysseus is precluded from assisting with the funeral (1394f.). Odysseus' actual departure at 1401 before the final procession looks even more puzzling than the sanctions⁴⁶² on his assistance; even if Odysseus could not fully help with the burial, it seems, he could at least participate as an attendant and spectator⁴⁶³ and leave with the procession. The puzzle has led many scholars to view Odysseus' departure as another token of Aias' irreconcilability, or as a tension in Aias' 'restoration', or as an incompatibility between Aias' and Odysseus' worlds, or as Odysseus' gesture of modesty before a 'greater figure' who must be the focus of the exodos.⁴⁶⁴ Easterling,⁴⁶⁵ however, has drawn attention to 1396f. (τὰ δ' ἄλλα καὶ ξύμπρασσε, καὶ τίνα στρατοῦ θέλεις κομίζειν, οὐδὲν ἄλγος ἔξομεν), and has underlined that with Odysseus' departure the play leaves the possibility open that not only Odysseus, but even a larger part of the warrior community, would participate in the burial. The following analysis is a modification and strengthening of this view.

Much of the problem lies in the interpretation of the action prescribed in 1402ff. The transportation of the dead Aias is taken to be enacted in a solemn funeral procession, which unites the hero with his *philoi*.⁴⁶⁶ If the exodos was a dramatic reflection of a solemn *ekphora*, then the ceremony - for all its purposefulness and meaning - would indeed have a limited, almost private character which would stress Odysseus' exclusion from it. The text is, however, more complicated. The first point to be noticed is that these final

⁴⁶²Which are in any case justified by the ritual; see 1395 and Jebb 1896 and Stanford 1963 ad loc. Also Lacey 1968, 148.

⁴⁶³Which is exactly how Jebb took 1395 to mean.

⁴⁶⁴For these views see Blundell 1989, 105, Segal 1981, 148-9, Winnington-Ingram 1980, 71-2, March 1991-3, 13 respectively.

⁴⁶⁵See Easterling 1988, 95f.

⁴⁶⁶See for example Taplin 1978, 42; Segal 1996, 161 ('honour among his male peers', 'a warrior's burial').

lines are textually suspect. The unique transitive use of the verb ταχύνετε (1404), the unique use of τοί (1404) in extant Sophokles, the barely tolerable γέ (1409), the difficult γάρ (1411),⁴⁶⁷ the metrical difficulties in 1416f., the corruption of 1416 and the very poor sense of 1417 have led Dawe to delete the whole passage (1402-20) as an interpolation.⁴⁶⁸ Even if deletion may look too drastic a remedy, it must be admitted that the number of problems in so few lines suggests that the passage has suffered at least some corruption.⁴⁶⁹ From a dramatic point of view the kernel of the scene may well be Sophoclean, since the action in the exodos makes such a good link with the preceding action;⁴⁷⁰ moreover, in 1415 πονῶν picks up nicely Odysseus' ξυμπονεῖν in 1379. The textual problems, however, should make us suspicious of the exact dramatic composition of this passage.

In close study the first problem which arises is the lack of any explicit definition of the destination of the movement. 1406f. give the impression that the body will be transported to Aias' hut for the ritual bath;⁴⁷¹ immediately afterwards, however, 1407-8 make it clear that only one group of sailors will go to the huts to fetch the armour, while the rest will presumably head towards the place of interment. This vagueness is strange, since in other tragic exits the destination of actors and chorus is explicitly referred to. Probably the arrival point is here implied by Teukros' earlier search for a grave-site. The following action also needs to be clarified. In 1403-08 Teukros clearly asks the chorus to divide into different groups and to undertake different tasks. The chorus, however, do not execute Teukros' instructions at once

⁴⁶⁷I suspect that it gives the reason for φιλόπτιθιγών; if this is so, then in these lines we should probably detect the action of a later hand. The explanation given by Lloyd-Jones and Wilson 1990, 40 supplies a logical meaning, which is hard however to discern in the extant text.

⁴⁶⁸In his edition of Sophokles' text (Teubner 1975); cf. also Dawe 1973, 173-5; for further difficulties see Jebb 1896 and Stanford 1963 ad loc.

⁴⁶⁹Lloyd-Jones and Wilson 1990, 41 believe deep corruption; see also their discussion.

⁴⁷⁰As I shall try to show. This may look like a circular argument, but given the lack of other evidence, one has no other means but to test the dramatic function of the extant text.

⁴⁷¹Which normally takes place indoors; see *Il.* 18. 343-51.

(which would have them leave the orchestra in different directions), because this would be contrary to the conventions of Greek tragedy. It is only five verses below (1413-4) that Teukros gives a general command for movement (addressed in the third person so that the chorus and all others present are included) and indicates - with a characteristic ἀλλ' ἄγε πᾶς (1413) - that the various groups first start to proceed out of the orchestra. But even after this exhortation it is difficult to imagine that the chorus would divide into separate groups, each pursuing its own task: the last three lines are one of the usual tail-pieces which come up at the very end of Greek tragedies and which are taken to be sung by the whole chorus.

Related to the chorus' movements is also the issue of the armour. There is no doubt that the armour is not fetched.⁴⁷² The addressees of 1407 (μία ἀνδρῶν ἔλῃ) cannot be simply attendants who would immediately enter the skene and come out with the armour.⁴⁷³ Teukros' words at 1413ff. imply comprehensive movement after his command. Moreover, ἔλῃ - meaning troop, band - denotes a group with a considerable number of members, especially when applied to a military context (as it is here). It is difficult to see how attendants, who might have followed Teukros, could be characterised as ἔλῃ. In terms of theatrical convention the only people on stage representing symbolically a well-defined military group of considerable dimensions are the chorus, the ἀρωγοὶ τῆς Αἴαντος ναός (201), Aias' φίλοι ναυβάται (348). Either the chorus, or more generally and indefinitely (cf. the indefinite μία), a band of Aias' fellow warriors are to execute this command in the future of the

⁴⁷²Contrary Easterling 1988, 96 without any arguments, and Segal 1981, 144 who even believes that 'in the funeral procession the shield has the most prominent role'!

⁴⁷³Pöhlmann 1986, 31 takes the addressees of 1407 as a 'Gruppe von Bediensteten' and identifies them with those addressed at 804 (οἱ μὲν Τεῦκρον μολεῖν). At that line Tekmessa probably implies the messenger (and possibly attendants); he came with news *from* Teukros and he is asked to convey something *to* Teukros. (Moreover, Pöhlmann does not seem to realize the meaning of ἔλῃ which he writes as ἔλος, a form unattested in Greek.) Finally, nowhere does Pöhlmann say that the armour was actually brought on stage, although, when talking about the possibility of a double skene door (ibid. 28), he insinuates that it might have been used for that purpose. In his reconstruction of the stage action, however, there is no reference to the carrying of the armour, and it is conjectured that everybody leaves through the east parodos.

tragic action. It is wholly unlikely that some members of the chorus should leave the orchestra and then return for the final exit: this goes against the conventions of the tragic chorus and against all indications in the text. It must also be remembered that the dramatic locale here is not the area in front of Aias' hut, but the area near the grove (*napos* 892) where Aias' suicide took place. The lapse of time between Tekmessa's exit in 889 and her re-entry around 1168 - even though it is not to be taken literally - is a hint at the distance and remoteness of this place. There is no chance then that the armour is brought from the skene.

The connection of all these details would probably produce the following picture: with the announcement of Teukros' first instructions the chorus starts rearranging their formation.⁴⁷⁴ At 1414 the chorus groups start moving on but they still keep close to each other so that they could all utter the final lines. It is only natural that they move first; they have imperative duties to execute (there is an apparent urgency in Teukros' commands), while Teukros and attendants (or simply attendants) would carry the heavy corpse escorted by a child and a woman. If Teukros' exhortation at 1414 had any effect on the chorus, then their movements could not have been very slow but they would convey the chorus' eagerness to help with the situation.

This stage event may indeed draw on 'real-life' funeral processions. The presence of a woman and a child walking besides a transported dead body would be probably reminiscent of *ekphorai* in which women attend closely to the bier.⁴⁷⁵ However, this is as far as the analogy can go; the bleeding body, undressed and unadorned,⁴⁷⁶ the lack of any symbols, the urgent commands for action and the chorus' formation and movements would shift the impression from the picture of a formal *ekphora* to the more informal

⁴⁷⁴See also Jebb 1896 ad 1403.

⁴⁷⁵There is no doubt that Tekmessa is present; see also Easterling 1996, 179 on this point.

⁴⁷⁶In 1170 τάφον περιστελοῦντε is used in the general sense of tending the burial, not of adornment of the corpse, for which we would need νεκρόν; see also Jebb 1896 ad loc.

carrying of the dead for the beginning of the funeral rites. This latter event - which often takes the form of a procession, though different from the *ekphora* - marks indeed the beginning of the funeral rites,⁴⁷⁷ but does not have the character of culmination and separation that an *ekphora* would have. In the exodos of the *Aias* there seems to be no attempt to achieve a merging of the two events (i.e. the initial transportation and the final carrying-off), because as soon as the transportation of the body begins, instructions about the various phases of the funerary ritual are given - the grave, and hence the inhumation, the bath and hence the *prothesis* ritual, the armour and hence the burial - and rapid movement is urged. The action in this scene with its strong inchoate character would serve as a stimulus for the imagination of the audience to reconstruct the picture of the funerary ceremony. The participants in this concluding event are the closest *philoï* who bear the duty of the funeral;⁴⁷⁸ but the action creates the expectation that much more is to follow. The care taken to stress the analogy with the preliminary carrying of the dead and to allude to the ceremonies that are to take place next, creates the necessary conditions for the prospect that not only Odysseus but also a large part of the Greek army could attend the funeral. Uncommonly, though, the escort does not move in the direction of the huts but presumably towards the sea in the vicinity of the *napos*, implicitly perhaps reminding the audience of the historical locale of Aias' tomb in Rhoiteion.⁴⁷⁹ This possible hint would have sustained the hopes that the funerary ritual would have an honorific and magnificent character befitting a hero (the burial of the armour is suggestive). In the *Odyssey* (11. 556-8) Odysseus tells Aias that the Achaeans (including

⁴⁷⁷See *Il.* 18. 231-8, 24. 692-719. The escort recurs also in tragedy: see E. *Tr.* 1118-22, *Andr.* 1166-72 (and my discussions); but in other cases the escort arrives on stage, here it departs.

⁴⁷⁸In the *Iliad* the duties of the closely-related are also described with the verb *πονῶ*; in 23. 158-60 after the impressive *ekphora* and the public lamentation Achilles instructs: νῦν δ' ἀπὸ πυρκαϊῆς σκέδασον καὶ δεῖπνον ἄνωχθι/ ὀπλῆσθαι· τάδε δ' ἄμφι πονησόμεθ' οἷσι μάλιστα/ κήδεός ἐστι νέκυς.

⁴⁷⁹On the locale of the tomb see Cook 1973, 86-89 and 181-7.

himself) grieved for him ἴσον Ἀγέλλῃος κεφαλῇ Πηληϊάδαο.⁴⁸⁰ In Sophokles the public grief pertaining to a heroic burial remains a possibility. But to open up this possibility the play had to end in an anticipatory manner.

⁴⁸⁰In Philostratos (*Heroikos* 35. 13) it is said that the lamentations of the Greeks for the dead Aias were so loud that they were heard in Troy.

PROCESSIONS IN TRAGEDY

B. EVOCATION OR ENACTMENT IN THE CONTEXT OF MARRIAGE

1. INTRODUCTION

The wedding procession is one of the most important nuptial motifs in tragedy.⁴⁸¹ The tragic nuptial *pompe*, though, is far from a close imitation of 'real life'. Apart from the fact that descriptions or re-enactments are not detailed, the context and character of the ritual are often different from 'real-life' examples, though not always perverted. Processional echoes are evoked in a variety of contexts, either as a reassertion of a temporarily broken marital transition, or as an antithetical experience to the disruption of the transition. In other cases processional indications may shape incomplete bridal or sexual experiences or even ill-omened unions. There are also instances in which the transition enacted through the incorporation of wedding symbolism may lead to suffering, even death. For the understanding of these scenes one should take into consideration that in a rite of passage like the wedding, the transition marks a period of uncertainty and ambiguity in which everything is in flux. In this dangerous period things can go astray and turn to their opposite. In this context the observance of the rituals aims at securing a safe passage. The tragedians, however, explore the ambiguity inherent in transitions and this allows a procession to turn from nuptial to funeral or sacrificial. On all these occasions (wedding, funeral, sacrifice) the procession is shared in common, and its significance is defined by the way rituals are performed.

⁴⁸¹As with the historical analysis of the Athenian wedding ceremony (see Part I), the literary study of nuptial motifs in Greek tragedy has received particular attention in recent years, so my analysis will be brief and aiming at providing a comprehensive picture.

Behind all the cases lies the basic assumption that marriage means fulfilment of one's life (τέλος),⁴⁸² and the wedding procession, as the major rite of transition in the context of wedding rites, is seen as the symbolic entry to a state of happiness; hence its frequent representation when a marriage is disrupted or the nuptial transition has failed. Tragedy explores the difficulties of the nuptial transition and its consequences on bride, groom and community. Particular focus is placed upon the figure of the bride, for whom the transition seems to be more fundamental. Nevertheless, the marriage institution was also a mark of maturity for men,⁴⁸³ and tragedy explores the importance and possible anomalies of this development for men as well (e.g. Phaethon). Tragedy highlights the distortions that may affect the wedding rituals, but behind the distortion the norm is present and expanded. Whether negative or positive, the particular tragic ritualizations add to the experience of the wider normative system of ritual practices. Even the deviant tragic cases are in essence studies of the extremes of the system of values.

Finally, tragedy pays particular attention to the potential of the wedding procession to reflect the dynamics of marriage in relation to the whole community: the role of the partners, the union of the couple, the protection of the gods, the integration into and interaction with the community, and the results for the community. A marriage can prove to be beneficial or negative not only for the couple but also for the families and wider groups, and this is connoted by the reaction of the community in the procession.

⁴⁸² τέλος γάμοιο *Od.* 20. 74, *A.R.* 4. 1202, γαμήλιον τέλος *A. Eu.* 835, νύκτερον τέλος *A. Seven* 367, τὰ νυμφικά τέλη *S. Ant.* 1241, τέλος ὁ γάμος ἐκαλεῖτο *Poll.* 3. 38, τέλος γὰρ ὁ γάμος ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς τελειότητα ἄγειν *Hsch.* s.v. προτέλεια, *Phot.* s.v. τέλεον, *Suda* s.v. τελεία etc. Directly relevant are the cultic epithets τέλειος and τελεία for Zeus and Hera respectively; indicatively some sources: *A. Eu.* 214, *A. TrGF* 3.F 383, *Ar. Th.* 973-6, *IG* II/III2 5075, *D.S.* 5. 73.

⁴⁸³ See also Loraux 1987, 42 and 81 n.36 and Rehm 1994, 32 and 156-7 n.14. I stress this point even though I would not contest that Vernant's well-known phrase (Vernant 1988b, 103-4) that in ancient Greece marriage was for a woman what war was for a man contains much truth.

The multiple significance of the procession may account for its frequent representation and its function to connote marriage (and particularly the positive side of marriage that can be, though, distorted in a crisis). Moreover, its public character makes it appropriate for theatre where the communication that a procession provokes is expanded to include also the audience.

2. ANALYTIC EXPOSITION

Tragedy often presents positive pictures of wedding processions encapsulated in descriptions of a nostalgic past without effect in the present. In such cases it juxtaposes extreme cases of human suffering with the memory of the wedding procesion as the high point in life.

In the first lines of Euripides' *Andromache* (2-5) the heroine's past happiness is exposed and recapitulated in the recollection of her wedding procession. Her wealth, her high honour and envied position are all included in the brief description which may be a reminiscence of Sappho (44 Voigt). What, however, is festive and joyous in Sappho becomes ironic in tragedy, as it is contrasted with the violent dissolution of this marriage (8-11), and the enforcement of an undesired relationship (12-15, 24-25, 30 etc).

In *Prometheus Bound* 555-561 the climax of the chorus' reflection on Prometheus' tragic lot is the memory of the wedding day: the ritual bath, the nuptial bed (557) and the wedding procession (558-60); the Oceanids cannot recall the hymenaial song any more, as only lamentation fits their mood (555-7). The *ιότατι γάμων* (557) contrasts with the *ὄλοας τύχας* of 554, and the image of Prometheus and Hesione, escorted by a large party of singing relatives, works as a strong antithesis to Prometheus' present isolation on the rocks.

In Euripides' *Herakles* Amphitryon's boast for his son culminates in the praise of his wife also summarised in the memory of their glorious wedding procession (10-12) with the nuptial couple, the escorting people (*Καδμεῖοι*), the bridal song (*ὑμεναίοισι*), the music of the pipes (*λωπῶ*) and the implied *μακαρισμοί* (*συνηλάλαξαν*). The emphasis here on *πάντες* (10)

indicates the stature of this wedding and the honorific status of the bride. This description and idea of Herakles' happy marriage, which comes in the first lines of the prologue, will be entirely overturned in the unfolding of the play.

In Euripides' *Alkestis* the action on stage provokes the recollection of the wedding procession. Returning from his wife's funeral and standing in front of the house threshold, Admetos laments his happy wedding day (915-25). The past picture of the marital couple with their hands in the customary gesture *χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῶ*,⁴⁸⁴ the lighted torches made of Pelian wood (*πεύκαις σὺν Πηλιάσι* 915), the hymenaeal songs (*σὺν θ' ὕμεναίοις* 916), the escorting people⁴⁸⁵ bestowing blessings on the couple, the festive dress and finally the bridal chamber is set in opposition with the spectacle on stage. Once again Admetos approaches his house in a kind of procession,⁴⁸⁶ escorted by the chorus and probably by attendants (as a king); but now he is alone moving towards an empty bed (925). There is no mention of light, dark colours prevail, and mourning dress (923). There are dirges instead of *hymenaios* (922) and consolation instead of *μακαρισμοί*. The tragic significance of death is stressed by the contrast with the joy of life. In spatial terms the standstill of death is expressed in failure of movement,⁴⁸⁷ as opposed to the progress of the nuptial escort to the interior of the house. The contrast highlights the importance of the threshold as a spatial marker. R. Padel has noted that the Greeks saw the divine in the act of entering and leaving;⁴⁸⁸ the threshold leads to a new world but also relates the worlds of inside and outside and keeps them in dialogue. Inability to cross the threshold

⁴⁸⁴ *φιλίας ἀλόχου χέρα βαστάζων* in the text (917).

⁴⁸⁵ It is important to note that the wedding escort is here designated as *κῶμος*, which is a clear indication that the term should not be simply interpreted as 'revelry'.

⁴⁸⁶ See 924 *πέμπουσι*.

⁴⁸⁷ Despite the chorus' urging in 872 (*πρόβα, πρόβα, βᾶθι κεῦθος οἴκων*) the procession does not move further and Admetos does not enter the palace; at the end of the stasimon he is still on the stage (1006).

⁴⁸⁸ See Padel 1991, 3, 7 and 11; for the crossing of the threshold as a rite of passage see van Gennep 1960, 20-25.

suggests a psychological and social inability to come to terms with a new situation and a new status. By refusing to move Admetos refuses to accept Alkestis' death and to bind himself ritually to a new phase, a state of bereavement. Standing in front of the threshold Admetos stays 'betwixt and between', suspending all other roles, till he is reunited with Alkestis at the end of the play. In this context the recollection of the wedding procession may be a kind of preparation for a renewed nuptial transition.

The motif of the recollection of the wedding ceremony (the procession in particular) as the symbol of fulfilment and joy occurs also in the opening lines of Evadne's monody in Euripides' *Hiketides* (990-999). Evadne opens her monody with a nostalgic exclamation about the brightness and splendour of her wedding day (which is expanded in 993-4),⁴⁸⁹ and then she moves on to the description of the procession with the main typical features: the public participation (the whole city of Argos escorting the bridal couple 996), the wedding song (ᾠοιδαῖς 997), and the implied μακαρισμοί (εὐδαιμονίας ἐπύργωσε 998-9). The tone of the moment is given concisely by the noun εὐδαιμονία which denotes her marriage. This splendid vision of the past is contrasted in the following lines with her frenzied condition (1000-1001) and her present life of pain (1003-5) as well as with the perverse wedding which Evadne attempts on stage. Evadne commits suicide imagining that she plays the role of a bride in a wedding procession. She is dressed as a bride in wedding attire (1054-57); she comes from her father's house, as a bride would do, (1038-42, 1049) for her τελευτά (1012), a term ambiguously describing both wedding and death.⁴⁹⁰ The ultimate destination of her

⁴⁸⁹Collard 1975 thinks that the corrupt lines in 993-94 recall the torchlight wedding procession (see *Alk.* 915, *Hel.* 639-40, 723); this is an ingenious and tempting suggestion which would be accepted if it had better support by the text. The τότε (991)...ἀνίκα (995) structure, however, suggests that the description of the ceremony starts at 995. Nevertheless, the sense implied in the corrupt text is very close to wedding imagery and may well have been an effective metaphor. The present ἱππεύουσι (which creates a problem for Collard) may be corrupt or just a general statement about the αἰθέρα (992).

⁴⁹⁰See Seaford 1987, 121 and notes 161 and 197.

journey is a bridal chamber (ἦξω θαλάμους 1022) which she will reach along with her husband (πόσει συμμείξασα 1020), accompanied on the way by fire light (symbolising in her words the wedding torchlight 1025). Her monody, also, is resonant with echoes of hymenaial songs and μακαρισμοί (995-9, 1025, 1026-7), and especially 1025 (ἦτω φῶς γάμοι τε) is a kind of formula for the wedding processional song and for analogous scenes in tragedy.⁴⁹¹

This 'procession', however, has an unequivocally anomalous character, expressed most forcefully in the pace and rhythm of the movement: the bride comes not in the customary solemn and serene way of wedding processions⁴⁹² but in bacchic mania and haste (ἔβαν δρομάς 1000; ἔκβαλευσσάμενα 1001), an image which is retained in the whole scene.⁴⁹³ This fundamental irregularity is combined with a number of incongruous features: the bride is festively dressed in a funeral context (1056); she is isolated from the community which opposes her decision; she sings her own 'wedding' songs while the chorus and her father will respond with lament (1072ff.); instead of blessings she will receive pity (1034, 1072). Moreover, the wedding light that Evadne imagines is the light of the fire devouring Kapaneus' corpse.⁴⁹⁴ Even the stages of the ceremony are reversed in this distorted ritual; the physical union that Evadne implies in 1019-21⁴⁹⁵ will take place before the actual arrival at the 'bridal chamber' which is no other than the house of Hades⁴⁹⁶ (1022).

⁴⁹¹See E. *Phaeth.* 101 (Diggle), E. *Tr.* 308, S. *Tr.* 205ff. Such stock phrases seem to have a traditional character and may be drawn from 'real-life' instances; see also *Kassandra's* song in the *Tr.*

⁴⁹²Cf. the solemnity of wedding scenes on vases and the relaxed atmosphere of the processions in *Il.* 18. 491-6 and in [Hes.] *Aspis* 273-9 which accommodated even groups of dancing people.

⁴⁹³See δρομάσω (1015), ἄσσω (1065) and Collard 1975 ad loc. In E. *Hipp.* 545-54, in a metaphor of another distorted ἔκδοσις (554), almost the same expressions (δρομάδα ναῖδ' ὀπῶς τε βάχχαν) have been used to describe the desperate state of Iole at her brutal 'wedding' with Herakles enforced by Aphrodite.

⁴⁹⁴Collard 1975 ad loc. stresses the resposion of 1002 and 1025 which lends the latter verse a 'pathetic irony'.

⁴⁹⁵See also Collard 1975 ad loc.

⁴⁹⁶In this scene (mainly 1022) we do not have the motif 'marriage with death' (as Collard 1975, 360 thinks), which is properly connected with girls (or men) dying before marriage (see Rose 1925, 238, Seaford 1987, 106 with references to Greek epithaphs, and

Hence, the whole scene turns to a tragic irony which becomes all the stronger as the distorted ritual allusions of the stage action are contrasted to the image of the proper ceremony offered in the first lines of the scene. The fact that both marriage and death are transitions which involve a journey enables the interweaving of the two themes around the act of the procession. The interest of this combination lies not only in the distortion of wedding rituals but also in the extreme performance of death rituals. The πόθος that Evadne feels for her husband Kapaneus is not inexplicable. The longing for the dead formed part of the traditional mourning ritual and was explicitly expressed in both public and private funerary epigrams.⁴⁹⁷ The ritual, however, contained this πόθος by placing it within the prescribed context of lamentation (which functioned as an emotion-release mechanism). Evadne, in contrast, activates this πόθος literally, enacting it in a festive and bacchic way and attempting its fulfilment with a renewed marital union. Even if the traditional 'Todessehnsucht'⁴⁹⁸ of the living towards the dead may be acclaimed, Evadne's striving for glory through her death (1006-8, 1015, 1030, 1055, 1059, 1063) is put to question, since it goes beyond the accepted nuptial and funerary ritual boundaries.⁴⁹⁹

If the failure of marriage evokes by contrast the happy moment of entry into marital εὐδαιμονία, the reverse, i.e. re-entry into marriage and reunion of partners should also be felt as a new transition and be effected according to symbolic Greek thought through a similar rite of passage. This is exactly what Evadne practices when she enacts her entry into death (imagined

Loraux 1987, 37-42; and mainly the case of *Antigone* below). In the present passage the motif is modified to 'marriage (or remarriage) in Hades'. The conflation of marriage with death in tragedy has been studied by Rehm 1994 (but his analysis does not cover all cases; see the review by Sourvinou-Inwood 1996).

⁴⁹⁷See Loraux 1986, 47; Sourvinou-Inwood 1996, 193, 204-5.

⁴⁹⁸The term was coined by Rohde 1876, 35.

⁴⁹⁹That in some cultures, the custom of the 'suttee', if prescribed by ritual, could confer honour, was known already in Antiquity: Hdt. 5. 5.

by her as reunion with her dead husband) as a kind of bridal procession. In Euripides' *Helen* 630-40⁵⁰⁰ an actual rejoining of Menelaos and Helen is accomplished. In this case as well, the restoration of marriage cannot be experienced except in terms of re-experiencing the wedding procession. In *Helen* we have the reverse pattern of what we have seen above; i.e. not a happy past contrasted to a grievous present, but the failed *olbismoí* that Helen's departure had caused (641) set against the joyful re-experiencing of the *olbismoí* for the reunion.

The scene in *Helen* is not the only example which confirms Easterling's view that in dealing with rituals in tragedy it is dangerous to look for a formula applicable to all cases.⁵⁰¹ In Euripides' *Phoinissai* 337-49 the recollection of and reference to Polyneikes' wedding stresses not the splendour of the past event (as in most cases above) but the incompleteness and distortion of the ritual. Iokaste stresses the absence of Theban participation in the wedding celebration, which reveals the alienation of both the natural and human environment of Thebes at this wedding (344-9). The wedding has caused a breach between gods and men (since the river-god Hismenos⁵⁰² was not honoured in the traditional way of the ritual bath), between families and family members (the groom's mother did not participate, she did not light the torches⁵⁰³) and between the couple and the wider community (348-9). The description of the incomplete wedding rituals (the ritual bath and the absence of the mother) is linked with the metaphor of a distorted procession. In 338-9 Iokaste assimilates Polyneikes' military attack on Thebes to his wedding entrance. In 343 Polyneikes' marital bond has been characterised as γάμωv

⁵⁰⁰The text presents difficulties in these lines; see Dale 1967, 105 for the attribution of lines; but cf Kannicht 1969 ad loc. In any case the attribution of lines does not affect my argument.

⁵⁰¹Easterling 1988, 108.

⁵⁰²For the rough-breathing see Mastronarde 1994 ad 101.

⁵⁰³For similar complaints from the side of the mother see also *Med.* 1027, *Her.* 481-84.

ἐπακτὸν⁵⁰⁴ ἔταν and the same idea is expanded in the metaphor here. The bride was a foreign army and the marriage was dangerous for the Theban πόλις. At the arrival of the bride the Theban city did not join in a festive escort with joyous songs and blessings, but silence prevailed. In other words, the community refused to participate, which means that the procession did not take place. In the highly poetic image of the wedding procession in 348-9⁵⁰⁵ the fate of Thebes and Polyneikes' marriage are intrinsically intertwined. This metaphor powerfully demonstrates how much the tragic understanding of the world is deepened through exploration of ritual dynamics.

Apart from Euripides' *Hiketides* there are a number of tragic scenes in which processional resonances are incorporated in the enactment of a transition which may have been a marital one or is only contemplated as such and which leads not to fulfilment but to suffering, or even death.

In Sophokles' *Antigone* 801-943 the heroine is led by Creon's servants (931) to the cave in which she will be imprisoned and which is called her tomb (849, 888, 891, 920), escorted probably by an attendant carrying some food (775).⁵⁰⁶ She stresses that this is her last journey in the upper world (807-8) and she laments. Normally the last passage to the tomb would take place when a person is already dead, but in this case Antigone participates in her peculiar ἐκφορά alive (821-2). The food carried to the tomb might be reminiscent of the offerings to the dead carried in the *ekphora*, which are often perceived as food for the dead; in this case the symbolic intention of the ritual acquires literal dramatization. As no family or wider community take

⁵⁰⁴The word ἐπακτός is associated with bridal presents (cf. E. fr. 502.5 N.²) and foreign soldiers (A.Th.589). For its special significance here see also Seaford 1987, 126.

⁵⁰⁵The moment of the wedding celebration here evoked, i.e. the arrival of the couple at the groom's city, is traditionally one of joyous celebrations, as Sapph. 44 Voigt and Hes. fr.211 M-W suggest.

⁵⁰⁶See Dingel 1967, 71 who notes that, since mentioned in 775, food must be brought on stage.

part in this procession in order to offer her the final praise and lament, Antigone laments herself stressing thus her isolation.⁵⁰⁷

Although funerary in character, the scene is suggestive also of a wedding. Antigone is taken from her father's house to be led to her last dwelling which is characterised metaphorically by both the chorus and herself as a bridal chamber (παγκοίτην θάλαμον 804, νυμφεῖον 891).⁵⁰⁸ Antigone imagines she is escorted by Hades in a wedding journey to marry Acheron (810-16). The experience of the death of a virgin as a marriage is persistently explored by the tragedians,⁵⁰⁹ and becomes a popular motif in later times (especially in the epitaphs from the Hellenistic period and on).⁵¹⁰ The girl who is of a marriageable age and dies unmarried misses the chance to experience her wedding. Marriage, however, was a mark of fulfilment and honour. The transition to death, which would precede a wedding, being the ultimate event in a person's lifetime is seen as fulfilling both these functions, as if the two have coincided and mingled into one. The idea of Antigone's death as a 'wedding with Hades'⁵¹¹ (a metaphor which is used for untimely deaths in tragedy) is hinted at in various parts of the play (653-4, 1204-5, 1240-1), but it is fully dramatized in words and acts in the present scene.

The character of such a wedding is, however, problematic. In scenic terms this is effected through the blending of mourning and wedding

⁵⁰⁷On the scene as a funeral procession and Antigone's lament in it see Seaford 1984, 253-4; also Brown 1987, 188-9; Rehm 1994, 63-64 has noted the conflation of wedding and funeral.

⁵⁰⁸On *thamos* and the associated wedding imagery cf. Seaford 1990, 77-9.

⁵⁰⁹Marriage in Hades in the cases of Evadne and Cassandra; marriage with Hades in *IA* 905; in *Ant.* marriage with Hades (Acheron) but also marriage in Hades 653-4 (cf. also 1240-41). Normally the symbolic death of the virgin would be succeeded by the wife's life in marriage. But in tragedy the virgin's 'marriage' with Hades implies death. On this 'reversal' see also Loraux 1987, 37-8.

⁵¹⁰Loraux 1987, 79 n. 22 has noted that, apart from the difficult epitaph of Phrasikleia, the theme of marriage in Hades is not associated with the death of young girls in the funerary poetry of the Archaic and Classical periods but from the Hellenistic period onward. Seaford 1987, 106 seems to believe that it must have been a motif already in the Classical period though tragedy is the only evidence. From archaeological evidence, however, the use of the *loutrophoroi* (originally nuptial vessels) in funerals (Sutton 1981, 161) may imply such a popular belief. Certainly the theme has had a long life afterwards. In Greece today at the funerals of unmarried youths, *κουφέτα*, wedding sweets, are offered.

⁵¹¹Which is finally resolved as 'wedding with Haimon in Hades' (1204-5, 1240-41).

resonances. The journey to Antigone's prison resembles both a funeral and a wedding as both these rites centre on a procession. The way this procession is presented, however, indicates the incomplete and distorted character of these ceremonies here, especially the wedding. Instead of hymenaial songs and blessings Antigone's lament prevails; there are no festive wedding symbols (festive attire, wreaths, torches) and no escorting group of people (apart from the guards). Even if the lamentation of the bride has been a rite of separation⁵¹², the wedding procession was the highest and most festive moment of the celebration, and the funerary signs were thus incompatible with this atmosphere. The combination of a funeral with a wedding procession in this scene stresses the tragic significance of Antigone's death and the anomalous character of a 'marriage with Hades'. The distorted character of the procession proves that Antigone is receiving neither a proper funeral nor a proper wedding.

Normally in both wedding and funeral the procession gathers and unites the family and the community in a common escort of the person or the people honoured. In this case, however, both these ceremonies are presented as distorted and incomplete because there is no public participation, and Antigone is taken away alone. The lack of participation in the procession stresses the heroine's isolation from the community, and her *ἐρημία* (*ἔρημος* 919) is the major theme of the scene. The procession enacts this *ἐρημία*, but on the other hand it stands in interaction with the spectators not only in the theatre but in the play itself and challenges their reaction. This interaction is not simply conjectured. It is fully enacted and explicitly provoked by Antigone herself, who repeatedly calls attention to her spectacle (806, 843, 940), fully aware of the communicative implications of a passing escort. The procession thus proves to be not simply an act of transportation but an act of exposition

⁵¹²See for example the end of E. *Hipp.* 1425-9; and for further discussion Seaford 1987, 113-4.

of the significance of Antigone's death to the community of Thebes (and to the audience through the mediation of the chorus). It is important to note an apparent gap in the interaction between participants and viewers of the procession. To Antigone's living *ekphora* the chorus responds not only with lamentation but with an acknowledgement of the honorific elements of the ritual (817-23) as well as of the hybristic implications behind it (853-56). Although the heroine exaggerates the lack of lamentation on the part of the chorus,⁵¹³ the chorus' mixed reaction may be an indication of Antigone's exceptional status throughout the play, both positively and negatively. The marginality of the ritual supports Antigone's ambivalent status and it is not surprising that after her exit the chorus sings of various similar ambivalent mythological exempla.⁵¹⁴ At the same time, the confusion of ritual roles and the complications in communal reactions that the ritual provokes may question, to some extent, its validity and prefigure potential dangers.

In Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis* the nuptial transition fails while being transformed into a transition to victory and death.⁵¹⁵ This transformation is presented on stage through processional symbols, as the procession lies at the heart of victory celebrations, sacrificial ritual and wedding rites. Iphigeneia first appears on stage in a manner evocative of wedding celebrations. Having departed from her father's house wreathed by her mother as a bride (καταστέψασα 905), Iphigeneia arrives at the groom's 'dwelling place' on a cart piled up with her dowry and accompanied by her mother. As the cart reaches the stage, the women of the chorus escort it with

⁵¹³ Contrast 841, 845, 882 with the chorus' reaction 802-805.

⁵¹⁴ On the fourth stasimon and its relation to the rest of the play see Sourvinou-Inwood 1989b.

⁵¹⁵ The possibility of extensive textual corruption in the *IA* has already been mentioned. The general structure of the play, however, can provide a basis of analysis, and as most of the interpolations must be early (around 400-250 B.C. according to Page 1934), they are not necessarily excluded from study. At any rate, any interpretation of the text remains speculative.

songs and praises (590-97). Although it is perfectly clear from the general context and from visual perception that this is not a wedding escort, nevertheless the chariot with the bride and the μακαρισμοί (e.g. 590-1 ἰὼ ἰὼ· μεγάλοι μεγάλων/ εὐδαιμονίαι) must have evoked in the audience's mind similar wedding scenes in real life. The action stresses the irony of the scene and the tragic fate of the heroine. The final *pompe* which takes Iphigeneia off the stage (1467 ff.) is resonant with sacrificial and honorific echoes. The understanding of the ritual resonances of these processional scenes is crucial for the appreciation of the intricate plot of the play. In Iphigeneia's transformation in this play it is tempting to see a dramatization and actualization of the symbolic significance of the wedding ritual pattern in which the bride seems to be an honoured figure and a symbolic sacrificial animal which undergoes a symbolic death.

The conflation of ritual resonances that the presentation of processions makes possible is also exemplified in Cassandra's entry in Euripides' *Troades* (308-461). Although Cassandra is taken as a captive to the ship of her master Agamemnon, she imagines this journey as a wedding escort to a new *oikos* and a new life. The wedding resonances are prevalent in the scene, but the celebration is highly horrific and distorted. She sings and dances in a crazy fashion, she herself carries the torches customarily carried by the mother in a solemn way and she herself sings the hymenaial song.⁵¹⁶ No one else participates⁵¹⁷ and onlookers are turned away by this spectacle. The frenzied dance, the brandishing of the torches, which have lost their

⁵¹⁶Kassandra's song opens with three imperatives which imply that somebody is on the move and which are paralleled with the imperatives which open the processional exit of Ar. *Birds*. 1720, where a wedding is also celebrated. The dramatic function of the wedding songs in E. *Tr.*, *Phaeth.* and *IA* has been analysed by Contiades-Tsitsoni 1994. Her remark that the unusual character of these songs strengthens the sense of the tragic in these plays complements my approach.

⁵¹⁷Despite Cassandra's repeated calls 332-7, 338-41, 353-5.

apotropaic function, and the cries are reminiscent of a maenad.⁵¹⁸ Bride and maenad are incongruously blended in the person of Cassandra. At the same time she wears the hieratic symbols of Apollo and feels under his influence; not only a bride and a maenad but also a prophetess. According to the norms of Greek wedding such a 'bride' would seem to be a menace for the ensuing 'marriage'. This menace is spelt out at the end of the scene: Cassandra will be an Erinyes for Agamemnon and the *oikos* of the Atreidai (457-61). The torch, which is the characteristic symbol of the Erinyes in fourth century vase paintings and which is known from other sources to be also characteristic of the tragic representation of the Erinyes, probably becomes in this scene the emblem of punishment.⁵¹⁹

The blending of these ritual resonances reveals that in extreme circumstances transitions may lead to the borderlines of human existence and instead of harmonizing they may confuse distinctions and hierarchy with disastrous results. In the *Troades* the extreme circumstances are determined by the context of the war. In this play the war overturns normality and the results are felt on every level. The plight of young female captives is codified as perverted marriage. Besides Cassandra, Andromache's fate is also studied in the words and action of a scene evoking a wedding procession (568-781).⁵²⁰ The quiet entrance of a wagon (ἀπήνη 572)⁵²¹ with Andromache on it is a telling symbol. Andromache is led by some attendant Greek soldiers (777-8, 786) to a new home on a cart (ξενικοῖς ἐπ' ὄχοις πορθμευομένη 569)

⁵¹⁸See e.g. *S. Ant.* 1126-7, *E. Ba.* 114, 132, 144-6, 379, 567, *Ion* 550, *A. TrGF* 3.F171. Cf. also Seaford 1993, 127-8.

⁵¹⁹It seems that in tragedy Furies were often presented with torches; see *Ar. Pl.* 423-5: ἴσως Ἐρινύς ἐστι ἐκ τραγωδίας / ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχει γὰρ δᾶδας; *Aischin.* 1. 190: καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς τραγωδαῖς ποινὰς ἐλαύνειν καὶ κολάζειν δασιὴν ἡμμέναις. The introduction of this use may have preceded the *Tr.* On vases Erinyes are represented carrying torches from the fourth century onwards; see *LIMC* s.v. *Erinyes*. Cassandra's torches (especially when first seen in the palace 299-301) may be a further hint at the torches which will set Troy on fire later (1257-64); see Dingel 1967, 194. The torches were removed already by 351. But she had them when she entered, and it is intriguing to try to reconstruct the ritual associations that her *entry* would evoke.

⁵²⁰The processional echoes have been detected also by Rehm 1994, 131.

⁵²¹The term is used in other wedding scenes too as in [*Hes.*] *Aspis* 273.

loaded with Trojan spoils; she describes herself as a δάμαρ (although she is not a legitimate wife but only a slave forced to an unwanted union), and she sees her departure as a wedding journey, even if only a tragic one (ἐπὶ καλὸν γὰρ ἔρχομαι ὑμέναιον 778-9). The scenes of Cassandra and Andromache (which are both marked by spectacle) are juxtaposed as two contrasting extremes. While Cassandra embodied the threatening, unsubdued attitude of the female, Andromache represents the passive, submissive but also mourning side. In a 'real' wedding both these attitudes should be overcome, but their prominence in both these scenes are eloquent signs of the marginality of the alleged marital unions.

The power of the scenes in which resonances of wedding processions are incorporated in the action on stage is most tangible in the scene of Agamemnon's arrival in Aischylos' *Agamemnon*. The king's entry is a climactic moment in the plot and a complicated stage event which combines both honorific and nuptial resonances. Agamemnon arrives on a cart (ἀπήνη 906) accompanied by Cassandra and escorted by some attendants (as usually with kings in tragedy).⁵²² There is no reason to suppose a great pompous event with two chariots and spoils, since the text offers no indication, and the hypothesis is no reliable authority.⁵²³ On the other hand, the arrival of the cart with the couple recalls analogous scenes of the arrival of the wedding procession often depicted on vases. It is not the grandiose proportions of the pageantry that marks the scene as processional but the special mode of the entry, the symbols and the context. Here, we have a simultaneous entry of two characters, uncommon in Greek tragedy and indicative of the character

⁵²²See Taplin 1977, 304. Cf. Fraenkel 1950 ad 809 who thinks that the presence of guards would threaten Klytaimnestra's plan; not necessarily, though; the guards would not accompany the king to his bath. Moreover, the purple cloth, as it is rolled for and folded after Agamemnon, 'cuts them off' from the palace.

⁵²³For the hypothesis see in Fraenkel 1950, 1. 88: 'Αγαμέμνων δ' ἐπ' ἀπήνης ἔρχεται· εἶπετο δ' αὐτῷ ἑτέρα ἀπήνη, ἔνθα ἦν τὰ λάφυρα καὶ ἡ Κασσάνδρα. For the unreliability of the comment see also Fraenkel 1950, 2. 370.

of the scene; the wagon is an important symbol especially in the context of the departure from the 'bride's' family place and the arrival at the 'bridegroom's' house where a woman welcomes the new-comer at the threshold; moreover, the bride may be veiled, a further wedding sign, but not totally covered.⁵²⁴ As has been noted,⁵²⁵ all these features 'correspond pictorially with the vase-painter's formula for the arrival of the bride and groom'.⁵²⁶ These resonances are, however, placed in a disordered context: the legitimate wife welcomes the 'illegitimate' couple. The action becomes important for the understanding of the moment: Klytaimnestra's position in the *oikos* is endangered by Cassandra (cf. 1439), Agamemnon trespasses in a way against monogamous Greek family law, and Cassandra has an ambivalent position on the borderline between wife and non-wife.

These wedding features are combined with the triumphant character of the scene which also recalls the processional arrival of victors. Agamemnon arrives on a cart at Argos and is first received and greeted by the chorus as representatives of the city; their reaction is reserved if compared to the reception of Peleus in Hesiod fr. 211M-W. In the *Odyssey* 4.512ff. Agamemnon was received and escorted by Aigisthos and his retinue. In the play Klytaimnestra then offers a luxurious welcome in a way similar probably to the traditional ὀλβισμοί, as Agamemnon himself seems to imply at 928 (ὀλβίσαι). Agamemnon's honorific arrival is continued with his ceremonial entry into the house and will be concluded with the sacrifice (852, 1056-7) followed probably by a banquet.⁵²⁷ The traditional caution against φθόρος and ὕβρις on occasions of victory celebrations are also important motifs in this scene, and Klytaimnestra herself utters the customary φθόρος ἀπέστω

⁵²⁴See Taplin 1977, 305.

⁵²⁵Jenkins 1983, 138.

⁵²⁶In this context Cassandra's characterisation as ἐξαίρετον ἄνθος at 954-5 and the metaphor at 1178-9 (unveiling of the bride) acquire further connotations.

⁵²⁷As often with victory celebrations; see e.g. Pi. N.9, and the description in *Od.* 4.

(904),⁵²⁸ although finally Agamemnon does not escape the fatal consequences.

The scene, thus, combines resonances of both victory and wedding processions, and this combination recurs in our sources, as in Hesiod fr. 211M-W, Sappho 44 Voigt and Aristophanes' *Birds* 1706ff. In all these sources the bride has a substantial share in the eulogies and distinctions. Here she is presented silent, hardly noticed, a shadowy figure. But she is visible to the audience, and in this way the disorder of the situation is revealed. It is significant that in Aischylos this mixed procession is presented at the moment of its arrival at the threshold, a crucial marker for both victory and wedding. The crossing of the threshold is an important transition from one world to the other, a dangerous point threatened by the evil eye according to popular belief, which often demanded the execution of purificatory rites.⁵²⁹ It is at this crucial moment that the nuptial and victory character of the scene turns most ill-omened for both Agamemnon and Cassandra: he deserts his 'bride' and proceeds alone, and at the same time he exposes himself to φθόρος indulging in oriental excesses (919, 944ff.).

It would be useful to consider how this scene has been composed. At the beginning Agamemnon makes a modest entry. One cart is more meaningful in this context; it stresses the wedding affinities and expresses Agamemnon's cautious attitude towards victory. But at the very moment of his transition from the old military environment to the new domestic world he leaves both his 'bride' and his precautions and is proved most vulnerable. Cassandra is abandoned and isolated, a telling indication of both her distorted nuptial transition and her future fate.

⁵²⁸For these features of the victory celebrations see the discussion in Part I.

⁵²⁹Anthropologists have long established the significance of the door as a boundary between the foreign and the domestic worlds and in the case of sacred dwellings between the sacred and the profane. See van Gennep 1960, 15-25; mainly 19-21. We have also noted its importance in the discussion of the *Alk.* scene.

In many of the examples we have seen so far, the character of the ritual presented on stage is developed around the person of the bride; her role and disposition is the main axis around which the scene revolves. In *Agamemnon* the overall impression is different; the scene has the stately character of wedding scenes in black-figure vase paintings. The heroic tone of the event as a whole is here emphasized. In black-figure wedding processions the groom stays in the foreground; in the tragedy the focus also falls on Agamemnon. Still, Cassandra in her silence is a riddle persistently complicating the picture.

The procession is not, however, a solitary business concerning only the bride or groom. It is a group event and its value and validity is determined by the role and attitude of all involved. This polyphony in the composition of the processional event (especially of the wedding celebration) is not suppressed but rather highlighted in tragedy. Apart from the bride and the groom it is the community and the parents who figure large in the depiction of the reaction and the attitude to the wedding-event (narrated or enacted). In fact it is the interaction of all these factors which determines the nature of the procession and its further implications. It is indicative, for example, that in the *Troades* the mother refuses to carry the torch,⁵³⁰ and that the chorus representing the community keep at a distance. In *Helen*, on the other hand, the reaction of the messenger is different. In the mind of the wider community the dissolution of Helen's marriage had also erased the memory of the wedding ceremony. The revelation of the truth (the Euripidean truth) restores the image of Helen as an honoured wife in the consciousness of the community (presented here by the messenger) who reacts to the event of the reunion of the couple by re-experiencing the moment of wedding (722-5): the messenger is now willing to sing the hymenaeal song once again, and to relive the time when he escorted

⁵³⁰She sends it back to the house (351).

the bridal chariot holding blazing torches. The procession at the wedding ceremony establishes not only the relationship of the couple themselves but also their relationship with the rest of the community.

Often in tragedy a wedding, or rather a wedding procession, is presented in a negative light, not because it is so experienced by the bride but because it is so perceived by the families or the community. In *Phoinissai* the negative dimension is drawn by the mother of the groom, stressing the lack of public participation. In his article on the tragic wedding⁵³¹ Seaford fails to make this important distinction between the perception of the bride and that of the community. He stresses that tragedy explores the negative element in the wedding ritual, giving as an example the bride's negative attitude towards marriage contained within the ritual, or the failure of the bride to make the marital transition (often due to death). This is true of most of the cases that he discusses.⁵³² In the stasimon about Paris and Helen in Aischylos' *Agamemnon* (681-749), however, it is not the attitude of the bride that concerns the chorus in its reflection but the consequences of the wedding for the community. The situation does not have to do with the critical situation of the bride at the wedding, but with the bride who is seen by others as an agent of evil. This theme of the advent of the bride *qua* advent of menace is often explored in tragedy when the reaction of people other than the bridal couple is presented. In the consciousness of Andromache (in Euripides' *Andromache* 103-4) Paris brought Helen in nuptial procession to become not his wife but an ἄτα for Troy. In Sophokles' *Trachiníai* the chorus, representing the community and the *oikos*, express their reaction. They contemplate Iole's entry into the new *oikos* as a wedding procession (857-61)⁵³³ and reflect upon

⁵³¹Seaford 1987.

⁵³²Especially of the Danaides, as he himself notes.

⁵³³For the theme of the wedding procession in this play see also Segal 1993a, 238-40 and 1993b, 71-86.

the disastrous results the 'bride' has brought upon (841-62) it.⁵³⁴ In a powerful poetic image the chorus captures the abnormality of the ritual (856-62): the 'bride' is swift (θοῶν νύμφαν 857); hurried movement has replaced the normal solemn grace. Instead of the power of πειθῶ male aggressiveness dominates (made manifest in the symbols of weapons λόγχα προμάχου δορός 856, αἰχμῆ 860). And in sharp contrast to the pacific role Aphrodite plays in wedding scenes in art,⁵³⁵ the goddess here becomes the sinister force which sets the whole process in motion (ἅ δ' ἀμφίπολος Κύπρις ἄναυδος φανερά τῶνδ' ἐφάνη πράκτωρ 861-2). Most importantly, and most paradoxically, the 'new bride' is received by the old δάμαρ (406) who realizes the threat as she watches the escort approaching swiftly (841-3 ὣν ἅδ' ἅ τλάμων ἄοκνος μεγάλην προσορῶσα δόμοισι βλάβαν νέων ἀισσόντων γάμων). Although expressed in a highly poetical language, this is a direct retrospective link to the scene of Deianeira's encounter with the στόλος of the captives (225ff.); set against that scene the chorus' metaphor acquires an exceptional effectiveness.

In this respect the role of the chorus is important. Vase-paintings may depict bride and groom alone (even if this is unrealistic) but tragedy seems to take advantage of the permanent presence of the chorus in the orchestra. Their reaction to the wedding events mentioned or enacted is a decisive factor for the understanding of the scenes but probably also a way of manipulating the audience's reaction.

This shift of perspective (from the bride to the people attending the procession), which we recognise in the tragic representation of wedding processions, is combined with the tendency to explore and depict the importance of the wedding in the life of both men and women. It is important

⁵³⁴For the wedding imagery in this stasimon cf. also Segal 1993a and 1993b; see also Stinton 1990, 410-13. On the wedding motifs in general in the play see also Seaford 1986, 50-59 and Rehm 1994, 72-77.

⁵³⁵See especially Oakley and Sinos 1993, 46-7.

that tragedy allows us to see the groom's role and reaction in the procession, as well as the reaction of other people (participants or spectators of the procession) towards the groom.⁵³⁶ The processional ceremony at the wedding is explicitly characterised as the symbol of εὐδαιμονία not only in connection with Evadne but also in connection with the fate of Medeia's sons. In Euripides' *Medeia* 1025-27 it is lamented that they will not reach the stage of celebrating their wedding and becoming εὐδαίμονας. But here the person who laments is their mother; we see her point of view. The perspective of the mother receives attention in tragedy. Especially as mothers of grooms or prospective grooms they are presented as perceiving the wedding *pompe* as the outstanding moment in the life of their children and at the same time as the fulfilment of their maternal role.⁵³⁷ The performance of their role as torch-bearers is a clear indication of the nature of the wedding and its consequences for the families and the community. In the passage from *Medeia* mentioned above Medeia's realization emphasizes not only the tragic deprivation that death will bring in her children's life but also the sacrifice of her own maternal duties and honours. Apart from Medeia we have already seen Iokaste in the *Phoinissai* and Hekabe in the *Troades*.

Voices of male relatives are also heard in relation to weddings in tragedy. In Euripides' *Herakles* (9-12), for example, Amphitryon indirectly indicates the honour of his son Herakles as a groom when he stresses that the whole city of Thebes enthusiastically cheered the bride Megara while Herakles was leading her to his home.

In the passage of *Prometheus Bound* (555-561) mentioned above the wedding procession is also presented as the high point of honour and happiness as regards the groom. The evaluation here is made by the chorus

⁵³⁶Hence, the presentation (or even the subversion) of wedding rituals in tragedy is not merely a study of 'the ambiguity, for the bride, of the transition', as Seaford 1987, 106, seems to put it, but has a much wider scope.

⁵³⁷In *Pho.* Iokaste complains that she did not hold the torch; similar complaint by Klytaimnestra in *E. IA* 734.

of Oceanids, the female relatives of the bride (Hesione) and the chorus at Prometheus' wedding. The procession seems to be an unforgettable experience to all present, at least from a female point of view. Although the action involves immortal figures, the picture of Prometheus' wedding and their reaction seems to have an anthropomorphic character. On a mortal level at least, the wedding and especially the procession was an important public occasion, participation in which was open to women. It formed one of their social and ritual duties,⁵³⁸ and signified a kind of initiation into the role of the bride, particularly for *parthenoi*.⁵³⁹ It is then predictable that the female chorus would recall this memory as the most joyful they had of Prometheus. Yet the point of contrast that they make would not strike home, had not the bridal procession been an event of primary significance even to a divine groom. It is worth noting that in their recollection of the wedding the Oceanids do not fail to mention patterns of ritual behaviour pertaining to the groom. So, they note that Prometheus exerted the power of Peitho (πιθών) on Hesione in order to take her in escort and make her his wife.⁵⁴⁰ In Euripides' *Alkestis* Admetos speaks from the point of view of the groom himself. In recalling his experience of the wedding procession, he cannot help referring to the gesture χεῖρ' ἐπὶ καρπῷ. The procession marks the time at which the groom acquires first contact with and control over the bride. Awareness of the fulfilment of his ritual role and feelings of honour and happiness make this experience unique in Admetos' life.

⁵³⁸E.g. they had the task to sing at the procession; only rarely do men appear in this role. See Muth 1954, 34-6.

⁵³⁹See Calame 1977, especially ch. 4; Thomsen 1992, 165-77.

⁵⁴⁰Peitho who was associated in cult with Aphrodite (Buxton 1982, 33-4) was one of the divinities receiving preliminary sacrifices at the wedding (Plou. *mor.* 264a); this fact underscores the traditional ancient Greek belief that marriage was achieved through the power of persuasion. Fears for the potential resistance of the bride were symbolically presented in myths; see e.g. Pi. *P.* 9.39 (and generally the description in 5-70). On the symbolic consent of the bride at the wedding see Redfield 1982, 192. But cf. Buxton 1982, 37-8 who argues that persuasion works from both sides; and Oakley and Sinos 1993, 46-7 who stress that on vases the bride is depicted not only as the target but also as the bearer of the power of *peitho*.

The wedding procession marked a high point in the life of a man and this may be the reason why Euripides chose to make his hero Phaethon die on the day of his wedding⁵⁴¹ and to contrast the news of his death with a scene evoking a wedding procession.⁵⁴² In *Phaethon* the expectations aroused in the first part of the play, with the chorus' call for the beginning of the wedding celebration⁵⁴³ and the king's public speech, are answered in two climactic scenes: the arrival of the groom alone and dead (clear in 214-215) and the arrival of a procession singing the *hymenaios* but not escorting a nuptial couple (227-244). Groom and escort are not joined, and each represents the fatal distortion of the festivity. The retinue of the maidens arriving at the groom's house singing the *hymenaios* evokes clearly the wedding processions in which women and especially maidens (usually the bride's friends) played such an important role. But in this distorted reflection there is no couple and no full participation, so the *hymenaios* sounds out of place.⁵⁴⁴ The maidens are probably summoned to join in the sacrifices at the house (247-50; cf. 265)⁵⁴⁵ and they sing on their way. Even if the tone of the song fits the alleged festive atmosphere, the address and μακαρισμοί to the groom (240-44) have no real target and reveal the ambiguous character of

⁵⁴¹It must not be forgotten that the marriage motif was Euripides' invention; see Diggle 1970, 7 and Collard ap. Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995, 199.

⁵⁴²Although E. *Phaeth.* has survived only in a fragmentary form the 327 extant verses suffice to show that the tragic plot turns round the preparations for Phaethon's marriage which end in the hero's death. While a complete interpretation of the various aspects and motifs of the play is impossible due to its fragmentary status, the treatment of the nuptial themes in the extant lines deserves closer analysis. It is one of the plays which Rehm 1994 does not analyse at all. For the lines I have followed Diggle's 1970 edition; for a new edition see now Collard, Cropp and Lee 1995.

⁵⁴³I agree with Diggle 1970, 116 that there is no intention that the chorus should break into a marriage hymn forthwith; it is not their task and it is not the right context. Their reaction and function may be compared to that of the messenger in *IA* 435-439.

⁵⁴⁴Marital hymns could be sung on four occasions (ritual bath, the wedding escort, the wedding banquet or the ceremony in front of the θάλαμος) and generally during all the wedding celebration, but it was predominantly connected with the procession (as the literary examples of *hymenaios* indicate). See Page 1955, 73 and especially Muth 1954, 23-36. The hymenaeal song is sung here outdoors, a fact which connects it with the processional context. The irregularity of the performance of this wedding song has been noted by Collard 1995, 201 and 234; its irony is stressed by Contiades-Tsitsoni 1994, 54-8.

⁵⁴⁵Due to the gaps of the text it is not clear whether the προτέλεια is here meant or any other activities. There is no clear reference to a banquet either.

the event. The social cohesion that the wedding celebration stresses, with the community offering and the couple receiving the blessings, has been broken here and the communication is lost. This one-sided and incomplete public reaction indicates that the situation that this wedding defines is not normal but rather in crisis.⁵⁴⁶ The crisis finally resolves not in joy but in grief. The event of Phaethon's death and the ambiguous celebration performed in ignorance of this event are juxtaposed and associated so that the one throws light on the other. The sequence of the two scenes (that of the death and that of the arrival of the singing chorus) in the play is not accidental. The procession and the marital song which were expected after the preparation of the first part of the play, are delayed and in their place the funeral escort appears. The ensuing advent of the wedding retinue is now out of place and stresses the tragic irony of the situation, while at the same time accentuating the significance of Phaethon's loss. This staging device makes Phaethon's death look extremely incongruous. It shows that the groom was impeded in the most violent fashion from making the nuptial transition. Moreover, it provokes the most intense feelings of distress in would-be attendants (family, chorus) and spectators (audience included) who - from their position - would have experienced the procession as the high point in the life of the groom.

This subtle evocation of the procession at the point of Phaethon's death hints at the nuptial transition being crucial, even critical, to the groom as well. This belief seems to be also hidden in the myth of Hymenaios, the mythical groom who disappeared or died at his wedding.⁵⁴⁷ But neither ritual nor early literature focus on this aspect but rather on the bride's critical condition. Tragedy, though, seems to place weight on the role of the groom at

⁵⁴⁶In the extant text the first traces of this crisis become clear in the disagreement between father and son over the marriage (157-67). It cannot be proved, however, that Phaethon complied finally with his father's wish and went forth to take the bride, as Diggle 1970, 39-40 and 158-60 suggests. Especially the second point is hypothetical, though attractive.

⁵⁴⁷See Diggle 1970, 151.

the nuptial transition. Perhaps Euripides' inspiration for combining the myth of Phaethon's death with marriage rites was an early attempt to explore the groom's critical position in the tragic wedding. It is a pity that the fragmentary form of the play does not allow us to trace this aspect in detail.

EPILOGUE

A πομπή aims at a destination. The end is the goal, it seems. Theatre points otherwise, however. Have not the *mystai* reached their τέλος in Hades in Aristophanes' *Frogs*? Yet, they are still *en route*, moving in rhythmic procession and invoking Iakchos as συμπροπομπός (*Frogs* 397-413). There is a delight in the movement, a κάματος εὐκάματος transforming the experience of the journey into a goal in itself.

τίς ὁδῶ, τίς ὁδῶ; (Euripides' *Bakchai* 68). Whether taking this or the other direction the πομπή is a constant call for movement. τί μέλλομεν χωρεῖν; (Sophokles' *Oidipous at Kolonos* 1627f.) An emblem of life in flow, the procession stands at the same time as an emblem of life outflowing:

ἐν δὲ δύω ποίησε πόλεις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
καλάς. ἐν τῇ μὲν ῥα γάμοι τ' ἔσαν εἰλαπίναι τε,
νύμφας δ' ἐκ θαλάμων δαΐδων ὑπο λαμπομενάων
ἡγίνεον ἀνὰ ἄστρῳ, πολὺς δ' ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει·
κοῦροι δ' ὀρχηστῆρες ἐδίνεον, ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν
αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες
ἰστάμεναι θαύμαζον ἐπὶ προθύροισιν ἑκάστη.

(Homer, *Iliad* 18. 490-96)

Enjoying the spectacle even from a distance is fulfilling.

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