

THE ELEVENTH ODE OF BACCHYLIDES: HERA, ARTEMIS, AND THE ABSENCE OF DIONYSOS

1. *The Proitids and Marriage*

THE eleventh ode of Bacchylides begins and ends at Metapontum. But most of it is devoted to two myths about Tiryns. The first of these is the insult to Hera by the daughters of King Proitos and their consequent madness: they leave Tiryns to roam in the wild, until with the permission of Hera they are cured by Artemis, to whom they then build, with their father, an altar. The second is the earlier quarrel at Argos between the brothers Proitos and Akrisios which led to the foundation by Proitos of Tiryns. The latter myth is framed by the former, and the correspondences between the two are carefully implied: the story of the Proitids begins and ends with the foundation of the altar and cult of Artemis at Lousoi in the Arcadian mountains (41, 110), while the inner story begins and ends with the foundation of Tiryns (60–1, 80–1). Just as the girls' departure from Tiryns led to the establishment of the altar, so the men left Argos and founded Tiryns. Both the joins between the stories are cemented by the idea of departure from a town (55–61, 80–4). Both stories move from a strange piece of folly to consequent suffering, prayers, divine 'stopping' of the suffering (76, 108), and finally the building of walls or altar. Similarly Alexidamos, deprived of an earlier Olympic victory by the 'wandering wits' of the judges, is now having his Pythian victory celebrated at Metapontum.

All this has been described recently by Anne Burnett; and from another perspective Charles Segal has charted the various oppositions in the poem between civilisation and savagery.¹ It is my aim to develop these approaches by introducing a dimension barely touched on by Burnett and not at all by Segal, namely the relationship between the mythical tradition and the ritually expressed social process of the city state.

This is how the madness of the Proitids begins:

43 τὰς ἐξ ἐρατῶν ἐφόβησεν
παγκρατῆς Ἥρα μελάθρων
45 Προίτου, παραπλήγι φρένας
καρτερᾶι ζεύξασ' ἀνάγκαι.
παρθενίαι γὰρ ἔτι
ψυχᾶι κίον ἐς τέμενος
πορφυροζώνοιο θεᾶς.
50 φάσκον δὲ πολὺ σφέτερον
πλούτῳ προφέρειν πατέρα ξανθᾶς παρέδρου
σεμνοῦ Διὸς εὐρυβία.
ταῖσιν δὲ χολωσαμένα
στήθεσσι παλίντροπον ἔμβαλεν νόημα.
55 φεῦγον δ' ὄρος ἐς τανίφυλλον κτλ.

What is meant by παρθενίαι ἔτι ψυχᾶι (47)? The interpretation of Machler,² that the reference to youth excuses as well as explains their behaviour, ill suits the highly emphatic position of παρθενίαι together with the reference of γὰρ to the punishment inflicted by Hera: παρθενίαι is prominent in the reason given for their punishment. The point resides in the opposition between virginity and the goddess of marriage. Burnett's translation, 'though virgins still', brings this out, but omits the psychological dimension. It is as πάρθενον ψυχὴν ἔχων that

¹ A. P. Burnett, *The art of Bacchylides* (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1985), 100–13; C. P. Segal in *QUCC* xxii (1976) 122–8.

² *Die Lieder des Bakchylides, Erster Teil, Die Siegeslieder* ii (Leiden 1982) 223.

Euripides' Hippolytus is averse to sex (*Hippolytus* 1006): he, of course, unlike the Proitids (ἔτι), never emerges from that condition. The comparison by the girls of the 'wife of Zeus' with their father clearly expresses the resistance of the girl to marriage, as also does the very similar version told by Bacchylides' contemporary Pherekydes, in which the Proitids claim that the *house* of their father is richer than Hera's.³ The ritually expressed reluctance of the girl to pass from the parental to the marital home is widely attested as a traditional feature of Greek marriage.⁴

It is from this perspective, moreover, that we can best understand the phrase παλίντροπον νόημα (54). Maehler is right to reject the translation 'an impulse that turns them to flight'. νόημα, he says, means 'thinking' not 'impulse', and παλίντροπος in a spatial sense would have to mean 'back', i.e. 'back home'. He takes the phrase therefore to refer to their madness (*cf.* 102–3 λύσσα πάρφρων): 'Das Denken der Mädchen ist gestört: es wird "zurück"—oder "abgebogen", bevor es sein Ziel erreicht.' Similar is Burnett's translation 'savage unnatural thoughts'. But παλίντροπος does not have that sense anywhere else. Maehler is right to suppose that the phrase implies a 'goal', but fails to see that the goal is specific, namely their father's house, the 'lovely halls' from which Hera drives them into the wild (43–6). As punishment for their adherence to their father, i.e. for their resistance to leaving his lovely home, Hera puts this νόημα into reverse. Their adherence is reversed, and they rush off into the wild. παλίντροπος refers primarily to this reversal, but cannot fail also to connote their actual departure,⁵ i.e. it can after all be allowed a (secondary) spatial sense. There is not a wholly dissimilar connotation in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, where the gilded mansions of the rich are left by Justice παλιντρόποισιν ὄμμασιν (777).

There are two ways in particular in which the resistance of the Greek girl to marriage may be imagined, of which I have so far mentioned only one, her attachment to the parental home. The other is the metaphor of the girl as a young, untamed animal that must be yoked or tamed in marriage.⁶ This too is exemplified by the Proitids. According to Burnett the words φεύγον δ' ὄρος ἐξ τανίφυλλον / σμερδαλέαν φωνάν ἰέισα (55–6) indicate 'the semi-metamorphosis of the girls into something like beasts.' They are 'yoked' by Hera to their madness (46), and in their consequent flight are called ἄδματοι (84), a word which according to Liddell and Scott refers only to untamed animals and unmarried girls. The βόες ἄζυγες (104–5) sacrificed by Proitos to Artemis in order to stop his daughters' frenzied roaming must appear as a substitute for them, like the animal sacrificed to Artemis for the bride in the προτέλεια before the wedding.⁷ These traces have to be seen against other versions of the story, in which the Proitids are said to be of marriageable age, are actually married,⁸ or imagine themselves to be cows, emit 'false lowings', and shrink from the yoke.⁹ Bacchylides need do no more than evoke the familiar idea of the girl as an untamed animal to be subjected in marriage. His interest is not in an Ovidian exploration of the metamorphosis but merely in the aspect of wildness to be subjected.

The myth exemplifies the well known tripartite structure of the rite of passage; we have separation from (A) the old state, i.e. from the parental home. (B) the transitional, or liminal

³ *FGrH* 3 F 114. *Cf.* Hes. *fr.* 129.25 M–W δώματα πατρός (*cf.* 26.16–7). The claim acquires yet more point if, as seems likely (J. C. Wright in *JHS* cii [1982] 195 ff.), the temple of Hera at Tiryns was built in the ruins of the main megaron of the Mycenaean palace, and the Heraeum (*cf.* below) was of similar aspect. For the importance of the *father* of the bride (and his house) in Attic depictions of marital abduction see Sourvinou-Inwood in *JHS* cvii (1987) 143–4.

⁴ Seaford in *Hermes* cxix (1986) 51–2, and in *JHS* cvii (1987) 106.

⁵ παλίντροπος of motion: *S. Phil.* 1222; *E. HF* 1069; *Parmen.* 6.9; etc.

⁶ E.g. Seaford in *Hermes* cxix (1986), 52 n. 10; C. Calame, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* i (Rome 1977) 411–20.

⁷ W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Engl. transl., California 1983), 62–3; Seaford in *JHS* cvii (1987) 108–9; S. G. Cole in *ZPE* lv (1984) 243 n. 60. *Cf. esp.* *IA* 1082–3 (Iphigeneia as a μόσχος from the mountainside) with 1113 μόσχοι τε, πρὸ γάμων ἄς θεῶι πεσεῖν χρεῶν. In Bacchyl. *Ode* 16 it is appropriate that Herakles, about to send Iole to his home as bride (29: *cf.* e.g. *S. Trach.* 857, 893–5), should include in his sacrifices ἄζυγα παρθένωι Ἀθάναι ὑψικέραν βοῦν (20 ff.).

⁸ Hes. *fr.* 130 M–W πανέλληνες ἐμνήστευον αὐτάς; *Apollod.* ii 2.2 ὡς ἐτελειώθησαν, ἐμάνησαν; etc. (see Section 2).

⁹ Hes. *fr.* 131; V, *Ecl.* 6. 48–51, no doubt from a Greek source; *Myth. Var.* ii 68. And two of the Proitids are called Lysippe and Hipponoe. On horses in the cult see below n. 22.

state—in the wild; and incorporation into (C) the new state—marriage. Bacchylides' version though takes the girls as far as departure from stage B (they are released from roaming in the wild), but not as far as C, because he makes no direct mention of marriage.

A and B, although both states of resistance to marriage, are also opposed to each other. This opposition between the two forms of female reluctance is elsewhere sometimes softened so as to allow their combination, e.g. in the idea of the bride as a young animal attached to its mother.¹⁰ In Bacchylides' poem the contradiction between the two forms of resistance is manifest in the enforced passage of the Proitids from the one to the other, from the parental home to the wild. And yet even here there are hints of assimilation. At v. 103 Proitos asks Artemis to 'lead out' his daughters from their frenzy. As Burnett notes,¹¹ ἐξαγαγεῖν elsewhere refers to the 'leading out' of the bride from the parental home.¹² If it has that connotation here, then it is as if the Proitids in the wild are still somehow in their parental home; i.e. the two states of bridal resistance are implicitly assimilated to each other. This may be over-subtle, but is supported by the similar short-circuiting of the triangular passage manifest in 46 ζεύξασα: Hera 'yokes' the girls to their strong overmastering madness. The verb suggests Hera's activity as Ζυγία, the yoker of girls in marriage. It is of course appropriate that such yoking should force reluctant brides from their parental home. But because the triangular movement in fact requires a detour to the mountainside (B), what Hera yokes the Proitids to is not marriage but the frenzy that takes them to this second stage. Paradoxically, the goddess of marriage sends the girls into the wild, into the realm of her opposite, the relentless virgin Artemis. And no less paradoxically the virgin Artemis, with the consent of Hera, releases the girls from their frenzy, to be by implication *ready* for marriage. Artemis is (vs. 37–9) both ἀγροτέρα and Ἡμέρα, a goddess of the wild who *tames*. In fact Hera and Artemis are complementary goddesses of marriage.¹³ The narrative is dominated by their joint control over the two mental shifts required to move the girls through the triangular structure.¹⁴

2. Collective Premarital Ritual

What are we to make of the omission from Bacchylides' narrative of stage C? Various features of the narrative lead us to expect that it will end in marriage—indeed in the marriage in which most versions of the myth *do* end. As early as the Hesiodic version the Proitids are cured not by Artemis but by Melampous from Pylos. The reward for this cure is marriage with the Proitids for himself and (in some reports) for his brother Bias, together with a share each of Proitos' kingdom, which thereby suffers a long-lasting tripartite division.¹⁵ Why is this conclusion omitted? According to Burnett (n. 1) Bacchylides 'dared to treat' the ancient story 'with great freedom. He meant to attach it to Lousoi and Artemis and so he simply removed' Melampous and thereby also Proitos' loss of daughters and territory. 'Saved in this new way by Artemis, Proitos can take his daughters back to a Tiryns that has lost none of its power.' On the effect of the omission of the marriage with Melampous Burnett is certainly right. The story of this marriage was too well established for the Proitids to be given different husbands. And yet that is what the narrative seems to be trying to do. 'By implication', as Burnett puts it, 'the city of Tiryns . . . is provided with potential brides'—for its warriors who are so prominent in the narrative. But it seems to be mistaken to attribute, as she does, an important role to the

¹⁰ See e.g. S. *Trach.* 526 ff.; E. *Hipp.* 545 ff., *IA* 1080 ff.

¹¹ (n. 1) 112; cf. also E. *IA* 693; Hom. *Il.* xiii 379; etc.

¹² Cf. also the unity of opposites in χρυσάλακτος (arrow and distaff), βοῶπις (99 of Artemis, generally of Hera).

¹³ They are both honoured in the *proteleia* (Pollux iii 38). For Hera herself with two identities (virgin and married woman) see Calame [n. 6] 210; Pausan. ii 38.

2–3, 9.2.6 ff. (cf. *Ov. Am.* 3.13.10 f.); Schol. *Pi. Ol.* 6.149g. Cf. also the respective roles of Zeus and of Hera in the myth of Io.

¹⁴ 'Hera represents the normal order of the polis—the inversion of this order is her anger' (W. Burkert, *Greek religion* [Oxford 1985] 165). The inversion is part of a necessary process of transition.

¹⁵ *Hes. fr.* 37.10 ff.; *Apollod.* ii 2.2; etc. (M. L. West, *The Hesiodic catalogue of women* [Oxford 1985] 78–9).

innovative freedom of Bacchylides. Such attribution is always dangerous where so much of the mythical tradition has not survived. But whatever the truth of that, it is clear that the *pattern* of his narrative emerges, as we shall see, not from (or not only from) the individual creativity of Bacchylides but from a type of ritual which is an important symbolic element in the process by which the city state reproduces itself. The version followed by Bacchylides is found also in Callimachus (*h. Art.* 233 ff.), who ascribes to Proitos the foundation of a temple to Artemis 'Ημέρα at Lousoi after she had cured his daughters. 'Ημέρα is an almost certain restoration in v. 39 of the Bacchylides papyrus. It means 'the gentle one', but also 'she who tames'.¹⁶ B.'s narrative seems to derive in part from an aetiological (Argive?) myth of this cult. It ends with the foundation (110–12) of a sanctuary, altar, sacrifice, and female χοροί. Even some of the details of the Proitids' earlier behaviour look like aetiologies for features of the cult; notably their absence for specifically thirteen whole months (92) and the wearing of crowns (108).¹⁷ But our main interest is in two features. The first is the sacrifice (104–5) promised by Proitos to Artemis, in order to secure the release of his daughters, of twenty unyoked cattle, which I remarked earlier look like substitutes for his 'untamed' daughters. It was normal practice for a sacrifice to be offered by or on behalf of the bride before a Greek wedding (the *proteleia*). Very often it was made to Artemis. Walter Burkert describes it as 'appeasing the anger of the virgin Artemis, giving her a life for a life' (n. 7). What we have in B. exemplifies I think the same phenomenon, except that the substitutional sacrifice is performed as part of the aetiology of a *collective* ritual which merely *prepares* for marriage the girls who participate in it.

The other feature I want to stress is the title 'Ημέρα, which was associated in the above mentioned passage of Callimachus with the taming of the Proitids; Proitos founds the temple at Lousoi for Artemis 'Ημέρηι, οὐνεκα θυμὸν ἀπ' ἄγριον εἴλεο παίδων. (The scholiast comments 'Ημέρης, διότι τὰς κόρας ἡμέρωσεν).¹⁸ This surely exemplifies the widespread idea of the girl as an animal to be yoked or tamed in or for marriage (n. 6).

Another example of collective premarital sacrifice is to be found in the Attic cult of Artemis at Brauron and at Mounychia, in which young girls, secluded for a time it seems in the sanctuary, danced and imitated bears in the ritual called 'arkteia'. The aetiological myths of the cult suggest very strongly that the animals sacrificed (goats, and perhaps originally bears) were regarded as substitutes for the girls. For example, in one version the *arkteia* is founded as compensation for the killing of a she-bear in the sanctuary; and in another a man who promises to sacrifice his daughter dresses up a goat as a girl and sacrifices that instead.¹⁹ A neglected detail that interests us is that the she-bear killed in the sanctuary had first been tamed (ἡμερωθέισαν, ἡμερώθη).²⁰ One notice refers to the *arkteia* as 'as if' purifying the girls from savagery before their marriage.²¹ As may have been the case at Lousoi, the girls who went to Brauron (in antiquity a wooded area, by

¹⁶ R. Stiglitz, *Die Grossen Göttinnen Arkadiens* (Vienna 1967) 103 ff. The title is found in the inscriptions at Lousoi. For the Lousian cult see also M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et Cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris 1985) 46–51, 419–25.

¹⁷ κλυκοστεφάνους, an epithet which assimilates them to Artemis (cf. B. 5.98). Late sixth century BC statuettes of young women found at the shrine have been identified both with Artemis herself and with girls making offerings to Artemis: Jost (n. 16) 421. With the χοροί instituted by the Proitids cf. the terracotta dancers discovered in the shrine (Jost 421).

¹⁸ Cf. Pausan. viii 18.8. Cf. ii 7.8: Proitos founded a temple of Peitho (Persuasion) in Sikyon because his daughters recovered from their madness there. This is best explained by the role of Peitho in reconciling girls

to marriage (Seaford [n. 7] 114 n. 94).

¹⁹ See the notices cited in ns. 20 and 22; also Pausan. ap. Eustath. on *Il.* ii 732; Apostol. 7.10; Append. prov. ii 54. We find here the same structure as in the myth in Bacchylides: offence against a deity, consequent catastrophe ended by the institution of a cult. And as at Brauron and elsewhere, the myth involves a single family but the cult is collective. Discussion: A. Brelich, *Paides e Parthenoi* (Rome 1969) 248–9; W. Sale in *RM* cxviii (1975) 265–84; Lloyd-Jones in *JHS* ciii (1983) 87–102; Cole (n. 7) 238 ff.

²⁰ Suid. s.v. "Ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίσις"; Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 645.

²¹ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου αἱ κόραι πρὸ τοῦ γάμου ἀρκετεύειν οὐκ ὤκνουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀφοσιούμεναι τὰ τῆς θηρίας (Bekker *Anecd. Gr.* i 445). Cf. Schol. Theocr. 2.66.

the sea) entered a temporary state of savagery so as to return prepared for the civilised state of marriage.²²

'The Athenians voted' we are told 'that no maiden could be married unless she had been a bear for the goddess.'²³ This is no doubt an exaggeration. Not all Athenian wives had been 'bears'. But the implication that the ritual was of importance to the *polis* should be taken seriously. It is something that emerges also from the archaeological finds,²⁴ and from the famous passage of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* in which the female chorus claim their right to advise the *polis* (639 ff.). They list their participation in four rituals by which the *polis* reared them, of which the third is the Brauronia *arkteia*; a little later they give the further justification that they produce sons. This may be humorous, but it is not pure fantasy. The *arkteia* is a preparation for marriage, but also part of a process by which the *polis* prepares its girls to be wives for its citizens. Artemis Brauronia also had a sanctuary on the Acropolis.

Let us now return to the Argolid. The importance of Hera and her temple in B.'s narrative reflects the importance of her cult at Tiryns. Her temple, it seems, was built in the main *megaron* of the Mycenaean palace (n. 3). Walter Burkert believes that the Proitids myth 'must' have had 'a Tirynthian conclusion, or at least a closing rite at Tiryns'—at least before the conquest of Tiryns by Argos in the 460s.²⁵ The Argives transferred the famous Tirynthian image of Hera to the Heraion, the great shrine of Hera six miles from Tiryns and five from Argos, that had been a common cult centre for the two towns.²⁶ King Proitos, when he left Argos, was said to have taken over the Heraion as well as Tiryns (Pausan. ii 26.2). Clearly a likely source of influence on the story of the Proitids was the cult of Hera at Tiryns and at the Heraion.

After the conquest and decline of Tiryns, the Heraion was no doubt dominated by Argos. At the Heraia, the great festival of Hera, her priestess was taken on a cart drawn by white cattle from Argos to the Heraion, where there was (probably) enacted the *ἱερός γάμος* between Zeus and Hera.²⁷ The procession from the city also included young men in arms,²⁸ maidens who were probably dressed in white,²⁹ and cattle (also probably white) destined for sacrifice.³⁰ The description of the cult of Hera by Seneca's Argive maidens, which almost certainly preserves details of the Heraia,³¹ combines the themes of freedom from the yoke, sacrifice, marriage, and the whiteness of the cattle: *ad tua coniunx candida tauri delubra cadet nescia aratri, nullo collum signata iugo* (364–6). The cattle must be free of the yoke, but the Argive Hera is *Ζευξιδία*, a title associated with the yoking of cattle³²—also perhaps, like her title *Ζυγία*,³³ with marriage. The Argive princess Io, before her sexual union with Zeus, had to leave her paternal home to wander

²² Brauron wooded in antiquity: J. D. Kontis in *A. Delt.* xxii (1967) 206. For the importance of Artemis as huntress at Brauron see Kontis 188. For what is probably a depiction (fifth century BC) of the *ἱερόν κυνηγέσιον* at Brauron see L. Kahil in *Antike Kunst* xx (1977) 86 ff. Similarly, at Lousoi remains of wild animals have been found, including bears' teeth, but also representations of horses, in one case yoked. (Stiglitz [n. 16] 101; Jost [n. 16] 50.) For the *arkteia* as a preparation for marriage see n. 20, also *Anekd. Bekk.* i 44; Harpokrat. s.v. 'ἀρκτηύσαι'; Crater. *FGrH* 342 F 9; Calame (n. 6) 174–90 (festivals of Artemis generally as a preparation for marriage). The cult of Artemis just outside Metapontum may well have been similar: Bacchyl. II. 37 ff., 112 ff.; Burnett (n. 1) 187 f.; Maehler (n. 2) 195 f.

²³ See the notices cited in n. 20 above.

²⁴ Kontis (n. 22) 170 f.

²⁵ (n. 7) 172. Similarly Burnett (n. 1) 190 n. 25, citing Callim. *h. Artem.* 233 ff. In the version of Pherekydes (n. 3) the madness is also ended with sacrifice to Hera. On the other hand Hsch. s.v. 'ἀκρουχῆ' (= S. fr. 309) mentions an Argive temple of Artemis founded by Melampous after purifying the Proitids.

²⁶ Pausan. ii 17.5, viii 46.3. T. Kelly, *A history of*

Argos to 500 BC (Minneapolis 1976) 60–8.

²⁷ M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen* (Berlin 1906) 44; Zeitlin in *TAPA* ci (1970) 662 n. 49.

²⁸ Aeneas Tact. i 17; Nilsson (n. 27) 45; LeBas-Foucart, *Inscriptions du Péloponnèse* 112a.

²⁹ E. *El.* 174; Nilsson (n. 27) 45; white dress: *Ov. Am.* iii 13 (v. 27), a relatively neglected source for the Heraia: O. is describing a festival of Juno at Falerii, but says *Argiva est pompae facies* (31), and that the festival was brought directly from Argos (31–6). Cf. D.H. *AR* i 21.

³⁰ *Ov. Am.* iii 13.13 *niveae . . . iuvencae* (see previous note); Schol. *Pind. Ol.* 7.152; etc. (Nilsson [n. 27] 43). Hera herself as white cow: *Ov. Met.* v 330 (and cf. Io as white cow: below, n. 34).

³¹ Even if he did not have 'den argivischen kult im Auge' (Nilsson [n. 27] 43), his picture must (cf. R. J. Tarrant, *Seneca Agamemnon*, ad 348 ff.) derive ultimately from Greek sources. Cf. also the epithalamian (Sen. *Med.* 61–2) *Lucinam nivei femina corporis intemptata iugo placet*.

³² E.M. s.v. 'ζευξιδία'.

³³ A.R. iv 96; Musae. 275; *LSJ* s. 'ζύγιος II'.

free (*PV* 666 ἀφετον ἀλᾶσθαι γῆς ἐπ' ἑσχάτοις ὄροις) in the form of a white cow.³⁴ In another version she is confined in the Heraion before being released to wander in a frenzy through the whole world.³⁵ Accordingly, Burkert argues that at the Heraia the cattle would be 'set free' to be caught for sacrifice.³⁶

The white-clad Argive maidens in the procession seem associated with the white unyoked cattle. And the unyoked cattle are destined for sacrifice to the 'yoking' goddess of marriage. Two of the cattle, also white, are, so far from being unyoked, actually yoked to the chariot of Hera.³⁷ Now these two animals appear in the manuscripts of Herodotus (i 31) as male. That they were however female is, given the importance of cows in the cult, generally agreed. Herodotus is telling the story of Kleobis and Biton, two young men who took the animals' place under the yoke, and in return for their piety were rewarded with death that night in Hera's precinct, where presumably the animals they replaced would have been sacrificed. The idea of coming like cattle under the yoke is, as we have seen, a widespread image for the transition of the bride. The substitution of youths for girls points to the military element in the procession: a war chariot and young men in arms.³⁸ To Vernant's demonstration³⁹ of the principle that 'marriage is for the girl what war is for the boy' we may add here a detail: warfare for men, like marriage for women, required entry into a 'yoke'—the line of battle.⁴⁰ The story of Kleobis and Biton, whether or not it contains any truth, may in origin owe something to that 'temporary participation in the nature of the opposite sex' characteristic of the initiation of warriors.⁴¹ But its tendency, certainly, is to push the male element into the centre of the festival at the expense of the female.

The complex of ideas implicit in the Heraia is, though different of course in details, broadly similar to that found in Bacchylides' ode: virgins associated with unyoked cattle, the sacrifice of the unyoked cattle, (perhaps) the free roaming of cattle, the visit to Hera's temple as the first step towards marriage. The ἱερὸς γάμος between Zeus and Hera may, as at Athens,⁴² have marked the season for marriages. The Heraia is said by the chorus of Euripides' *Elektra* to be attended by all the virgins of Argos (174 παρθενικαί, 179 νύμφαι), and may have been regarded as in some way preliminary to their marriages.⁴³

The Greek girl is imagined as an animal, free, carefree, or wild, to be tamed or yoked in marriage. And the animal or animals actually sacrificed before the wedding are imagined as in some way standing in for the bride. These ideas are also implicit in the Attic and Lousian cults of Artemis, in the Argive cult of Hera, and in the narrative of B., but as if transposed to the civic level, as if the preparation of girls for marriage was a collective process, the responsibility of the *polis*. And there are two further elements shared by B.'s narrative and the Heraia. In both the girls' visit to Hera's temple is the first step towards marriage. And in both there is the important presence of young men, not as bridegrooms but as warriors, representing thereby not only the *civic* equivalent for young men of what marriage is for girls, but also the male-dominated world into which the girls are incorporated. Hera is the goddess of marriage, but also the great civic

³⁴ Apollod. ii 1.3; Ov. *Met.* i 652, 743 (de bove nil superest, formae nisi candor, in illa) associates the whiteness of the cow and of the girl; etc.

³⁵ Apollod. ii 1.3; Pliny *NH* xvi 239; etc. (Burkert [n. 7] 166).

³⁶ (n. 7) 167.

³⁷ Palaephatus 51; Hdt. i 31; Nilsson (n. 27) 43.

³⁸ Nilsson (n. 27) 45; Ov. *Amor.* iii 13.23 (cf. n. 29 above) iuvenes; Aen. *Tact.* i 17 . . . πομπὴν σὺν ὄπλοις τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ συχῶν. The inscription mentioned in n. 28 refers to a ἄρμα πολεμιστήριον.

³⁹ *Myth and society in ancient Greece* (Brighton 1980) 23.

⁴⁰ *LSJ* s. 'ζυγόν VIII'; the verb ζυγεῖν; Plut. *Pel.* 23 ζευγῆται.

⁴¹ Vernant (n. 39) 24. For the festival as female

initiation see Calame (n. 6) 220; as warrior initiation: Burkert (n. 7) 163. For combined male and female initiation rites see Lloyd-Jones (n. 19) 100.

⁴² L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*² (Hildesheim 1966) 117, 177–8; W. Erdmann, *Die Ehe im alten Griechenland* (Munich 1934) 252; M. Detienne, *The gardens of Adonis* (transl., Brighton 1977) 89. Cf. Nilsson, *Op. Sel.* iii 243 ff.

⁴³ For a wedding at the Heraia itself see Plut. *Dem.* 25; cf. also *IT* 220 ff. ἄγαμος ἄτεκνος ἀπολις ἄφιλος / ἄ μναστευθεῖς ἔξ Ἑλλάνων, (huc traiecit Scaliger) / οὐ τὰν Ἀργεῖ μελπουσ' Ἦραν / κτλ. Neither here nor at Lousoi and Brauron do I want to say that this was the only function of the cult. For example, married women probably participated in all three.

deity of the Argive πόλις.⁴⁴ The famous Argive bronze shield, sacred to Hera, which in myth accompanies or bestows political power, was carried in the procession by the young men; and a bronze shield (χαλκή άσπίς) was also the prize in the subsequent contests.⁴⁵ So too the warriors of B.'s poem carry bronze shields (62 χαλκάσπιδες).

This is not of course to say that the ode derives in all its details from Lousian and Argive cult. What we are concerned with is a ritually structured process (and its expression in myth and poetry) by which the community ensures male domination and its own continuity through marriage. We must now develop this idea by a long digression into what Bacchylides chooses *not* to say.

3. *Collective Premarital Ritual and Dionysos*

The resolution of the Proitids myth in Bacchylides follows actual practice, in which substitutional sacrifice is made to Artemis (whether in collective premarital sacrifice or individually immediately before the wedding) and girls do indeed abandon their real or imaginary opposition to marriage. But whereas in real life the girl has to make the transition to marriage, the mythical figures associated with this process may, unlike Bacchylides' Proitids, embody only its negative tendencies. Eukleia, the Hyperborean maidens, Iphinoe, Hippolytus, all honoured by local brides-to-be, died as virgins.⁴⁶ And Artemis herself remains a virgin in the wild, adhering fiercely to the liminal stage of the girl's transition to marriage. This divine adherence is of course not without its function in the process. The attachment to girlhood cannot be overcome by being ignored: it assumes a clear, identifiable form in the figure of Artemis, whose claim on the girl is appeased by prayer, by appropriate offerings,⁴⁷ and by an animal sacrifice which, as a substitute for the loss of the girl's young life, simultaneously fulfils the claims of her old life and prepares her for her new one. What may be called the negative elements in the transition (the attachment to girlhood, the need for the girl to die) are both symbolically realised in the sacrifice to Artemis, as e.g. in the substitutional sacrifice of *unyoked* cattle by Proitos. And so Artemis, because she must in practice relinquish the girl, paradoxically joins Hera as a goddess of marriage.⁴⁸

The negative elements are embodied also in certain mythical girls whom Artemis kills, causes to be sacrificed, or turns into wild animals, but who nevertheless, occupying as they do a place between the goddess and mortal girls, sometimes also conform (in the same or different versions of the myth) to that mortal necessity of sex and marriage which seems to contradict the will of the goddess. Iphigeneia, for example, is actually sacrificed, or turned into or replaced by an animal, or married (to Achilles). Her sacrifice (or rather of a substituted bear) was said to be the origin of the premarital ritual of Artemis in which girls left the city to dress as bears at Brauron.⁴⁹ Kallisto, associated or even identified with Artemis, produces a son for Zeus, but is also turned into a bear (by Artemis or Hera), and killed by Artemis.⁵⁰ Atalanta, suckled by a bear, huntress and companion to Artemis,⁵¹ finally yields reluctantly to marriage, but in some

⁴⁴ The local importance of Hera would explain why she presides over the kind of ritual elsewhere often dominated by Artemis (so Calame [n. 6] 213–4, 221–2). Accordingly, the Argive Hera regularly became a virgin (Pausan. ii 38.2–3); cf. *Ov. Am.* iii 13.19 f.; n. 13 above. For the importance of the Argive Heraia to the unity of the polis see F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque* (Paris 1984) 49 ff.

⁴⁵ Burkert (n. 7) 163–4. Bronze: V. *Aen.* iii 286. Shields were said to have been invented in the struggle between Proitos and Akrisios (Apollod. ii 2.1; Pausan. ii 25.7). On the Argive combination of festal contests for the youths and marriage for the girls see Hygin. *Fab.* 273.1.

⁴⁶ Plut. *Arist.* 20; Hdt. iv 34; Pausan. i 43.4, ii 32.1 (cf. *E. Hipp.* 1425–7).

⁴⁷ *AP* vi 280 (cf. 189, 309); etc. (Burkert [n. 14] 70, 374).

⁴⁸ n. 13 above; Plut. *Mor.* 264b; Burkert (n. 14) 151.

⁴⁹ Nikander ap. Ant. Lib. *Metam.* 27; *Duris* 76 *FGrH* 88; Lykophr. *Alex.* 324; Tzetz. ad *Lykophr.* 183, 194, 323; etc. Brauron: Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 645; *E. IT* 1462 ff. The other aetiological myths of the *arkteia* are similar: see n. 19 above.

⁵⁰ Lloyd-Jones (n. 19) 98; Sale in *RhM* cv (1962) 122 ff.

⁵¹ *E. Pho.* 151; Call. *h.Art.* 215–8; Schol. A. *Sept.* 532; etc.

versions ends up nevertheless as a lion—not merely creatures of the wild, lions were also thought incapable of sexual intercourse.⁵²

Another complex of ritual and myth in which female departure for the wild expresses hostility to male domination belongs to Dionysos. Dionysos and Artemis both hunt, lead female orgiastic dancing and female *thiasoi* in the wild, carry torches, inspire and suffer frenzy; and their cults are sometimes intertwined.⁵³ Like the Attic ‘bears’ or the Argive Proitids, Dionysos’ female followers (the maenads) are imagined as leaving the city for an uncultivated area in which they become like animals. To take as an example an image with strong hymenaial associations (*cf.* n. 10), in Euripides’ *Bacchae* the maenad roaming on the mountainside is compared to a filly at its mother’s side (166 πῶλος ὄπως ἄμα μητέρι φορβάδι).⁵⁴ Marriage and initiation into the maenadic *thiasos* are both radical rites of passage which may involve a (real or imagined) initial movement away from the civilised, male-dominated centre to the uncivilised periphery.

Another feature shared by Dionysos with Artemis is his association with female death (Ariadne, Erigone, Iphinoe) and metamorphosis (Karya, Procne, the Minyads). But these myths also indicate the respects in which Artemis and Dionysos are opposites. Let us begin with the two cases that involve both deities.

Firstly, Ariadne, the consort of Dionysos, was killed by Artemis Διονύσου μαρτυρήισι.⁵⁵ Secondly, Servius (*ad. V. Ecl.* 8.29) preserves the story that Dionysos, as guest of the Spartan king Dion, was united with his daughter Karya, who was then guarded by her two sisters to prevent further such union with the god. Dionysos responded by sending them in a frenzy to Mt. Taygetos, where the sisters became stones and Karya a nut tree. The story was told to the Spartans by Artemis, and resulted in their founding the temple of Artemis Karyatis, in the mountains bordering with Arcadia, where dances were performed by Spartan girls (Karyatides). About the Karyatides a story is preserved in a late source (*Lact. ad Stat. Theb.* iv 225): *cum luderent virgines, meditatus ruinam omnis chorus in arborem nucis fugit et in ramo eius pependit*. The *ruina*, it is generally agreed, is rape.⁵⁶ The story resembles structurally the myth of Karya: resistance to the irruption of sex is followed by (‘initiatory’)⁵⁷ death associated with a nut tree. Female death and metamorphosis is a theme associated with both Dionysos and Artemis. But whereas the Karyatides’ resistance to sex is just what we would expect of girls in the cult of Artemis, in the corresponding story of Karya it is Dionysos himself who represents the irruption of sex. We may add that it seems likely that the ritual celebration of the Karya myth also had a Dionysiac dimension.⁵⁸

In Attica Dionysos was the guest of Ikarios, and gave him the vine. But Ikarios was killed by his neighbours, who thought that the wine he gave them was poison. Consequently his daughter Erigone hanged herself (like the Karyatides) on a tree. In one version⁵⁹ Erigone was seduced by Dionysos. Her death was celebrated in song, and imitated in ritual, by Attic girls at the Dionysiac festival called Anthesteria.⁶⁰

⁵² Apollod. iii 9.2; *Ov. Met.* x 560–706; *Vat. Myth.* i 39; *Hygin. Fab.* 185; *Serv. on V. Aen.* iii 113; Vidal-Naquet in *Myth, religion and society* (ed. R. L. Gordon, Cambridge 1981) 161–2.

⁵³ Burkert (n. 14) 223; Calame (n. 6) 257, 262–3, 302; *S. Aj.* 172 ff. At Lykosoura Artemis wore a deer-skin and carried a torch and snakes, like a maenad (*Pausan.* viii 37.4). For Artemis in Dionysiac company see *LIMC* s. ‘Artemis’ ns. 1188, 1189, 1189a. At Lousoi she carried torches (*LIMC* ns. 106, 108, 109) and in one statuette wore a deer-skin (*W. Reichel and A. Wilhelm in ÖJh* iv [1901] 45 fig. 54). For further similarities between the two deities (as ‘strangers’, associated with λῖμναι) see J. P. Vernant, *La mort dans les yeux* (Paris 1985) 15 ff.

⁵⁴ *Cf.* also *E. Ba.* 699 f., 726 f., 734 ff., 866 ff., 977;

Opp. Kyn. iv 311 ff.; *Ar. Lys.* 1308–13.

⁵⁵ *Od.* xi 321–5; *cf. D.S.* v 51; *Pausan.* ii 23.7.

⁵⁶ Calame (n. 6) 267–70; A. Brelich, *Paides e parthenoi* (Rome 1969) 165.

⁵⁷ Calame (n. 6) 270.

⁵⁸ This is usually proposed on the basis of the title Δύμαιναι ἢ Καρυάτιδες (of a play by Pratinas) together with *Hsch.* s.v. ‘Δύμαιναι’: αἱ ἐν Σπάρτηι χορήτιδες Βάκχαι (but *cf.* Calame [n. 6] 273–4). Note also, in *Servius’ account*, . . . (Dionysos) *ad hospites redit, causam praetendens dedicandi fani, quod ei rex voverat* . . . and *suum secretum studiosus inquiri*.

⁵⁹ Referred to at *Ov. Met.* vi 125.

⁶⁰ L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 118 ff.; E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (Wisconsin 1983) 99.

In one version of the Proitids myth, to which we shall return in section 5, their frenzy is inflicted on them by Dionysos and cured by Melampous after he had chased them from the mountains. Melampous was said by Herodotus (ii 49) to have introduced the cult of Dionysos into Greece. Iphinoe is killed in the chase, and her sisters married to Melampous and his brother Bias (see n. 15). The death of Iphinoe was celebrated at the Argive Agrania, presumably, like its Boeotian counterparts, a Dionysiac festival.⁶¹ The Megarian Iphinoe, it may be added, also died a virgin, and was honoured by the local girls before their weddings.⁶²

In these myths the death of a girl, who is the object of Dionysiac cult, is associated with sexual union with Dionysos or his priest. Dionysos also made love to the Nymphs. And that maenadism involves the danger of extra-marital sex was believed not only by Pentheus but also, for example, by fifth century vase-painters, who show maenads with Dionysos and his constantly lascivious followers, the satyrs.⁶³ On the other hand, the real or imagined ritual practice of Dionysos' female adherents generally excludes men;⁶⁴ and this too contrasts with the premarital cult of Artemis or Hera.⁶⁵ The two contrasts cohere: maenadic autonomy expresses extreme loss of control by men of their women. Whereas in the cult of Artemis girls might be imagined as in danger of rape by intruders, in the cult of Dionysos the imagined danger was of sex with outsiders as part of the celebration itself. In a fragment of Aeschylus (382) Dionysos is called Μαινάδων ζευκτήριε.

Dionysos' sexual activity also includes participation in a sacred marriage, at the Attic Anthesteria. In this he resembles Artemis' opposite, and his natural enemy,⁶⁶ Hera. It is significant that whereas Jan Bremmer has recently located the origin of maenadism in premarital ritual,⁶⁷ Claude Calame ranges Dionysos along with Demeter, Aphrodite and Hera (and in opposition to Artemis) as a deity who 'intervient avant tout dans le domaine qui est celui de l'épouse et de la mère.'⁶⁸ Neither of these conclusions is satisfactory, because each stresses one side of a distinction which Dionysos transcends. This is the third difference from Artemis. Hera inflicts on the Proitids the frenzy that takes them out to the realm of Artemis, whereas Dionysos inflicts frenzy in both the home *and* the wild.⁶⁹ The Dionysiac *thiasos* includes both unmarried women, who belong to the realm of Artemis, and married women, who belong to the realm of Hera.⁷⁰ Dionysiac myths of death and metamorphosis concern both married women and girls.

⁶¹ Burkert (n. 7) 173–4. We know very little else about the festival.

⁶² Pausan. i 43.4.

⁶³ Nymphs: S. *OT* 1098–1109; maenads A. *fr.* 382, 448; E. *Ba* 223, 237, 260, 354, 487, 958 (the messenger's denial, 686 ff., does not affect my point); cf. E. *Ion* 552–5; in general see Maria Daraki, *Dionysos* (Paris 1985) 101–3. Kratinos' *Dionysalexandros* employs the idea of Dionysos as an amorous visitor. And cf. Livy xxxix 8.6.

⁶⁴ A. Henrichs in *Mnemai: classical studies in memory of Karl K. Hulley* (ed. H. D. Evjen, California 1984) 69–91, and in *HSCP* lxxxii (1978) 121–59. For the importance of excluding men see e.g. E. *Ba*. 823; Sokolowski *LSCG* n. 127; Pausan. iii 20.3; Poseidonius *fr.* 34 Theiler. In early Attic vase-painting maenads never appear with men (as opposed to Dionysos and satyrs): Edwards in *JHS* lxxx (1960) 82. Even when men are admitted to Dionysiac *thiasoi* the women tend to remain in charge (Henrichs 70 f.). To participate in the festival (cf. Kadmos and Teiresias in E. *Ba.*) is a different matter. Cf. n. 122.

⁶⁵ E.g. young men participated in the Heraia, and in the procession and sacrifice to Artemis at Mounychia (Deubner [n. 60] 205 n. 4), whose priesthood was held

by the mythical Embaros and his descendants (Apostol. 7.10; Append. prov. ii 54). A 5th century BC vase-painting of the Brauronian *arketeia* shows a masked male priest: L. Kahil in *AntK* xx (1977) 92–8, fig. C, pl. 20.2; cf. E. Simon (n. 60) 87.

⁶⁶ Besides the story of D.'s birth, see esp. Plut. *Mor.* 291a; *fr.* 157.2 Sandbach (Teubner *Mor.* VIII); Nonnus xxx 195 ff.; Burkert (n. 16) 223.

⁶⁷ *ZPE* lv (1984) 282 ff.

⁶⁸ (n. 6) 230, 243–5, 250, 273, 447.

⁶⁹ E.g. vines grow on looms (e.g. Ant. Lib. *Met.* 10); cf. Hes. *fr.* 129.25 and 26. 16–7 M-W.; Ov. *Met.* iv 32–5, 388–403. C. Segal, *Dionysiac poetics and Euripides' Bacchae* (Princeton 1982) ch. 4. In E. *Ba.* (24, 32–3, 36, 446) Dionysos inflicts frenzy on females and sends them from their homes and the city with loud cries, just like Hera in B. (11.43–5, 55–7, 82). At Callim. *h. Artem.* 3.20 ff. Artemis says she will come down from the mountainside to the city only to help women in childbirth.

⁷⁰ E. *Ba.* 35 (with Dodds *ad loc.*), 694; E. *Pho.* 655–6, 1751–7; *fr.* 752; Apollod. ii 2.2; D.S. iv 3; at Anton. Lib. *Met.* 10 the Minyads are 'girls' and mothers!

What is the significance of these similarities and differences between Dionysos and Artemis? Artemis *relinquishes* her mortal devotees, and so becomes a goddess of marriage. She and Hera, representing two stages of female life, combine at the point of a transition vital to the continuity of the civilised community, the conversion of girls into the wives of citizens. But Dionysos, in spanning this complementarity of Artemis and Hera, subverts the marital transition it articulates. The transition *he* imposes is into an association, the maenadic *thiasos*, which (as we see most clearly in the *Bacchae*) is imagined as antithetical to the civilised community of the *polis*. The centrifugal defiance of Artemis expresses a (real or imagined) attitude in the girl, which because overcome in the marital transition serves to define and confirm its opposite, the final state of marriage. The apparently similar attitude inspired by Dionysos, on the other hand, is antithetical not so much to the state of marriage as to the whole *process by which girls become the wives of citizens*.⁷¹ Artemis inspires a temporary virginity in the wild as a prelude to civilised sexual union. But the maenadic *thiasos* is imagined as at home in the wild; as involving illicit sex there with outsiders; as entirely out of male control; and as renewing in married women that centrifugal opposition to marriage that had supposedly been permanently overcome in their marital transition. This last point is an important one. In a reversal of the hymenaial image, the Theban maenads are compared to fillies that have *left* the yoke (E. *Ba.* 1056 ἐκλιποῦσαι ποικιλ' ὡς πῶλοι ζυγά). The frenzied departure of a *married* woman for the wild does not precede but rather *disrupts*⁷² the household to which marriage brought her; and this may, in the logic of myth, require that she kill her own children.⁷³ Such a deed makes reintegration into the civilised community impossible. Agaue, having killed her son, has to leave Thebes permanently for she knows not where.⁷⁴ Such permanent exclusion is, like that demanded of mythical virgins by Artemis, expressed as metamorphosis. Procne and the Minyads kill their offspring and turn into birds,⁷⁵ the former as a maenad at a feast of Dionysos,⁷⁶ the latter in a frenzy inflicted by Dionysos after they had resisted him out of love for their husbands.⁷⁷ The process of incorporation of the women in marriage is here reversed: from a temporary sojourn in the marital home she passes permanently into the realm of nature. Agaue is finally brought back to her senses by being reminded of her identity as constituted by marriage ritual (E. *Ba.* 1273–4) and motherhood (1275–6), and then describes herself, as she bids farewell to home and city, in a phrase that would have suggested exit from the bridal chamber:⁷⁸ φυγὰς ἐκ θαλάμων (1370).

Disasters arising from male loss of control of their women are not of course always the fault of Dionysos. A family may be threatened by the sexual liaisons of a Klytimestra or a Danae or even by the legitimate marriage of a daughter. Vernant has detected in Greek mythology and practice the instability noted by anthropologists in systems in which exchange of women is the rule.⁷⁹ For example, to give a woman to another group is to acquire allies, but it is also to lose her and her offspring. It may cease to be advantageous to exchange women with one's peers; and then various solutions are attested in practice and in myth, such as marrying the women within

⁷¹ Accordingly, the marriage of Dionysos (see below) is in danger of being associated with mortal marriages, as it is apparently in the frescoes of the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii, at *A.P.* ix 524.21, and perhaps even as early as 4th century BC Attic vase-painting; M. Bieber in *Hesperia Suppl.* viii (1969) 31–8 (though cf. Nilsson [n. 42]).

⁷² This is surely the piont of ἀνορόφοις of the rocks on which the maenads sit at E. *Ba.* 38; cf. 33 ὄρος . . . οἰκοῦσι. See further M. Detienne, *Dionysos à ciel ouvert* (Paris 1986) 67 ff.

⁷³ This theme is in fact dually determined, as absolute disruption of the household and as apt punishment for rejecting the stranger god (see below).

⁷⁴ E. *Ba.* 1366–70, 1381–7, *Christ. Pat.* 1674–7; *Pap. fr.* 2b Dodds.

⁷⁵ Maenads are compared to birds at E. *Ba.* 748, 957; Naevius *Lyc. fr.* 7.

⁷⁶ *Ov. Met.* vi 587 ff.; the Dionysiac element was almost certainly already present in S. *Tereus*; see e.g. A. Kiso, *The Lost Sophocles* (New York 1984) 67 f., 79 f.

⁷⁷ Aelian *VH* iii 42; *Ant. Lib. Met.* 10; etc.

⁷⁸ Cf. the similar irony at E. *Andr.* 103–9 . . . τιν' ἄταν ἀγάγει' εὐναίαν ἐς θαλάμους Ἐλέναν . . . αὐτὰ (Andromache) δ' ἐκ θαλάμων ἀγόμεν. Cf. Seaford in *JHS* cvii (1987) 129–30, and in *CQ* xxxv (1985) 318–9. It is no accident that on the death of her husband in the *Iliad* Andromache rushes from home μαινάδι ἴση (xxii 460; cf. vi 389).

⁷⁹ (n. 39) ch. 3.

the kinship group. Proitos, I think, exemplifies the problem. His errant daughters turn up in various places outside the Argolid (reflecting local traditions).⁸⁰ He is forced to marry them to strangers, and thereby loses two thirds of his kingdom.

Exogamy may be dangerous not only to the family but to the community as a whole. Proitos is a king, and so the damage done by his daughters' marriages is not only to his family but to the whole kingdom of Argos: it is *political*. This suggests another point. It is also Vernant who, in Athens, where the evidence is most plentiful, detects a development, accompanying the development of the city-state, in the social function of marriage; this culminates in the reforms of Cleisthenes and the law of 451 BC, so that thereafter 'matrimonial unions no longer have as their object the establishment of relations of power or mutual service between great autonomous families; rather, their purpose is to perpetuate the households, that is to say the domestic hearths which constitute the city, in other words to ensure, through strict rules governing marriage, the permanence of the city through constant reproduction.'⁸¹ Vernant is concerned with the legal embodiment of a conception of marriage which had no doubt long co-existed with the 'archaic' one. At the religious level, we can say that rituals such as the Argive Heraia and the Attic Brauronia, belonging as they do to the *polis*,⁸² express the collective incorporation of true born girls as brides-to-be for citizens, and thereby form a symbolic element of the process by which the *polis* ensures its permanent identity through constant reproduction. Whereas in Dionysiac myth, and its celebration in civic cult,⁸³ the *polis* represents to itself the *subversion* of this process.

The sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera was celebrated at the Attic Theogamia (n. 42) and probably also at the Argive Heraia (n. 27). In both cases it may have been associated with the marriages of the citizens themselves (ns. 42–3). But the Athenians also celebrated, three weeks later apparently,⁸⁴ another *ἱερὸς γάμος* of a very different kind. At the Anthesteria the wife of their 'king' (Βασιλεὺς ἀρχῶν) performed secret sacrifice along with a group of married women and was united with Dionysos in what was believed to be the ancient royal residence. Dionysos was probably escorted to the marriage in a ship-cart, as having arrived from overseas.⁸⁵ From the little that we know of this ritual it appears to resemble what I have emphasised in maenadism: female autonomy in ritual is associated with the disruption of legitimate marriage by sexual union with an outsider (Dionysos).⁸⁶ The disruption is antithetical to the celebration of the legitimate marriage of Zeus and Hera; but because it is not resisted by the king, it is temporary, contained, and beneficial to the community.⁸⁷ The same pattern is reflected in the myth of king Oineus, who withdrew from his city to allow Dionysos to be united with his wife, and was rewarded with the gift of the vine.⁸⁸ Dionysos also, we observed, made love to his Attic host's daughter, Erigone, and his Spartan host's daughter, Karya. But in the story of Karya we also came across the other side of the coin: *rejection* of the god, which always ends in disaster.

⁸⁰ I. Kambitsis, *ΜΙΝΥΑΔΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΙΤΙΔΕΣ* (Ioannina 1975) 48 ff.; Calame (n. 6) 216 ff.

⁸¹ (n. 39) 50.

⁸² See section 2. With Vernant's historical thesis cf. now Photius s.v. 'Βραυρωνία . . . καὶ ἦν τὸ ἱερὸν πρὸς τῷ Ἐρασίνῳ ποταμῷ κατασκευασθὲν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου' (ed. C. Theodoridis, Berlin and New York 1982).

⁸³ Ritual celebrations; of Minyads myth (Plut. *Mor.* 299ef), Karya (n. 58), Erigone (n. 60), Iphinoe (n. 61), Oineus (n. 88); the Pentheus and Lykourgos myths were also very likely celebrated in ritual (E. R. Dodds, *Euripides Bacchae*² [Oxford 1960] xxv–xxviii; Seaford in *CQ* xxxi [1981] 252–750).

⁸⁴ Deubner (n. 42) 177 f.

⁸⁵ Deubner (n. 42) 100 ff.; Seaford, *Euripides Cyclops* (Oxford 1984) 8; E. Simon (n. 60) 93 n. 25.

⁸⁶ The verb used, *ἔξεδόθη* (see n. 87) is the normal

one for giving a daughter in marriage, signifying loss from the home. For a more far-reaching account of the anomalous nature of this union see Daraki (n. 63) 80: 'sous le signe du maitre des Anthestéries, le mariage sera livré a tout ce dont l'orthodoxie civique le separe: la divinité, la mort, la sexualité.' Cf. also E. Simon in *AntK* vi (1963) 6–22 (Theseus required to give Ariadne to Dionysos as mythical reflection of the ritual).

⁸⁷ E.g. Ps. Dem. *Neair.* lix 73 . . . ἔξώρκωσέ τε τὰς γεραρὰς τὰς ὑπηρετούσας τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἔξεδόθη δὲ τῷ Διονύσῳ γυνή, ἔπραξε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τὰ πάτρια κτλ. At Patrai the catastrophe consequent on sexual union in Artemis' sanctuary is resolved by the introduction of Dionysos as a *ξενικός δαίμων* (Pausan. vii 19.6).

⁸⁸ Hygin. *Fab.* 129; O.'s pretext for withdrawal (sacrifice) suggests a ritual context for the myth.

4. *Two Dionysiac Extremes*

One way of thinking about the disasters attendant on rejecting Dionysos is to divide them into two opposite kinds: complete loss of control of female kin, and over-control of female kin. In the middle is the consequence of prudently *accepting* Dionysos, the temporary, controlled anomaly such as we find in the sacred marriage at the Anthesteria. The one extreme is obvious enough in the myths of Thebes, Orchomenos, and Argos, in which Dionysos is first rejected and then sends the women roaming in the wild, with irreversibly disastrous consequences. The other extreme is less obvious.

In the *Bacchae* the men of Thebes try but fail to pursue the maenads from the mountainside (719 ff.). But the Thracian king Lykourgos succeeded in doing so.⁸⁹ He then, however, has troubles of the opposite kind: he is driven mad, kills (or rather sacrifices) members of his own family,⁹⁰ attempts incest, cuts off his own foot, kills himself, is blinded, is imprisoned in a cave.⁹¹ There is a common tendency here. In rejecting the stranger god Lykourgos is turned violently inwards on himself and his family. As with the maenads,⁹² rejection of Dionysos leads to sacrifice of kin. This, like his incest, represents the opposite extreme to the disastrous loss of kin to outsiders.⁹³ It is curious but appropriate that Nonnus compares Lykourgos in his habit of sacrificing strangers with Oenomaus, who kept his daughter unmarried at home (xx 149–66), and that when the chorus of Sophokles' *Antigone* search for parallels to the imprisonment in her ghastly *νυμφεῖον* (891, etc.) of a girl whose loyalty to her family of origin was more important than marriage or offspring, they think of Danae, imprisoned to prevent offspring, of Kleopatra imprisoned by her husband and the blinding of her sons, and of the imprisonment of Lykourgos.⁹⁴ In their next song the chorus calls on Dionysos to come down from the mountainside to purify the city (1140–5).⁹⁵

Imprisonment is the polar opposite of roaming in the wild. When it is inflicted by her sisters on Karya to prevent her sexual union with the divine stranger, he responds by setting them all on the mountainside (Karya as a tree, her sisters as barren stones). The maenads imprisoned by Pentheus are miraculously freed and dance up to the mountainside (*Ba.* 443–8; cf. Apollod. iii 5.1). The various versions of the myth of Antiope combine some of these themes with Dionysiac⁹⁶ elements. United with Zeus in satyr form, she then escapes to the mountain from her father Nykteus' wrath, gives her twin sons to the slave of 'Oineus',⁹⁷ and marries an alien king, whereupon Nykteus kills himself in despair. Recaptured and imprisoned by her uncle Lykos, with whom she is in some versions united sexually,⁹⁸ she escapes again to the

⁸⁹ *Il.* vi 130 ff.; *S. Ant.* 960 ff.

⁹⁰ According to Apollod. he kills his son, to Hygin. his son and his wife. His female sacrificial victim regularly depicted on 4th century BC southern Italian vases (L. Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique*² [Paris 1967] 70–4; D. F. Sutton in *RSC* xxiii [1975] 356–9) is generally assumed to be his wife, but could be his daughter.

⁹¹ *S. Ant.* 954 ff.; Apollod. iii 5.1; Hygin. *Fab.* 132, 242; Serv. ad *Aen.* iii 14; *Ov. Fast.* iii 722; Schol. in Lucan. i 575; etc.

⁹² The *Minyads*, *Agave*, etc. *E. Ba.* 966–70 suggests an unhealthy closeness of mother and adult son: Seaford in *CQ* xxxi (1981) 267 f. On the cannibalistic impulse of parents see G. Devereux in *The psychoanalytic forum* i (1966) 114–24.

⁹³ The opposition between incest and exogamy in myths of rejection and acceptance of Dionysos is described by Massenzio (*Cultura e crisi permanente: la 'xenia' dionisiaca*, *SMSR* vi [Rome 1970]), who pursues it mainly in the myths of Oineus, Oinopion, Staphylos, and Lykourgos. But he regards exogamy as endowed with a merely positive value, and so the *Proitids'*

marriage to Melampous and Bias as simply a return 'all' ordinata esistenza sociale, ma in una mutata condizione' (94).

⁹⁴ *S. Ant.* 944–65; cf. esp. 898–920. Danae's father Akrisios rejected Dionysos (*Ov. Met.* iv 605–11).

⁹⁵ Cf. also *E. Antig.*, in which it seems that Antigone, after earlier escaping to the mountainside, appeared as a maenad (*P. Oxy.* 3317; Hygin. *Fab.* 72); cf. *E. Pho.* 1751–77. *P. Oxy.* 3317 has been attributed to *E. Antiope* by W. Luppe (*ZPE* xlii [1981] 27–30); but cf. R. Scodel in *ZPE* xlvi (1982) 37–42.

⁹⁶ See esp. *E. Antiope frr.* 179, 203N² (= i, xxxvii Kambitsis); Hygin. *Fab.* 8 with *Pacuv. fr.* 12; Pausan. 9.17.6; T. B. L. Webster, *The tragedies of Euripides* 205–6; at Apollod. iii 5.5 she escapes to the mountain τῶν δεσμῶν αὐτομάτως λυθέντων; cf. *E. Ba.* 447 and Dodds *ad loc.*

⁹⁷ Dio Chrys. xv 9 (ii 234 Arn.). With the name 'Nykteus' cf. *Nyktaia* (below) and the imprisonment of Antiope in *darkness* (*Hyg. Fab.* 7; *Propert.* iii 15.17; cf. *E. Ba.* 510).

⁹⁸ Apollod. iii 5.5; Schol. *A.R.* iv 1090. *Hyg. Fab.* 7; *Propert.* iii 15.12.

mountainside. In the *Kypria* she was the daughter of Lykourgos (p. 18 Kinkel). According to Pausanias (ix 17.6) she was driven mad by Dionysos and roamed all over Greece. The myth is clearly based on the opposition between at the one extreme, confinement in the home and incest, and, at the other extreme, loss of control of female kin on the mountainside and undesired exogamy.

It is because Lykourgos mistakes them for vines⁹⁹ that he kills members of his own family and even cuts off his own foot. Here his rejection of the alien (for the vine is newly introduced)¹⁰⁰ is embodied in the very same act as his turning inwards against himself and his family. Conversely, in the story of Dionysos' gift of the vine to Ikarios, his daughter, Erigone accepts as a lover an outsider (Dionysos) who takes the form of a vine.¹⁰¹ In the same story the vine is rejected by Ikarios' neighbours on exactly the same grounds, according to Hyginus (*Fab.* 130, 132 *malum medicamentum*), as it was rejected by Lykourgos.

5. *Proitos steers a middle way*

It is time to return to the Proitids. In the usual ending of the myth, as we have seen, they are cured by Melampous and given in marriage to Melampous and his brother Bias along with two thirds of the kingdom, and the third Proitid is killed in the chase from the mountainside. Now in some versions Melampous wins his territory by curing the *married* women of Argos, who have killed their children and are roaming in the wild.¹⁰² Their frenzy is caused by Dionysos; whereas the frenzy of the Proitids is generally caused by Hera. This distinction is precisely what our discussion would lead us to expect. It is the married women who are sent into the wild by Dionysos, whereas the virginal roaming that ends in marriage is caused by Hera. There is however one version that cuts across this neat division. Apollodorus took apparently from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of women* the detail that it was Dionysos whose rejection by the Proitids resulted in their frenzied roaming and eventual marriage.¹⁰³ This is in fact the only genuine example of maenadism ending in marriage produced by Jan Bremmer in his attempt to derive maenadism from premarital ritual.¹⁰⁴ It seems to fly in the face of our conception of maenadism as *subversive* of marriage. Another blurring of our distinction is caused by Melampous, who appears in both versions of the Proitids myth, but is said by Herodotus (ii 49) to have introduced the cult of Dionysos into Greece. We cannot explain the problem away by saying merely that there has been a confusion between two similar myths, one about Hera and the Proitids, the other about Dionysos and the married women.¹⁰⁵ We should also say that inasmuch as the threat to family and community represented by the girls' frenzied aberrance is eventually concluded in marriage, the myth is appropriately dominated by the goddess of marriage, Hera;

⁹⁹ This theme is found on a fifth century BC Attic vase (ARV² 1121.17) as well as in Apollod.

¹⁰⁰ This is explicit at Eustath. *Il.* vi 136 (p. 629.23) and Propert. iii 17.23, and implicit in Serv. ad *Aen.* iii 14.

¹⁰¹ Ov. *Met.* vi 125. Reunited though in the sky with her father, she refuses the vine (Nonn. xlvii 248–50; Massenzio [n. 96] 42).

¹⁰² Hdt. ix 34; Apollod. i 9.12, ii 2.2 (merges the two versions), iii 5.2; D.S. iv 68; Pausan. ii 18.4.

¹⁰³ Apollod. ii 2.2. The *fr.* of Hes. *Cat.* suggest however that the deity was Hera; refs. in West (n. 15) 78–9, who against the usual solution (referral of Ap.'s statement to Hes. *Melampodeia*) insists that here Ap. must have *Cat.* in view. Perhaps in the *Cat.* Hera and Dionysos were in conflict, as apparently in the Lykourgos story in Eumelos (*fr.* 10 Kinkel) and in Aeschylus' Theban trilogy (*fr.* 168 is not inconsistent with the *Xantriai*, to which Asclepiades assigns it: cf. Dodds *Euripides Bacchae*², xxx, and [contra] e.g. Gantz in CQ

xxxi [1981] 25; Noel Robertson in *TAPA* cxiii [1983] 153 ff. suggests that the *Xantriai* was about the Proitids).

¹⁰⁴ He mentions also the Elean sixteen (Pausan. v 16.6 f.), the Minyads (Plut. *Mor.* 299, Ant. Lib. 10.3), D.S. iv 3.3, and (his second best piece of evidence) Seleukos ap. Harpokr. s.v. "Ομηρίδαι" . . . αἱ γυναῖκες ποτε τῶν Χίων ἐν Διονυσίοις παραφρονήσασαι εἰς μάχην ἦλθον τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ δόντες ἀλλήλοις ἄμφοτεροις καὶ ὑμφοῦς ἐπαύσαντο (cf. Aelian *VH* iii 41). Although we cannot entirely exclude an evolution from premarital ritual, synchronic analysis is here more fruitful than diachronic.

¹⁰⁵ 'The dissolution of the normal order' writes Burkert on the Dionysiac version of the Proitids myth ([n. 7] 171), 'which otherwise signifies the wrath and alienation of the great goddess, is here transformed into a show of strength by the god of madness'. But we cannot in fact be sure that the Dionysiac version is secondary. And *why* the 'transformation'?

but that inasmuch as it does in fact end in calamity for family and community, namely the disintegration of the kingdom attendant on the exogamous marriage to Melampous and Bias, it is less appropriate to the great civic goddess of the Argolid, Hera, than it is to her enemy, Dionysos, following as it does a pattern of Dionysiac myth; rejection of the deity causes male loss of control over female kin which in turn results in irreversible catastrophe.¹⁰⁶ Bacchylides, by omitting the source of this ambiguity (Melampous), allows the implication of the girls' preparedness for marriage which rather than being disastrous for the community is *entirely* fit to be associated with the goddesses of marriage, one of whom is also the civic goddess of the Argolid. But, paradoxically, this entirely positive presence of the goddesses of marriage in the narrative required the omission of an actual marriage, for the actual marriage of the Proitids was traditionally with Melampous and his brother.

Another result of our detour into the realm of Dionysos is that it allows us to see that the relation of Bacchylides' narrative to the Dionysiac version is one of dialectical opposition. What I mean by this is that while excluding Dionysos it does not exclude all Dionysiac features. It includes some, but in order to negate them. Pentheus is out of his mind at the frenzied departure of the women, even before being explicitly inflicted by the god with λύσσα.¹⁰⁷ And the same is true of Lykourgos.¹⁰⁸ Female frenzy seems to infect also the male. Teiresias in the *Bacchae* plays on the sense πένθος in Pentheus' name; similarly Proitos' son is called Megapenthes δια τὸ πενθῆσαι τὸν Προῖτον ἐπὶ τῇ μανίᾳ τῶν θυγατέρων.¹⁰⁹ In Bacchylides Proitos reacts to his daughters' frenzied departure as follows (85–91):

τὸν δ' εἶλεν ἄχος κραδίαν, ξεί-
να τέ νιν πλάξεν μέριμνα.
δοίαξε δὲ φάσγανον ἄμ-
φακες ἐν στέρνοισι πᾶσαι.
ἀλλὰ νιν αἰχμοφόροι
μύθοισι τε μιλίχοις
καὶ βίαι χειρῶν κάτεχον.

Like Lykourgos, and Nykteus at the loss of *his* daughter, Proitos is inclined to strike himself dead. But, unlike them, he is prevented from doing so. This victory over his internal crisis leads to the solution of the crisis represented by the loss of his daughters. Both crises are in a sense, as we have seen, Dionysiac. But Dionysos and Melampous must be excluded; and so Proitos' suicidal impulse, being unfulfilled, is left without a divine source: it is merely a ξείνα μέριμνα that strikes him (πλάξεν). Nevertheless, in order to restore his daughters to sanity he needs to purify himself in the river Lousos (96 f.) as well as to promise sacrifice to Artemis.

This sacrifice is, in contrast to the autonomously female maenadic sacrifice (e.g. by Agaue of her son), performed according to normal Greek practice: i.e. (n. 123) by the male (with female participation: 40 ff., 104, 110 f.). Indeed, it belongs, as we have seen, to a process which subordinates the female to the male in marriage. Proitos regains control over his daughters—but not excessively: he does not, like Lykourgos, and as Pentheus threatens to do, sacrifice his own kin¹¹⁰ or commit incest. Rather he *sacrifices* animal substitutes, thereby making his daughters available, by implication, for marriage with the warriors of his own city. Similarly Embaros, in an aetiological myth of the premarital ritual of the *arkteia*, said that he would sacrifice his daughter, but sacrificed a goat instead: hence, it was said, the proverb Ἐμβάρος εἰμί, which was used ἐπὶ τῶν παραπαιόντων καὶ μεμνηνόντων, but could also mean φρόνιμος (references in n. 19).

¹⁰⁶ This formula is not of course meant to apply to Dionysos in all his operations. Nor is he necessarily involved in all the myths and rituals that conform with it.

¹⁰⁷ E. Ba. 214, 326, 851.

¹⁰⁸ S. Ant. 961–4; etc.

¹⁰⁹ E. Ba. 367; Eustath. II. 1480.6.

¹¹⁰ Iphinoe is in the excluded version sacrificed (Burkert [n. 7] 172–3) after the pursuit. For Pentheus see Ba. 796.

In this way Proitos steers a middle course between the two Dionysiac extremes of complete loss of control and excessive control of female kin.¹¹¹ The narrative excludes both these evils: not only the disastrous exogamy with Melampous and Bias but also Proitos' seduction of his secluded niece Danae, referred to by Pindar (*fr.* 284 Sn.) and Apollodorus (ii 4.1) as the origin of the conflict with her father Akrisios. This seduction is almost certainly what Bacchylides declines to mention when he describes the conflict as arising βληχρῶς ἀπ' ἀρχᾶς.¹¹² Proitos is also said by a late source to have tried to rape his daughter Nyktaia, who was then turned into an owl.¹¹³

This tendency of the narrative is reinforced by its structure: we must return here to our starting point, to the correspondences between the narrative of the Proitids and the foundation of Tiryns which it frames, and in particular to the point at which the narrative returns, after the foundation of Tiryns, to the outer story: ἐνθεν ἀπεσσύμεναι Προίτων κυανοπλόκαμοι φεῦγον ἄδματοι θυγάτρεις (82–4).

A preliminary point is that the departure (57 λιποῦσαι) of the Proitids now appears in a subtly new light, as departure from the town built for the men (61–2) after *their* departure (60, 81 λιπόντες) from Argos, a departure of ἄδματοι (84) from a town that is θεόδματος (58). The opposition between the sexes implicit in παλίντροπον νόημα now acquires a more public dimension: it seems to concern the whole πόλις. It is at this crucial stage in the narrative that we are plunged into the internal drama of Proitos, which constitutes yet another passage from crisis to resolution and so is in this respect analogous to the inner and the outer stories. Moreover, it mediates between the two, not just because Proitos is prominent in both of them, but also because his crisis shares features with both their crises (the quarrel between the brothers, the insult and frenzy of the Proitids). In all three cases there is a strange lack of internal restraint. The cause of the dreadful conflict at Argos is 'slight' (65). The ξείνα μέριμνα of Proitos has to be restrained by his soldiers. Like the quarrel at Argos, the passion of Proitos at Tiryns involves estrangement from kin. But at Tiryns the estrangement is from female kin, and so can be solved neither by fighting nor by separation. Consequently, what corresponds to the Argive διχοστασία ἀμετρόδικος is internal, psychological (87 δοίαξε means 'he was in two minds'), and so resembles the frenzy of his daughters—a resemblance brought out by the echo of παραπλήγι (45) in πλάξεν (86). Indeed, suicide in Greek myth is generally *female*.¹¹⁴

The mediation which the internal drama of Proitos performs between the outer (male) and the inner (female) story is not merely formal. It is dynamic, reinforcing the tendency of the narrative. Proitos' internal crisis is resolved by the αἰχμοφόροι, with the two characteristic activities of male citizens: persuasion and force (90 f.). The χαλκάσπιδες ἡμίθεοι of the inner (male) story (62) intervene decisively in the internal crisis of Proitos so as to set the outer (female) story on the way to the resolution of its crisis, with the result that whereas the conflict between males at Argos was resolved by division into cities, the division between the sexes at Tiryns is ended not by further political division, as in the excluded Melampous version, but by the eventual reincorporation of the females into the city whose foundation was the triumphant outcome of the inner story. In this respect it is the inner story that frames the outer: the male dominated unity of Tiryns is allowed to efface the various threats to it: male conflict, female frenzy, male loss of self-control. Not so easy to efface, and so excluded from the narrative, are the two opposite extremes, one at the very beginning and the other at the very end of the story:

¹¹¹ Cf. Levi-Strauss' principles that 'all available variants should be taken into account' and that 'mythical thought always progresses from the awareness of oppositions to their resolution', in 'The Structural Study of Myth' (*Structural Anthropology* [London 1968] 206 ff.).

¹¹² 65: see Maehler *ad loc.* Uncle-niece marriage is for the Greeks not necessarily opprobrious, but it is of course endogamous. Vernant ([n. 39] 59) calls Pandion, Cretheus, and Amythaon 'mythical models of . . . the epiklerate'.

¹¹³ Lact. Plac. ad *Theb.* iii 507. Cf. the name Nykteus (above): Antiope is sometimes called Nykteis (e.g. *Ov. Met.* vi III: cf. Apollod. iii 5.5). Oineus too married one daughter to a stranger (Herakles) and committed incest with another (Apollod. i 8.5).

¹¹⁴ See e.g. Maehler *ad loc.*; A. Katsouris in *Dioniso* xlvi (1976), 9. Ajax is an interesting exception that proves the rule (*S. Aj.* 669 ff. and esp. 651 ἐθηλύνθη στόμα).

Danae imprisoned through fear of her potential offspring and seduced by her uncle Proitos, and the division of Proitos' kingdom that resulted from the marriage of his daughters to outsiders.

6. *Epinician and Tragedy*

Alexidamos was deprived of his Olympic victory by the 'wandering wits' of the judges. This was a fundamental disruption of the epinician process, which (unlike more usual concomitants of victory such as πόνος, absence from home, and φθόνος)¹¹⁵ could not be effaced in the victory celebrations, for there was no victory. The Proitids myth, being about the loss of mental control in a fundamental disruption of the social order, is in this respect analogous to the error of the Olympic judges. And for the same reason it is attractive to Dionysos. But the disruption of the epinician process *was* eventually effaced by the Pythian victory celebrated in the ode, so that the myth cannot be told in the Dionysiac version. For the disruptive activity of Dionysos in myth is always successful. More appropriate is the version which, shaped by collective premarital cult, ends in the restoration of the male-dominated order of the *polis*.¹¹⁶ To the total disruption characteristic of Dionysos the closest parallel from the (male) athletic process is provided not by epinician celebrations but by the cult of athletes who were for some reason (the judges' decision, φθόνος) deprived of their victory or victory celebration, or slighted or punished in some way.¹¹⁷ Here the negative elements by which the epinician process is elsewhere threatened actually succeed in overcoming it, and the athlete is deprived permanently of his triumph and in some cases of his mortal existence as well. Consequently the community suffers a blight, from which it is eventually freed by the institution, on the advice of the Delphic oracle, of a cult in the athlete's honour. This pattern (offence, communal suffering, oracular advice to found a cult) is characteristic of the aetiology of *polis* festivals—one of numerous examples is the Athenian festival of Dionysos Eleuthereus (schol. Ar. *Ach.* 243). The epinician process here defines and affirms itself by a cult in which amends are made for the mythical or semi-mythical events of a tragic flavour¹¹⁸ by which the process was subverted.

Similarly, the *polis* was sometimes thought to have restored itself by instituting a cult in which it represents to itself (n. 83) the subversion of the process of *female* incorporation on which its continuity depends. It was in this kind of cult, celebrating the disruption achieved by Dionysos, that tragedy was created (at the festival of Dionysos Eleuthereus).¹¹⁹ It is accordingly above all with tragedy that we find the epinician version of the Proitids myth in the dialectical opposition described in the previous section, and not only with tragedy about Dionysos himself. This dialectical opposition I will now conclude by exploring in more detail, taking as examples¹²⁰ the *Bacchae* and the *Elektra* of Euripides.

The *Bacchae*, like earlier Dionysiac tragedy,¹²¹ celebrates the disruptive power of the god. Bacchylides' narrative of the Proitids myth, on the other hand, sets up dangers of a Dionysiac

¹¹⁵ These concomitants find mythical analogies in Pi. *Pyth.* 12, *Pyth.* 9, and *Nem.* 8.

¹¹⁶ Cf. vs. 10 ff. και νῦ[ν Μετ]απόντιον εὐγυίων κ[ατέ]χουσι νέων κῶμοι τε και εὐφροσύνη θεότιμον ἔστυ.

¹¹⁷ Kleomedes of Astypalaia, Oibotas of Dyme, Euthykles of Lokri, Theagenes of Thasos. Discussions by J. Fontenrose in *CSCA* 1 (1968) 73 ff.; K. Crotty, *Song and Action* (Baltimore and London 1982) 122 ff.

¹¹⁸ Though the athletes may be real, they have clearly acquired mythical features (see Fontenrose [n. 117] *passim*). 'Tragic': e.g. Kleomedes, deprived of his victory, goes mad, kills some innocent boys, is nearly killed by his fellow citizens, and vanishes mysteriously in a temple.

¹¹⁹ E.g. Seaford (n. 85) 10 ff. One of the respects in

which e.g. *E. Ba.* differs from the ritual itself is that the maenads (as well as the satyrs) are in fact a chorus of men. Only in the archaic period, before it gave birth to tragedy, was the Attic dithyramb sung (it seems) by women (G. Thomson, *Aeschylus and Athens* [London 1967] 171; Calame [n. 6] 152–3). The increased intrusion of men (*cf.* section 2, Kleobis and Biton) is a step forward both in the circumscription of the disruption and in the development of drama.

¹²⁰ Cf. also e.g. the maenadic themes in *E. HF.* and the successful subversion of wedding ritual in various tragedies: Seaford (n. 7).

¹²¹ *Ba.* was conservative in its treatment: Seaford in *CQ* xxxi (1981) 269. The earliest themes of tragedy were Dionysiac: Seaford (n. 85) 10 ff.

kind which are overcome in a pattern of events deriving from civic premarital ritual, and so stands in a dialectical relationship with Dionysiac disruption; tragic potential is created so as to be negated, the subversion of premarital ritual by Dionysiac ritual is reversed. The frenzy of the male (Proitos) is controlled, and he institutes a sacrifice in which animals take the place of his daughters. In the *Bacchae*, on the other hand, Pentheus, when urged to sacrifice to Dionysos, angrily threatens to sacrifice the maenads (795 f.), who include his kin; in fact of course it is Agaue who sacrifices, as 'priestess' (1114), her son; both victim and sacrificers are in the grip of Dionysiac madness; as is to be expected of a sacrifice performed entirely by females,¹²² all the norms of sacrifice are reversed in a picture of absolute disorder, with suggestions of hunting and cannibalism. But on the other hand, as Seidensticker has shown,¹²³ it resembles in numerous details a normal sacrifice.

One of these details does not quite fit. When the victim is torn apart, the maenads ἠλάλαζον (1133). Seidensticker in the interests of his parallelism plays down this difference: he concedes that the 'vox propria' in the sacrificial context is not ἀλαλάζω but ὀλολύζω. 'But the difference between the two parallel onomatopoeic words . . . is slight . . . Euripides may have preferred ἀλαλάζειν to ὀλολύζειν because it fits the situation of the hunt and is so close to ὀλολύζειν that the connotation of sacrifice cannot be missed' (p. 186 n. 27). However the difference is, in this context, of the essence. Whereas the ὀλολύγη is essentially and mainly a passive, *female* cry, notably in the sacrifice, the ἀλαλάγη belongs on the whole to the male, and has an active character, notably as a cry of triumph in war.¹²⁴ Seidensticker misses the irony that here is another, extraordinarily powerful expression of the maenadic assumption of male roles. Not only do they perform the sacrifice. They have become hunters—even warriors.¹²⁵ Where we expect the ὀλολύγη we find instead the ἀλαλάγη.

Another such expression has occurred earlier in the play, when the men who attempt to 'hunt' the maenads from the mountainside are themselves put to flight (714–68; cf. Pentheus' persistence at 819). The myth here reverses what seems to have been a common way of ending the period of autonomously female ritual, the pursuit of the errant women by men.¹²⁶ Melampous and his band of young men¹²⁷ chased the Proitids (and Argive women) from the mountains μετ' ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ τινος ἐνθέου χορείας (Apollod. ii 2.2). Lykourgos too shouted when pursuing Dionysos and his female followers from the mountainside (*Il.* vi 137; *S. Ant.* 962). The male cry of aggressive triumph (ἀλαλαγμός) was no doubt an important and striking element in the ritual re-establishment, which included pursuit, χορεία and perhaps also (n. 110) sacrifice, of male control. The version containing the physical conflict of the pursuit had to be excluded from Bacchylides' narrative. But he describes the Proitids, as they leave the town for the mountainside, as σμερδαλέαν φωνὰν ἰεῖσαι (56). The *primary* association of σμερδαλέαν is not, *pace* Burnett (see section 1), with 'beasts', but with *warfare*. σμερδαλέος of the voice is confined largely to epic, and refers elsewhere exclusively (so far as I know) to the *male* voice, and

¹²² For the Greeks sacrifice should be performed by the male sex. The tendency for the exceptions to be imagined as horrible (M. Detienne, 'Violentes "eugénies"' in *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec* [edd. M. Detienne, J.-P. Vernant, Paris 1979] 183 ff.) is exemplified by Dionysiac myths (M. Daraki in *RGHR* cxvii (1980) 131 ff.). And in practice the exceptions are mainly Dionysiac (Detienne 203; D.S. iv 3. 2–3; Pausan. ii 20.3; Ps. Dem. *Neair.* lix 73; etc.).

¹²³ In *Arktouros: studies presented to B. M. W. Knox* (ed. G. Bowersock, Berlin and New York 1979) 181 ff.

¹²⁴ See L. Deubner's excellent 'Ololyge und Verwandtes', *APAW* i (Berlin 1941).

¹²⁵ The irony may be deepened by the fact that the female ('sacrificial') ὀλολύγη did also have a role in warfare (θάρσος φίλοις: A. *Sept.* 267–70). But as

Odysseus says to Eurykleia, ἴσχεο μηδ' ὀλόλυζε. / οὐχ ὀσίη κταμένοισιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν εὐχετάσθαι (*Od.* xxii 411). Maenads appear as hunters in Attic vase-painting (see e.g. Edwards [n. 64]).

¹²⁶ Burkert (n. 7) 172–9. Although even Dionysiac subversion had to be brought to an end (for all ritual must end well), it is interesting that even the pursuit was said to have once ended in disaster, at Orchomenos (*Plut. Mor.* 299–300).

¹²⁷ This was probably envisaged as an ephebic hunt, in which the Proitids were imagined as animals (cf. section 1); cf. E. *Ba.* 719. For the ephebic hunt envisaged as erotic see Sourvinou-Inwood (n. 3). Cf. also myths such as that of Atalanta. For pursuit as a way of ending the initiation rite see H. Jeanmaire *Couroi et courètes* (Lille 1939) 179, 222–3, 235.

in particular to the war-cry.¹²⁸ Bacchylides then proceeds immediately to the corresponding departure of the warriors, ten years earlier, from Argos: λιπόντες Ἄργος ναῖον (Tiryns) ἀδεισιβόαι χαλκάσπιδες ἡμίθεοι κτλ. Ἄδεισιβόαι¹²⁹ picks up σμερδαλέαν φωνάν, and thereby prefigures the decisive role played by the warriors in the control of Proitos' internal crisis as the first step in the restoration of the male-dominated unity.

My second example is Euripides' *Elektra*. Having argued earlier that Bacchylides' narrative negates its own Dionysiac features in a pattern shared with the Argive Heraia I will now look at how the Argive Heraia is used in the Dionysiac pattern of tragedy.

Elektra rejects the chorus' invitation to participate in the Heraia (*El.* 171–212). From a Zeitlin has demonstrated in detail how 'Euripides seems to have used the events of the actual festival as an ironic counterpoint to the mythos of the play', so that e.g. sacrifice and marriage, present in regular or paradigmatic form in the worship of Hera in the festival, are in the dramatic conflict heavily distorted.¹³⁰ From our perspective we need to add a further point. If we are right in believing that the Heraia was a preparation for marriage, then it functions in the play not just as 'an exemplar of ritual regularity and proper cult worship'¹³¹ but as a normal *process*, from which *Elektra* must, abnormally, exclude herself. Similarly, her sister Iphigeneia, in the distant service of Artemis, complains bitterly of being without husband or *polis*, and in the same breath complains of being absent from the Argive Heraia (*IT* 220 ff., quoted n. 43).

Elektra has been married off to a peasant, who has respectfully left her a virgin. The position forced on her is not just an exclusion from but a systematic *negation* of the process by which girls are incorporated into the *polis* for marriage to citizens. In rejecting the chorus' invitation to the Heraia she sings of her constant mourning, despairs of any prospect of release, and describes herself as δωμάτων φυγᾶς πατρίων οὐρείας ἀν' ἐρίπνας (209 f.). As an Argive virgin, she should indeed attend the Heraia, as a preparation for marriage. But she is excluded from the rituals of maidens, and at the same time does not belong to the married women (320 f.).¹³² She has, like the Proitids, left her father's house for the mountainous margin (96) of the land, where her prospect is of permanent virginity and permanent liminality.¹³³ This antithesis to the process represented by the Heraia was clearly felt to be important, because it could be achieved only at the cost of a lack of realism: although *Elektra*'s marginal location requires that she be married to a peasant, the chorus invite her to the Heraia as the virgin that in fact (though they could hardly know it) she is: πάσαι δὲ παρ' Ἡραν μέλλουσιν παρθενικαὶ στείχειν.¹³⁴

In the end of course *Elektra* is released from this state. But the release does not reincorporate her into Argos. Her instigation of (647, 1204 f., etc.), and participation in (1224–6), the sacrifice (1141 ff., 1222) of her mother makes the prospect of marriage recede still further. The deed is followed immediately by remorse: ποῖ δ' ἐγώ, τίς ἐξ χορόν, τίνα γάμον εἶμι; τίς πόσις . . . ; (1198 ff.). The chorus reply by describing her mental change in terms reminiscent of the mental shifts, in the *Bacchae*, of Pentheus and, more significantly, of Agaue after sacrificing her son: πάλιν πάλιν φρόνημα σὸν μετεστάθη πρὸς αὔραν.¹³⁵ φρονεῖς γὰρ ὅσια νῦν, τότ' οὐ φρονοῦσα¹³⁶ (1201–4). And indeed the play ends like the *Bacchae*: the divine pronouncement *ex machina* is obeyed in the final tearful dispersal, with farewells to house and πόλις, of the guilty family. Kastor orders the permanent exile of Orestes, and of *Elektra* (as wife to Pylades in Phokis). The prospect of marriage with an outsider effects *Elektra* only negatively: she insists

¹²⁸ E.g. *Il.* v 309, viii 92; Hes. *Scut.* 341; A.R. ii 1206.

¹²⁹ This adjective occurs elsewhere only at Bacchyl. 5.155, again in contrast with loss of male self-control.

¹³⁰ Zeitlin in *TAPA* ci (1970) 645–69.

¹³¹ 'against which the distorted rituals of the play could be measured', Zeitlin 669.

¹³² ἀνέορτος ἱερῶν καὶ χορῶν τητωμένη / ἀναίνομαι γυναικῶν οὐσα παρθένος. This *isolated* (bridal) liminality (Seaford in *CQ* xxxv [1985] 319) excludes even Dionysiac imagery.

¹³³ Cf. in this respect Sophocles' *Elektra* (Seaford [n. 132]), who aspires to the state of Procne (145 ff.; cf. n. 76 above).

¹³⁴ The marriage with the peasant is ignored also at 948 f., 1198 f., 1249, etc.; *Elektra* a virgin: 44.

¹³⁵ Cf. *Ba.* 1270 μετασταθεῖσα τῶν πάρος φρενῶν, 1123; also (of Pentheus) 944.

¹³⁶ Cf. *Ba.* 947 f. τὰς δὲ πρὶν φρένας οὐχ εἶχες ὑγιεῖς, νῦν δ' ἔχεις ὄσας σε δεῖ, cf. 851, 853, 502.

that there is nothing worse than leaving your country,¹³⁷ and then refers to the siblings' enforced departure from their paternal house with a verb (διαζεύγνυμι) ironically suggestive of the 'unyoking' of marriage.¹³⁸ The process represented by the Argive Heraia is in the end tragically negated; and the royal house disintegrates even more disastrously than it did at the hands of Melampous.¹³⁹

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¹³⁷ 1314 f.; cf. also 1334 f. ὦ χαῖρε πόλις κτλ.; Agaue at *Ba.* 1368 f. χαῖρ' ὦ μέλαθρον, χαῖρ' ὦ πατρία πόλις.

¹³⁸ 1323. Elsewhere in tragedy only at *E. Tro.* 669 (of marriage); of marriage also at e.g. *Plat. Leg.* 784b; *Arist. Pol.* 1272a23; *Chariton* viii 16; *Ph.* ii 311.

¹³⁹ This paper is an extended version of a lecture delivered at the Universities of Harvard and Ioannina in 1987. I would like to thank all those who contributed to the subsequent discussion.