

## EVIDENCE FOR MARRIAGE RITUAL IN *ILIAD* 3\*

The purpose of this article is to investigate the details related to the wedding pattern found at the end of *Iliad* Book 3. My aim is to present the main points which construct this wedding pattern as well as to explain its presence.

The first of the main themes of the above Book is the arrangement of the duel between Paris and Menelaos. Helen will be the reward-prize —or rather the punishment<sup>1</sup>. She is the central figure of the next main theme, the Teichoskopia, which is one of the re-enacting scenes as Book 3 is «a re-enactment of the original cause of the war»<sup>2</sup>. An *agon* connected with marriage is not a rare theme in Greek mythology<sup>3</sup>. Its prototype is found in the myth of Danaos who married his daughters by setting the suitors a race. It is he, according to Pausanias, that Ikarios imitated as far as Penelope's suitors were concerned; he set a race for them of which Odysseus was the winner (Paus. 3.12.1-2; cf. 3.20.9-11). An *agon* is connected with Helen's marriage too; lists of her suitors are known from Hesiod onwards

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1. For Helen as a reward-prize see *Il.* 3. 71-2: «ὀππότερος δέ κε νικήσῃ κρείσσων τε γένηται, / κτήμαθ' ἑλών εἶ πάντα γυναῖκά τε οἴκαδ' ἀγέσθω»; cf. *ibid.*, 90-4; she is, however, regarded as a punishment for those who possess her: see *Il.* 3. 159-60: «ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς τοῖη περ' εὐσοῖ' ἐν νηυσὶ νεέσθω, / μηδ' ἡμῖν τεκέεσσι τ' ὀπίσσω πῆμα λίποιτο».

2. M. W. Edwards, *Homer. Poet of the Iliad*, Baltimore and London 1987 (hereafter, Edwards, *Homer*), 188-9. For the duel as the adaptation by the poet of a traditional theme of a marriage contest, for introducing Helen as well as for providing information about the previous years of the war, see N. Postlethwaite, 'The Duel of Paris and Menelaos and the Teichoskopia in *Iliad* 3', *Antichthon* 19 (1985), 1-6.

3. See J. Th. Kakridis, *Homer revisited*, Lund 1971, 33 ff.; W. Burkert, *Homo Necans. The Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1983 (English trans. of *Homo Necans. Interpretationen altgriechischer Opferriten und Mythen*, Berlin 1972), 61 note 13.



(*Catalogue of Women* (M.-W. 204); Apollod. 3.10. 8-9; cf. Hygin. *Fab.* 81)<sup>1</sup>. However, though the existing evidence does not allow us to reconstruct the original context and the details of this theme, Homer's account reflects to some extent the existence of such a theme<sup>2</sup>, which probably originated from pre-Homeric times.

The 're-enacting scenes' of *Iliad* 3 are seen as reminiscences of the original cause of the war; they are echoes of the original circumstances under which the abduction of Helen took place<sup>3</sup>. Even the admiration of her beauty by the old men of Troy, now in the last year of the war and after she had been among them for so long, recalls the original cause of the abduction and the judgement of Paris. Helen's famous beauty is admirably described here and is compared to that of goddesses<sup>4</sup>; but at the same time the old men complain

1. Cf. Schol. *Il.* 19. 240 (ed. H. Erbse, *Scholia Graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, Berlin 1975, vol. IV, p. 621): «... ὡς φησιν Ἡσίοδος καταλέγων τοὺς μνηστῆρας Ἑλένης». For Helen's suitors see M. L. West, *The Hesiodic Catalogue of Women*, Oxford 1985, 114-21; see also J.-P. Vernant, 'Le mariage', in *Mythe et société en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1974, 75 (= 'Le mariage en Grèce archaïque', *PP* 28 (1973), 51-74). Though there is no evidence of the existence of a pre-Homeric Catalogue of Helen's suitors, it is probable that it was known to Homer that Odysseus was one of them (*Od.* 4. 242 ff.; cf. Apollod. *Libr.* 3.10. 8-9). See also Linda Lee Clader, *Helen. The evolution from divine to heroic in Greek epic tradition*, Leiden 1976 (hereafter, Clader, *Helen*), 10, for the view that Helen's account of the Achaean heroes alludes to the existence of an Homeric Catalogue of her suitors, identified with the Hesiodic one; cf. also M. Finkelberg, 'Ajax's Entry in the Hesiodic Catalogue of Women', *CQ* n. s. 38(i) (1988), 31-2.

2. *Od.* 21. 63 ff. and 350 ff. obviously remind us of a contest for the winning of a bride: see esp. *ibid.*, 73 ff.: «ἀλλ' ἄγετε, μνηστῆρες, ἐπεὶ τόδε φαίνεται ἄεθλον / θήσω γὰρ μέγα τόξον Ὀδυσσεύος θελοῖο / δὲ δέ κε ζητήται ἐντανύση βίον ἐν παλάμησι / καὶ διοττεύση πελέκειον δυοκαίδεκα πάντων, / τῷ κεν ἄμ' ἐσποίμην νοσφισσαμένη τόδε δῶμα»; cf. M. I. Finley, 'Marriage, sale and gift in the Homeric World' in *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece*, London 1981, 234.

3. Clader, *Helen*, 6 f.

4. The tradition that establishes Helen as the symbol of female beauty is first found in Homer. The same tradition is also known from the *Cypria* where Achilles prevents the Achaeans from leaving Troy because he caught sight of Helen and was impressed by her beauty (Procli *Chrestom.* (Allen, p. 105, 7-10); while in *Ilias Parva* (fr. 17 (Allen): Ar. *Lys.* 155; cf. *Ibyc.* 296 *PMG*: Schol. E. *Andr.* 630 (Schwartz)), Menelaos drops his sword in seeing Helen's beauty though he was ready to kill her. Stesichorus' version (201 *PMG*: Schol. E. *Or.* 1287) presents the Achaeans giving up their decision to stone Helen to death after they witnessed of her beauty. See also Hdt. 6. 61 and Paus. 3. 7. 7 for Helen's attribute as a goddess-protectress of female beauty. However, it seems that the myth of Helen as the most beautiful woman of ancient Greece somehow influenced if not the

for the griefs her presence has brought to the city of Troy<sup>1</sup>:

«οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐϋκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς  
τοιγῆδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὸν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·  
αἰνῶς ἀθανάτησι θεῆς εἰς ὧπα ἔοικεν·  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧς τοίη περ' εὐσοῖ' ἐν νηυσὶ νεέσθω,  
μηδ' ἡμῖν τεκέεσσι τ' ὀπίσσω πῆμα λίποιτο.»

(*Il.* 3.156-60).

In the above, the fatal function of beauty leads to *eris* whence war and strife come<sup>2</sup>. Πῆμα and ἄλγεα πάσχειν, as well as line 158, directly suggest the destructive nature of the extraordinary beauty which is meaningfully developed in lines 159-60. This nature is strongly expressed by the simile employed here, αἰνῶς ἀθανάτησι θεῆς εἰς ὧπα ἔοικεν, where αἰνῶς means «exceedingly» as well as «so much as to bring disaster»; it has the meaning of a dangerous extremeness<sup>3</sup>.

The duel between Paris and Menelaos takes place after an oath-sacrifice. But when Menelaos seems to have won the fight Aphrodite intervenes and rescues Paris bringing him to his bedchamber. Thus, there was no outcome of the *agon* and the fight for Helen and Troy has to continue. Soon after the end of the *agon*, Aphrodite appears to Helen disguised as an old woman from Lakedaimon who had accompanied her to Troy. She found her «πύργῳ ἐφ' ὑψηλῶ, περὶ δὲ Τρῳαὶ ἄλις ἦσαν», «on a high tower and the Trojan Women were round about her in throngs» (*Il.* 3. 384, Loeb trans.). Aphrodite's tone towards Helen is rather imperative: «δεῦρ' ἴθι· Ἀλέξανδρός σε καλεῖ οἰκόνδε νεέσθαι» (*Il.* 3. 390). She then goes on to emphasize the glamorous beauty of Alexandros, who looked as though he were off to a dance or has just come from one: «You couldn't say that he has just come from a fight» (l. 393)<sup>4</sup>.

formation at least the development of the tradition regarding the famous beauty of the women of Sparta; but see P. Cartledge, 'Spartan Wives: Liberation or licence?', *GQ* 31(1981), 93: «It might, however, also be argued that a by-product of her vigorous open-air existence in the demanding Spartan climate was the far-famed beauty of Spartan women».

1. Cf. Edwards, *Homer*, 191 ff.; Kakridis, *op. cit.*, 37. For the function of female beauty in Homer see also E. Cantarella, *Pandora's Daughters. The Role and Status of women in Greek and Roman Antiquity*, Baltimore and London 1987 (Engl. trans. of *L'ambiguo malanno*, Rome 1981), 26 ff.

2. See *Il.* 3. 351-4; 13.621-5. See also Cantarella, *op. cit.*, 34 f., for the association of evil and beauty in Pandora's figure.

3. Cf. Clader, *Helen*, 12, 23, 40: «she is the goal of the war ... the goal is beautiful, but at the same time destructive».

4. At the same time we see here a contrast between the arts of war and those of peace. The *χορός* belongs to the latter which Paris represents while the deeds of



Even if this description is designed by Aphrodite to persuade Helen to join Paris, his charming disposition as a dancer does not easily fit in the scene of a warrior who has just returned from a fight. Helen's reaction is against Aphrodite's will. Her final words assume the meaning of a social outcry:

«κεῖσε δ' ἐγὼν οὐκ εἶμι -νεμεσσητὸν δέ κεν εἴη-  
κείνου πορσανέουσα λέχος· Τρῳαὶ δέ μ' ὀπίσσω  
πᾶσαι μωμήσονται· ἔχω δ' ἄχε' ἄκοιτα θυμῶ»:

«I will not go there [sc. to his bedroom] -it would be wrong- lying in that man's bed; the Trojan women will blame me for it; I have infinite griefs in my heart» (*Il.* 3.410-2)<sup>1</sup>.

However, Aphrodite's power is strongly manifested here. Her threats finally convince -or compel- Helen to follow her to Paris' chamber. The heroine is a personification of some of the goddess' attributes, e.g. of the desire which belongs to Aphrodite's main spheres of power. And this is exactly what the goddess offers Paris in the myth of the judgement: success in erotic seduction (cf. Procl. *Chrest.* (Allen, p. 102, 17-9): «καὶ προκρίνει τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐπαρθεὶς τοῖς Ἑλένης γάμοις Ἀλέξανδρος»). The same is clearly stated by Euripides, (*IA* 1300 ff.), that «Cypris boasted of desire»<sup>2</sup>. The intervention of Aphrodite -she is very often blamed by Helen as being responsible for her original seduction- is an essential point for understanding the problem concerning the heroine's moral behaviour and the degree of her responsibility. However, in the above scenes, acts and words function as reminiscences of the past, as re-enacting the past itself<sup>3</sup>.

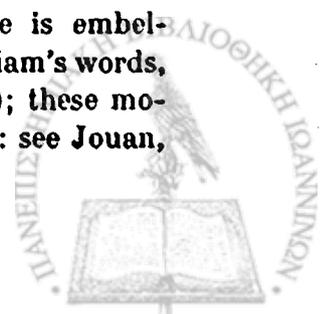
The above scene, apart from being a reminiscence of the original seduction, implies also that Helen's free will was impelled by

his brother Hektor belong to the former; he represents the world of war: D. Boedeker, *Aphrodite's entry into Greek epic*, (*Mnemosyne Suppl.* 32), Leiden 1974, 54 f.; cf. L. Collins, 'The Wrath of Paris: Ethical Vocabulary and Ethical Type in the *Iliad*', *AJPh* 108.2 (1987), 231 and n. 26.

1. G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. 1: Books 1-4, Cambridge 1985 (hereafter, Kirk, *The Iliad*), 324.

2. See J.-P. Vernant, 'Le mariage', *op. cit.*, 78. See also F. Jouan, *Euripide et les légendes des chants Cypriens*, Paris 1966, 169 ff., for an examination of the gods' role and responsibility, especially that of Aphrodite, and the influence of the judgement of the three goddesses upon the abduction of Helen, with special reference to Euripides.

3. See Edwards, *Homer*, (*passim*). That is, the abduction theme is embellished by the two main motifs: that of the responsibility of gods, in Priam's words, and the beauty motif which refers to Helen as well as to Paris (*Iliad* 3); these motifs recur often in later literature, e. g. in the *Cypria* and the tragedy: see Jouan, *op. cit.*, 169 ff.



divine intervention, that of Aphrodite. Thus, she was carried off by force, conceived as a power personified by Aphrodite and imposed upon her by the goddess<sup>1</sup>, just as the epic tradition had inherited. This is perhaps the meaning of Priam's saying that Helen is not guilty, *αἰτίη*, but the gods are responsible (*Il.* 3.164-5). On the other hand the concept of adultery, though indirectly presented, is pre-eminent in the epic; Homer does not allow us to forget throughout his poems that «Helen is the cause and even the living symbol of a terrible war»<sup>2</sup>.

ᾠς ἔφατ', ἔδεισεν δ' Ἑλένη Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα,  
βῆ δὲ κατασχομένη ἐανῶ ἀργῆτι φαεινῶ  
σιγῆ, πάσας δὲ Τρωὰς λάθην ἦρχε δὲ δαίμων.  
(*Il.* 3. 418-20).

Helen leaves the Walls of Troy «in silence, escaping the attention of the Trojan women, escorted by the goddess» (l. 420). The following scene, that of her union with Paris, takes the form of a re-abduction, re-union, and re-marriage. Certain features of it recall the original seduction to which they refer in terms of a marriage ritual. Thus, their conception may derive from specific parts of the wedding ritual applied to the Homeric society. First is the presence of Aphrodite with the bride. She has already acted as a persuader, a role applied to her in connection with other weddings too, divine as well as those of mortals. The goddess is very often represented in classical art together with a bride and Peitho<sup>3</sup>. Helen hesitates in joining Paris. The psychological complexity, however, of her reaction towards Aphrodite's compulsion to join him cannot sufficiently explain her anxiety to escape the attention of the women of Troy. Here Helen is regarded as the lawful wife of Paris, and this is implied not only by

1. On Aphrodite's attribute of inflicting *ἡμερος*, i.e. sexual desire on others, see Boedeker, *op. cit.*, 34 ff. Alkaios, (283. 3-6 (L.-P.)), is explicit in one of his fragments about the desire which was enjoined upon Helen: «κάλενας ἐν στήθ[ε]σιν [ἐ]-π[ι]ράισ- / θῆμον Ἄργελας Τροίῳ δ[.]αν[ / ἐκμάνεισα ξ[ε.]ναπάτα πιπ[ / ἔσπετο νᾶλ.» On Aphrodite's influence on Helen's acts see also Jouan, *op. cit.*, 171 ff., and esp. 51: «D'Homère à Eschyle, les poètes, même s'ils la malmenaient, n'oubliaient pas qu'elle n'était, dans une large mesure, qu'un instrument irresponsable».

2. Clader, *Helen*, 23.

3. See R. Seaford, 'The tragic wedding', *JHS* 107 (1987), 116-7. See also R. G.A. Buxton, *Persuasion in Greek tragedy. A Study of Peitho*, Cambridge, 1982, 31, 37-8, 45-6 and plates 2(a), 2(b), 3, for Helen's association with Peitho and Aphrodite.



Priam's behaviour towards her but also by that of other Trojans<sup>1</sup>. It is, thus, surprising that wrapping herself in her mantle Helen moved in silence (lines 418-20). Though the whole scene remains unexplained it seems more likely that this is a re-enacting scene of the abduction, or rather of its preliminary stages.

«Veiling and silence»<sup>2</sup> are the two prominent themes in the above lines. They define the following scene, the re-marriage of Helen and Paris. Although the existing evidence does not specify exactly the nature of *ἔανός*, the epithets by which it is qualified in the Homeric text imply that it was of fine quality. It was rather a delicate garment worn by goddesses and women of high rank. Three out of the five references to *ἔανός* in the *Iliad* refer to a goddess' dress -that of Athena, Artemis and Hera- and the others to that of Helen<sup>3</sup>.

The *ἔανός* that Helen wears shines: *ἔανῶ ἀργῆτι φαεινῶ* (*Il.* 3. 419). The brightness of her garment is used here to emphasize the luxury, the quality, and even the appropriateness of the dress to a heroine equal to goddesses, rather than to render her invisibility. Because, it does not seem that such a shining garment could ensure the invisibility of the person that is wearing it<sup>4</sup>. A similar *ἀμβροσίος ἔανός*, made by Athena, is worn by Hera before her union with Zeus (*Il.* 14. 178). Helen's *ἔανός* is here, (*l.* 419), a veil rather than any other sort of garment. It functions as an adjectival noun and seems to denote that sort of clothing which is very often shown in art representations, especially in wedding scenes<sup>5</sup>. It usually covers the head and delicately folded, wraps the whole body. It drapes over the dress. The mean-

1. See Vernant, 'Le mariage', *op. cit.*, 69 f. on the possibility of the case of Helen in Troy as reflecting the Spartan custom of double marriages, a possibility which remains doubtful if not completely unlikely. Cf. Finley, *op. cit.*, 290 n. 8: «It is well established that the relationship between Helen and Paris was a legitimate marriage in every sense». But see also Seaford, 'The tragic wedding', 123 n. 174. On marriage in Sparta see Cartledge, *art. cit.*, 93 ff.; St. Hodkinson, 'Land tenure and inheritance in classical Sparta', *CQ* n.s. 36.2 (1986), 392 ff., 398 ff.; D. M. MacDowell, *Spartan Law*, Edinburgh and London 1986, 71-88 (ch. iv: 'Women and marriage'), and A. Powell, *Athens and Sparta. Constructing Greek Political and Social History from 478 B.C.*, London 1988, 242-6.

2. This phrase is adapted from R. Buxton's article, 'Euripides' Alkestis: five aspects of an interpretation', *Δωδώνη* 14.2 (1985), 81.

3. *Il.* 3.385, 419; 14. 178; 16.9; 21. 507; see also H.L. Lorimer, *Homer and the monuments*, London 1950, 385 ff. for a discussion of the Homeric evidence about this garment.

4. On Helen's *ἔανός* see Clader, *Helen*, 57-61.

5. See below, pp. 54, n. 4, 56 n. 5, 58 n. 3.



ing of *ἔανός* as a veil is strengthened by the presence of the aorist participle *κατασχομένη* in the same line (3. 419)= «drew down» her shining garment/veil, perhaps to cover part of her face so as to elude observation or rather identification. Though without covering her face she must have been wearing her veil during her presence on the Walls of Troy. A similar expression in line 141 refers to another garment worn by Helen as she rushes to the Walls:

«*αὐτίκα δ' ἀργεννήσι καλυψαμένη ὀθόνησιν*» where *καλυψαμένη* means «wraps herself» but *ὀθόνη*, while here probably assume a function similar to that of a veil<sup>1</sup>, elsewhere in the *Iliad* appear as dresses; in Σ 595 *ὀθόνη* are worn by the *παρθένοι* who dance in Knossos in honour of Ariadne, a scene depicted by Hephaestus on the shield of Achilles<sup>2</sup>.

A similar expression is also employed by Hesiod and refers to Pandora's clothing:

... *κατὰ κρηθεν δὲ καλύπτρην  
δαυδαλέην χεῖρεσσι κατέσχεθε, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι*

(Hes. *Th.* 574-5)<sup>3</sup>.

In the case of Pandora it is the goddess Athena who «draws down» the maiden's veil with her own hands. However, Pandora is the bride, she is sent to Epimetheus for marriage. So is Helen. But in her case it is Aphrodite who escorts her, or rather leads her to Paris. She, too, is the bride; though hers is a re-marriage.

Helen is led veiled to Alexandros' *oikos-domos*<sup>4</sup>: «*Αἶ δ' ἔτ' Ἀλεξάνδροιο δόμον περικαλλέ' ἴκοντο*» (3. 421). After a Homeric mar-

1. Cf. M.L. West, *Hesiod Theogony*, Oxford 1966, 327: «Various other verbs are used of putting on veils: *καλύπτεσθαι, περιβάλλεσθαι, ἐπιτιθέναι*».

2. See Lorimer, *op. cit.*, 390 note 3: «*ὀθόνη*, however, in Σ 595 correspond to the chitons of the men and are certainly the dresses of the girls, not veils, which would be discarded for the dance».

3. «*κατὰ κρηθεν*», has the meaning «down over the head»: West, *op. cit.*, 326 and also commentary *ad vv.* 574-5.

4. Cf. R. Buxton, 'Euripides' *Alkestis*', *art. cit.*, 79-80: «A veil often marks out an individual who is in a marginal or transitional state ... That the bridal veil signals a transition is evident enough; but there is uncertainty over details». For marriage as marking a woman's transference from *parthenos* to *gyne*, or from unmarried to the married life-status, but also from one kinship group to another, see Ian Jenkins, 'Is there life after marriage? A study of the abduction motif in vase-paintings of the Athenian wedding ceremony', *BICS* 30 (1983), 139 ff.; see also Chr. Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Altars with Palm-trees, Palm-trees and Parthenoi', *BICS* 32 (1985), 125-46, esp. 136; Seaford, 'The tragic wedding', 106-30. On Artemis as the protectress goddess of the above transitions see H. King, 'Bound to bleed:



riage, the bride usually moved to her husband's house. Helen remained veiled and silent until she arrived at Paris' bedchamber. She stayed silent until Aphrodite placed a chair for her so she could sit facing Paris although she averted her eyes: «ὄσσε πάλιν κλίνασα» (l. 427). However, the above elements can acquire a different meaning in the whole context of verses 418-27 representing thus a reflection of actual wedding rites.

The ritual significance of «veiling and silence» is well attested in ancient Greece and had to do with marriage and death. Buxton<sup>1</sup> suggested that when the bride was veiled before the *Anakalypteria*, she probably «had to keep silent, being restored to normal communication only after the unveiling». Avoidance of eye-contact with men is a gesture of *aidos*, of the erotic «shame»; so is the pulling of the veil across a woman's face<sup>2</sup>. Accordingly, to cast off a veil or to unveil a woman's face is a violation of *aidos*<sup>3</sup>.

The gesture of *aidos* is very often shown in art representations of the wedding ceremony some of which are associated with the wedding of Helen and Paris or the abduction represented as an actual wedding<sup>4</sup>. It is a gesture of shyness on behalf of the bride who is still

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Artemis and Greek women', in A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt, eds, *Images of Women in Antiquity*, London 1983, 109-27 and Chr. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Studies in Girls' transitions. Aspects of the arkteia and age representations in Attic iconography*, Athens 1988 (*passim*).

1. *Art. cit.*, 62 and Pollux's (3.36) evidence for the *προσφθεγκτήρια*, «gifts of salutation», an alternative name for the *Anakalypteria* gifts. «Veiling and silence» is also connected with people who are in a state of pollution; see *ibid.*, 81.

2. See Anne Carson, *Eros. The bittersweet*, Princeton, New Jersey 1986, 20-5; cf. D. A. Armstrong and E. A. Ratchford, 'Iphigenia's veil: Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* 228-48', *BICS* 32 (1985), 6 ff. with notes. Evidence for such elements in the marriage ritual, mainly from Lucian and Pausanias, is cited by J. Toutain in a very interesting article entitled 'Le rite nuptial de l'anakalypteron', *REA* 42 (1940), 345-53.

3. Cf. Seaford, 'The tragic wedding', 113, 124 f.; see also H.P. Foley, 'Marriage and Sacrifice in Euripides' *Iphigeneia in Aulis*', *Arethusa* 15. 1,2 (1982), 159-80, for examples where «the violence of the transition to marriage» is emphasized in Greek tragedy.

4. See *LIMC* (*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Graecae*, s.v. Alexandros) I.1, 512 (no. 67) and I.2, 389 (no. 67); see also L.B. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène*, Paris 1955, I, 117-8; no. 112; II, pl. 40, 1. For the gesture of *aidos* again related to Helen see *LIMC* I. 1, 506-7 (no 52). Other scenes of vase-paintings represent Helen and Paris, Aphrodite, Himeros or Eros, Peitho and sometimes Nemesis, all figures directly or metaphorically related to the above discussed scene of *Iliad* 3; see *LIMC* I.1, 505-8 (nos 45-55), or refer to Helen's

reluctant to reveal her whole face in public. An image of *Aidos*—Modesty—was set up by Ikarios at the place where Penelope veiled herself (Paus. 3.20. 10-11). When she was asked to stay behind with him she remained silent and covered her face with her veil (*ἐγκαλυψαμένης δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα*: Paus. 3.20.11), showing that she wished to leave with Odysseus, that she preferred the married status. Thus, «veiling and silence» bear out, in this case too, their significance in the marriage ritual. In general both terms refer to symbolic expressions of modesty; accordingly, obscenity in language is interpreted as an unveiling, that is a revelation of words<sup>1</sup>.

In the actions of Helen and Aphrodite a real-life ritual seems to be reflected. Helen sits on the chair that Aphrodite has brought for her and shyly «casts her eyes downwards» (*ὄσσε πάλιν κλίνασα*: l. 427), «just as one might expect of a chaste, young bride revealed to her new husband for the first time»<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, it is possible that here the first sexual-erotic attraction by exchanging of glances is implied (cf. E. *IA* 583-6: «...Ἑλένας / ἐν ἀντωποῖς βλεφάροισιν / ἔρωτα τ' ἔδωκας, / ἔρωτι δ' αὐτὸς ἐπτοάθης»). It must be after her unveiling that Helen addresses Paris. The *Ἑλένης ἀνακαλυπτήρια* is most probably represented on an archaic bronze mitra of the first quarter of the seventh century from Olympia. It shows a female figure, most probably Helen, who reveals her face before a male figure by lifting her veil. The male figure is Menelaos or, according to other interpre-

abduction by Paris: *ibid.*, 508-12 (nos 56-66), and Ghali-Kahil, *op. cit.*, (*passim*). For abduction scenes represented as actual weddings see J. Boardman, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic period*, London 1975 (repr. 1985), 231 and fig. 308.1: *LIMC* I.1, 511 (no. 64); I.2, 388 (no 64), and Jenkins, *art. cit.*, 138 f. with pl. 18 a. In scenes of her recovery by Menelaos, Helen is shown holding her veil over the head, in the familiar gesture of partial veiling; some of these scenes have been variously interpreted, e.g. as representing her abduction by Paris: see J. Boardman, 'Old Smyrna: The Attic Pottery', *BSA* 53-4 (1958-59), 158-62; D. Von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and his World. Vase-painting in sixth-century B.C. Athens*, New York-London 1985, no 14 (pp. 102-3); cf. 48, fig. 43a for the scene of Menelaos and Helen on a panel-amphora of type B. See also J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases. A Handbook*, London 1974, 231 and figs 67, 90.

1. See S. Goldhill, 'The Dance of the Veils: Reading Five Fragments of Anacreon', *Eranos* 85 (1987), 15, 18. See also P. Walcot, 'Romantic love and true love: Greek attitudes to marriage', *Ancient Society* 18 (1987), 22, for «γλώσσης τε σιγῆν» (E. *Tro.* 654) as a mark of modesty on behalf of a wife, as the case of Andromache was.

2. See J. H. Oakley, 'The Anakalypteria', *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, (1982), 116. See also M. Ellen Mayo, 'The gesture of Anakalypsis', *AJA* 77 (1973), 220.



tations, Alexandros-Paris because his appearance agrees with Homer's description of him as a dancer<sup>1</sup>. To the ritual unveiling of the bride Helen, according to Seaford<sup>2</sup>, refer lines 690-2 in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*; the phrase «ἐκ ... προκαλυμμάτων» alludes to the ritual unveiling of the bride: «(Helen) ἐκ τῶν ἀβροπῆγων / προκαλυμμάτων ἔπλευσεν»: «she sailed from out of the veil».

It is after the *anakalypsis*, i.e. the ritual unveiling of the bride, that the exchange of the first direct glances between the groom and the bride takes place; this has been interpreted as the «moment of consent in the marriage»<sup>3</sup>, when the new couple looked at each other and spoke to each other. Therefore, the *anakalypteria* were also called ὀπτήρια, θεώρε(η)τρα, ἀθρήματα and also προσφθεγκτήρια<sup>4</sup>. According to the literary sources the task of dressing the bride and probably of unveiling her was entrusted to the νυμφεύτρια (Hsch. s.v. νυμφεύτρια and νυμφοκόμος; Pollux 3. 41)<sup>5</sup>. In the case of Helen it is Aphrodite who performs this role: as previously stated she leads the heroine to Paris' bedchamber and arranges seats so as both are able to see each other<sup>6</sup>. Sappho's fr. 31 may also provide some further e-

1. See E. Walter-Καρύδη, «Ἑλένης ἀνακαλυπτήρια», *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 22 (1970), 316-21; K. Schefold, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder*, Munich 1964, 45; *LIMC* I.1, 506-7 (no 52); cf. also a similar scene of Helen's ἀνακαλυπτήρια, her revelation to Menelaos, on a cycladic relief-amphora: Schefold, *op. cit.*, 43 f. and pl. 35 b. Along the same tradition of vase-paintings is the representation of Hera's unveiling before Zeus on the East frieze of the Parthenon, though as has been pointed out it is in a «broader and more emphatic» way: see I. S. Mark, 'The Gods on the East frieze of the Parthenon', *Hesperia* 53 (1984), 302 ff. and pl. 63b; see also F. Brommer, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London 1979, 46 and pl. 99; J. Boardman, *The Parthenon and its sculptures*, London 1985, 244 and pl. 45.

2. 'The tragic wedding', 124.

3. J. Redfield, 'Notes on the Greek Wedding', *Arethusa* 15 (1982), 192. On the *anakalypteria* see Harpocratio, s.v.: «δῶρα διδόμενα ταῖς νύμφαις παρά τε τοῦ ἀνδρός καὶ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων, ὅταν τὸ πρῶτον ἀνακαλύπτωνται ὥστε ὄραθῆναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι. καλεῖται δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐπαύλια. ταῦτα δ' εἰσὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν θεώρετρα». See also Pollux, 2.59; 3.36, for the ὀπτήρια as «one name for the gifts presented to the bride at the Anakalupteria ...»: Buxton, 'Euripides' *Alkestis*', 80.

4. See D. A. Armstrong - E.A. Ratchford, *art. cit.*, 9.

5. See Oakley, *art. cit.*, 114 ff., for vase-depictions of the preparation of the bride for the wedding ceremony and the role of the *nympheutria* during the *anakalypteria*.

6. For visual evidence of Aphrodite as Helen's νυμφεύτρια / νυμφαγωγός see Ghali-Kahil, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff. and Pls VIII 2, 3: Aphrodite tries to persuade Helen who is sitting with eyes casting downwards and a gesture of silence by closing her mouth with her fingers. See also-above, p. 54 n. 4.

vidence about the above mentioned part of the wedding ritual, i.e. the bride and the groom sitting opposite each other. Although the poem has been interpreted as a love-song, it is very probable that this was a real wedding song or at least it was based on a wedding song; here, the man who sits opposite the young woman, like a newly married couple, is an «equal to the gods», an appropriate praise for a groom in an actual wedding:

«φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν  
ἔμμεν' ὦνηρ, ὅττις ἐνάντιός τοι  
ἰσodάνει ...»<sup>1</sup>

Thus it seems that certain features shaped after the pattern of abduction and marriage are adapted in the above *Iliad* 3 scenes so that Helen's abduction/marriage can be re-enacted: the reluctance of the bride, overcome when Paris leads Helen to bed (line 447), the praise of the beauty of the bridegroom (lines 392-4) which follows that of the bride many lines above, the gesture of veiling/*aidos*, the silence, the avoidance of eye contact, the presence of a bridal attendant, i.e. Aphrodite. Moreover, Paris' reaction recalls with remarkable detail the original abduction and the first union of the heroic couple on the island of Kranai soon after they had left Lakedaimon<sup>2</sup>.

The details mentioned above present the couple's sexual union as an actual wedding<sup>3</sup>. Paris and Helen might have not become a paradigmatic couple in literature, as were Peleus and Thetis for example, or in art; however, the influence of the one form of expression of ancient Greek culture upon the other has created one of the most popular, if not the most popular, myth in antiquity. The presence of the wedding pattern, here, in the end of *Iliad* 3, is indirectly related to a marriage *agon*, i.e. the duel, and to the judgement / beauty theme, i.e. the admiration of Helen's beauty by the old men of Troy,

1. Sappho fr. 31.1-3 (L.-P); for various views about this being or not a wedding song see D. L. Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, Oxford 1955, 30; C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, Oxford 1961 (2nd rev. edn), 188 ff. For the «wedding-song theory» see A.P. Burnett's discussion in *Three archaic poets. Archilochus, Alcaeus, Sappho*, London 1983, 232 ff.

2. See *Il.* 3. 443-6. See also Edwards, *Homer*, 195-7. On the meaning of ἀρπαγή (l. 444: ἔπλεον ἀρπάξας ἐν ποντοπόροισι νέεσσι) as «loosely applied elsewhere to voluntary elopements» -this is most probably the adjacent meaning of ἀρπάξας in the above line as Homer's Helen followed Paris without compulsion- see J. D. Denniston and D. Page, *Aeschylus Agamemnon*, ed. and comment., Oxford 1957, 121 (comment. ad 534).

3. Cf. Seaford, 'The tragic wedding', 123-30 for various cases of «sexual union imagined as marriage» in tragedy.



in the beginning of the same book<sup>1</sup>. However, nowhere in Homer is the wedding of Paris and Helen directly mentioned. It is in the *Cypria* that this was celebrated soon after they arrived to Troy: «καὶ ἀποπλεύσας (sc. Paris) εἰς Ἴλιον γάμους τῆς Ἑλένης ἐπετέλεσεν» (Allen, p. 103, 11-2). It is here also that Aphrodite's role in the judgement myth and in bringing Paris and Helen together is predominant: «ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη συνάγει τὴν Ἑλένην τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ. καὶ μετὰ τὴν μίξιν τὰ πλεῖστα κτήματα ἐνθέμενοι νυκτὸς ἀποπλεύουσι» (Allen, p. 103, 8-10)<sup>2</sup>.

The function of veils in the *Iliad*, as in later literature, is associated with marriage and death. This is exactly suggested by the following scenes: In Book 3 Helen left her loom to come to the Walls of Troy and watch the duel between Paris and Menelaos. She would be the prize of the contest -obviously a marriage one. So did Andromache in *Iliad* 22; although she came to see her dead husband being dragged by the «swift horses toward the hollow ships of the Achaeans» (*Il.* 22. 464-5, Loeb trans.). In the first scene Helen «draws down» her veil, before she joins Paris while the Trojan women were «round about her in throngs»: «... περὶ δὲ Τρῳαὶ ἄλλῃς ἦσαν» (*Il.* 3. 384, Loeb trans.). In the second, Andromache casts off her bridal veil, a symbolic gesture for a marriage ended by force, while «round about her came thronging her husband's sisters and his brothers' wives»: «... ἀμφὶ δέ μιν γαλόῳ τε καὶ εἰνατέρες ἄλλῃς ἔσταν» (*Il.* 22. 473, Loeb trans.). Her veil (*κρήδεμνον*) is the symbol of her own marriage, the same one that «golden Aphrodite» had given her on her wedding day:

ἔστη παπτήνας' ἐπὶ τείχεϊ, τὸν δὲ νόησεν  
 ἐλκόμενον πρόσθεν πόλιος' ταχέες δέ μιν ἵπποι  
 ἔλκον ἀκηδέστως κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.

.....  
 τῆλε δ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς βάλε δέσματα σιγαλόεντα,  
 ἄμπυκα κεκρούφαλόν τε ἠδὲ πλεκτὴν ἀναδέσμη  
 κρήδεμνον θ', ὃ ῥά οἱ δῶκε χρυσέῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ  
 ἤματι τῷ ὅτε μιν κορυθαίολος ἠγάγεθ' Ἐκτωρ  
 ἐκ δόμου Ἡετίωνος, ἐπεὶ πόρε μύθρια ἔδνα.

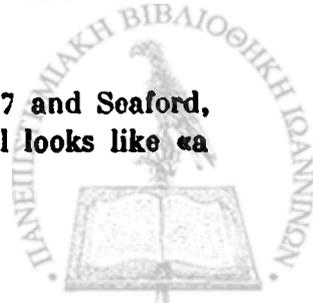
ἀμφὶ δέ μιν γαλόῳ τε καὶ εἰνατέρες ἄλλῃς ἔσταν.

(*Il.* 22. 463-5, 468-73)<sup>3</sup>.

1. It is worth mentioning that the combination of scenes representing Paris' judgement and a wedding procession is often found on Attic vases: see J. Boardman, 'Pottery from Eretria', *BSA* 47 (1952), 33.

2. See Jouan, *op. cit.*, 167 ff. and *passim*.

3. Cf. D. A. Armstrong and E.A. Ratchford, 'Iphigenia's veil', 7 and Seaford, 'The tragic wedding', 129-30. On some art representations the veil looks like «a



However, the close association of the two marriages is conceived as a destructive influence of the one upon the other while their contrast on the moral level is pre-eminent in both books, *Iliad* 3 and 6; pre-eminent too is the underlying shadow of death<sup>1</sup>.

In the *Iliad* the «veils», the κρήδεμνα, of a city are «loosened» when it is sacked (16.100)<sup>2</sup>. The two symbolic scenes enacted on the Walls of Troy have as a central theme two female figures: Helen, the «Cause of a terrible War»<sup>3</sup> veiling herself; it is since her abduction / marriage that it all began. And Andromache, the victim of a «terrible War», unveiling herself; it is because of her marriage's end, with Hektor's death, that «Τροίης ἰερὰ κρήδεμνα» (*Il.* 16.100), her City's veils, will soon be loosened.

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himation or overcloak worn so as to keep it available for the head»: Armstrong - Ratchford, *art. cit.*, 5 and pls 1 b, 2 b. For the word κρήδεμνον see *LSJ* (ninth edn), s.v.

1. See J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death*, Oxford 1980, 5 ff.

2. Cf. W. Burkert, *Greek Religion. Archaic and Classical* (Engl. trans. of *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche*, Stuttgart 1977), Oxford 1985, 140.

3. Clader, *Helen*, 23.

