**Choruses of Young Women**

**in Ancient Greece**

**Greek Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches**

General Editor: Gregory Nagy, Harvard University

**On the front cover:** A calendar frieze representing the Athenian months, reused in the   
Byzantine Church of the Little Metropolis in Athens. The cross is superimposed,   
obliterating Taurus of the Zodiac. The choice of this frieze for books in *Greek Studies:   
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*Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece: Their Morphology,   
Religious Role, and Social Function*, Claude Calame, University of   
Lausanne, Switzerland; translated by Derek Collins and Jane Orion

**Choruses of Young Women  
in Ancient Greece**  
**Their Morphology, Religious Role,  
and Social Function**

CLAUDE CALAME

Translated by  
DEREK COLLINS AND JANICE ORION

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|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **CONTENTS**  Editor's Foreword | | | [vi](http://www.questia.com/102678511) |
| Author's Foreword I (1975) | | | [viii](http://www.questia.com/102678513) |
| Author's Foreword II (1995) | | | [x](http://www.questia.com/102678515) |
| Abbreviations Used in the References | | | [xi](http://www.questia.com/102678516) |
| 1. INTRODUCTION | | | [1](http://www.questia.com/102678518) |
|  | 1.1. Problems of fragments 1 and 3 of Alcman | | [2](http://www.questia.com/102678519) |
|  |  | 1.1.1. The nature of the sources | [2](http://www.questia.com/102678519) |
|  |  | 1.1.2. The title "Partheneia" | [2](http://www.questia.com/102678519) |
|  |  | 1.1.3. The protagonists of fragments 1 and [3](http://www.questia.com/102678520) | [4](http://www.questia.com/102678521) |
|  |  | 1.1.4. The ritual and the deity | [4](http://www.questia.com/102678521) |
|  |  | 1.1.5. The functions of the lyric chorus | [7](http://www.questia.com/102678524) |
|  | 1.2. Problems of method | | [9](http://www.questia.com/102678526) |
|  |  | 1.2.1. Sociologism in the study of the socio-cultural setting | [9](http://www.questia.com/102678526) |
|  |  | 1.2.2. The comparative method used to analyze the ritual | [10](http://www.questia.com/102678527) |
|  |  | 1.2.3. Semiotic approach | [15](http://www.questia.com/102678532) |
| 2. MORPHOLOGY OF THE LYRIC CHORUS | | | [19](http://www.questia.com/102678536) |
|  | 2.1. The chorus-members | | [20](http://www.questia.com/102678537) |
|  |  | 2.1.1. The number of chorus-members | [21](http://www.questia.com/102678538) |
|  |  | 2.1.2. The sex of the chorus-members | [25](http://www.questia.com/102678542) |
|  |  | 2.1.3. The age of the chorus-members | [26](http://www.questia.com/102678543) |
|  |  | 2.1.4. The collective character of a group of chorus-members | [30](http://www.questia.com/102678547) |

-iii-

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | 2.1.5. The "companionship" of the chorus-members | | [33](http://www.questia.com/102678550) |
|  | 2.2. Formal organization of the chorus | | | [34](http://www.questia.com/102678551) |
|  |  | 2.2.1. Circular form | | [34](http://www.questia.com/102678551) |
|  |  | 2.2.2. The arrangement of the chorus-members | | [38](http://www.questia.com/102678555) |
|  | 2.3. The *choregos* | | | [43](http://www.questia.com/102678560) |
|  |  | 2.3.1. Terminology | | [43](http://www.questia.com/102678560) |
|  |  | 2.3.2. The function of the *choregos* | | [48](http://www.questia.com/102678565) |
|  |  |  | 2.3.2.1. Apollo: The myth | [49](http://www.questia.com/102678566) |
|  |  |  | 2.3.2.2. Theseus: Myth and ritual | [53](http://www.questia.com/102678570) |
|  |  |  | 2.3.2.3. The *choregos* and choral lyric: Alcman and Pindar | [58](http://www.questia.com/102678575) |
|  |  |  | 2.3.2.4. Other examples of the role of the *choregos* | [63](http://www.questia.com/102678580) |
|  |  | 2.3.3. Figurative representations of the *choregos* | | [66](http://www.questia.com/102678583) |
|  |  | 2.3.4. The distinctive qualities of the *choregos* | | [72](http://www.questia.com/102678589) |
|  | 2.4. The activity of the chorus | | | [74](http://www.questia.com/102678591) |
|  |  | 2.4.1. The hymn | | [74](http://www.questia.com/102678591) |
|  |  | 2.4.2. The paean | | [76](http://www.questia.com/102678593) |
|  |  | 2.4.3. The dithyramb | | [79](http://www.questia.com/102678596) |
|  |  | 2.4.4. The citharodic *nomos* | | [80](http://www.questia.com/102678597) |
|  |  | 2.4.5. The threnody | | [82](http://www.questia.com/102678599) |
|  |  | 2.4.6. The epithalamium/hymenaeus | | [83](http://www.questia.com/102678600) |
|  |  | 2.4.7. Other choral performances | | [85](http://www.questia.com/102678602) |
| 3. CHORUS AND RITUAL | | | | [89](http://www.questia.com/102678606) |
|  | 3.1. Non-Spartan rituals | | | [90](http://www.questia.com/102678607) |
|  |  | 3.1.1. Choral festivities among the gods | | [90](http://www.questia.com/102678607) |
|  |  | 3.1.2. Rites dedicated to Artemis | | [91](http://www.questia.com/102678608) |
|  |  | 3.1.3. Apollo | | [101](http://www.questia.com/102678618) |
|  |  | 3.1.4. Hera | | [113](http://www.questia.com/102678630) |
|  |  | 3.1.5. Aphrodite | | [123](http://www.questia.com/102678640) |
|  |  | 3.1.6. Athena | | [128](http://www.questia.com/102678645) |
|  |  | 3.1.7. Dionysus | | [134](http://www.questia.com/102678651) |
|  |  | 3.1.8. Demeter | | [138](http://www.questia.com/102678655) |
|  |  | 3.1.9. The chorus and the pantheon | | [140](http://www.questia.com/102678657) |
|  | 3.2. Lacedaemonian rituals | | | [141](http://www.questia.com/102678658) |
|  |  | 3.2.1. Artemis | | [142](http://www.questia.com/102678659) |
|  |  |  | 3.2.1.1. Artemis Limnatis | [142](http://www.questia.com/102678659) |
|  |  |  | 3.2.1.2. Artemis Karyatis | [149](http://www.questia.com/102678666) |
|  |  |  | 3.2.1.3. Artemis Orthia | [156](http://www.questia.com/102678673) |
|  |  |  | 3.2.1.4. Artemis Korythalia | [169](http://www.questia.com/102678686) |
|  |  | 3.2.2. Apollo: The Hyakinthia | | [174](http://www.questia.com/102678691) |
|  |  | 3.2.3. *Leukippides* and *Dionysiades* | | [185](http://www.questia.com/102678702) |
|  |  | 3.2.4. Helen | | [191](http://www.questia.com/102678708) |
|  |  | 3.2.5. The Lacedaemonian cycle of initiation | | [202](http://www.questia.com/102678719) |

-iv-

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| 4. | THE FUNCTION OF THE LYRIC CHORUS | | [207](http://www.questia.com/102678724) |
|  | 4.1. The chorus as institution | | [208](http://www.questia.com/102678725) |
|  |  | 4.1.1. Hellenistic associations | [208](http://www.questia.com/102678725) |
|  |  | 4.1.2. The "circle" of Sappho | [210](http://www.questia.com/102678727) |
|  |  | 4.1.3. The Spartan *agele* | [214](http://www.questia.com/102678731) |
|  |  | 4.1.4. The Spartan girls' choruses | [219](http://www.questia.com/102678736) |
|  | 4.2. The pedagogical function of the lyric chorus | | [221](http://www.questia.com/102678738) |
|  |  | 4.2.1. The lyric chorus as a place for education | [222](http://www.questia.com/102678739) |
|  |  | 4.2.2. The instruction given in the chorus | [231](http://www.questia.com/102678748) |
|  |  | 4.2.3. The metaphorical representation of education and marriage ... | [238](http://www.questia.com/102678755) |
|  | 4.3. Homoerotic relationships in the lyric chorus | | [244](http://www.questia.com/102678761) |
|  |  | 4.3.1. "Male homosexuality" in Sparta and its function | [245](http://www.questia.com/102678762) |
|  |  | 4.3.2. Sappho's group | [249](http://www.questia.com/102678766) |
|  |  | 4.3.3. Female homophily in the myths | [252](http://www.questia.com/102678769) |
|  |  | 4.3.4. Female homoeroticism in Sparta | [253](http://www.questia.com/102678770) |
|  |  | 4.3.5. The lyric I/we: Individuality and collectivity | [255](http://www.questia.com/102678772) |
|  | 4.4. The female lyric chorus and tribal initiation | | [258](http://www.questia.com/102678775) |
| 5. CONCLUSION | | | [264](http://www.questia.com/102678781) |
| Bibliography | | | [267](http://www.questia.com/102678784) |
| General Index | | | [275](http://www.questia.com/102678792) |

-v-

**EDITOR'S FOREWORD**

Building on the foundations of scholarship within the disciplines of philol-   
ogy, philosophy, history, and archaeology, this series spans the continuum of   
Greek traditions extending from the second millennium B.C.E. to the present,   
not just the Archaic and Classical periods. The aim is to enhance perspectives by   
applying various disciplines to problems that have in the past been treated as the   
exclusive concern of a single given discipline. Besides the crossing-over of the   
older disciplines, as in the case of historical and literary studies, the series en-   
courages the application of such newer ones as linguistics, sociology, anthro-   
pology, and comparative literature. It also encourages encounters with current   
trends in methodology, especially in the realm of literary theory.

*Les choeurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque*, by Claude Calame, was orig-   
inally published in 1977. Over the succeeding years, it gradually became recog-   
nized as a major breakthrough in the study of ancient Greek society and   
literature. It awakened the world of Classical scholarship to something of central   
importance in the cultural life of ancient Greece. This is the chorus, a singing   
*and* dancing ensemble of non-professionals who perform *ad hoc*, at public occa-   
sions like festivals, on behalf of the whole community. An accomplished   
anthropologist as well as Classicist, Calame elucidated the traditional custom of   
communal choral performance as a social institution that was basic to the emo-   
tional, intellectual, moral, and aesthetic *formation* of all who participated.

Calame's historical overview concentrates on choruses comprised of young   
women, but the implications of his insights extend to choruses of boys and men   
as well. Further, Calame's analysis casts new light on the essence of the   
Classical form that we know as choral lyric poetry—not only the grand old‐   
fashioned choral productions of Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides, but also the   
newer and more experimental ones that grew out of Athenian State Theater, as   
represented by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes.

Just as important, the picture that emerges from Calame's systematic survey   
of evidence about Archaic and Classical Greek choruses of young women forces a   
reassessment of Classicists' perspectives on Sappho and her poetics. Calame has   
made it possible to broaden scholarly discussion, to move beyond the tired old   
reductionism of earlier generations of scholars who had read their own preconcep-   
tions into ancient texts, seeking facile answers to simplistic questions about   
Sappho's "monodic poetry"—or even about her "lesbianism." As Calame's book   
makes clear, the poetics of Sappho can be traced back to a choral tradition, and   
the institutions of the chorus in turn help us reconstruct a historical context for   
the conventions of homoerotic self-expression.

*Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece* is a revised version of the   
1977 French original (the "young women" in the title is meant to include "girls"   
as a sub-category). Thanks to the active collaboration of Claude Calame, who   
has also added new details and further bibliography, this book is the equivalent of   
a second edition. The series editor wishes to thank, besides those already thanked

-vi-

by Calame in the author's preface to this new edition, the following scholars   
who generously helped proofread the near-final version of the text: Tamara Chin,   
Marian Demos, Fred Porta, and Timothy Power.

Special thanks are due to a senior Hellenist who generously read through the   
text and helped make numerous improvements. He modestly gave the series edi-   
tor explicit instructions not to list him in the acknowledgments; his request is   
hereby honored, reluctantly, but his selfless contribution will always be remem-   
bered and cherished by those who know how much of his time and effort went   
into making this book a worthy successor to the original.

-vii-

**AUTHOR'S FOREWORD I (1975)**

Given the endless controversies over the meaning of Alcman's poems known   
as the *Partheneia*, I may seem to be taking quite a risk by trying to interpret   
them in my own way. Besides the methodological reasons that underlie this   
work, a description of which is given in the introduction, I have a more   
circumstantial motive for trying. The work would not have seen the light of day   
were it not for Bruno Gentili, who suggested that I edit Alcman's fragments as   
part of the complete edition of archaic Greek poets undertaken by the *Gruppo di   
ricerca sulla lirica greca* at the University of Urbino. Following this suggestion,   
André Rivier proposed that I present the commentary on the two most important   
fragments as a thesis. If this commentary is no longer central to the plan of the   
work, it is because the extent of my preliminary research towards an   
understanding of Alcman's poems, and their results, seemed to me to compensate   
for the often hypothetical character of the interpretation I had proposed.

The form of this work is, on the whole, the result of discussions infused with   
André Rivier's sensitivity and perspicacity. He was no longer alive at the   
conclusion of the work. I dearly hope that these pages are sufficiently marked by   
the influence of those privileged moments to constitute a respectful and grateful   
homage. François Lasserre has shown great understanding in taking over André   
Rivier's role. I owe to him my interest in things Greek; his patience and encour-   
agement have accompanied me throughout my journey.

The thoughts that follow were enriched by numerous visits abroad, each of   
which has helped in some way to enlarge my philological horizon. I spent a year   
in Hamburg collaborating on the *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos.* Applying   
the rigorous method of analysis proposed by Eva-Maria Voigt was a stimulating   
experience; I had the additional pleasure of attending the seminars of Winfried   
Bühler and Bruno Snell. A grant from the Lausanne Commission of the *Fonds   
national de la recherche scientifique* allowed me to spend two years in Paris and   
in London. At the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes*, seminars by Marcel   
Detienne, Georges Devereux, Algirdas Julien Greimas, Jean-Pierre Vernant, and   
Pierre Vidal-Naquet provided me with the incentive to rethink and reformulate the   
methodological problems, and at University College the counsels of John P.   
Barron, Giuseppe Giangrande and Eric W. Handley widened my use of   
philological analysis. It was in London that I read Roger Crowhurst's thesis,   
unfortunately not yet published; the author allowed me to use the valuable   
material that he had collected and studied. In Switzerland, a colloquium under the   
auspices of the *Association suisse des études anciennes*, chaired by André Hurst   
and Walter Burkert, and an advanced course organized by Olivier Reverdin,   
produced some very fruitful exchanges. This latter course also allowed me to   
complete my acquaintance with the region of Laconia. Discussions with Jean   
Béranger introduced me to the complex problems of Spartan history.

But this work would not have been begun without numerous lengthy   
intervals with the *Gruppo di ricerca sulla lirica greca* of Urbino, first as scientific   
collaborator with grants from the Italian *Centro nazionale delle ricerche*, then as

-viii-

a lecturer at the University of Urbino. I would like to thank most warmly the   
Director of the Group, Bruno Gentili, from whose experience in the area of   
archaic lyric and from whose openness to problems of method I greatly profited.   
During several periods as visitor at the Swiss Institute in Rome I made the   
acquaintance of Angelo Brelich, who allowed me to read his work, since   
published, on tribal initiation in ancient Greece, and Vittorio Maconi, whose   
ethnological expertise proved very valuable. I am equally obliged to the *Centro   
internazionale di semiotica* at Urbino for several useful events, and to the Italian   
*CNR* for a subsidy for the publication of the research, a process that lasted   
longer than two years!

I would like to express my gratitude to all those with whom I came into   
contact during those rich years; they may be assured they contributed to my   
experience even though they may not have been mentioned.

-ix-

**AUTHOR'S FOREWORD II (1995)**

To read the results of my own research again after twenty years is not,   
initially, a very encouraging experience. My awareness of its lacunas would   
require the rewriting of the whole. Therefore, this English edition of the first   
volume of my doctoral thesis would have been impossible without the   
determinant impulse and the continuous confidence of Gregory Nagy, or without   
the excellent collaboration with the translators. Finally I have limited myself to   
correcting some errors, taking into account the criticisms formulated at the   
occasion of its publication in French twenty years ago, but I tried also to keep   
track of the main areas of research done in this field in the meantime, and to that   
extent this volume has to be considered a second edition of *Les choeurs de jeunes   
filles* I. The *Commission des publications* of the University of Lausanne and the   
*Société Académique Vaudoise* have greatly contributed in covering the expenses   
of the translation. To both these institutions and to the translators, Derek   
Collins and Janice Orion, my warmest thanks. Also to Victor Bers and Brian   
Fuchs, who have kindly proofread the whole text and made many improvements.

-x-

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| **ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE REFERENCES** [**\***](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678515&offset=1#*#*)  AAWM | *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Mainz,  Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse* |
| A&A | *Antike und Abendland* |
| ABSA | *Annual of the British School at Athens* |
| AC | *L'Antiquité Classique* |
| AD | Ἀ*ρχα*ιο*λ*ο*γ*ι*κ*ὸν Δελττον |
| AFLN | Annali *della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia della Università di  Napoli* |
| AFLFP | *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell' Università degli  Studi di Perugia* |
| AJA | *American Journal of Archaeology* |
| AJPh | *American Journal of Philology* |
| AK | *Antike Kunst* |
| APAW | *Abhandlungen der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der  Wissenschaften* |
| ARW | *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* |
| ASTP | *Archives suisses des traditions populaires* |
| AW | *The Ancient World* |
| BCH | *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* |
| BICS | *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University  of London* |
| BIEH | *Boletin del Instituto de Estudios Helénicos* |
| BJ | *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums in Bonn  und des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden in Rheinland* |
| BKIS | *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen* |
| BMusB | *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston* |
| CeS | *Cultura e Scuola* |
| CJ | *The Classical Journal* |
| CPh | *Classical Philology* |
| CQ | *Classical Quarterly* |
| CR | *Classical Review* |
| DHA | *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* |
| EEThess | Ἐπιτημονικὴ Ἐ*πετηρ*ὶ*ς τ*η̑*ς* Φιλοσοφικη̑ς *Σχ*ο*λη*̑*ς τ*ου̑  Ἀριστοτελείου *Πανεπ*ι*στημ*ίο*υ* Θεσσαλονίκης |
| EL | Etudes de *Lettres* |
| FGrHist. | *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* |
| GGA | *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* |
| GRBS | *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* |
| HR | *History of Religions* |
| HSCPh | *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* |
| HThR | *Harvard Theological Review* |
| JDAI | *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* |

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| \* | The concluding bibliography lists only the monographs and the articles cited in  the notes, which are relevant to the problems addressed in this study. |

-xi-

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| JHS | *Journal of Hellenic Studies* |
| JŒAI | *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* |
| JVA | *Jahrbuch des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande  (Bonner Jahrbücher)* |
| KPauly | *Der kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike* |
| LAW | *Lexikon der alten Welt* |
| LfgrE | *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* |
| LIMC | *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* |
| MCr | *Museum Criticum* |
| MDAI(A) | *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts  (Athenische Abteilung)* |
| MH | *Museum Helveticum* |
| MPhL | *Museum Philologicum Londiniense* |
| PCPhS | *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* |
| PhW | *Philologische Wochenschrift* |
| PP | *La Parola del Passato* |
| QS | *Quaderni di Storia* |
| QUCC | *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* |
| RA | *Revue Archéologique* |
| RE | *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* |
| REA | *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* |
| REG | *Revue des Etudes Grecques* |
| RFIC | *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* |
| RhM | *Rheinisches Museum* |
| RHR | *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* |
| RIA | *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* |
| RIL | *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere, Scienze  morali e storiche* |
| Roscher | *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen* |
|  | *Mythologie* |
| SAWW | *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien,  Philosophisch-historische Klasse* |
| SCO | *Studi Classici e Orientali* |
| SMEA | *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* |
| SMSR | *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* |
| SO | *Symbolae Osloenses* |
| SPAW | *Sitzungsberichte des Preussischen Akademie der Wissen-  schaften* |
| SSR | *Studi Storico Religiosi* |
| TAPhA | *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological  Association* |
| WJA | *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft* |
| WS | *Wiener Studien* |
| ZPE | *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* |

-xii-

**1. INTRODUCTION**

The research presented here has its origins in the philological controversy   
carried on for the last hundred years concerning the poem generally known as the   
"first *Partheneion*" by Alcman; following tradition, the fragment is the first of   
the poems attributed to Alcman in the *Poetae Melici Graeci* edited by D.L. Page   
(Oxford 1962), to which edition I shall refer throughout. Even if we are now sure   
that the beginning of the first poem of the first book of *Partheneia* in the   
Alexandrian edition of Alcman corresponds to the short new fragment S1, the   
edition of Page has not been superseded by vol. I of *Poetarum Melicorum   
Graecorum Fragmenta* edited by M. Davies (Oxford 1991). Since even the title of   
the *partheneion* transmitted to us by the *"Papyrus Mariette"* (*P.* Louvre E 3320)   
is uncertain, scholarly interpretation of these hundred or so lines in the dialect of   
Laconia has progressed in a circular manner; the most important interpretations   
will be set out briefly in the first part of this introduction. My own attempt to   
interpret the fragments may seem presumptuous in such a context; however, I   
thought it would be fruitful to follow a less travelled path and to examine the   
main contested points of interpretation in light of the society and the culture in   
which the poem was born and which furnished the occasion for its composition.   
In this volume, the reader will find the (updated) results of the preliminary   
research on the anthropological aspects of the poem's occasion. The reading and   
the interpretation of the poem in light of this broad context are given in the   
French version of the second volume of this research (*Les choeurs de jeunes   
filles en Grèce archaïque* II, *Alcman*. Roma 1977) and in my subsequent edition   
of the fragments of Alcman (Roma 1983); to those two volumes, I shall refer as   
*Choeurs* II and *Alcman* respectively. The justification of this method applied to   
the anthropology of literature will be found in the second part of the   
introduction.

With the appearance in 1957 of volume 24 of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, a   
second important fragment of Alcman's was made available; these sixty odd lines   
were also put under the heading *Partheneia*. [1.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678517&offset=1#1.#1.) The length of the fragment, third in   
Page's edition of the *Poetae Melici Graeci*, has attracted my attention in the   
same way as did the "first *Partheneion*." The poem was composed likewise for a   
chorus of young Laconian women, and its interpretation is based for the most

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| 1. | P. Oxy. 2387, frr. 1 and 3 ( = Alcman fr. 3,1 and 3 Page = 26, 1 and 3 Calame),  published in *P. Oxy*. vol. 24, pp. 8ff., by Lobel. In the following study, Alcman's  frr. I P = 3C and 3 P = 26C will be called "fragment 1" and "fragment 3." |

-1-

part on that of the first fragment and poses similar problems of comprehension. I   
therefore intend to give the material for the interpretation of both.

**1.1. Problems of fragments I and 3 of Alcman**

I shall here briefly enumerate the principal arguments of philological   
hermeneutics in an attempt to give a coherent interpretation of the two poems in   
question. Because these remarks are introductory, they will inevitably tend to be   
less specific.

**1.1.1. The nature of the sources**

Other poetic fragments attributed to Alcman were also doubtless composed   
for young women's choruses, [2.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678518&offset=1#2.#2.) but because of their brevity I shall use them only   
as evidence to enrich the commentary. These fragmentary lines will also be the   
primary source for re-creating the historical, religious, and cultural context in   
which the two most important fragments were composed and performed.

A second source is to be found in passages by classical authors describing   
choral performances by women or girls. These passages are very diverse, ranging   
anywhere from Homeric poetry to history and philosophy. Included in this   
category are fragments of poems written for adolescent choruses by authors other   
than Alcman, particularly, for example, the *Partheneia* of Pindar, which will be   
examined as to denomination and occasion. [3.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678518&offset=1#3.#3.)

Finally, evidence from authors on the fringes of the Alexandrian tradition,   
with its encyclopedic and critical tendency, will constitute the third source of   
information about the religion and society of Alcman's time. We know how the   
political and cultural history of Sparta has been idealized from antiquity on, so I   
shall attempt to take into account as far as possible the influence of ideology on   
these very varied sources. The studies that have been published on this subject   
will help me to maintain a critical distance from the information given by   
Archaic authors. [4.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678518&offset=1#4.#4.)

**1.1.2. The title "Partheneia"**

In the *editio princeps* of the Mariette Papyrus published in 1863, Egger   
concluded from the opening myth in fragment 1 that the poem could belong to   
the *Hymn to the Dioskouroi* mentioned by several authors in connection with   
Alcman. [5.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678518&offset=1#5.#5.) But the following year ten Brink related the non-mythical part of the   
poem to the παρθένεια ᾄσματα, songs for young women attributed by two

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| 2. | See e.g. frr. 14 and 38 P = 4 and 137 C. |
| 3. | See below pp. 58ff., 101ff. |
| 4. | See Ollier, *Mirage* I and II, Janni, *Sparta* I, pp. 15ff.; Tigerstedt, *Sparta* I and II;  Rawson, *Tradition*. |
| 5. | Egger, *Mémoires*, pp. 169f., see fr. 2 P = 2 C. |

-2-

sources to the Spartan poet, and four years later Ahrens identified the whole   
poem as a partheneion. Philologists have since agreed on this, although there is   
no evidence directly relating to the poem to confirm it. [6.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678519&offset=1#6.#6.) The situation is similar   
for fragment 3; Lobel, the first editor of this poem, states simply that everything   
in the lines we have shows that it is a *Partheneion* by Alcman. [7.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678519&offset=1#7.#7.) This has also   
not been questioned.

A study of the history of the *Partheneia* as a literary genre presents itself,   
therefore, as the first step in the analysis of the poems of this category. If the   
*Partheneia* as genre has precise, distinctive features, identifying them could have   
useful implications for the two poems studied here, which have traditionally   
been attributed to this literary class.

Such an analysis shows that the category of the *Partheneia* was probably not   
defined before the Alexandrian period, and only when confronted, for editorial   
reasons, with the necessity of dividing the poems of the Archaic lyricists among   
several books, did scholars begin to speak of the *partheneia*, meaning a literary   
genre. Prior to this, a few fugitive references in Aristophanes and Aristoxenos   
show that they were aware of the distinctive character of the poems sung by   
choruses of young women, without being more precise about the contents. It is   
therefore not possible to speak of a true literary genre before the Archaic period,   
and even when the Alexandrians used the term *partheneion*, its definition   
remained very general; the partheneion is nothing but a poem sung by a chorus   
of adolescent girls for adolescent girls, as I tried to show in the last chapter of   
*Choeurs* II.

The negative results of this inquiry have led me to use the term *partheneion*   
for the two poems studied here only as an exception, since it was probably not   
pertinent for the period, and to use instead the number of the fragments as listed   
in Page's edition. As a final consequence, I have been led to examine the de-   
scriptions of performances of women's choruses to see whether the Greeks   
divided them into categories with definite characteristics. This study will be   
found at the end of the morphology of the female lyric chorus, the first of the   
studies presented here (chapter 2), and is based on the indications given by   
fragments 1 and 3 by Alcman.

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| 6. | Ten Brink, *Philologus* 21, p. 127; Ahrens, *Philologus* 27, p. 241; see Page,  *Parth*., p. 2; on Alcman's παρθένεια see Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἐρυσίχη (p. 281 Meineke),  Plut. *Mus*. 17 and Alcm. fr. 13 (*a*) P = 8, test. IV C. See *Choeurs* II, pp. 172f. |
| 7. | Lobel, P. Oxy. vol. 24, p. 8; unlike fr. 1, there is no indirect reference to  confirm its attribution to Alcman, unless it is the ὁλκ[άς of line 98, cited as Alcman's  in a gloss by Cyrillos (published by R. Reitzenstein, "Die Ueberarbeitung des  Lexikons des Hesychios," *RhM* 83, 1888, pp. 443-460 [p. 451 n. 2] = Alcm. fr. 142  P = 199 C); see Lobel, *P. Oxy*. vol. 24, p. 17, and Giannini, *RIL* 93, p. 199. |

-3-

**1.1.3. The protagonists of fragments 1 and 3**

If we leave aside the external designation of these two fragments, and the   
possibility of classifying them, and pass to an analysis of their content, we   
notice that the essential feature common to both is the opposition of an *I/we* to   
one or two women who are spoken about in the third person. Philologists   
generally agree that this *I/we* represents the chorus singing the poem and that the   
chorus is made up of παρθάνοι, young women; [8.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678520&offset=1#8.#8.) in fragment 1, some   
incomplete lines (line 98f.) suggest that these young singers numbered ten or   
eleven. In addition to the chorus members, fragment 3 has one young woman,   
Astymelousa, and fragment 1 mentions two, Hagesichora and Agido; these three   
are all objects of praise for the chorus members. Fragment 1 also names a third   
woman, Ainesimbrota, who takes no part in the choral performance.

Interpreters of fragment 1 have generally attributed to Hagesichora the role of   
*choregos* mentioned in line 44, and it is likely that Astymelousa fulfills the   
same function in fragment 3. On the other hand, opinions on Agido's role are   
divided and have her variously as assistant to the *choregos*, a priestess, or the   
*choregos* of a rival group. [9.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678520&offset=1#9.#9.)

The questions posed by the relations between the protagonists of the two   
groups and their respective status—number, qualities and modalities of the   
activity of the chorus members, function, characteristics and modalities of the   
leader's role—lead me to develop in my second chapter a sort of morphology of   
the female lyric chorus. With all the extant references to performances of   
women's choruses incorporated in this morphology, it should be possible to   
give a more precise definition of the function of each protagonist. In addition,   
the section on the modalities of the role played by the *choregos* and by the   
chorus members will be the occasion for another look at the problem of the   
*partheneia* as literary genre, and for an examination—based on an analysis of the   
forms of the songs sung by a chorus of young women—of the poetic genres that   
correspond to this Alexandrian category in the Archaic period.

**1.1.4. The ritual and the deity**

In fragment 3, as in fragment 1, certain expressions suggest that the chorus   
members, or at any rate the young women to whom they address their praises,   
are engaged in certain activities in addition to their musical duties; these are for   
example δραμήται (line 59), μάχονται (line 63), θωστήρια (line 81), 꼀γω̑να (3,   
8), διέβα (3, 70), etc. In the same fragment, with the exception of the two   
generic expressions σιω̑ν (line 36) and σιοί[σι]ω̑ν (line 82f.), two epicleses of

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| 8. | On the problem of the lyric *I/we* in frr. 1 and 3, see below pp. 255ff. with n.  174. |
| 9. | On this subject, see *Choeurs* II, pp. 46f., 92 and 138ff. The polemics on the  role assumed by Agido are still going on: see recently Clay, *QUCC* 68, pp. 49ff., and  Pavese, *Il grande Partenio*, pp. 51ff. |

-4-

divinities (Ὀρθρίαι, line 61, Ἀω̑τις line 87) are mentioned in the description of   
acts of a probable ritual character (φα̑ρος φεροίσαις line 61, *F*ανδάνην ἐρω̑ line   
88). And in fragment 3, the expression πυλεω̑ν' ἔχοισα (line 56) could also be   
an allusion to the performance of a ritual act honoring a deity. In any case, these   
allusions prove that fragments 1 and 3 were composed for a particular occasion.   
They therefore raise the question as to whether the poems were dedicated to a   
divinity and of the possible religious nature of the festival at which they were   
performed.

However, to deepen the mystery surrounding fragment 1, fate has denied us   
any knowledge of Orthria or Aotis. It happens that a scholium on line 61 in   
fragment 1 proposes ὀρθίαι in place of ὀρθρίαι. [10.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678521&offset=1#10.#10.) This conjecture would bring   
us into contact with the name of one of the most widely celebrated divinities in   
Sparta, Artemis Orthia, a goddess whose attributes would very likely presume   
the presence of a chorus of young women in a ritual observance. However, a   
metrical impediment prevents acceptance of this, and there have been other   
interpretations of the word; some scholars deny any reference to a god. [11.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678521&offset=1#11.#11.) Since   
an allusion to Artemis Orthia is rejected, and if we exclude the interpretation of   
Aotis as a very hypothetical goddess of the Dawn sometimes identified with   
Artemis or with Aphrodite, the names of Medea, Helen, the *Leukippides* and   
Eileithyia have been suggested to fill the void of the dedication of fragment 1. [12.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678521&offset=1#12.#12.)   
In fragment 3, although there is no direct reference to a divinity, the probable   
ritual character of the πυλεών that Astymelousa carries might connect it with the   
Spartan cult of Aphrodite-Hera. [13.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678521&offset=1#13.#13.)

The problem of the dedication of the two poems reappears when we attempt   
to identify the actions of the young women who sang them. Among the   
expressions possibly relating to ritual actions, the verb δραμήται in fragment 1.   
59 could refer to a footrace between Hagesichora (if she is indeed meant!) and   
Agido, while the φα̑ρος φεροίσαις (1. 61) might refer to an offering given by   
the chorus. But just as some see only a metaphor in the reference to a race, doubt   
has also been thrown on the object carried by the chorus members; it could be a   
veil or a plough depending on the meaning given to φα̑ρος. [14.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678521&offset=1#14.#14.) Also, the ἀγών

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| 10. | Sch. A 61: cf. Calame, *Alcman*, p. 333. |
| 11. | See below p. 169, and *Choeurs* II, pp. 119f. |
| 12. | Medea: Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 32, p. 261; Helen: Bowra, *CQ* 28, pp. 38ff. with  *Lyric Poetry*, pp. 58ff., and *Choeurs* II, pp. 119ff.; Eileithyia: Schwenn, *RhM* 86, p.  315, and particularly Burnett, *CPh* 59, p. 32; the *Leukippides* (Phoibe): Garvie, *CQ*  59, pp. 185ff.; Artemis Phosphoros: Clay, *QUCC* 68, pp. 56f., cf. Pavese, *Grande  Partenio*, p. 77 (may be Artemis Proseoia); Aphrodite Heosphoros: B. Gentili,  "*Addendum*. A proposito del *Partenio* di Alcmane," *QUCC* 68, 1991, pp. 69-70 (see  already Gentili, *Poesia e pubblico*, p. 105); Orthia or Aotis as goddesses of the dawn  or the twilight: E. Robbins, "Alcman's *Partheneion*: Legend and choral ceremony,"  *CQ* 88, 1994, pp. 17-25; see the supplements in *Choeurs* II, p. 121 n. 146. |
| 13. | See below pp. 205f., and *Choeurs* II, pp. 127f. |
| 14. | For a metaphorical interpretation of δραμήται see Diels, *Hermes* 31, p. 358  and *Choeurs* II, p. 49. It is scholium A 61 that proposes 'plough' for φα̑ρος; for this |

-5-

mentioned by the chorus in fragment 3.8 has perhaps some connection with the   
μάχονται of 1.63. But in fragment 1, the identification of those engaged in this   
"battle," the meaning of which is as doubtful as that of the race just mentioned,   
depends on the interpretation given to Πεληάδες in line 60. And this word could   
represent, given all the interpretations suggested, a metaphorical description of   
Hagesichora and Agido, or an astronomical reference to the constellation of the   
Pleiades, thus indicating the season in which the feast was celebrated, or again,   
the name of another chorus competing against the one singing fragment 1. [15.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678522&offset=1#15.#15.)   
Thus, however certain might be the dedication of fragments 1 and 3 to a divinity   
and their connection with the ritual practices of a cult, no definitive conclusion   
has yet been reached.

As an extension to the above reflections, I propose to examine all the cults in   
which a singing chorus of young girls or women would have appeared in Greece.   
This would have a double purpose: firstly, to determine with some precision the   
cults in which part of the ritual was performed by a female chorus; secondly, to   
determine to which gods these choral rituals were dedicated. It is surely not by   
chance that the divinities and the rites suggested as a solution to the problem of   
the dedication of fragments 1 and 3 all mark turning points in a woman's life:   
puberty, marriage, and childbirth.

The first part of the chapter on cults (chapter 3) contains a study of the   
purpose and function of those Greek cults in which a female chorus performs   
part of the ritual, and an analysis of the deities for whom the cults were   
performed. After attempting to classify these religious events, I shall then   
examine, in a second part, those cults specific to Laconia, focusing attention on   
their role in the rites of passage of women. This analysis will also include a list   
of the ritual practices carried out in Sparta by girls and women involving choral   
dances, and it will furnish the necessary arguments for establishing a

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|  | see already Ahrens, *Philologus* 27, p. 609; for φα̑ρος as veil, see Egger, *Mémoires*,  p. 171, with all the subsequent interpretations indicated in *Choeurs* II, p. 129 n. 162,  and in *Alcman*, p. 333. Pavese, *Grande Partenio*, pp. 77f., proposes a third solution:  φα̑ρος as "ritual" food (see Hsch. s.v. φη̑ρον; Φ 363 Schmidt). |

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| 15. | On the Πεληάδες describing Agido and Hagesichora, see ten Brink,  *Philologus* 21, p. 134, also sch. A 60ff.; the Pleiades as constellation: Egger,  *Mémoires*, p. 7; as a competitive chorus: Sheppard, *Essays*, p. 134; with all the  complementary references given in *Choeurs* II, p. 72 n. 52; add Puelma, *MH* 34, p. 34  n. 65 (Agido and Hagesichora in a sacred function); Nannini, *MCr* 13/14, pp. 53ff.  (allusion to the vocal qualities and to the beauty of Agido and Hagesichora); G.F.  Gianotti, "Le Pleiadi di Alcmane (Alcm. fr. 1, 60-63 P.)," *RFIC* 106, 1978, pp. 257‐  271 (astronomical interpretation); C. Segal, "Sirius and the Pleiades in Alcman's  Louvre Parthenion," *Mnemosyne* 36, 1983, pp. 260-275 (Hagesichora and Agido  fighting at dawn as stars against the chorus-members); Clay, *QUCC* 68, 1991, pp.  58ff. (rival chorus but of divine nature); Pavese, *Grande Partenio*, pp. 71ff. (*gens*‐  designation of the two girls). On the difficult interpretation of μάχονται, see *Choeurs*  II, p. 88 n. 80. |

-6-

correspondence among the allusions to cults in fragments 1 and 3 and to a   
Spartan cult in particular.

**1.1.5. The functions of the lyric chorus**

Leaving aside the relationship between chorus and a given deity, a   
relationship that gives ritual significance to the actions of the chorus, we may   
return to the relationship between the protagonists themselves, and observe that   
the internal connections are marked in various ways. In fragment 1, some   
interpreters have suggested that the "cousinship" (line 52) relating the chorus   
members to their leader suggests a group of adolescents belonging to a society   
similar to one of the *agelai* in which the ephebes of Lacedaemon were   
enrolled. [16.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678523&offset=1#16.#16.) And in the same way that the Spartan *agelai* have a justifiable   
function in the typically Spartan education system of the *agoge* because of their   
pedagogical role, similarly in fragment 1 certain metaphors such as the horse   
pulling the carriage (line 92) or the captain whose orders must be respected (line   
94) seem to suggest the existence of a pedagogical relationship between the   
chorus members and their leader. [17.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678523&offset=1#17.#17.) And finally it appears that these relationships   
also exist on the sexual level, in both fragments. Most interpreters agree that   
expressions such as Ἀσταφίς μοι γένοιτο (line 74), ποτιλέποι Φίλυλλα (line   
75), λυσιμελε⍳̑ πόσωι (3. 61), ποτιδέρκεται (3. 62), etc., reflect the homoerotic   
sentiments of the chorus members for their leader. But opinion sways between   
Diels, who thinks that these literary expressions show actual relationships, and   
Page, who sees only the reflection of a certain "atmosphere of emotional   
intimacy" between young chorus members of the same sex. [18.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678523&offset=1#18.#18.)

Questioning the importance of the educational and homoerotic connotations   
coloring the relationships between the protagonists raises the problem of the   
institutional character of these relationships and the part played in a specific   
social system by the female chorus containing them. I attempt an answer in the   
fourth chapter by bringing together all the (rare) references that we have to   
female societies and comparing them with what we know of the educational   
system and the homoerotic relationships that determined the form and function of   
the male *agelai*. Similarly among women, the "circle" of Sappho at Lesbos, to   
which several interpreters have compared Alcman's choruses of young girls, will   
be used as a term of comparison. [19.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678523&offset=1#19.#19.) By defining the social rather than the   
religious function of the female chorus, I shall resolve the contradiction

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| 16. | See Diels, *Hermes* 31, pp. 357f.; *Choeurs* II, pp. 84f. with n. 73 and 74. |
| 17. | The pedagogical role assumed by Hagesichora has been recognized by Blass,  *RhM* 40, p. 17; other references in *Choeurs* II, p. 82 n. 71. |
| 18. | See Diels, *Hermes* 31, pp. 352ff., and Page, *Parth*., p. 66 (concerning fr. 3,  Page, CR 73, p. 17, speaks of an "amorous tone"); more on this in *Choeurs* II, pp.  86ff. |
| 19. | See Diels, *Hermes* 31, pp. 355f., followed by Wilamowitz, *Hermes* 32, p.  259, and Brinkman, *JVA* 130, pp. 123ff., etc. |

-7-

represented by the collective expression of highly individual amorous sentiments   
by a group of chorus members, and, above all, determine the relationship of the   
chorus members with the poet—in spite of their strong links with the   
*choregos—*and, finally, with the Spartan community itself. [20.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678524&offset=1#20.#20.)

Thus, if the perspective embraced here necessarily remains androcentric   
because of my own training and by reason of the cultural context in which I   
write, I have tried in my preliminary research for the commentary of Alcman's   
*Partheneia* to elucidate the varieties of song undertaken by choral groups in the   
Archaic period, paying particular attention to the different statuses of their   
participants, male and female, and to the relations that they maintain with one   
another. Concentrating fundamentally on the discourse of women, the survey of   
the varieties of song which are reserved for choral groups leads to the cults in   
which they occur and to the configuration of the divinities, outside of   
Lacedaemon and then in Lacedaemon itself, to whom they dedicate their song. It   
is the fact that the same representation of these different divinities exists (in   
terms of their field of action and of their manner of involvement) which, upon   
reflection, brings me to inquire as to the function of the choral associations and   
to take an anthropological approach to the amorous and more specifically   
homoerotic relations which appear in the collective songs understood as acts of   
cult. Independently of the interpretation of Alcman's fragments 1 and 3, this   
research should offer on its own a pragmatic approach to poetic speech and to the   
women's lyric chorus in their social, cultural, and affective aspects, while at the   
same time fully defining an essential feature of female gender and of its creation   
in young women in the Archaic period. But it is evident on the other hand that   
by not presenting in this English version volume II, which is devoted   
specifically to Alcman's fragments 1 and 3, I have also relinquished the light   
that those poems throw in turn on the problems described in volume I!

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| 20. | The question of how the female chorus relates to the civic community of  Sparta leads to the problem of what place an association of this type, if it is indeed an  association, occupies in a specific socio-cultural system and in a given historical  situation, such as the time when Alcman was active in Sparta. In light of recent  papyrological discoveries, Alcman's dates are now certain: cf. *Alcman*, pp. xivff.  Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the principal elements of Spartan life in the  archaic period. The introduction of the *Rhetra* and its amendment, the formation of  the *demos*, the adoption of the technique of the phalanx, the respective roles of kings  and ephors, the date and impact of the two Messenian wars, and so on, everything in  the social history of Sparta is open to doubt. It seems, however, that by combining  the archaeological facts with the controversial information gleaned from the  ancients, one can come up with a somewhat rough picture of a culture that shaped the  social, political, and religious life of Sparta from the beginning of the seventh  century to the middle of the sixth and that offers a very different image from the  severe and austere picture of classical Lacedaemon. This is what I have tried to do as  an introduction to the analysis of frr. 1 and 3 in *Choeurs* II, pp. 21ff. |

-8-

**1.2. Problems of method**

**1.2.1. Sociologism in the study of the socio-cultural setting**

In order to avoid the vicious circles that have swallowed up the interpretation   
of Alcman's *Partheneia*, I have purposely used the text only as a fulcrum for the   
ritual, cultural, social, and psycho-sexual circumstances surrounding the   
performance of these poems. Marxist criticism does nothing less, but in different   
forms. By stating that "the bonds that link the 'meanings' of a text to the socio‐   
historical conditions of the text are not secondary, but are the basis of the   
meanings themselves," [21.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678525&offset=1#21.#21.) Marxist literary analysis invites the interpreter to delve   
into the "conditions of production" of the work being studied. The literary work,   
a product of a given society, bears the mark of that society and can only be   
understood by studying the social and cultural conditions that brought it forth.

But if the literary work can be considered in this way, it must also be   
recognized that this same work itself fulfills a specific function in the socio‐   
cultural entity. The analysis of the conditions of production can also serve to   
determine its *raison d'être*. It may have been created for a specific social reason,   
and this is generally the case with archaic Greek poetry. Defined as a poetry of   
occasion, [22.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678525&offset=1#22.#22.) in contrast to modem poetry, it assumes a definite social function   
and can only be understood by reference to the circumstances of its creation.   
Archaic "literature" is never gratuitous, nor does it have the critical dimension of   
Alexandrian or modern poetry; it is always subject to the demands of the civic   
community for which it exists; it has to be understood as a social act.

It is clear then that, regardless of current fashion, it is necessary to find the   
meaning of Archaic poetry by studying the ritual, social, political or military   
occasions for it. This should not prevent us from realizing that there is no such   
thing as an unprejudiced reading. [23.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678525&offset=1#23.#23.) However, it is not my intention to examine   
the cultural and psychological motivations we are all subject to as interpreters   
and which make us feel the need, as if it were an imperative, to explain its   
function in a given social situation.

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| 21. | According to C. Haroche, P. Henry and M. Pêcheux, "La sémantique et la  coupure saussurienne: langue, langage, discours," *Langages* 24, 1971, pp. 93-106 (p.  98); on contemporary Marxist criticism, see e.g. among many, L. Goldmann, *Pour  une sociologie du roman*, Paris 1966, pp. 24ff. and 221ff.; P. Macherey, *Pour une  théorie de la production littéraire*, Paris 1966, pp. 83ff.; J. Kristeva, Σημειωτκή.  *Recherches pour une sémanalyse*, Paris 1969, pp. 34ff.; and R. Selden, *A Reader's  Guide to Contemporary Literary Theory*, Lexington 21989, pp. 37ff. For Greece, see  in particular H. Kuch, "Gesellschaftliche Voraussetzungen und Sujet der griechischen  Tragödie," in H. Kuch (ed.), *Die griechische Tragödie in ihrer gesellschaftlichen  Funktion*, Berlin 1983, pp. 11-39. |
| 22. | See among others Bowra, *Lyric*, pp. 11f.; Fränkel, *Dichtung*, pp. 369, 488f.  and 588; and Gentili, *Introduzione*, p. 67, and A&A 36, pp. 37ff. |
| 23. | See e.g. J. Starobinski, "L'interprète et son cercle," *Nouvelle Revue de  Psychanalyse* 1, 1970, pp. 9-23. |

-9-

This concept of the socio-historical framework as an essential element of the   
literary work will help me not to overlook, in a study that often has recourse to   
synchronic methods of analysis, the historical dimension of the object being   
studied. Far from contradicting each other, synchronic and diachronic perspectives   
are complementary, and a synchronic analysis should always be balanced by   
historical considerations, principally in terms of the relevance of the results   
obtained from synchronic considerations within a given historical period, in this   
case Sparta at the end of the seventh century when Alcman was active.

The diachronic perspective will often be based on works written by histori-   
ans. But since Spartan history has been so idealized and deformed, as is evident   
even in modem writings, another danger threatens us: historians have often used   
Alcman's poetry to substantiate their view of the aristocratic character of the   
society and culture of Sparta. [24.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678526&offset=1#24.#24.) An uncritical use of these studies in appraising   
the social and cultural reality would lead to a vicious circle. I shall try to avoid   
this.

But before history comes synchrony.

**1.2.2. The comparative method used to analyze the ritual**

Ethnological and anthropological research offers the philologist a very   
precious instrument to interpret and round out the often incomplete information   
of our sources concerning the social and religious institutions of antiquity. I   
have tried to show elsewhere that, with regard to methodology, structural   
analysis as defined by Lévi-Strauss is one of the surest means of obtaining a   
rigorous, but differentiated, comparison of the institutions of a society distant   
from us in time, as is ancient Greek society, and of contemporary societies called   
"primitive." [25.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678526&offset=1#25.#25.) Not that we should in any way reduce or assimilate the Greek   
institutions to those of societies with a tribal structure; a diachronic analysis   
should prevent us from doing this. However, comparison shows that in the   
Archaic period, where rituals are concerned, Greek institutions present striking   
analogies, both structural and functional, with what is wrongly called   
"primitive."

This is particularly true for the so-called "rites of tribal initiation": several   
historians of religion have shown that this social institution, common to almost

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| 24. | Evidence in Alcman's poems (frr. 17 = 9 and 14 = 4, then 16 and 13 P = 8 C)  are, for example, the mainstay of arguments advanced by Kiechle, *Lakonien*, pp.  183ff. and 251f. (see also his review of Huxley, *Sparta*, in *Gnomon* 35, 1963, pp.  368-374), as a proof of the different political opinions opposing *demos* and the  aristocracy before the second Messenian war. |
| 25. | *QUCC* 11, 1971, pp. 7-47; taking into consideration the semantic endowment  of the objects analyzed, structural analysis allows both a formal and functional  comparison; in this connection the historical method of Brelich, which purports to  find differences and analogies only on the functional level, is insufficient (in addition  to *Paides*, pp. 46ff., criticism directed at Eliade by Brelich can be found in "Initiation  et histoire," in Bleeker, *Initiation*, pp. 222-231). |

-10-

all populations living in tribal patterns, existed also in the Archaic period in   
several regions of Greece and particularly in Sparta, and not on a "subsistence"   
level but with a completely functioning politics and religion. [26.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678527&offset=1#26.#26.) In light of these   
studies it seems that a certain number of Spartan cults for adolescent girls and   
boys may mark the religious consecration of the various stages of initiation.   
Since I intend to make use of this institution, proper to tribal societies, in my   
comparative structural analysis, I shall give here its generic pattern, to which I   
shall refer as needed during my interpretation of the Greek rites and cults. This is   
by no means original; it is a summary of a number of studies made of the form   
and content of this almost universal institution. [27.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678527&offset=1#27.#27.)

To begin with, what do we understand by tribal initiation? This particular   
type of initiation (*rite de passage*) aims to confer on the individual, by a more or   
less lengthy series of rites, full-fledged membership in the community formed by   
the tribal society. It integrates mainly adolescents, since this type of rite is   
usually addressed to adolescents, male and female, into the system of institutions   
and norms that govern the political, social, cultural, and religious life of the   
adult community.

So the rituals of tribal initiation concern the totality of the body politic, and   
are therefore official and public. Adolescents who have reached the age when they

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| 26. | For archaic Sparta, see first of all Nilsson, *Klio* 12, pp. 309ff.; then the  article by H. Jeanmaire, "La cryptie lacédémonienne," *REG* 26, 1913, pp. 121-150;  followed by *Couroi*, pp. 499ff.; Brelich's central work, *Paides*, pp. 113ff.; and the  remarks of P. Vidal-Naquet in *Faire de l'Histoire* III, pp. 157ff. (= *Le chasseur noir*,  pp. 200ff.), and "Retour au chasseur noir," in *Mélanges P. Lévêque* II, Besançon‐  Paris 1989, pp. 387-411. On parallels in Egyptian antiquity, see V. von  Gonzenbach, *Untersuchungen zu den Knabenweihen im Isiskult der römischen  Kaiserzeit*, Bonn 1957, pp. 79ff. Since those pioneering studies, the analysis of  Greek institutions and myths in this perspective has become pervasive: see for  instance the numerous contributions published in A. Moreau (ed.), *L'initiation. Actes  du Colloque international de Montpellier*, 2 vol., Montpellier 1992, with the critical  remarks formulated by H.S. Versnel, "What's Sauce for the Goose is Sauce for the  Gander: Myth and Ritual, Old and New," in L. Edmunds (ed.), *Approaches to Greek  Myth*, Baltimore-London 1990, pp. 25-90 (reprinted in *Inconsistencies in Greek and  Roman Religion* II, Leiden 1993, pp. 15-88). |
| 27. | Besides the fundamental work of Van Gennep, *Rites de passage*, see, out of a  very rich bibliography, the studies of a general character by A.E. Jensen,  *Beschneidung und Reifezeremonien bei Naturvölkern*, Stuttgart 1933; R. Thurnwald,  "Primitive Initiation- und Wiedergeburtsriten," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 7, 1940, pp. 321‐  398, W.E. Peuckert, *Geheimkulte*, Heidelberg 1951; Eliade, *Naissances*, with the  supplementary bibliographical references in "L'initiation et le monde modern," in  Bleeker, *Initiation*, pp. 1-14. See also the work of Young, *Initiation Ceremonies*, and  the collection of articles published by Popp in *Initiation*; not to be forgotten of  course is the very important ethnographic contribution of Brelich at the beginning of  *Paides*, pp. 14ff., with all the material collected in the notes on pp. 53ff.  For the many individual on-site studies, the reader is directed to the rich  bibliographies of Eliade and particularly Brelich. |

-11-

can be granted adult status are obliged to take part; they are initiated as a group,   
thereby conferring on the tribal rites a collective character, different from the rites   
of puberty. Consecrating a particular moment in the physiological cycle of life   
peculiar to the individual, such as the menarche for young girls, the rite of   
puberty has a different and more private character than tribal initiation; the   
differences have often not been distinguished with sufficient rigor. [28.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678528&offset=1#28.#28.)

Tribal rites of initiation belong to the large category of rites of passage now   
also called "rites of institution." While assuming a distinct semantic value and a   
specific function, they follow the formal schema as it has been defined since the   
beginning of the century in Van Gennep's decisive work. [29.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678528&offset=1#29.#29.) According to this   
system, any rite of passage has three basic moments: first, separation (from the   
old state), next, a marginal phase during which the individual's status hangs   
between the old and new, finally, a period of admission (to the new status) and of   
reintegration. It is thus a simple sequence of leaving an old order and joining a   
new, with a neutral period in between.

In the case of tribal initiation rites, the old order is represented by the   
community of childhood, the new order by the socio-cultural system of the adult   
community. The first phase therefore marks the separation of young girls and   
boys of initiation age from childhood, as represented by life within the family.   
This moment is often accompanied by an act of violence, symbolizing the   
uprooting of the adolescents from their old way of life characterized by   
ignorance, irresponsibility, and the marked absence of sexuality in the child. [30.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678528&offset=1#30.#30.)

This phase is followed by a marginal period of a certain length, anywhere   
from a few weeks to several months. It is expressed as a movement towards   
segregation and reversal in relation to the adult collective life. Segregation is at   
first spatial in that the initiates pass a period of time outside the home, isolated   
in the bush: in short, they have left the world of "culture" for that of "nature."   
Fed with special food, speaking another language, sometimes taking on a   
different name, sleeping in the rough, dressed in special clothes or entirely nude,   
perhaps disguised, they lead a life that inverts the values of the social life of the

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| 28. | On this subject see Van Gennep, *Rites de passage*, pp. 95ff.; Brelich, *Paides*,  pp. 21ff., as also by the same author, *art. cit*. n. 25, pp. 227f.; Eliade, *Naissances*, p.  22, wrongly uses the terms *rite of puberty* and *tribal initiation* interchangeably (see  also *art*. *cit*. n. 27, p. 2). |
| 29. | *Rites de passage*, pp. 13ff., with the various contributions on the enlarged  category of "rite of passage" presented by P. Centlivres and J. Hainard (edd.), *Les rites  de passage aujourd'hui*, Lausanne 1986. Insisting on the difference and the limits  marked by the ritual accession to a new social status, P. Bourdieu, "Les rites comme  actes d'institution," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 43, 1982, pp. 58-63,  proposed the term "rites of institution." |
| 30. | In this summary of the different manifestations of the three phases of tribal  initiation, I have mainly followed the discussion of Eliade, *Naissances*, pp. 31ff., and  the morphology of tribal initiation presented as an essay by Brelich in *Paides*, pp.  25ff. |

-12-

community. Outside the authority of the law, they can undertake acts of   
depredation and violence.

But their activity can also be defined in a positive manner. They must submit   
to a series of trials varying from fasting to whippings, destined to harden the   
youths before they confront the difficulties of the struggle for survival that their   
entrance to adult life represents. Above all, though, the initiates receive an   
education on various levels. First, on the religious plane, boys and girls are   
initiated into the traditions of narrative and myth on which their society is based;   
through dance and song they learn the traditional stories of the community and   
certain of the ritual practices associated with them. On the plane of communal   
living, they are informed of the rules of conduct and the laws on which the   
cohesion of the tribe depends. Finally, they are introduced, and this is an   
important point, to the customs and norms of adult sexuality. This may be   
marked by a real physiological intervention, such as circumcision for boys or   
clitoridectomy for girls. In addition, by practicing the rite of tribal initiation,   
itself a religious act, adolescents make contact with the cult and sacred life of   
their community. The marginal phase imposed upon boys and girls is generally   
a period during which their death is symbolized and dramatized in a variety of   
ways. The act of circumcision may express it; treating the initiate as a dead   
body, even to the point of burial, is another. [31.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678529&offset=1#31.#31.)

Initiate death is always followed by rebirth, a rebirth ritualized in the third   
phase of initiation dealing with acceptance into the new order. The rites of exit   
from initiation are generally public. The return of the adolescents to the bosom   
of the tribe is often represented by a long procession during which the newly   
initiated are presented to the community. By dances and songs, the neo-initiates   
show how the education they received makes them worthy of being admitted as   
full members of the adult society. The rite of entrance itself is often marked by a   
collective banquet that consecrates the union of the initiates and the members of   
the tribe.

By integrating new members into the social body, tribal initiation rites tend   
to assure the continuity of the community not only physically, but above all in   
the behavior of the individuals composing it and in the social and religious   
norms that assure its cohesion. Their aim is to form and educate future members   
of the tribe so that, once integrated, they will repeat the political, cultural, and   
sacred gestures and words of their predecessors by fully assuming the   
consequences. [32.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678529&offset=1#32.#32.) To summarize, tribal initiation functions as a continuing

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| 31. | On the marginal period, see V.W. Turner, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal  Period in *Rites de Passage*," in *The Forest of Symbols*, New York 1967, pp. 93-111,  and, for rites of passage in general, *The Ritual Process*, pp. 94ff. |
| 32. | In addition to the works cited by Brelich, *Paides*, pp. 53ff., see also Young,  *Initiation Ceremonies*, pp. 63ff., and P. Wassungu, "Classes d'âge et initiations chez  les Nawdeba," in D. Paulme (ed.), *Classes et associations d'âge en Afrique* de *l'Ouest*,  Paris 1971, pp. 63-90. Cohen, *Transition*, pp. 127ff., insists on the sense of |

-13-

reproduction of society, undertaken in European societies for quite some time by   
way of bourgeois education in the West, and socialist education in the East. [33.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678530&offset=1#33.#33.)

Since the social function and the gender status of a woman and those of a   
man are different within the community, the tribal initiation of girls is different   
from that of boys. Ethnologists have often thought that female tribal initiation   
ceremonies were secondary to those of adolescent boys; this seems not to be the   
case. [34.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678530&offset=1#34.#34.) If it is true that (individual) puberty rites are more frequent for girls   
because of the singular event of menarche, female tribal initiation rites are   
nevertheless widespread; in form, they follow exactly the system described above   
for all rites of passage, and functionally they have the same goals.

On the other hand, as regards their content, the import of the mysteries   
revealed during the liminal period is weighted on the side of sexuality, marriage,   
and maternity in pointing out the gender role of the future adult woman. This   
does not prevent the girls, like the boys, from being initiated into the   
mythological, religious, and ethical traditions of the tribe. Moreover, it seems   
that in ceremonies for girls, the presentation of the neo-initiates to the   
community, enhanced by singing and dancing, often acquires a dimension that it   
does not have for boys.

Tribal initiation rites therefore aim to make adolescents into adults capable of   
playing their particular social role in the community and of assuming its   
responsibilities. [35.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678530&offset=1#35.#35.) If the social function of men in communities with a tribal   
structure that has almost no division of labor is generally associated with the   
"exterior" survival of the tribe through activities such as hunting, raising stock,   
agriculture, or war, the woman's role corresponds to "internal" survival and   
mainly concerns the reproduction of the community through marriage, adult   
sexuality, and maternity. Tribal initiation thus creates a complete system of   
reproduction of the community, particularly in the domain of the social   
relationships of sex.

It must also be pointed out that the end of initiation is not always the same   
as the beginning of integration, and that the process of integration of neo‐   
initiates can embrace several ceremonies over a period of time. This is   
particularly the case for girls, for whom a certain distance in time may separate   
the end of initiation from the marriage ceremony that marks their true entry into   
the adult world. We shall see that this distinction is especially noticeable in the   
case of ancient Sparta, where the young initiates enjoy an intermediary status

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|  | responsibility that the social "anchorage" conferred by tribal initiation impresses on  the individual. |

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| 33. | P. Bourdieu and J.-C. Passeron, *La reproduction. Eléments pour une théorie du  système d'enseignement*, Paris 1970, pp. 157ff. and 290ff. |
| 34. | Brelich, *Paides*, pp. 41ff. |
| 35. | On this subject, see Young, *Initiation Ceremonies*, p. 42. |

-14-

between the conclusion of their initiation and their enrollment in the army or   
their marriage. Each of these events is, of course, marked by specific festivities.

But in several of the Greek cults analyzed, the meaning of the "ritual," often   
minimally described by the sources, can be partially reconstructed by means of   
the "myth" which is presented by the narrative as an explanation of the cultural   
practice. This type of myth of "the first time" will be called *a foundation myth*,   
or, to use a Greek word, *aition*. I have to stress here that I use the words *ritual*   
and *myth* as referring to modern categories, coined in the field of social and   
cultural anthropology. Even if these words have been borrowed from the Latin   
and from the Greek languages respectively, the notions they designate do not   
correspond exactly to those of the ancients. [36.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678531&offset=1#36.#36.) For this reason, I will use   
alternatively the less marked terms of *narrative* or *story* and of *cultic practice*.   
But using the narrative structure of certain myths to define the function of certain   
rites to the extent that both are the cultural products of the same symbolic   
process leads us to the semiotic approach proposed here.

**1.2.3. Semiotic approach**

To speak of semiotics in a work that merely utilizes on different levels the   
Saussurian distinction between signifier and signified may seem pretentious.   
Nevertheless, aspects of the semiotic approach seemed useful throughout the   
research.

There are three points concerning semiotics I should like to make:

First, in the morphology of the lyric chorus worked out in chapter 2, I have   
made frequent use of the dichotomy signifier/signified. This distinction separates   
out from among the variety of signifiers referring to the different protagonists of   
the choral group and their respective activities a small number of signifieds that I   
have called *semantic features*. [37.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678531&offset=1#37.#37.) By means of this reduction of the signifier to   
the homogeneous level of the signified, the features describe the different aspects   
of the roles of the lyric chorus and its performances. A morphology can only be   
created by defining distinctive homogeneous characteristics which can be used as   
a criterion for classification. It is with this condition alone that I was able to   
respond to the demand to define the figure and function of each protagonist in the   
chorus and establish a classification of the different types of choral performance   
within their scope.

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| 36. | On the semantic problem created by the use of the categories of "ritual" and  "myth" for ancient culture, see my studies, "'Mythe' et 'rite' en Grèce: des catégories  indigènes?," *Kernos* 4, 1991, pp. 179-204, and "Illusions de la mythologie,"  *Nouveaux Actes Sémiotiques* 12, 1990, pp. 5-35. For the relationship of ritual to  myth, in anthropological and semiotic perspectives, see *Thésée*, pp. 15ff. and 162ff. |
| 37. | Signifiers have been distinguished typographically from signifieds by  putting the former in italics and the elements of the latter between single quotation  marks. |

-15-

This condition is also responsible for the inclusion in my body of evidence of   
the numerous iconographical documents of the Archaic period representing   
female choruses. [38.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678532&offset=1#38.#38.) The rudimentary semantic analysis proposed will allow me to   
reduce the obvious heterogeneity of both the discursive and iconic evidence.

Determining characteristics of entities that one intends to compare and   
contrast raises the problem of the criteria used to limit the corpus being   
analyzed. I have mentioned my intention of using all available evidence of   
female or mixed choral performances for the morphology of the lyric chorus. The   
most obvious criterion for selection consists in incorporating into the corpus all   
evidence in which the activity signified by the term χορός and its derivatives is   
attributed to women (occasionally also associated with men). Even without   
taking into account iconographical documents, there is still a whole series of   
characteristic choral situations in which χορός and its derivatives are never used,   
but where the activity is described by a combination of signifiers such as ὕμνος   
+ ὀρχηθμός or μέλπω + κιθαρίζω. Moreover, the term χορός itself, along with   
the signifieds 'dance and song performed by a group of singers' and 'group of   
singers,' also has the meaning of 'dance area' which is not immediately pertinent   
to my research. Consequently, homogeneous elements of the signified and not of   
the signifier should serve as a criterion for restricting the corpus to pertinent   
evidence. In the case of my morphology, it is the constellation 'group of girls or   
women (or a mixed group) performing a dance' that has determined the contents   
of the text to be analyzed. [39.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678532&offset=1#39.#39.)

Because of the lack of a direct correspondence between the areas of signifier   
and signified, my selection cannot be exhaustive. Also, since the documentation   
on women's choruses is very meager, in certain cases I shall have recourse to   
male choruses for examples. I nevertheless hope to obtain results that are   
statistically satisfying.

Secondly, I have said that I intend to pass from the internal analysis of choral   
performance to an external study that will integrate the different aspects of the   
cults containing these performances. Here again I find myself face to face with   
the need for classification. The numerous cults that contain performances by   
female choruses do not always have the same religious function, since they   
celebrate different moments of a woman's life-cycle.

In ancient Greece, the function of a cult is essentially defined by the qualities   
of the god who is being worshipped. As I have observed, by using Dumézil's   
distinction, revised by Detienne, between a god's sphere of influence and the   
ways in which he/she acts, it is possible to define a semantic field for every

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| 38. | For this part of the study, I shall use mainly the collections of iconographical  documents put together by Tölle, *Reigentänze*, Crowhurst, *Lyric*, and Wegner, *Musik*.  On the semiotic problems posed by Greek iconography, see C. Bérard, *Anodoi. Essai  sur l'imagerie des passages chthoniens*, Rome 1974, pp. 46ff. |
| 39. | For this subject of interrelationship between lexical field and semantic field,  see again the contributions quoted above n. 36. |

-16-

divinity. [40.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678533&offset=1#40.#40.) This semantic field is composed of the collection of qualities that   
characterize the divinity and his/her modes of action in a particular sphere of   
influence; it limits for each cult the configuration of ritual practices performed.   
Very simply, the influence of Artemis, virgin goddess, is over female   
adolescents, and therefore the rites are performed by girls; whereas Hera, the   
legitimate wife of Zeus, reigns over legal marriage, and the rites are performed   
by young married women. Artemis' function is to resolve the physiological and   
social contradictions brought on by female puberty; Hera protects the rites of   
passage of marriage while guaranteeing its legality. Any god's field of influence   
is generally in harmony with the semantic figure of the god. However, it can   
happen that two different gods are active in the same area, but in their own ways,   
and they can intervene at the same moment, but in different domains, as for   
instance Hera and Aphrodite in the field of marriage. Identical ritual practices,   
such as choral performances, can thus have different functions according to the   
semantic form of the divinity they celebrate.

A definition arrived at by contrasting the semantic fields of various divinities   
celebrated by female choruses will serve as the first element of a classification of   
the cults examined.

Thirdly, the role of the cults is not solely defined by the semantic form of the   
divinity, but also by reference to the foundation myths, the *aitia* upon which   
they are based. The aetiological narrative of the myth gives an explanation of the   
ritual, justifies its existence, and generally finds its logical end in the   
establishment of the ritual concerned. The recounting of the myth adds a   
syntactic dimension to the semantic problems. Indeed, the ritual itself, far from   
being static, is generally the dramatization of a transition, a change of status, or   
the resolution of a crisis; its syntactic dimension is therefore essential. But   
because of the gaps in documentation in the case of Greece, it is often only in   
the *aition* of the ritual that we can understand which moment is being acted out.

It would of course be wrong to say that the story of the legend reflects the   
ritual word for word. But in analyzing the details, I shall have occasion to state   
that syntactically as well as semantically the *aition* often lends meaning to the   
events and function of the ritual it underlies. And the foundation myth generally   
reproduces in its own vocabulary and syntax the structures of the ritual with   
which it is connected. This is particularly true of the *aitia* at the source of the   
rituals of tribal initiation, and in more than one case it is possible to find in   
these myths the semantic values and the syntactic development characteristic of   
the schema of tribal initiation as defined in the preceding section. Using the   
structural instrument offered us by social anthropology, comparisons will be

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| 40. | G. Dumézil, *La religion romaine archaïque*, Paris 1966, pp. 179f. and 229f.;  M. Detienne, "Le navire d'Athéna," *RHR* 177, 1970, pp. 133-177; and "Athena and  the Mastery of the Horse," *HR* 11, 1971, pp. 161-184 (both reprinted in M. Detienne  and J.-P. Vernant, *Les ruses de l'intelligence. La métis des Grecs*, Paris 1974, pp.  201ff. and 176ff.). |

-17-

made on the level of the ritual as well as of the myth, without forgetting that   
these two levels are distinct and structured according to a logic specific to each.

Thus the syntax and the semantics of the foundation myths will constitute   
the second element for defining the function and creating a classification of the   
cults examined.

The insertion of the semantic values and syntactical structures of these rituals   
and myths into the more general structures of the anthropological model will   
give them a more complete meaning and thus explain their function. Indeed, in a   
Saussurian perspective, it seems that the function of an element can be defined   
by its place in a larger system and by the parameters assigned to it by the   
system. In any case, I shall define the lyric chorus in this way when I try to   
determine its situation and role in the social system of ancient Sparta, above and   
beyond the semantic analysis of the cults that serve as its framework. Far from   
being incompatible, semantic and functional considerations complement each   
other in an explanation of the meaning of the object analyzed. The former break   
it down into its component parts, while the latter target its relationship with the   
system or systems above it in the hierarchy on which it depends; both have their   
origins in the semiotic working of a symbolic system. They will be used   
alternately in this study in an attempt to give the (female) lyric chorus the most   
complete definition possible.

-18-

**2. MORPHOLOGY OF THE LYRIC CHORUS**

The first step in comprehending what unites the participants in the choral   
performance is to study the various elements that make up a female lyric chorus   
during the Archaic period. To understand not only the formal character, but also   
the dynamic aspect of this unity, I shall study its function as much as its formal   
structure. The lyric Greek chorus is basically composed of a number of dancers,   
male or female, called chorus-members and a person, male or female, who directs   
them, called the *choregos*. Beginning with the members of the chorus, I shall   
examine the different elements, number, age, order, and so on, that render them a   
homogeneous group, then the relationships (blood relations, companionship, and   
so on) that bind them together. Since the *choregos* is defined right away by   
his/her role as director of the group, I shall then examine the function of this   
position, central to the organic system of the chorus, and how it influences the   
chorus members. But since the activity of the *choregos* can only be determined   
dialectically, in relation to that of the singers, its definition will lead us back to   
an examination of the chorus as a coherent whole. And finally, the problem of   
the choral forms and literary genres, through which the female chorus is   
expressed in ancient Greece, will be addressed.

But before analyzing the components of the lyric chorus and going on to the   
choral group as a whole, I have to deal briefly with a semantic problem: the term   
χορός in its use during the Archaic period as well as in the definitions in ancient   
lexicons, corresponds to two distinct entities. The *Suda*, for example, gives the   
double meaning that we already find in epic poetry: 1. ensemble, a "body" of   
singers, 2. the space in which the singers move. [1.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678535&offset=1#1.#1.) In collecting evidence for my   
investigation, I have used only the first meaning of the word; [2.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678535&offset=1#2.#2.) in the first case,   
the term χορός in its ancient use can refer to the group of singers as well as to   
their activity, the choral dance. [3.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678535&offset=1#3.#3.) But selecting only texts that use the term χορός

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| 1. | *Sud*. s.v. χορός (2) (X 410 Adler); see also sch. A Homer *Il*. 18.590 and sch. BT  *ad loc*. The definition given by the sch. Lond. Dion. Thrac. 452, 12 Hilgard applies  to the tragic chorus, as the location of the definition, between σκοπός and τραγῳδία,  shows. For the epic use of χορός compare e.g. Homer *Il*. 18.590 to *Il*. 16.183. |
| 2. | With this double meaning already in Alcman, see frr. 27.3 = 84.3 and 45 P =  113 C; see Chantraine, *Dict. étym*., s.v. χ̇ορός. |
| 3. | The etymology of the term χορός does not help much in understanding the term  (on the usefulness of the etymological analysis, see P. Guiraud, *L'etymologie*, Paris  21967, pp. 109ff.). The ancients were already hesitating between various |

-19-

in the above manner would be to commit the kind of semiotic abuse mentioned   
in the introduction. Many sources describe obviously choral scenes without   
mentioning the word, and I have therefore incorporated into my corpus several   
passages in which the activity of a group of young girls or women corresponds   
to ἑλίσσειν, dance in a circle, ὀρχει̑σθαι, leap and dance, or μέλπεσθαι, sing and   
dance together. My criterion thus basically follows a signified, the female choral   
performance.

Let us therefore begin by examining how the group of singers is formed.

**2.1. The chorus-members**

Let me start by noting that the technical term χορευτής, a participant in a   
chorus, does not appear in lyric poetry before Pindar; but thereafter it is widely   
used in tragedy. Derived via -τής from the verb χορεύω, to dance in a chorus,   
also used for the first time in Pindar, it is a noun referring to a person who   
engages in activities implied by participation in the χορός. [4.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678536&offset=1#4.#4.) The feminine form   
of χορευτής is represented by the term χορι̑τις found in Callimachus and in

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|  | etymological explanations of the term. *EM* 813.46ff. (see also *EGud*. 569.3ff. Sturz)  gives three possible derivations of the word: 1. χαίρειν = to rejoice, 2. χω̑ρος in the  sense of 'limited space, closed like a circle,' 3. χείρ = the hand. The first of these  explanations goes back to Plato, *Leg*. 654a, who affirms in the voice of the Athenian  that the gods have given men rhythm and harmony so that they may experience the  pleasure (ἡδονή) that comes from their concordance; hence also the origin of χορύς,  the chorus, as if from χαρά, joy, pleasure; see Lonsdale, *Dance*, pp. 32ff. and 47. The  second derivation corresponds to the spatial sense of χορός as found in Homer, along  with the meaning of the word highlighted in my research. The third is used by *EM*  813.44ff. (with *v.l*. in manuscript V, see *EGud*. 568.51ff. Sturz) to explain the term  χορηγός; the *choregos* then would be the one directing the chorus with his/her hand.  This derivation has been brought back into favor recently by Tölle, *Reigentänze*, pp.  56f., who supports her thesis with representations of human figures, and sees in the  hand movements of the chorus members and in the chain they form an essential  element of the chorus; Tölle places this semantic trait of the signified χορός among  the basic etymological elements of her signifier, and consequently she attributes the  morphological and semantic origins of χορός to χείρ.  Recent etymological dictionaries are much more prudent and, according to Frisk,  *GrEW*, s.v. χίρός, all the derivations of the term given so far must be considered  hypothetical. Because it corresponds to the result of one of my own semantic  investigations (see below, pp. 53ff.), I mention the proposition of F. Froehde,  "Etymologien," *BKIS* 10, 1886, pp. 294-301 (p. 301) who compares χορός with the  Lithuanian word *záras* = row, order, management, and who attributes to the word the  first meaning of 'row,' 'order.' |

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| 4. | Pind. *P*. 12.27 and fr. 99 M; on the formation of the word, see Schwyzer, *Gr.  Gr*. I, pp. 499f., and Risch, *Wortbildung*, pp. 34f. |

-20-

Nonnus. In contrast to χορευτής, χορι̑τις is used in a strictly choral context and   
always in the plural. [5.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678537&offset=1#5.#5.)

But in most of the sources, the quality of *choreutes* does not have any   
specific signifier. It is indicated on the level of the signified by certain semantic   
features such as 'collective,' 'song,' 'dance,' etc. The aim of the following   
analysis is to determine the semantic features that characterize the group formed   
by the chorus-members in contrast to the *choregos* who stands alone.

**2.1.1. The number of chorus-members**

In tragedy and comedy, choruses were made up of a fixed number of   
participants, men and women. The note in the *Suda*, mentioned above in   
connection with the definition of the term χορός, gives fifteen members for the   
tragic chorus and twenty-four for the comic, a number that corresponds both to   
information from other sources and to what can be gleaned from the plays   
themselves. Philological opinion agrees with the number twelve for the choruses   
of Aeschylus, fifteen for those of Sophocles and Euripides, and twenty-four in   
Ancient Comedy; similarly for the fifty-member chorus of the dithyramb. [6.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678537&offset=1#6.#6.) But   
in the case of the women's lyric chorus, the only information we have on its   
number comes from fragment 1 of Alcman and the commentaries on it. [7.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678537&offset=1#7.#7.) To   
avoid the vicious circle mentioned in the introduction, I am forced to turn to   
contemporary iconography of the Archaic lyric period, or to model choruses in   
mythology.

In figured representations of female choruses the number of chorus-members,   
far from being fixed, varies between two and seventeen, the commonest numbers   
being three, four, six, and seven. [8.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678537&offset=1#8.#8.) It must be noted, however, that the lowest   
numbers are often the result of having to squeeze the chorus into a relatively   
small space.

The numbers ten and eleven as indicated in the Alcman fragment are well   
vouched for. The oldest images seem to indicate even larger numbers than those   
we know from Alcman. The oldest example cited by Tölle has for instance two

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| 5. | Call. *Dian*. 13 and *Del*. 306; for a morphological analysis of the word, see  below p. 32. |
| 6. | See Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, pp. 234ff. The scholion commenting on  Aristoph. *Eq*. 589 notes that if the comic chorus was made up of men and women,  there were thirteen men and eleven women and the distribution was the same if the  chorus was made up of women and children. |
| 7. | See *Choeurs* II, p. 132. |
| 8. | Brinkmann, *JVA* 130, p. 128; Ferri, *RIA* 3, pp. 310ff.; Crowhurst, *Lyric*, pp.  205ff.; Tölle, *Reigentänze*, pp. 55f. with n. 64. Tölle covers the "early" Greek period  (from the geometric to the proto-Attic), while Crowhurst covers the period from 800  to 350 B.C. This explains certain discrepancies between the two. Wegner, *Musik*,  only cites representations of the Homeric period; see E. Reisch, *RE* 3 (1899), s.v.  *Chor*, col. 2380. Crowhurst gives a statistical picture at the end of his vol. II of the  occurrence of the various numbers of chorus members. |

-21-

choruses, one of nine boys and one of sixteen girls, all nude. The girls' chorus is   
preceded by a boy playing the lyre and a second boy who seems to be conducting   
the chorus, and the chorus of adolescent boys follows that of the girls. [9.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678538&offset=1#9.#9.) On the   
other hand, a hydria in the Louvre has represented on its neck a chorus of fifteen   
women, clothed. [10.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678538&offset=1#10.#10.)

The number ten is found in representations of the female chorus from the end   
of the eighth century to the middle of the fifth. A geometric water pitcher in   
Munich shows a chorus of ten girls, all exactly the same, dressed in long   
robes. [11.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678538&offset=1#11.#11.) The girls are holding hands and the chorus winds right round the neck   
of the pitcher. The leading girl has no distinguishing attribute; the last one,   
however, wears a crown. On the Agora in Athens, a similar representation from   
the beginning of the seventh century can be found, also on the neck of a proto‐   
Attic hydria; here we see a chorus of ten women holding hands. [12.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678538&offset=1#12.#12.) They are all of   
the same height; dressed in long white robes, their hair apparently in a net, their   
heads all turned upwards as if singing. Finally, an Attic crater found at Falerii   
and dated between 460 and 450 shows us ten girls walking along holding hands,   
an eleventh woman at their head, dressed slightly differently, playing a pipe; [13.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678538&offset=1#13.#13.)   
the young girls' mouths are slightly open and everything gives the impression   
that they are singing, accompanied by the pipe player.

A hydria and an amphora from Athens, both geometric, show us two   
choruses composed of eleven women. [14.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678538&offset=1#14.#14.) As we have seen on the geometric   
objects, the two choral scenes are represented round the neck of the vases. Again,   
the women are of the same height, hold hands, and wear long robes. In both   
cases, the eleven chorus members are identical.

The margin of variation in the choruses represented in myth is also very   
wide. The number of chorus members can be as great as fifty; for instance in the   
*Iphigenia at Aulis* of Euripides, the third *stasimon* contains the description of the   
wedding of Thetis and Peleus, and the fifty daughters of Nereus dance the   
marriage dance in a circle; in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, the same *Nereides* enliven   
with their chorus the house of Amphitrite. [15.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678538&offset=1#15.#15.) This same number occurs again for

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| 10. | Paris Louvre CA 1333 (15 Tölle with pl. 5); see also the hydria of  Marcopoulos (unpublished; 16 Tölle with pl. 6a): there are thirteen girls preceded by  a smaller female figure. |
| 11. | München AS 6228 (1 Crowhurst, 13 Tölle). |
| 12. | Athinai Agora P 10229 (17 Crowhurst, 58 Tölle, 8 Wegner); on the icono-  graphic signifiers of the song, see below p. 66. |
| 13. | Roma Villa Giulia 909 (176 Crowhurst); see A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold,  *Griechische Vasenmalerei* I, München 1900, pp. 80ff. with pll. 17 and 18; according  to Crowhurst, *Lyric*, p. 274, these young women are not singing. |
| 14. | Athinai NM 17470 (5 Crowhurst, 17 Tölle, 44 Wegner); Athinai, Coll. Passas  (29 Tölle with pl. 10). |
| 15. | Eur. *IA* 1054ff. and *IT* 425f.; on the chorus of the *Nereides*, see Hes. *Theog.*  263f. and Bacch. 17.101ff. In Soph. *OC* 718f., the *Nereides* are called ἑκατόμποδες, |
| 9. | Tübingen Univ. 2657 (1 Tölle with pll. 1-2, 156 Wegner with pl. U1b). |

-22-

the *Danaides* when Pindar—who actually gives the number as forty-eight‐   
shows them reunited in a chorus with their father while waiting for the results of   
the competition he organized for their suitors. Occasionally the number is larger,   
as in Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*, where he has two choruses, one of sixty   
*Oceanides* and the other of twenty Nymphs. [16.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678539&offset=1#16.#16.)

The number of participants in the choruses of mythology rarely descends   
below seven; [17.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678539&offset=1#17.#17.) the latter number appears rather frequently, for the Pleiades, the   
Hyades and the Muses, also for the chorus of seven young men and seven young   
women formed by Theseus after his victorious exit from the labyrinth of   
Crete. [18.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678539&offset=1#18.#18.) We know that the number seven rivals nine for the Muses, and, since   
the composition of the chorus of Muses, as of the Pleiades, has varied   
throughout history, we should hesitate to take the numbers cited as final.

In addition, the example of the chorus of twelve in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*   
represents the fifty *Danaides*, or the example of the fifteen members in Euripides'   
*Suppliants* speaking for the seven mothers of the Seven against Thebes, show   
the gulf that can separate myth from reality in the choral performance. [19.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678539&offset=1#19.#19.)   
Moreover, the number of members of a mythological chorus is not precise: this

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|  | which allows us to interpret the φορβάδων κορα̑ν ἀγέλαν ἑκατόγγυιν of Pind. fr.  122.15 M as a troupe of fifty young women; on this question, see B.A. Van  Groningen, *Pindare au Banquet*, Leiden 1960, pp. 41ff. For the meaning of ἀγέγη see  below pp. 214ff. |

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| 16. | Pind. *P*. 9.111ff., Call. *Dian*. 13ff. Other parallels in Reisch, *art*. *cit.* n. 8,  col. 2380f.; beware of parallels given by Ferri, *RIA* 3, pp. 308ff., which do not have  all the features of 'chorus.' |
| 17. | The examples cited by Brinkmann, *JVA* 130, p. 128 n. 64, are deceptive; H.  Usener, from whose article Brinkmann takes his examples ("Dreiheit," *RhM* 58,  1903, pp. 1-47, 161-208 and 321-362), notes that the young women who form a  chorus in the tradition of written mythology (Nymphs, Maenads, etc.) usually appear  in groups of three (pp. 9ff.); Theocr. 13.43ff., who mentions a chorus of three  Nymphs, is an exception; in Eur. *Ion* 495f., the three daughters of Aglauros form a  chorus (see below p. 132). For literary references to the chorus of Nymphs without  specifying the number: Hom. *Od*. 6.105ff.; *H. Ven*. 261; *H. Hom*. 19.19ff.; Call.  *Dian*. 170. The young women appearing in groups of three in the literary tradition of  mythology were originally often only two, according to Usener (pp. 323ff.): they did  not form a chorus, therefore, and the passage from the dyad to the triad comes from a  mythical image different from the one of choral formation. |
| 18. | On the seven Pleiades and the seven or nine Muses, see W.H. Roscher, *Die  Sieben- und Neunzahl im Kultus und Mythus der Griechen*, Leipzig 1904, pp. 19 and  34ff.; on the chorus of Muses, without specific number, see *H. Hom*. 27.15 (chorus of  the Muses and of the Graces) and Eur. *HF* 686; on the Pleiades: Eur. *El.* 467f. and  Prop. 3.5.36; on the chorus of seven young men and seven young women formed by  Theseus, sch. A Horn. *ll*. 18.590, Plut. *Thes*. 15.1, and below pp. 114ff. |
| 19. | See Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, p. 234 n. 6; in the *Suppl*. of Euripides, it is  true, the seven mothers are accompanied by their seven followers. |

-23-

is the case for example of the chorus of Nymphs surrounding Artemis; led by the   
goddess, it is the mythological model of a young women's chorus.

Neither the figured representations nor the myths can offer the same   
uniformity of information that we have for a particular ritual used for various   
festivals. Although one cannot often distinguish the myth from the ritual   
practice, it can be presumed that, in contrast to tragedy where the myth must   
accommodate an extrinsic theatrical convention, the ritual coincides more or less   
faithfully with the legend, which often explains it in narrative format.   
Nevertheless, the variations found in figured representations and in myths are   
repeated from one ritual to the next.

The number fifty is represented by the chorus (the word itself is not used) of   
young women and men who sang a threnody on the occasion of the death of the   
daughter of Clytias of Megara. [20.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678540&offset=1#20.#20.) The ceremony is repeated each year: the rite of   
the "Tears of the Megarians" thus gives an example of an annual ritual and of the   
legend from which it springs. In another context, the young Lacedaemonian   
women who form a chorus to sing Helen's epithalamium in the 18th *Idyll* of   
Theocritus are twelve in number. But it is difficult to prove that this piece would   
be so performed in a real marriage ceremony; in fact it is probable that the poem   
only has a literary function and the chorus does not serve as a mythological   
model for the chorus that would actually sing it at a wedding, as is doubtless the   
case for the *Marriage of Hektor and Andromache* of Sappho. [21.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678540&offset=1#21.#21.) But the   
possibility still exists that the number twelve may reflect a canon adhered to   
when choruses were formed for performing epithalamia.

In support of the idea that the chorus was divided into two when performing   
the poem, or that two choruses competed, interpreters of Alcman's fragment 1   
have often cited the various rites connected with the group called the "sixteen   
women of Elis" and celebrated on the occasion of the Heraia of Olympia. [22.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678540&offset=1#22.#22.)   
Pausanias says that these sixteen women were to form two choruses, one for   
Physkoa, the other for Hippodameia. As the text itself indicates, the first of   
these choruses was to perform dances in honor of Dionysus, the second in honor   
of Hera, so there were two separate performances. Pausanias gives no indication

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| 20. | *An. Gr*. I, p. 281, 26ff. Bekker, see *Paroem. Gr*. I, p. 117 Leutsch‐  Schneidewin. |
| 21. | Theocr. 18.4; according to Kaibel, *Hermes* 27, pp. 25ff., Theocritus' piece is  only a typically Alexandrian excuse for giving the *aition* of the festival of Helen  Dendritis celebrated in Sparta, in the Platanistas; the number of twelve young women,  as also that of four times sixty cited later, would be appropriate for this ritual;  skepticism of this interpretation by Gow, *Theocr.* II, p. 354; on this subject, see  below pp. 192f.; Sapph. fr. 44 V; see Page, *Sappho*, pp. 71ff., and Burnett, *Three  Archaic Poets*, pp. 219ff. |
| 22. | The principal text accounting for this ritual is found in Paus. 5.16.6f.; see  also Plut. *Mor*. 251f.; commentary in Weniger, *Elis*, pp. 14ff., and Nilsson, *Gr.  Feste*, p. 292; see also below pp. 114ff. and 136f. For the chorus performing  Alcman's fr. 1, see Page, *Parth*., pp. 55ff., and *Choeurs* II, pp. 130f. |

-24-

of the number of chorus members taking part, and it is forcing the text to say   
that the women of Elis were the people who danced for Physkoa and   
Hippodameia. [23.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678541&offset=1#23.#23.) From Pausanias' text we are consequently unable to prove   
either the existence of a chorus made up of sixteen members, or of a chorus   
divided into two half-choruses of eight members each, or of a competition   
between two rival choruses. The Spartan parallel of a *Doppelkollegium* of   
women bearing the name *Dionysiades* and *Leukippides* will be discussed   
below. [24.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678541&offset=1#24.#24.) The word χορός is not used here either, although the term *Dionysiades*   
implies it. [25.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678541&offset=1#25.#25.) What we can learn for the moment is that the *Dionysiades*,   
according to Pausanias, numbered eleven.

**2.1.2. The sex of the chorus-members**

As I mentioned in the introduction, since it is impossible to create a   
complete corpus of evidence about the chorus, I cannot give statistics as to the   
frequency of male versus female choruses. In the myths, female choruses,   
particularly those made up of girls, are more frequent on the whole than male   
choruses. Similarly, choral performances in rites seem to be associated more   
frequently with women, and this tendency is confirmed by the plastic images. In   
Crowhurst's studies covering the period from 800 to 350 B.C., there are 81   
women's choruses to 28 men's. For the Archaic period alone, according to   
Tölle's data, the picture is more balanced, although women's choruses are   
preponderant. [26.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678541&offset=1#26.#26.) In addition to the male and female choruses there are mixed   
choruses, a few examples of them among the visual representations. Written   
documents mention a famous case, that of the chorus of Theseus; I will discuss   
this later. [27.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678541&offset=1#27.#27.) Thus myth and iconography agree that a chorus group is a form   
more frequently feminine than masculine.

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| 23. | *Sic* Weniger, *Elis*, p. 15, corrected among others by R. Hanslik, RE 20  (1941), s.v. *Physkoa*. The text of Pausanias begins with the phrase αί δὲ ἑκκαίδεκα  γυναι̑κες καὶ χοροὺς δύο ἱστα̑σΰ and ends with Φυσκόας μὲν δὴ γέρα καὶ ἄλλα καὶ  χορὸς ἐπώνυμος παρὰ τω̑ν ἑκκ. γυν.: the distinction between the two choruses and the  sixteen women of Elis is thus repeated; for the meaning of ἵστημι as 'forming (a  chorus),' see below p. 45. The ritual performed by the sixteen women is one of the  valuable cases in which we have the elements of the founding legend along with those  of the rite: they are given together in Pausanias' story, where the use of tenses clearly  distinguishes the two levels. |
| 24. | Paus. 3.13.7f.; see below pp. 187ff. |
| 25. | See below pp. 30ff.; it is probable that the nine young women who pronounce  the words of *Coll. Alex*. fr. lyr. ad. 9 Powell represent a chorus celebrating Demeter. |
| 26. | Crowhurst, *Lyric*, pp. 208ff. and II, app., Tölle, *Reigentänze*, p. 54. |
| 27. | Seven mixed choruses in Crowhurst's corpus (see *Lyric*, pp. 219ff.); see Tölle,  *Reigentänze*, pp. 54f. On the chorus of Theseus, see below pp. 53ff. |

-25-

**2.1.3. The age of the chorus-members**

Female choruses fall into roughly two classes in both myth and ritual. Either   
the members are in the period between puberty and marriage, or they have made   
the transition into marriage. The former are still girls and are called κόραι,   
παρθένοι, νεόνιδες, or νύμφαι, while the others are married women and thus   
considered adults; they are called γυναι̑κες. The signified of these terms will have   
various shades of meaning according to context. For instance, the word νύμφη   
designates a woman at the moment of leaving adolescence and becoming married;   
in a specific context, this term might mean either the young girl at the end of   
the age of a παρθένος as fiancée, or the young married woman until her first   
childbirth. [28.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678542&offset=1#28.#28.)

The male choruses have the same division, and the illustration of this   
correspondence with the female division between adolescence and adulthood can   
be found in the mixed choruses where the girls are together with the ephebes,   
ἔφηβοι, ἠΐθεοι, κου̑ροι, and the women with the adult men, ἄνδρες. This   
division is also seen in Timaeus who recounts that in Croton the daughter of   
Pythagoras was at the head (ἡγει̑σθαι) of the girls (τω̑ν παρθένων) when she   
herself was a girl and that she took over the leadership of the women (τω̑ν   
γυναικω̑ν) when she became an adult. [29.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678542&offset=1#29.#29.)

A third category is formed by the choruses of παι̑δες, or children. This term   
is unfortunately imprecise in its semantics and, used in a choral context, can   
refer to a chorus of boys as well as to a chorus of pubescent girls. Because of the   
sexual ambiguity of the prepubescent child, the term παι̑ς does not have a gender   
mark. Moreover, its signified covers both the prepubescent and the adolescent   
periods; consequently it can designate children or adolescents of both sexes. [30.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678542&offset=1#30.#30.)

To the extent that this classification of the two sexes into three categories—   
child, adolescent, adult—can be expressed formally, it is reflected in the visual   
images of choral performances. Crowhurst speaks of *young girls* in   
representations of the Artemis ritual at Brauron and of *young adults* on vases

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| 28. | For the two meanings of the term, see the parallels given in *LSJ*, s.v. νύμφη,  and Calame, *I Greci e l'eros*, pp. 96ff.; see also G. Herzog-Hauser, *RE* 18 (1949), s.v.  Παρθένοι, col. 1911. |
| 29. | Mixed adolescent choruses: Hom. *Il*. 18.593 (ἠΐθεοι/παρθένοι); Bacch.  17.125ff. (ἠΐθεοι/κου̑ραι); Hdt. 3.48 (ἠΐθεοι/παρθένοι); *EM* 252.13 (ἔφηβοι/κόραι);  Pol. 4.21.3 (παι̑δες/παρθένοι); adult mixed choruses: Hom. *Od.* 23.147  (ἔνδρες/γυναι̑κες).  The anecdote of the daughter of Pythagoras in Timaeus *FGrHist.* 566 F 131. For  the meaning of ἡγει̑σθαι, see below pp. 44f. |
| 30. | Call. *Del*. 298f., contrasting κόραι with παι̑δες, is thus obliged to specify  παι̑δες ἄρσενες; this expression corresponds in the passage to παρθενικαί/ΐΐθεοι,  and παι̑ς then refers to an adolescent; on the other hand, in *Dian*. 14, παι̑δες means  little girls of nine not yet pubescent; in Aristoph. *Lys*. 646, παι̑ς καλή refers to a  young girl who has just arrived at puberty, see also Pol. 4.21.3. Given this, Brelich's  title *Paides* is ambiguous and the author is aware of it himself (p. 145). |

-26-

from Clazomenae and in matrimonial ceremonies, and *women* in other cases. [31.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678543&offset=1#31.#31.)   
These categories are determined naturally by certain characteristics of the   
signifier, such as stature, development of the breasts, nudity, richness of the   
costume. The use of these marks does not seem to have been very rigorously   
systematized during the Archaic period, and codes other than age can be used,   
such as the presence of a certain piece of clothing signifying a particular kind of   
ceremony. There can be many interpretations, and Crowhurst's findings should   
only be considered as indicative.

The majority of the evidence I have gathered concerns the second category,   
that of the παρθένοι or *virgins.* This term, used in addition to *young girls* and   
*adolescent girls*, should not mislead: in Greece it embodies a concept very   
different from the one imposed upon our culture by twenty centuries of piety   
concerning the Virgin Mary. It refers to that particular status of the young   
woman who is pubescent but not yet married: the many Greek legends about   
young girls who have a child is proof, among others, that the term παρθένος by   
no means denotes a physical state of virginity, but simply the status of a young   
woman who is not yet married. [32.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678543&offset=1#32.#32.) The status of adolescent, however, shows a   
variety of features that separate the girl from the child and from the married   
woman, yet at the same time relate her to them. Based on a physiological   
phenomenon, that of puberty, it is characteristic of a transitional period. Sexual   
ambiguity is its characteristic: still children, young virgins often have masculine   
characteristics, and, being sexually undifferentiated, they are often associated with   
the ephebes; as women, they arouse the desire of men but flee their attentions. [33.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678543&offset=1#33.#33.)   
The semantic polyvalence of this image of the young girl will grow richer as my   
study progresses.

Several sources describe a chorus of young women with the emphasis,   
denoted by the word ἥλικες, on the fact that all the chorus-members are the same   
age. This semantic feature is noticeable in one of Pindar's *Pythians*, where he de-   
scribes the sound of the nuptial song "which the virgins of the same age love to   
sing" (ἅλικες παρθένοι). We find it again in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae*   
where Andromeda, personified by the relative of Euripides, expresses her ardent   
wish when she is in the hands of the Phrygian to rejoin the choruses of young   
girls of her own age (ἡλίκων νεανίδων). A similar desire is expressed by the   
chorus members of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* who, in exile, hope to rejoin   
the choruses of virgins of their own age (ἡλίκων θιάσους). [34.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678543&offset=1#34.#34.) This component of   
the female chorus takes us back to the foundations of lyric poetry, where it is

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| 31. | Crowhurst, *Lyric*, pp. 208ff.; as far as the representations of the young girls  at Brauron are concerned, see now Sourvinou-Inwood, *Girls' Transitions*, pp. 33ff. |
| 32. | See in particular Hom. *Il*. 16.179ff., Aristoph. *Nu*. 530f., and Eur. *Ion*. 502f.;  see now the detailed study by Sissa, *Le corps virginal*, pp. 97ff. and 110ff. |
| 33. | On terms signifying female adolescence, see Fehrle, *Keuschheit*, pp. 164ff.,  and Wilamowitz, *Herakles* III, p. 182. On the ambivalence of the young virgin, see  J.-P. Vernant, "Introduction," in Vernant, *Probl*. *guerre*, pp. 10-30 (pp. 15f.). |
| 34. | Pind. *P*. 3, 17ff.; Aristoph. *Thesm*. 1029ff.; Eur. *IT* 1143ff. |

-27-

also pertinent for the male chorus. A very mutilated fragment of Sappho gives   
us a glimpse of a group of young girls (παρθένοι) celebrating a ritual at night   
(παννυχισδο.[), and the poem, very probably an epithalamium, ends with an   
injunction to the newly married young man to wake up and join the men of his   
age (στει̑χε σοὶς ὺμάλικ[ας). And a new papyrus fragment of Alcman, a more   
complete interpretation of which I give below, describes the *choregoi* as being of   
the same age as the girls in the choruses they lead (ἅλι[κ]ες νεανίαι φίλοι). [35.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678544&offset=1#35.#35.)

All these examples concern young women's choruses, and are therefore to be   
placed in the period of adolescence coinciding with the status of παρθένος.   
Perhaps the term ἥλικες has to do with a system of stages within adolescence for   
girls, as it does for boys in Sparta. [36.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678544&offset=1#36.#36.) For that particular town, as we shall see, it   
is possible to reconstruct from the sources a system of age categories or age‐   
classes with six different levels.

For young women, the examples are far less clear. However, some do give   
indications along these lines. Among the various rituals of the Heraia overseen   
by the sixteen women of Elis, Pausanias mentions a race (ἅμιλλα δρόμου)   
organized for young women (παρθένοις): [37.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678544&offset=1#37.#37.) the latter were divided into three   
groups, the youngest (νεώταται), older girls *hai te* ἡλικίᾳ δεύτεραι), and the   
eldest (πρεσβύταται); each category had a race of its own.

Another text, the famous passage from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* on the   
education of young Athenians, indicates an age classification within the period of   
childhood. [38.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678544&offset=1#38.#38.) The women in revolt, as staged by the author, indicate in effect that

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| 35. | Sapph. fr. 30 V: see Page, *Sappho*, pp. 125f., and Lasserre, *Sappho*, pp. 37f.  and 132; according to Page's reconstructions, the poem is addressed to the newly  married young man; see also fr. 103, 11 V (γό]μβον ἄσαροι γὰρ ὐμαλικ[); Alcm. fr.  10 (*b*).15ff. P = 82b C: see below pp. 58ff. Just before marriage, the *Deliades*  consecrate their long hair, which is all of the same age (ἥλικα χαίτην), to the  daughters of Boreas: Call. *Del*. 296ff. (see Mineur, *Call. Del*., pp. 233f., and below  pp. 106f.). The word and the feature 'contemporary' characterize the group of four  times sixty young women who exercise with Helen near the Eurotas (πα̑σαι  συνολικες): Theocr. 18.22ff., see below pp. 192ff. Note that these are also ἅλικες,  young women of the same age who sing, in Call. *Aet*. III, fr. 75.42f. Pf., the marriage  song for their companion Kydippe. |
| 36. | On this subject see below pp. 158f. |
| 37. | Paus. 5.16.2. |
| 38. | Aristoph. *Lys*. 641ff.; see Brelich's long commentary on this difficult pas-  sage, *Paides*, pp. 230ff. and 265ff.; Brelich (p. 273) explains the contradictions in  this passage when compared with other sources by certain modifications added to the  system during the course of history. C. Sourvinou, "Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*, 641‐  647," *CQ* 65, 1971, pp. 339-342, suggested there are only two age categories in this  passage expressed by the terms *arrephoria* and *arkteia*; the terms *aletrides* and  *kanephoroi* would then refer to the sacred functions corresponding to the two  categories; see also, by the same author, a review of Brelich, *Paides, JHS* 91, 1971,  pp. 172-177 (pp. 174f.), and *Girls' Transitions*, pp. 136ff. In contrast, Vidal-Naquet,  *Faire de l'histoire* III, pp. 153f. *= Le chasseur noir*, pp. 197f., thinks it is simply a  comic pastiche. |

-28-

at seven years old the young Athenian was an *arrephoros*, at ten years an *aletris*,   
then she played the bear (ἄρκτος) in the festivals of Brauron, and finally, having   
turned into a beautiful young maiden (παι̑ς καλή), she performed the duties of   
the *kanephoros*. This passage does not mention a choral performance and is   
therefore not in agreement with later sources. However, these same sources,   
analyzed by Brelich, attest to the fact that the system of age levels is not simply   
a reconstruction by Aristophanes, as has been suggested, but is based on an   
institutional reality. Whether it was still in force during the classical period or   
whether, and this is more probable, it was the reflection of an older institution,   
this four-stage system brought the Athenian child up to adolescence. The   
vagueness of the text about the last two stages does not tell us whether it covers   
adolescence too, or if it stops short of it. Comparison with the system of   
Spartan ephebes and information from other sources, showing that the duties of   
the *kanephoros* were performed by young women who were about to be married   
(αἱ μέλλουσαι γαμει̑σθαι / αḱ ὥραν ἒχουσαι γάμου), weights the balance on the   
side of the first term of the alternative. [39.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678545&offset=1#39.#39.)

Two sources give the age of the girls taking part in a chorus and indicate that   
all have the same age. Callimachus states that the young *Oceanides*, of whom   
Artemis wanted sixty to make up a chorus, were all nine years old (πάσας   
εἰνέτεας, πάσας ἔτι παι̑δας ἀμίτρους). [40.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678545&offset=1#40.#40.) On the other hand, in the Ephesian   
ritual that serves as background to the first loves of Habrocomes and Antheia,   
the ephebes forming the cortege with Habrocomes at the head are all the same   
age as their leader, who is sixteen years old. Xenophon of Ephesos, who   
describes the scene, adds that Antheia, fourteen years old, is in the flower of her   
youth, and the analogy with the troop of boys suggests that the girls led by   
Antheia are the same age as she. [41.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678545&offset=1#41.#41.)

The women's choruses, then, can be divided into three categories: those for   
children, those for adolescents, and those for adults. There are some suggestions   
of the existence of a system of several stages corresponding to age, extending   
through childhood and adolescence up from the status of παι̑ς to the threshold of   
marriage. This system no doubt differed from city to city, as did that of the   
ephebes; it had probably changed over time, which would explain the differences   
in the few documents that substantiate it. In any case, the chorus seems often to   
have been connected with a precise age-class, and the frequent use of the term   
(ὁμ)όλικες expresses the relationship between chorus-members of the same age.

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| 39. | Sch. Theocr. 2.66 (pp. 283f. Wendel); this remark also goes for the duties of  the *arkteia* if one agrees with Harp. s.v. ἀρκτευ̑σαι (pp. 58, 4f. Dindorf): τὸ  καθιερωθη̑ναι πρὸ γάμων τὰς παρθένους [*th*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg45_1.fpx) Ἀρτέμιδι ...; see Brelich, *Paides*, pp.  286ff. For the age of the *kanephoros*, see P. Brulé, *La fille d'Athènes*, Paris 1987, pp.  321f. and 405f. |
| 40. | Call. *Dian*. 13f. |
| 41. | Xen. Eph. 1.2.2ff. |

-29-

I will call this relationship 'contemporary,' considering it as a semantic feature   
of the chorus.

Choruses of adolescents differ from those of children and women in the   
frequency with which they are mentioned in the sources. I think it is possible to   
deduce from this relative frequency, in spite of concerns about using raw   
statistics, that choral activity was characteristic of young women. This   
relationship between female adolescence and chorus participation is particularly   
noticeable in the *Phoenician Women* by Euripides, where he associates dancing   
in a chorus (χορει̑αι) with the activities proper to adolescent girls (παρθενεύ‐   
ματα): Antigone's place is no longer among the girls, but near her mother to   
help prevent her brothers from killing each other. [42.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678546&offset=1#42.#42.)

**2.1.4. The collective character of a group of chorus-members**

A collective name is often given to a group of women forming a chorus and   
almost always to choruses of young virgins. Among choral groups in myths   
there are the Muses, the Nymphs, the *Nereides*, the *Danaides*, the *Emathides*, the   
*Amazonides*, and so on; among choruses or groups of women performing a   
regular ritual are the *Deliades* or the *Lesbiades*.

If the signifiers of these names and their morphology are analyzed, we see   
that they are almost all derivatives in -ιδ- and -αδ-. Semantically, such   
derivatives are most often characteristic of terms signifying the feminine. The   
suffix -ιδ- denotes subordination and belonging; it is used to form many   
patronymics and some terms denoting geographic association. The suffix -αδ- is   
often used to form terms indicating geographic association; it is most often   
found in the names of groups of women who serve a god or goddess (Dryads,   
Orestiads, Maenads, etc.). [43.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678546&offset=1#43.#43.)

We saw that the *Nereides*, like the *Danaides*, formed a chorus of fifty young   
women: the *Nereides* are the daughters of Nereus, the *Danaides*, those of Danaos,   
as is obvious. The Emathids, opposing the Muses in a musical competition,   
were born, according to legend, in Emathia. [44.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678546&offset=1#44.#44.) The *Deliades* form a girls' chorus   
dedicated to the service of Apollo at Delos—I shall define their role later—, and

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| 42. | Eur. *Phoen*. 1265; elsewhere, an expression such as χοροιθαλέας κούρας, 'the  young girls who flourish in the choruses' (AP 6.287.3), shows linguistically the  connection between the semantic features 'adolescence' + 'female' and 'choral  performance.' |
| 43. | Chantraine, *Formation*, pp. 339f., 341f. and 355ff.; Risch, *Wortbildung*, pp.  141f. and 146ff.; Schwyzer, Gr. Gr. I, p. 507. |
| 44. | Eur. *IA* 1054ff.; Pind. P. 9.112f.; Ant. Lib. 9.1. See also Call. *Dian*. 237,  who mentions a chorus formed of Ἀμαςονίδες (instead of Ἀμαζόες); perhaps this  term was formed on analogy with names of other choruses of young women: see  Bommann, *Hymnus in Dianam*, pp. 113f. On the problem posed by the etymology of  Πλειόδες, see J. Ilberg in Roscher, s.v. *Pleiades*, col. 2555f. |

-30-

the Lesbiades are the women taking part in a beauty contest on Lesbos. [45.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678547&offset=1#45.#45.) A   
geographic designation is also given to the Muses, who are often called the   
*Pierides*, the daughters of Pieria if not *Olympiades*, daughters of Olympos or   
*Helikoniades*, daughters of Helicon. Virgil gives the Nymphs the eponym of   
*Oreades*: they were the young virgins who came down from the mountains to   
form a chorus around Artemis their mistress; Callimachus says that twenty of   
them were attendant on the goddess, and he calls them *Amnisides*, daughters of   
the River Amnisos in Crete. [46.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678547&offset=1#46.#46.)

The signifiers in -ιδ- and -αδ- therefore often include the semantic features   
'female' and 'collective' and always the feature 'geographical/family association.'   
Used in the context of a choral performance, the bond between the chorus‐   
members created by age is widened by the bond of their common origin.

The feature 'family association,' derived from a component that appears   
frequently in this corpus, often has a quite explicit signifier. Comparing the   
group of followers of Nausicaa to the chorus of Nymphs around Artemis, Homer   
calls the latter *daughters of Zeus* (διὸς κου̑ραι). The *Nereides* are clearly   
described by Euripides as *daughters of Nereus* (κόραι Νηρέως). Callimachus uses   
the term *daughters of the Arestorides* (παι̑δες Ἀρεστοριδα̑ν) to describe the band   
(ἵ*λα*) of young Argive virgins (παρθενικαί) in the service of Athene: he uses the   
same procedure on the second level. [47.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678547&offset=1#47.#47.) The Muses themselves are called   
successively θύγατρες, κόραί, παι̑δες, παρθένοι, and τέκνα of *Zeus and   
Mnemosyne*. In the description of the rite, the young women (παρθένοι) singing   
and playing the lyre for Artemis in Ephesos are called *daughters of the Lydians*   
(Λυδω̑ν κόραι). [48.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678547&offset=1#48.#48.) The 'family association' is therefore a semantic feature   
essential in defining the band of young women; it also constitutes a feature   
characteristic of the divinities of adolescence such as Apollo and particularly   
Artemis.

The 'geographical association' constitutes the signified of a term used from   
time to time in the context of the choral performance; the term is ἐπιχώριος   
'local, of the country.' The young women in the (fictive) ritual that is the

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| 45. | Call. *Del.* 256ff.: see below pp. 104ff.; Alc. fr. 130.32ff. V: see below pp.  122f.; Hom. *Il*. 9.129 has the form Λεσβίδας. |
| 46. | Ps. Hes. *Scut.* 206, Bacch. 1.1ff. (Πι]ερίδες), Pind. *I*. 1.65, etc.; Pind. *I*.  2.34, see Hes. *Theog.* 1 and Ibyc. fr. S151.24 P (Ἑλικωνίδ[ες]); Alcm. fr. 3.1 P =  26.1 C, see Hes. *Theog*. 25, 52, etc. Verg. *Aen.* 1.499f.; Call. *Dian*. 15, see A.R.  3.882. |
| 47. | Hom. *Od.* 6.105; Eur. *IA* 1056f., chorus of the Νηρη̑ος κόραι. also in Bacch.  17.102f.; Call. *Lav. Pall*. 33f.; cf. also the passage just cited of Bacch. 1.1ff.: Δ[ιὸς  ὑ-]ψιμέδοντος παρθένοι, I [... Πι]ερίδες. |
| 48. | For the various names of the Muses, see Roscher, *Suppl.* 1, pp. 176ff.;  daughters of the Lydians, Autocr. fr. 1 KA. It is possible that the etymology of  κου̑ρος, to be compared with κόρος, the branch, in a way expresses metaphorically  the line of parentage: see R. Merkelbach, "ΚΟΡΟΣ," *ZPE* 8, 1971, p. 80, who  follows among others Chantraine, *Dict. étym*., s.v. κόρος (2), and below, p. 170 n.  249. |

-31-

backdrop to the meeting of Habrocomes and Antheia, and who walk in   
procession before the citizens of Ephesos, are girls from the region (τὰς   
ἐπιχωρίους παρθένους). Xenophon of Ephesos, who tells the story, also calls   
this festival, dedicated to Artemis, ἐπιχώριος. [49.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678548&offset=1#49.#49.) In the ritual dedicated at Patras   
to Artemis Triclaria and Dionysus Aisymnetes, to which I shall return, the   
children who place ears of wheat on the banks of the River Meilichos as a gift to   
Artemis before going into the Temple of Dionysus are children of the region   
(ὁπόσοι τω̑ν ἐπιχωρίων παι̑δες, says Pausanias). [50.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678548&offset=1#50.#50.) The fact that the festival was   
organized by nine chosen men and nine chosen women, in other words by a   
mixed group, leads one to suppose that the children performing the rite for   
Artemis and Dionysus also belonged to both sexes. And, according to   
Bacchylides, the young women of Aegina celebrated a local festival on their   
island (ἐ[πιχω]|ρίαν ἄθυρσιν), to which I shall return later. [51.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678548&offset=1#51.#51.) The term   
ἐπιχώριος consequently denotes the place of origin of the chorus members. Since   
the native land tends to become merged with a group of families, 'geographical   
association' and 'family association' are not far apart, and in expressions such as   
Λυδω̑ν κόραι, the daughters of the Lydians/of Lydia, they become one.

To end these reflections on terms signifying belonging, the appearance in   
Callimachus of the term χορίτιδες, the chorus members, is noteworthy; it is   
doubtless a neologism. In the *Hymn to Artemis* the poet uses it to designate the   
chorus of sixty *Oceanides*, all nine years old, and in the *Hymn to Delos* the   
chorus that dances while the men sing the hymn of Olen on the island of   
Apollo. [52.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678548&offset=1#52.#52.) The word was formed on analogy with feminine words in -τις from   
the masculine in -της, such as βουλευτής changing to βούλευτις, a woman   
councilor, δημότης changing to δημότις, a woman of the same deme, and so   
on. [53.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678548&offset=1#53.#53.) Semantically, these words always refer to 'belonging' in some category. A   
second process has been added to the first, namely, the derivative in -ι̑τις   
(ἀνδρωνι̑τις, κεραμι̑τις, etc.). The words formed according to this process are   
feminine and generally belong to the vocabulary of technology. In χορι̑τις, it is   
the morphological aspect that was the determining factor, since the meaning, in   
common with other words in -ι̑τις, is only represented by the feature 'feminine.'

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| 49. | Xen. Eph. 1.2.2ff.; see Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 244f., and below pp. 93ff. |
| 50. | Paus. 7.20.1f.: see below p. 137. |
| 51. | Bacch. 13.91ff.: see below pp. 86f.; note that Bacchylides, line 89, describes  the friends forming the chorus as ἀγχίδομος, showing that the girls all come from the  same village or from the same region and thus confirming their geographic  association; on this term and the word ἄθυρσις, see H. Maehler, *Bakchylides*, Leiden  1982, II, pp. 266f.; see also Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 1.21.2, who reports that at Falerii  choruses of young girls sang local hymns to Hera (ᾠδαι̑ς πατρίοις), just as the Argive  women did at Argos: but Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 46 n. 5, has reservations about the  credibility of the examples offered by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. |
| 52. | Call. *Dian*. 13 and *Del.* 306: see also Hsch. s.v. Δύμαιναι (Δ 2600 Latte): αὁ ἐν  Σπάρτῃ χορίτιδες Βάκχαι; other parallels in Nonnus: see Bornmann, *Dianam*, p. 12. |
| 53. | Chantraine, *Formation*, pp. 339f. |

-32-

The form χορι̑τις instead of χορευ̑τις implies this second derivation process, [54.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678549&offset=1#54.#54.)   
but because of the meaning that the primary derivation brings, it is reasonable to   
attribute to χορίτιδες, in addition to 'feminine' and 'plural,' the character of   
'belonging to a group,' as denominatives in -ιδ- or -αδ- suggest.

**2.1.5. The "companionship" of the chorus-members**

The third *Pythian* of Pindar adds to the age similarity of the chorus members   
a "companionship" bond, friendship signified by the word ἑταίρα, the (female)   
companion, the (female) comrade. In Pindar's poem, the young women of the   
same age (ἅλικες παρθένοι) who sang the nuptial song for Coronis are all said   
to be companions (ἑται̑ραι) of the young bride. According to a textual   
restoration, Bacchylides described the young virgins who sang for the Nymph   
Aegina with the same word. And Virgil uses the word for *companion* when   
speaking of the virgins who were the followers of Artemis (*ex virginibus   
sociis*). [55.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678549&offset=1#55.#55.) Here it seems that the bond between the chorus members depends on   
the friendship of each of them with a girl who is in another position and has a   
function different from that of the chorus-members. It is this relationship   
between the girls in a group and a particular girl that Callimachus expresses   
when, in the scene of the marriage of Akontios and Kydippe, he says that the   
young girls singing the nuptial song for the heroine are all the same age and that   
Kydippe herself is their companion (ἥλικες αὐτίχ' ἑταίρης [*hdon*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg49_1.fpx) ὑμεναίους). [56.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678549&offset=1#56.#56.)

This same relationship is expressed in the adjective φίλος, dear, used for   
example by Euripides' relative in the passage quoted earlier from the   
*Thesmophoriazusae* of Aristophanes to invoke, in imitation of Andromeda, the   
young women of his own age whose choruses he would like to rejoin (φίλαι   
παρθένοι). [57.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678549&offset=1#57.#57.) This bond of friendship between young men or young women,   
based on belonging to the same age group, is often found in Homer, and the   
terms φίλος, ἑται̑ρις, and ὁμηλικίη are used for it. [58.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678549&offset=1#58.#58.)

The various semantic studies of the way the terms ἑται̑ρος and φίλος were   
used in epic poetry have shown that, besides a generic meaning referring to men

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| 54. | It is also possible that χορι̑τις was formed in the same way as ἱερι̑τις or  ἱερει̑τις (Aesch. fr. 93 Radt, see Hsch. s.v. ἱερι̑τιν [*I* 287 Latte]); Chantraine,  *Formation*, p. 340, derives this word from the verb ἱερεύω; χορι̑τις could then have  been formed on χορεύω; in the case of ἱερι̑τις though, the corresponding masculine  form \*ἱερεύτης does not exist. |
| 55. | Pind. *P*. 3.17f.; Bacch. 13.83ff.: see R.C. Jebb, *Bacchylides*, Cambridge  1905, pp. 341f.; Verg. *Aen*. 11.532f., glossed by Macr. *Sat*. 5.22.1ff., who uses the  terms *socia* and *comes*. |
| 56. | Call. *Aet*. III, fr. 75.42f. Pf. |
| 57. | Aristoph. *Thesm*. 1015; see line 1029ff. |
| 58. | Hom. *Il*. 5.325f.: Sthenelos entrusts Diomedes' horses to Deipylos, ἑτάρῳ  φίλῳ, ὃν περί πάσης τι̑εν ὁμηλικίης, ὅτι οἱ φρεσὶν ἄρτια ᾔδη; Od. 3.363f.:  Telemachus' retinue is made up of ἑται̑ροι, φιλότητι νεώτεροι ἄνδρες ἕπονται πάντες  ὁμηλικίη μεγαθύμου Τηλεμάχοιο; see also *Il*. 3.174f., Od. 15.196ff., 22.208f., etc. |

-33-

under the authority of a leader such as the companions of Odysseus, the term   
ἑται̑ροι is more particularly descriptive of a group of free men, generally sons of   
aristocratic families, who belong to the same tribe, and who, under a leader, play   
the same role—in the case of Homeric poetry that of the warrior. [59.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678550&offset=1#59.#59.) The term   
ἑται̑ρος generally indicates a subordinate relationship with the person leading the   
group, and this would explain the frequent use of θεράπων in conjunction with   
ἑται̑ρος. [60.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678550&offset=1#60.#60.) The term φίλος is also used in this context; its sense accentuates the   
legal aspect of "companionship," recalling the oath taken by the *hetairoi* when   
they dedicated themselves to their leader. [61.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678550&offset=1#61.#61.)

This short detour by way of epic poetry shows how the terms ἑται̑ρος and   
φίλος contain bonds of both subordination and equality uniting the members of a   
group in ancient Greece. This dual character is also applicable to female choral   
groups of the same age, the members of which obey, as we shall see, the orders   
of the *choregos* to whom they are bound by ties of friendship and camaraderie.

**2.2. Formal organization of the chorus**

**2.2.1. Circular form**

In contrast to the tragic chorus grouped in a rectangle, the lyric chorus is   
generally circular, as the κύκλιος χορός of the dithyramb will be later. [62.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678550&offset=1#62.#62.)   
Turning to choruses in myth, we note that Theseus "weaves" the seven boys and   
seven girls he has brought from Athens into a circle to celebrate the gods after   
his victory over the Minotaur. This chorus reappears under a slightly different   
form in the *Hymn to Delos* of Callimachus; led by Theseus, the chorus dances   
in a circle round the altar of Delos (κύκλιον ὠρχήσαντο). [63.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678550&offset=1#63.#63.) The chorus of

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| 59. | See *i.a*. Jeanmaire, *Couroi*, pp. 97ff.; C. Talamo, "Per le origini dell'eteria  greca," *PP* 16, 1961, pp. 297-303; and H.J. Kakridis, *La notion de l'amitié et de  l'hospitalité chez Homère*, Thessaloniki 1963, pp. 47ff., also below p. 218 n. 42. |
| 60. | M.P. Nilsson interprets this relationship as vassalage in "Das Homerische  Königtum," *SPAW* 1927, pp. 23-40 (= *Opuscula Selecta* II, Lund 1952, pp. 871-897,  partic. pp. 881ff.); see also by the same author, *Homer and Mycenae*, London 1933,  pp. 232ff., and Kakridis, *op. cit*. n. 59, pp. 78ff. |
| 61. | Hom. *Il*. 4.373, 13.653, 23.77, *Od*. 12.33, etc.; see Benveniste, *Institutions*  I, pp. 341f., and later, in the context of the developing polis, see W. Donlan, "Pistos  Philos Hetairos," in T.J. Figueira and G. Nagy, *Theognis of Megara: Poetry and the  Polis*, Baltimore-London 1985, pp. 223-244. |
| 62. | See Ferri, *RIA* 3, pp. 299ff.; Ferri concludes however that the circular and  square choral formations are both of melic origin (p. 322); on the form of the tragic  chorus, see Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, pp. 239ff. |
| 63. | Sch. AB Horn. *Il*. 18.590 and Call. *Del*. 310ff.; on Theseus' chorus, see below  pp. 53ff.; on the circle formed by the chorus round the altar, see Latte, *Salt*., p. 71: to  the references given by Latte Sapph. fr. 154 V can be added. On the idea of "weaving"  a chorus, see also Luc. *Salt*. 12, who describes the dance called the "necklace"  (ὅρμος); it is a circular dance performed by ephebes and young virgins who mingle |

-34-

Theseus is particularly interesting in that the dance they performed became, as   
we shall see later, the mythological model of a dance performed in the   
Aphrodisia round the homed altar at Delos, called the Crane Dance.

The fifty *Nereides* of Euripides who live in the house of Amphitrite form   
several circular choruses (χοροί ἐγκύκλιοι), and in another tragedy they are seen   
again performing round dances (κύκλια ἐχόρευσαν) to celebrate the marriage of   
Thetis and Peleus. Similarly, the virgins of Delos, the *Deliades*, dance in a circle   
when they sing the paean in honor of Apollo. [64.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678551&offset=1#64.#64.) In the latter passage, Euripides   
uses the term εἱλίσσω; the signified of this word combines the features 'to   
dance' and 'circularity.' In the former passage, the expression κύκλια ἐχόρευσαν   
is coupled with εḱισσόμεναι This verb is used frequently by Euripides to   
describe the dances of the lyric chorus and those of the female chorus. In one of   
the *Orphic Hymns*, the Fates and the Graces together form a circular chorus. And   
in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, the circle formed by the public round the   
young girls of the chorus from which Hermes abducts Aphrodite suggests a   
circular form. Finally, Callimachus in his *Hymn to Artemis*, describes the   
Nymphs who make a circle of their chorus round Artemis; in imitation, the   
Amazons make a circular chorus when they dance, armed, round the statue of the   
goddess. [65.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678551&offset=1#65.#65.)

With this plurality of signifiers (κύκλος, κύκλιος, ὅρμος, εἱλίσσω, etc.), a   
new semantic feature appears, that of 'circularity.' As regards this semantic play,   
the expression κύκλιοι χοροὶ παρθένιοι, the circular choruses of girls, used by   
Euripides in *Helen* to describe the choruses from which Kore was abducted, is   
significant in that it confirms the link between 'circularity' and 'lyric chorus' in   
the signified and more specifically between the semantic features 'lyric chorus' +   
'female' + 'adolescent.' [66.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678551&offset=1#66.#66.) It is appropriate here to recall that Hesychius himself   
defined the chorus as a circle or a crown. [67.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678551&offset=1#67.#67.)

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|  | their respective qualities (ἐκ σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀνδρείας πλεκόμενον): see below pp.  57f., with n. 145. Nonnus expresses the same idea with the neologism χοροπλεκής:  he speaks of marriage hymns that weave the choruses (χοροπλεκέων ὑμεναίων, 6.49)  and of Pyrrhichos the Cretan who directed the Corybants, chorus weavers (ἡγεμόνευε  χοροπλεκέων Κορυβάντων, 14.33); the chorus of the Corybants includes the feature  'circularity' (κυκλάδος ἐστήσαντο σακεσπάλον ἅλμα χορείης, 44.29); see Alcm. fr.  33 P = 200 C = Anon. I *ad Arat.* 2 (p. 91, 11 Maass), discussed below pp. 38f. |

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| 64. | Eur. *IT* 427ff., *IA* 1055f. and *HF* 687ff.; see Aristoph. *Thesm*. 966f.: the  chorus of the Thesmophoria intends to follow the rhythm of a circular dance in honor  of Apollo, Artemis, and Hera (εὐκύκλου χορείας εὐφυα̑ στη̑σαι βάσιν), before  dancing the dance of Dionysus. |
| 65. | *Orph*. *H*. 43.8, cf. *H*. 55.21: κυκλίαισι χορείς; *H. Ven*. 117f.; Call. *Dian*.  170ff. and 237ff. |
| 66. | Eur. *Hel*. 1312f. |
| 67. | Hsch. s.v. χορός (X 645 Schmidt): κύκλος, στέφανος; on the metaphorical  meaning of στέφανος, alluding to a circular form, see Blech, *Kranz*, pp. 27ff. |

-35-

A second feature, implied by the first, can be added: the semantic component   
'center,' generally expressed by the adjective μέσος. The center of the chorus is   
filled either by a cult object (altar, statue of a divinity), or by the person who, as   
we shall see, directs the chorus. This feature of 'center' is important in the   
Homeric image of the chorus and the music. On the shield of Achilles forged by   
Hephaistos, a child plays the lyre in the middle of (ἐν μέσσοισι) boys and girls   
bearing grapes, who sing and dance. Further on, in another scene represented on   
the Shield, the crowd surrounds the chorus (understood as the place itself), on   
which boys and girls are dancing in a circle; in the center (κατὰ μέσσους) of   
these concentric circles two acrobats perform complicated movements. In the   
Odyssey, Demodokos places himself in the center (ἐς μέσον) of the chorus when   
he sings the story of the loves of Ares and Aphrodite; he is encircled by young   
men, experienced dancers, who stamp the ground. [68.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678552&offset=1#68.#68.)

In Hesiod's *Shield*, Apollo plucks the lyre in the middle (ἐν μέσῳ) of the   
chorus of Immortals. Also occupying the center (ἐν μέσαις) of the chorus of the   
Muses is the same god, whose actions are described at length, playing the lyre in   
Pindar's *Fifth Nemean*. Another god, Poseidon, takes a similar central place at   
the heart of the chorus of dolphins, "lovers of the Muses," who form a circle   
round him. [69.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678552&offset=1#69.#69.)

If we move from people, human or divine, in the center of the chorus to cult   
objects in the same place, we find, in addition to the examples cited of the   
chorus of Theseus dancing round the altar at Delos and the Amazons dancing   
round the statue of Artemis, that the chorus of Euripides' *Trojan Women* is   
remembered to have celebrated Artemis by dances performed round her temple. A   
fragment of Aeolic poetry has Cretan women circling an altar, and at Keos,   
round Apollo's altar during the celebration of the Pythia, danced the chorus of   
girls that included Ktesylla when Hermochares saw her and fell in love with   
her. [70.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678552&offset=1#70.#70.)

And this image of the chorus as a circle round a center was strong enough to   
elicit a simile found in both Callimachus and Longus. The first describes the   
Cyclades surrounding the island of Delos as though they formed a chorus; in the   
second, Chloe is encircled by her sheep as though by a chorus. [71.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678552&offset=1#71.#71.) In chapter 4,   
we shall see that this circular pattern had an influence on the form of education   
(ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία) dispensed in the lyric chorus.

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| 68. | Hom. *Il*. 18.567ff. and 590ff.: see sch. *ad loc. cit*. below n. 63; Od. 8.256ff.,  see also *Od*. 4.17ff. |
| 69. | Ps. Hes. *Scut*. 201ff.; Pind. *N*. 5.22ff.; *PMG* fr. ad. 939 P. |
| 70. | Eur. *Tr*. 551ff.; *PLF* fr. inc. 16 LP; Ant. Lib. 1.1, for this legend see below pp.  93f. |
| 71. | Call. *Del*. 300f.: σὲ μὲν περί τ' ἀμφί τε νη̑σοι κύκλον ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ ὡς  χορὸν ἀμφεβάλοντο; Long. 2.29. |

-36-

In her analysis of the iconography of the ancient chorus Tölle distinguishes   
two main categories among the examples she collected: [72.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678553&offset=1#72.#72.) the *Kreisreigen* and   
the *Langreigen*. Tölle notes on the one hand that the second category,   
corresponding usually to a procession, is more frequent than the first, while the   
first is referred to in the Homeric descriptions just cited. Crowhurst comes up   
with a similar distinction between the *Processional* and the *Circular*. According   
to Crowhurst, the processional further divides into two sub-categories: marriage   
processions and sacrificial processions. [73.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678553&offset=1#73.#73.)

Crowhurst observes with acuity that the circular is represented mainly on   
terra-cotta objects, while vases usually show the processional type. Evidently the   
classification depends in large part on the material used in the representation,   
with the result that the larger proportion of the processional type found by Tölle   
has to do with the high number of choral illustrations on vases. We find   
ourselves face to face with one of those cases in which the signifier—if it is a   
matter of a non-linguistic signifier—is not directly related to the signified. The   
connection is actually obliterated by the inability of the Greek painter to paint a   
circular object in perspective; the circular form of the chorus can only really be   
expressed in space on a terra cotta object.

The total of processional signifiers does not correspond at all to an equal   
number of signifieds. Crowhurst points out that most of the images of   
processions should actually be interpreted as circular choruses. It is quite likely   
that a third category, a "V formation," where two halves of a chorus stand   
opposite each other and march in two lines towards someone in the center, only   
represents a technique for showing the circle of a chorus on a flat surface. [74.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678553&offset=1#74.#74.) A   
fourth category, with fewer examples than the first two, has the chorus formed in   
lines of two to five members each, following the person who leads them. [75.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678553&offset=1#75.#75.) This   
is characteristic of marriage processions, and an example of it can be found on a   
Corinthian crater from the middle of the sixth century in which two groups of   
three girls, walking abreast and dressed in the same cloaks, follow the chariot   
bearing the newlyweds; between the two groups of three young women there are   
two male figures. [76.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678553&offset=1#76.#76.) It should be noted that representations of this type are   
relatively recent, dating mostly from the middle of the sixth century. But it   
would be wrong to conclude that a new choral form was making its appearance at   
this time. Once more the signifier is deceptive, and it is quite possible that the   
painters from the eighth and seventh centuries did not have the technical skill to   
render rows of dancers in depth.

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| 72. | Tölle, *Reigentänze*, pp. 58ff. and 62ff. |
| 73. | Crowhurst, *Lyric*, pp. 283ff. and 289ff.; according to Webster, *Chorus*, pp.  8f., the processional type appears only in the seventh century. |
| 74. | Crowhurst, *Lyric*, pp. 291f. and 293ff. |
| 75. | Crowhurst, *Lyric*, pp. 286ff. |
| 76. | Vatican 126 (188 Crowhurst); plate in A. Lane, *Greek Pottery*, London 1948,  pl. 37. |

-37-

As in literary documents, the image of the circular chorus is shown moving   
around a central point. This point can be an object, a tree, a log of wood or an   
altar—always a cult object—or it can be a person, generally someone playing a   
pipe or lyre. The chorus-members are represented in two different positions,   
either facing the center or facing away from it. [77.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678554&offset=1#77.#77.) The terra-cotta of Hanover,   
published by Tölle, shows five female figures held up by a round disk; they form   
a circle around a woman playing a pipe at whom they direct their gaze; this   
image dates from the sixth century. But this type of terra-cotta is much older and   
is already found in Minoan art. The group of Palaikastro, dating from late   
Minoan III, represents five or six dancers—three little figures are extant—   
circling round a lyre player. [78.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678554&offset=1#78.#78.) This model is found in numerous Cypriote terra-   
cottas dating from the eighth and seventh centuries. The plastic images of the   
chorus encircling a central object or person are therefore chronologically relevant   
to my research. Here again the feature of 'circularity' is related to that of 'center.'

The iconography of the lyric chorus is thus divided into two large categories:   
one processional, the other circular. [79.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678554&offset=1#79.#79.) A third, less important, category of   
disposition in rows can be added. This classification has two consequences. First,   
the rectangular formation of the tragic chorus should probably be included in this   
third class. The tragic chorus would therefore originate in a lyric form, and the   
dichotomy between tragic chorus characterized by 'rectangle' and lyric chorus   
characterized by 'circularity' is probably not as marked as my remarks at the   
beginning of the paragraph would suggest. Second, the visual images reveal a   
feature of the lyric chorus not apparent in written documents, that of   
'procession.' Thus the semantic complex 'lyric chorus' does not necessarily   
imply 'circularity' and its correlate 'center,' but 'procession' and 'circularity' are   
both semantic components subordinate to that of 'lyric chorus'; they are in an   
exclusive, disjunctive relationship with respect to the feature that subsumes   
them.

**2.2.2. The arrangement of the chorus-members**

Within the chorus, the order in which the singers stand in line is not without   
meaning. The word τάξις is used by the anonymous author of the commentary   
on Aratus when he explains the word ὁμοστοίχους, in the same line, used by   
Alcman to describe the young girls dancing in formation in the same chorus (τὰς

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| 77. | Crowhurst, *Lyric*, pp. 120ff. and 289ff. |
| 78. | Hannover Kestner Mus. 1961.21, plate in Tölle, *Reigentänze*, pl. 28a; for the  Palaikastro group, see Lawler, *Dance*, pp. 32ff. with pl. 7, and pp. 53f.; according to  T.B.L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer*, London 1958, p. 47, this Minoan terra‐  cotta might represent Apollo and the chorus of the Muses. |
| 79. | Brinkmann, *JVA* 130, p. 127, in place of this classification, gives a corre-  sponding distinction between *Gangreigen* (προσόδια) and *Standreigen* (στάσιμa).  This designation is used by Wegner, *Musik*, p. U59; but it is awkward in that it  introduces the tragic connotations of στάσιμον. |

-38-

ἐν τάξει χορευούσας παρθένους). [80.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678555&offset=1#80.#80.) This expression appears also in a quotation   
from Alcman concerning a cosmological description of the four overlapping   
spheres of ether, air, water, and earth. He explains that these spheres were called   
στοιχει̑α because each of them was placed στοίχῳ καὶ τάξει, in line and in order,   
which means that each one formed a well-ordered, circular line, like Alcman's   
choruses of young girls. And the commentator adds that the letters of the   
alphabet are also called στοιχει̑α because their elements weave (πλέκεσθαι, [81.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678555&offset=1#81.#81.)   
στοίχῳ καὶ τάξει) the syllables. The idea of 'line' is therefore intimately   
connected with the idea of 'order' (order in which the elements forming the line   
are placed).

I must get rid of a misunderstanding here. The use of the word στοι̑χος in the   
context of the lyric chorus does not mean that the chorus was arranged in rows   
like the tragic chorus. Pollux, who describes the disposition of the choruses   
forming a rectangle in the theater, clearly distinguishes between the rows (ζυηά)   
and the lines (στοι̑χοι) formed by the singers: given the rectangular form of the   
chorus, the rows were shorter than the lines. [82.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678555&offset=1#82.#82.) The tragic chorus was made up of   
three lines of five people who came on stage in rows of three; the comic chorus   
consisted of four lines of six, therefore placed in rows of four. The military sense   
of the words ζυγόν and στοι̑χος should also prevent confusion.

Therefore the second choral scene on Achilles' shield is not a case in which   
the properties 'circularity' and 'rectangle' would exist together. [83.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678555&offset=1#83.#83.) The poet tells   
us that the young people danced sometimes in a circle, as the image of the   
potter's wheel (τροχός) indicates, sometimes in lines (ἐπὶ στίχας) that moved   
towards each other. However, the presence of the word στίχες, the meaning of   
which is more ambiguous than that of στοι̑χος, does not imply 'rectangle' by   
itself; the sense of these two terms is simply based on the image of an ordered   
line. [84.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678555&offset=1#84.#84.) The movement of the lines not being parallel (ἀλλήλοισι) and the

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| 80. | Anon. I *ad Arat*. 2 (p. 91, 11 Maass) = Alcm. fr. 33 P = 200 C. |
| 81. | The sch. A Hom. *Il*. 18.590 use the same term to describe Theseus forming his  chorus in Crete, see above n. 63; on the meaning of στοι̑χος for writing, see J.  Svenbro, "La cigale et les fourmis. Voix et écriture dans une allégorie grecque," in  *Lectiones Boëthianae* VII, Stockholm 1990. |
| 82. | Poll. 4.108f.; Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, pp. 239ff. is wrong to call the  ζυγά *files* and the στοι̑χοι *ranks*. It is evident that the chorus was supposed to appear  on stage in rows (κατὰ ζυγά), three to a row in tragedy, four to a row in comedy. It  then had to turn to face the spectators in such a way that the στοι̑χοι became rows and  the ζυγά lines. This is why Photius, *Lex*. s.v. τρίτος ἀριστερου̑ (II, p. 227 Naber),  explains that the chorus leader's (πρωτοστάτης) place was in the middle of the first  line (στοι̑χος). |
| 83. | Hom. *Il*. 18.590ff., see below pp. 56f.; Tölle, *Reigentänze*, p. 60, identifies  the choreographic figure ἐπὶ στίχας with the choral representations classed as V  *Formations* by Crowhurst (= group VI in Tölle); this is an error of interpretation. |
| 84. | For the meanings of these words, see W. Burkert, "Στοιχει̑ον. Eine  semasiologische Studie," *Philologus* 103, 1959, pp. 167-197 (pp. 180f.), who cites  the work of his predecessors on the subject. |

-39-

context indicating circularity (the crowd surrounds the chorus, two acrobats   
perform in its center), the chorus of young people described by Homer does not   
take the form of a rectangle; the chorus probably sometimes separated into two   
or several lines which danced in a circle in opposite directions to each other. This   
passage from the *Iliad* therefore cannot be used to attribute to Homer the   
connection between lyric chorus and rectangular form, as seen in vase paintings   
from the middle of the sixth century.

On the other hand, the line can be associated with the processional form. This   
is the case with the group of young persons at the head of which are Habrocomes   
and Antheia in the *Ephesiaca* of Xenophon of Ephesos. [85.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678556&offset=1#85.#85.) The retinue walks in   
line (κατὰ στίχον οἱ πομπεύοντες), as would be expected; but what is significant   
is that Xenophon uses the word κόσμος (ὁ τη̑ς πομπη̑ς κόσμος ἐλέλυτο) to   
describe it, going so far as to use τάξις for the group of young women with   
Antheia at their head [*erche*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg56_1.fpx) δὲ τη̑ς τω̑ν παρθένων τάξεως 'A.); in dealing with the   
problem of the *choregos* I shall show how the procession is ordered and its   
importance.

As for the circular form, there is a description of the way the chorus-members   
are arranged in the choral group vivid enough to serve as a comparison: in the   
*Cyropedia*, Xenophon compares to the chorus the phalanx that regroups, each   
soldier taking the place assigned to him and with which he is familiar. [86.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678556&offset=1#86.#86.) Here   
again, the semantic feature 'order' is associated with the trait 'line' or 'row.'   
Then again, the orator Aristides, desiring to reinforce the ideas of harmony and   
order, takes the example of the carpenter who assembles (εἰς τάξιν τίθησιν) the   
ribs of a ship, or the mason who arranges stones to make a wall: such is the   
χοροποιός, the chorus master, adds the orator, implying the chorus master in his   
function as organizer of the chorus. [87.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678556&offset=1#87.#87.)

As in the tragic and comic choruses, where the place assigned to each varies   
according to his qualities, the positions in the lyric chorus are not all equally   
valuable. [88.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678556&offset=1#88.#88.) Plutarch relates an anecdote, and a saying uttered successively by   
two important Spartan people: [89.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678556&offset=1#89.#89.) he tells that Agesilas (afterwards Damonidas)   
while still a child was placed, for the celebration of the feast of the   
Gymnopaidiai, in an insignificant position (ἄσημος / ἄτιμος) in the middle of a   
chorus of young ephebes; Agesilas is said to have remarked that he would show

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| 85. | Xen. Eph. 1.2.3 and 1.3.1, discussed below pp. 95f. |
| 86. | Xen. *Cyr*. 3.3.70, see also 1.6.18. Given the date of composition of the  *Cyropedia*, it is not impossible that the tragic chorus served as the comparison here,  since its rectangular form corresponds better to the phalanx. Perhaps it is the  opposite considering that on analogy with the image of the phalanx, the chorus  members of the τετράγωνοι χοροί were called Λακωνισταί: Timaeus *FGrHist*. 566 F  140. |
| 87. | Aristid. *Or*. 46.156 (II, p. 211 Dindorf); on the function of χοροποιός, see  below pp. 46f. |
| 88. | See Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, pp. 240f. |
| 89. | Plut. *Mor*. 208de and 219e, see also *Mor*. 149a and Xen. Ages. 2.17. |

-40-

that the positions assigned were not those that necessarily corresponded to the   
qualities of their occupants, but that it was up to the chorus members   
themselves to make the positions assigned to them distinguished by their   
personal value. In his long discussion about the educational and homosexual   
customs of the Cretans, to which we shall return, Strabo recounts that the young   
Cretans who had the honor of being taken up by an older lover filled the most   
notable positions in the choruses and in the races; [90.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678557&offset=1#90.#90.) these young ephebes wore a   
special garment that distinguished them from their companions who had not   
been selected.

The order imposed on the chorus is also reflected in the semantic components   
of the words used to describe it. The commonest verb, widely used in choral   
lyrics, particularly by Pindar and Bacchylides, is ἵστημι. [91.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678557&offset=1#91.#91.) The root of this verb   
is found in nouns designating the places of honor in the tragic chorus, where the   
παραστάται are those nearest the *choregos*, himself called πρωτοστάτης. [92.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678557&offset=1#92.#92.) But   
the most significant verb is found in one of the *Homeric Hymns to Artemis*;   
here the word ἀρτύνειν, to organize, assemble, is applied to the chorus of the   
Muses and Graces. Theocritus uses a similar verb (ἀρτίζειν) when he describes   
the chorus formed by the Nymphs in the water. [93.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678557&offset=1#93.#93.) Derived from a common root   
ἀρ-, the terms in this family denote the idea of assembling something solid,   
firmly articulated, constructed according to a certain plan. Their signified   
possesses the semantic components of 'articulation' and 'order'. [94.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678557&offset=1#94.#94.) These features   
are comparable to those contained in the verb mentioned earlier, πλέκειν, to   
weave, to braid. [95.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678557&offset=1#95.#95.)

The arrangement of the choral group is one of the basic elements in the   
Platonic theory of dance and of music. [96.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678557&offset=1#96.#96.) Plato explains that the gods gave men   
rhythm and harmony to distinguish them from children and animals who have   
neither a sense of order nor of disorder in their movements (οὐκ ἔχειν αἴσθησιν

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| 90. | Strab. 10.4.21; see below p. 251. |
| 91. | Bacch. 11.112, Pind. P. 9.114, fr. 52b. 99 M, etc.; see also the proposal of  Wilamowitz to see in the τελλόμεναι χορόν of the fr. dub. 61.1 M of Bacch. a form  στελλόμεναι which would be equivalent to ἱστάμεναι; see Hdt. 3.48, Aristoph. Av.  220, *Nu*. 271, Call. *Dian*. 242, AP 6.57.7f., 9.189.3, and Paus. 5.16.6; the use of the  verb συνίστημι in this same sense in sch. Theocr. 13.25 (p. 262 Wendel) = Call. fr.  693 Pf. to describe the choral dance that the Pleiades choreograph for the first time,  emphasizes the collective character (συν-) of the group (see *Choeurs* II, pp. 75f.); see  also Pherecyd. *FGrHist*. 3 F 120. On the words χοροστάτης, χοροστατέω, χοροστασία  and χοροστάς, see below pp. 45f. |
| 92. | Aristot. *Met*. 1018b 26ff. and Phot. *Lex*. s.v. τρίτος ἀριστερου̑ (II, p. 227  Naber). |
| 93. | *H. Hom*. 27.15; Theocr. 13.43. For the tragic chorus, we also find the verb  συγκροτει̑ν, to forge, assemble, compose; see *An. Gr*. I, p. 72, 17f. Bekker. |
| 94. | Chantraine, *Dict. étym*., s.v. ἀραρίσκω, and my own study, "Die Komposita  mit ἀρτι- im frühgriechischen Epos," *MH* 34, 1977, pp. 209-220. |
| 95. | See above p. 34 with n. 63. |
| 96. | Plat. *Leg*. 653dff. |

-41-

τω̑ν ἐν ται̑ς κινήσεσιν τάξεων οὐδὲ ἀταξιω̑ν, [*hois*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg58_1.fpx) δὴ ῥυθμὸς ὄνομα καὶ   
ἁρμονία). In Platonic theory it is in the bosom of the choruses during   
adolescence that men acquire the quality that characterizes them, namely, order.   
Under the direction (χορηγει̑ν) of the gods, men correct their bodies and voices   
by overcoming the disorganized movements of youth. The pleasure that is felt   
(χαρά) is even, according to Plato, at the etymological root of the word   
χορός. [97.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678558&offset=1#97.#97.) This introduction to rhythm and harmony in the bosom of the   
choruses is the first step in education, according to the philosopher's theory. It is   
the achievement of Apollo and the Muses who, singing and dancing, take on the   
role of *choregos* (συγχορευτάς τε καὶ χορηγούς) in the choruses of men. [98.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678558&offset=1#98.#98.) I   
shall return in chapter 4 to this philosophical view of the lyric chorus as a   
means of education.

In the choruses of young women I am considering, we find it is usually one   
adolescent alone who distinguishes herself from her companions. She is given   
the attribute of 'beauty,' and is put in the place of honor in the middle of the   
others. In the *Odyssey*, Nausicaa stands out from the girls around her by her   
beauty, like Artemis among her chorus of Nymphs. [99.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678558&offset=1#99.#99.) In the same way as the   
divine Huntress, a head taller than her companions, is easily recognizable   
(ἀριγνώτη), so Nausicaa shines among her followers (ὣς ἥ γ' ἀμφιπόλοισι   
μετέπρεπε παρθένος ἀδμής). Artemis herself stands out because of her stature   
and the brilliance of her appearance when she sings in the chorus of the Graces,   
the Seasons, and Aphrodite dancing on Olympus under the direction of   
Apollo. [100.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678558&offset=1#100.#100.)

The young girl who left Lesbos and was regretted by Sappho appears   
(ἐμπρέπεται) among the women of Lydia like the moon among the stars.   
Actually, this passage has no explicit reference to a chorus and is difficult to   
interpret. [101.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678558&offset=1#101.#101.) Again, it is Helen who shines with an extraordinary light among   
the four times sixty young women of her age who exercise with her on the   
banks of the Eurotas (ἁ χρυσέα 'E. διαφαίνετ' ἐν ἁμι̑ν); Helen, whom   
Aristophanes shows, at the end of *Lysistrata*, in her function as leader of the   
chorus of young Laconians, describing her as good-looking (ἁγνὰ χοραγὸς

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| 100. | *H. Ap*. 194ff. |
| 101. | Sapph. fr. 96 V, see fr. 34.1f. V: ἅστερες μὲν ἀμφὶ κάλαν σελάνναν | ἂψ  ἀπυκρύπτοισι φάεννον [*eidos*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg58_2.fpx) with Page's commentary, *Sappho*, pp. 89f. |
| 97. | See above n. 3. |
| 98. | Plat. *Leg*. 665a. On this pedagogical function of the choral performance, see  below pp. 222ff. |
| 99. | Hom. *Od*. 6.99ff. For an exact definition of the choral aspect of the ball game  played by Nausicaa and her followers, see below pp. 87f.; in order to qualify the  beauty of Dido, Virgil, *Aen*. 1.498ff., uses the same comparison with Artemis who  surpasses her train of Nymphs. Perhaps it is in this sense that we should interpret the  passage by Bacch. 13.84ff. describing a girl carrying her head high (ὑψαυχής),  singing of the glory of the Nymph Aegina and leaping like a young doe among her  comrades. |

-42-

εὐπρεπής). [102.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678559&offset=1#102.#102.) The same connection between the attributes 'to surpass' and   
'beauty' is made in the scene of Artemis' procession described by Xenophon of   
Ephesos; the author of the *Ephesiaca* tells us that the beauty (κάλλος) of   
Antheia surpassed (ὑπερεβάλλετο) that of the other young women. [103.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678559&offset=1#103.#103.)

Places in the chorus are thus assigned according to the value of the person,   
and for choruses of young women this value is measured by their beauty.   
Attached to this unique beauty is a precise function: like the chorus director   
Helen, Nausicaa conducts (ἤρχετο) the movements of the girls surrounding her.   
It is this role, undertaken only by outstanding women, that I shall now analyze.

**2.3. The choregos**

**2.3.1. Terminology**

The various definitions of the word χορηγός and its derivatives as given by   
Hesychius indicate three functions: 1. the director may be the one who instructs   
the chorus (διδάσκαλος), 2. he may be the one who finances it (idea of δόσις),   
3. he/she is the one who sets it going, who gives the signal (for the dances or   
the songs) to begin (ἐξάρχων). [104.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678559&offset=1#104.#104.) Of these three functions, the second excludes   
the two others; it belongs to the director of the dithyramb whose role it is to set   
up the chorus and assure its finances; he chooses a χοροδιδάσκαλος, a teacher   
of dance and singing, to instruct the chorus; when performing the dithyramb, the   
chorus is led by a κορυφαι̑ος, as is the case for the dramatic choruses. [105.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678559&offset=1#105.#105.) This   
function is therefore not relevant to my study. Ignoring for the moment the first

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| 102. | Theocr. 18.22ff. and sch. *ad loc*. (p. 332 Wendel); Aristoph. *Lys*. 1315; see  also Sen. *Med*. 75ff. featuring the metaphor of the sun's light; Wilamowitz, *Lyriker*,  p. 92, adds to the description of Helen's beauty in Theocritus her quality as *choregos*;  extrapolating from *Arg*. Theocr. 18 (p. 331 Wendel), he attributes this tradition to  Stesichorus (fr. 189 P). Perhaps fr. ad. 926(*e*) P of the *PMG* gives an analogous  situation. One girl (νεα̑νις) seems to detach herself from the rest, and it is possible  that one of her attributes, termed εὐπρεπής, distinguishes her from her companions;  the idea of noble beauty characterizing Helen seems to have been transferred from the  girl to some attribute that "envelops" her (νιν ἀμφύπει); D.L. Page, *Select Papyri* III,  London-Cambridge, Mass. 41962, p. 395, thinks that this fragment could have come  from a partheneion rather than from a dithyramb, as is the case for the other  fragments in the same papyrus. |
| 103. | Xen. Eph. 1.2.5. On the tendency of the Greeks to entrust the position of  director to the most beautiful people, see the anecdotes recounted by Ath. 13.565ff. |
| 104. | Hsch. s.v. χορηγός (X 641 Schmidt), see also s.v. χοραγ(ε)ίων, χοραγός and  χορηγία (X 631, 632 and 638 Schmidt). |
| 105. | Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, pp. 75ff. and 241. See also B. Gentili,  *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo* III, Roma 1956, col. 1451f. On the semantic and  terminological modifications in the words describing the chorus leader introduced by  the arrival of tragedy, see E. Reisch, *RE* 3 (1899), s.v. χορηγός, col. 2423. |

-43-

of Hesychius' definitions, which I shall discuss later, I shall turn my attention to   
the third.

The ancients usually made the connection between the word χορηγός, the   
leader, and the verb ἡγέομαι, to lead, and gave it a corresponding meaning: this   
is the case in the *Suda* which takes Hesychius' second and third definitions and   
explains the terms as ὁ του̑ χορου̑ ἡγούμενος, καὶ δότης, the one who conducts   
the chorus, and the one who finances it; [106.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678560&offset=1#106.#106.) this is also Athenaeus' procedure   
when he relates that Demetrius of Byzantium, in the fourth book of his work *On   
Poems*, recalled that the *choregoi* were not those who paid for the choruses, but   
those who conducted them (καθηγούμενοι). [107.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678560&offset=1#107.#107.) This study of an originary   
definition is based on the etymology of the word (καθάπερ αὐτὸ τοὔνομα   
σημαίνει).

Modern scholars are divided concerning this etymology and have only   
partially found fault with it. Chantraine's view is that all the words in -αγός/   
-ηγός, related to ἠγέομαι as regards meaning, are morphologically derived from   
the verb ἄγω. The evolution of the meaning of ἄγω 'to push,' replaced by   
ἐλαύνω, 'to lead,' 'to conduct,' which then competes with ἠγέομαι, has resulted   
in a semantic contamination of the two terms. [108.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678560&offset=1#108.#108.) Their gradual move towards   
synonymy was hastened by the analogy between the two signifiers. The   
correspondence between their signifiers and signified has resulted in the   
formation of proper names such as Ἁγησἑστρατος along with Ἀγησίλαος or   
Ἀγησιχόρα alongside Ἀγέλαος.

The semantic feature 'leading (the chorus)' having been identified   
etymologically with the term χορηγός, it is now time to see whether other   
signifiers include in their signifieds a similar semantic feature. Of the rich   
terminology used to designate the leader of the chorus, the word χορηγός seems   
the most ancient: it is widely used in Alcman, and in Aristophanes in a Laconian   
context. [109.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678560&offset=1#109.#109.) However, it is not the only signifier of the function it refers to. In   
Plutarch's anecdote about Agesilas, the chorus master of the chorus organized for   
the Spartan Gymnopaidiai is referred to in one of the versions of the story by the   
word χοροποιός, he who forms the chorus, in the other, by the expression ὁ τὸν   
χορὸν ἱστώς, he who sets up the chorus; in this second version concerning   
Damonidas and no longer Agesilas, Damonidas speaks to the leader of the   
chorus, addressing him as χοραγός. In a third version he is called ὁ ἄρχων,

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| 106. | *Sud*. s.v. χορηγός (X 400 Adler). |
| 107. | Ath. 14.633ab; this piece of evidence dates from the first century B.C. |
| 108. | P. Chantraine, *Etudes sur le vocabulaire grec*, Paris 1958, pp. 88ff., and also  *Dict. étym*., s.v. ἄγω and ἠγέομαι. |
| 109. | Alcm. frr. 1.44, 10 (*b*). 11 and 15 P = 3.44, 82a. 3 and b. 2 C, see 4.6.2 P =  62.2 C (see below p. 58); Aristoph. *Lys*. 1315, see also *PMG* fr. ad. 1027 (d) P; on  this terminology, see now Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, pp. 350ff. |

-44-

probably a shortened form of ό του̑ χορου̑ ἄρχων, he who commands the   
chorus. [110.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678561&offset=1#110.#110.)

It is in this context that the isolated term [χο]ροστάτις used by Alcman in   
fragment 1 should be seen; in its masculine form χοροστάτης, it is defined by   
Pseudo-Zonaras as 'he who commands the chorus' (ὁ ἄρχων του̑ χορου̑); [111.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678561&offset=1#111.#111.) this   
recalls the designation of the χοραγός in the third version of Plutarch's anecdote.   
The formation of χοροστάτης goes back to the verb ἵστημι, a term that refers in   
a choral context to the assembling of the chorus. The question is whether ἵστημι   
should be taken in its transitive or intransitive sense, since the term χοροστάτης   
refers either to the one who is placed at the head of the chorus or the one who   
assembles it, depending on whether the verb is intransitive or transitive. I have   
mentioned the use of the words πρωτοστάτης and παραστάτης in the context of   
the dramatic chorus. There is also a term προστάτης, where ἵστημι has an   
intransitive sense. Προστάτης refers to a political or military leader when he is   
placed at the head of a group. It is used once by Athenaeus, concerning rites with   
choral performances, to designate the *choregos*. Before Athenaeus, Xenophon had   
shown through the character of Socrates the analogy between the political,   
military, and choral functions of a προστάτης. [112.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678561&offset=1#112.#112.) The morphology of the   
compound noun χοροστάτης differs from παρα-, προ-, and πρωτοστάτης. The   
first is a "verbales Rektionskompositum," like Διόσδοτος or οἰκοφόρος; the   
first part of this compound is dependent on the second, which has a transitive   
sense; etymologically, χοροστάτης thus refers to a person who puts in   
place/who establishes (ἴστησι) the chorus. The second two are "nominale   
Determinativkomposita" of the category *Bahuvrîhi*; the second part of these   
terms has a passive or intransitive value, as for example in πρωτόγονος, where   
the first part with its adverbial value qualifies the second. Πρωτοστάτης and   
προστάτης thus refer to a person who has been placed/who finds himself in the   
first position/at the head of, and παραστάτης, a person who has been placed/is   
found at the side of. [113.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678561&offset=1#113.#113.) The morphological formation and transitive meaning of   
χοροστάτης are paraphrased in the *Birds* of Aristophanes when Apollo, the

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| 110. | Plut. Mor. 208de, 219e, and 149a; Xen. Ages. 2.17 speaks of χοροποιός (to  the Hyakinthia). These terms can also be used in a dramatic context to refer to the  *koryphaios*: see Poll. 4.106, and A. Müller, *Lehrbuch der Griechischen  Bühnenalterthümer*, Freiburg i. Br. 1886, p. 207. The latter however makes no  distinction between lyric poetry and drama. On the meaning of (ἐξ)άρχων, see  Mullen, *Choreia*, pp. 12ff. |
| 111. | Alcm. fr. 1.84 = 3.84 C; Ps. Zonar. s.v. χοροστάτης (p. 1856 Tittmann). |
| 112. | Ath. 15.678b; Xen. *Mem*. 3.4.3ff.: ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὅμοιόν ἐστι χορου̑ τε καὶ  στρατεύματος προεστάναι, an opinion that is then refuted by Socrates who concludes  that ἀγαθὸς ἂν εἴη προστάτης, εἴτε χορου̑ εἴτε πόλεως εἴτε στρατεύματος  προστατεύοι. |
| 113. | Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr*. I, pp. 429, 434f. and 453f., and Risch, *Wortbildung*, pp.  194ff. |

-45-

divine *choregos*, is described as the lyre player who sets up choruses of the gods:   
θεω̑ν ἵστησι χορούς. [114.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678562&offset=1#114.#114.)

From χοροστάτης are formed the noun χοροστασία and the verb   
χοροστατέω. The former, used by Callimachus, refers to the idea that the chorus   
is being organized; Athena's love for the Nymph Chariklo is such that the   
chorus of young followers of the goddess is not organized and their songs do not   
resound unless Chariklo is leading them (ἁγει̑το). Among lexicographers, the   
latter is a participle defined by the act of setting a chorus going (κατάρχων), of   
initiating the singing and dancing. [115.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678562&offset=1#115.#115.)

The signifier and the signified of χοροποιός and of χοροστότης are   
analogous. Moreover, Plutarch uses them indiscriminately to refer to the   
*choregos* charged with the organization of the chorus of the Spartan   
Gymnopaidiai. In an *Orphic Hymn* we find the term χοροποιός referring to   
Apollo, and Aristides, in a significant comparison, explains that the χοροποός,   
literally the one who "makes" the chorus, assembles the chorus members like   
the carpenter constructing ships assembles beams and like the mason   
constructing a wall arranges stones (εἰς τάςιν τίθησιν). In this metaphor we find   
the feature 'order' implied in the term τάξις and in words such as ἀραρίσκω   
formed on the root ἀρ-. [116.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678562&offset=1#116.#116.) As for χοροστάτης, the activity of the χοροποιός is   
broken down into its constituent terms in an expression found at the beginning   
of the *Theogony*: Hesiod sings of the Muses who assemble their choruses on top   
of Mt. Helicon (χοροὺς ἐνεποιήσαντο καλούς). [117.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678562&offset=1#117.#117.) It must also be noted that   
here the Muses organize their own chorus: they are both chorus-members and   
*choregoi*. In a parallel passage in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, Apollo on the other   
hand exercises his function as *choregos* and remains apart from the choruses. The   
situation in Hesiod however has a parallel with the use of ἵστγμι. In one of the   
epigrams of the *Palatine Anthology*, the Nymphs are said to form choruses with   
the inhabitants of the woods (χορείαν στα̑σαν). On the other hand, the Graces,   
as a group, are qualified by Euripides as χοροποιοί: their activity, described by a

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| 114. | Aristoph. *Av*. 217ff.; see also AP 6.57.7f. See also the definition in the *Suda*  s.v. Στησίχορος (Σ 1095 Adler), this poet's name: ἐκλήθη) δὲ ὁ Στησίχορος ὅτι πρω̑τος  κιθαρῳδίᾳ χορὸν ἔστησεν; on this subject see the inscription cited below, n. 131,  and Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, pp. 362ff. |
| 115. | Call. Lav. *Pall*. 66f., see AP 9.603.2; Hsch. s.v. χοροστασίa (X 646  Schmidt); χορός, and χοροστατω̑ν (X 647 Schmidt): χορου̑ κατάρχων; *Sud*. s.v.  χοροστατω̑ν (X 411 Adler) gives the same definition as Hsch.; in Callimachus, fr. 305  Pf., we find the compound χοροστάς, formation in -αδ- from χορόν and ἰστάναι (see  Schwyzer, *Gr. Gr*. 1, p. 507), used to qualify the festivals celebrated in honor of  Dionysus Limnaios; these festivals are defined literally as "organizing choruses," and  are the occasion for choral performances to take place. |
| 116. | Plut. *Mor*. 208d: see Xen. *Ages*. 2.17; *Orph. H*. 34.6; Aristid. *Or*. 46.158 (II,  p. 211 Dindorf); see above pp. 38ff. Parallel with χοροστασία, Poll. 4.106 mentions  a term χοροποιία. |
| 117. | Hes. *Theog*. 7f. |

-46-

derivative of the verb ποοι̑ν, corresponds exactly to that of the Muses in   
Hesiod. [118.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678563&offset=1#118.#118.)

Another "verbales Rektionskompositum" formed in the same way as   
χοροστάτης and χοροποός is χορολέκτης. This term is used much more rarely   
and later than the first two. It is found only in Aelian where it occurs twice;   
cited, however, in a passage that paraphrases a discussion of Hecataeus of Abdera   
on the Hyperboreans, it might perhaps originate with that author. In any case, it   
is mentioned alongside χοροποιός in a list of technical terms cited by Pollux   
having to do with the chorus. [119.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678563&offset=1#119.#119.) Etymologically, the word refers to the one   
who chooses the chorus if λέγω is taken in its earlier sense, thus perhaps   
attesting to its ancient origins in spite of its later appearance. The meaning   
given by ancient dictionaries differs from the etymological meaning to the point   
that the *Suda* writes the word χοροδέκτης, and explains it by ὁ του̑ χορου̑   
προεξάρχων, the one who stands at the head of the chorus and gives the signal   
to dance. [120.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678563&offset=1#120.#120.) The *Suda* adds to the definition a citation, also by Aelian, from a   
military context; this citation gives only the second part of a comparison in   
which an action is compared with the fact of receiving a place assigned by the   
χοροδέκτης (παρά τινος χοροδέκτου λαβει̑ν τὴν στάσιν). To the duty of giving   
the starting signal is added the assigning of places to the participants, the   
arranging of the chorus. With the term στάσις, we return to the etymological   
meaning of χοροστότης and the feature of 'establishing' included in ἵστημι.

Turning now to the meaning of the word χορολέκτης as it is used in context,   
the second passage by Aelian reverts to the first definition of the word as given   
in the *Suda*: Aelian explains that in fishing, a watcher signals the arrival of the   
fish in the same way as the general gives the signal for battle, or the χορολέκτης   
gives the note for the chorus (τὸ ἐνδόσιμον). Similarly, in the first passage,   
Aelian says that among the Hyperboreans the swans join in the human choruses   
and that their harmony is so perfect that the singing is never out of tune:   
everything happens as though the χορολέκτης had given them the note (ἐκ του̑   
χορολέκτου τὸ ἐνδόσιμον λαβόντες). The semantic features of the signified of   
χορολέκτης are twofold: 'to arrange (the chorus)' and 'give the note.'

The role of the person who gives the signal for the dance or the song is also   
referred to as ἀρχέχορος. In this word, not discussed by ancient lexicographers,

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| 118. | AP 6.57.7f.; Eur. *Phoen*. 786ff.; see Aristoph. *Ran*. 353: χοροποιὸν ἤβαν;  parallel to Apollo's activity as χοροποιός, cf. also that of Pan: Soph. *Aj*. 697. On this  term see E. Reisch, *RE* 3 (1899), s.v. χοροποις. |
| 119. | Ael. NA 11.1 = Hecat. Abd. *FGrHist*. 264 F 12, see 15.5; Poll. 4.106. |
| 120. | *Sud*. s.v. χοροδέκτης (X 407 Adler): ὁ του̑ χορου̑ προεξόρχων, ὥσπερ [*oun*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg63_1.fpx) παρά τινος χοροδέκτου λαβει̑ν τὴν στάσιν; see E. Reisch, *RE* 3 (1899), s.v.  χορολέκτης, who forces the evidence by adding to the function of *Ordner des Chores*  of the χορολέκτης, that of *Vorsänger und Lehrer*. The original meaning of the word  suggests the function of selecting the chorus participants as performed by the chorus  master in performances of the dithyramb; the word, though, is never used in this  context: see Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals*, p. 76 n. 5. |

-47-

it is easy to recognize a "verbales Rektionskompositum" orientation of the type   
φερέοικος, in which the first member of the compound governs the second, the   
contrary of what happens in χοροστάτης. Consequently, the etymological   
meaning of the word would be the one 'who commands/begins the chorus.' It is   
this idea of 'beginning' that seems to stand out in Euripides' use of the word in   
the *Trojan Women*: [121.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678564&offset=1#121.#121.) after the sack of Troy, Hecuba addresses the women and   
virgins of the city and wants to intone a song for them (ἐξάρξω μολπάν) like   
the mother bird to her little ones; but, she adds, under the circumstances, the   
song could not be the same as the one she intoned before the Trojans'   
misfortunes, with a Phrygian rhythm beaten with the foot which gives the cue   
to the chorus (οἵαν ποδὸς ἀρχεχόρου πληγαι̑ς Φρυγίαος ἐξη̑ρχον). The cue given   
by Hecuba was for the song as well as for the dance: she intones the song for the   
chorus-members and gives them the dance rhythm at the same time. But   
ἀρχέχορος used as a noun can also indicate a person. The term appears in an   
inscription from Lesbos, listing among the numerous religious duties of an   
island dignitary that of chorus master for Artemis and Apollo Maloeis. The   
position must have been important because, according to Thucydides, Apollo   
Maloeis was honored at a feast celebrated by the whole population of the   
island. [122.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678564&offset=1#122.#122.) Here it seems that the use of the term implies the less specific feature   
of 'to command.' The purpose of the following section will be to examine   
whether the semantic features defined here after analyzing the signifieds can be   
understood as the modalities of a unique function.

**2.3.2. The function of the choregos**

An etymological analysis, morphological in character, has produced   
analogous if not synonymous meanings for the terms χοροστάτης, χοροποιός   
and χορολέκτης. This meaning contains the feature 'to organize,' the object   
affected being, of course, the chorus. This operation of "ordering" the chorus   
depends on a previous choice of participants and has to do with assigning a place   
to each of them. The word χορηγός on the other hand implies the feature 'to   
conduct'; conducting the chorus takes place after its organization. Definitions   
given by ancient lexicographers show that the meaning of the terms χορηγός,   
χοροστάτης and χορολέκτης has a common denominator in the words (προ)εξ‐   
/κατάρχων; on the other hand, the terms χοροποιός and ἀρχέχορος are not

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| 121. | Eur. *Tr*. 146ff.: one of the mss. of Euripides' text has παοδός instead of  ποδός; in this case Hecuba would share her role of chorus leader with a child piper or  dancer; she would be responsible for directing the singing, and the child for giving  the rhythm or melody. |
| 122. | *IG* XII.2.484.18ff.; see Thuc. 3.3.3. Notice that A. Aloni, "Proemio e  funzione proemiale nella poesia greca arcaica," in *Lirica greca* e *latina. Atti del  Convegno di studi polacco-italiano*, Roma 1990, pp. 99-130, would consider as  *prooimia* all the initial lines in the compositions of Greek archaic poetry in which  the verb (ἐξ)άρχεσθαι is used. |

-48-

found in these same lexicographers. The signified linked to these components in   
-άρχω is that of 'to give the signal,' or 'to give the note.' In the following, I   
prefer the more general designation of 'beginning.' The function is similar to   
that of the modem orchestra conductor: the perfection of the performance he leads   
depends largely on the precision of his attack. In the same way, the *choregos*   
gives the tone and indicates precisely the start of the dance, keeping together the   
voices and the steps of the chorus for the remainder of the performance. In brief,   
the terms used by the Greeks when mentioning the function of the *choregos* have   
three principal components: 'organizing,' 'beginning,' and 'conducting.' Since   
all of these terms can be used for one and the same person who functions as   
leader, it is presumed that all three are contained in the function. This is what   
must now be examined, not etymologically, but through the usage of the words   
in context, as has been done for the terms χορολέκτης and ἀρχέχορος.

From now on, I shall not use the words themselves as pointers, but instead   
those figures that typically assume the function of the *choregos*. Reference to the   
unifying signifier, superior to the nouns describing the function of the *choregos*,   
will show how the three features I have isolated by studying the various terms   
are articulated in one unique function. And a semantic examination of certain   
*choregoi* will provide a procedure for verifying the definitions given in the   
ancient dictionaries and the morpho-semantic study just undertaken.

To do this, and at the same time to stay within the bounds of choral   
performances by women, I have chosen to analyze two mythological figures who   
direct a chorus of young girls and a mixed chorus respectively: the first is   
Apollo, director of the Muses' chorus, the second Theseus, director of a chorus   
of fourteen Athenian adolescent boys and girls dancing round the altar at Delos.   
Passing from myth to historical reality, I will analyze two figures from lyric   
poetry and will end by comparing the results of the analyses with the evidence   
furnished by the iconography.

At the conclusion I should be able to define all the ways in which the   
*choregos*, male or female, of a chorus of women functions in Archaic Greece.

**2.3.2.1. Apollo: The myth**

The *Iliad* shows us Apollo entertaining the gods at their feasts, playing the   
lyre while the Muses sing; Homer's poem has fixed the canonical image of the   
god accompanying with his instrument the songs of a chorus under his   
command. This image has a variation in Hesiod's *Shield* where the chorus is not   
composed of the Muses but of all the Immortals; Apollo's role is still that of   
lyre player (κιθάριζε φόρμιγγι), but the Muses have the more specific function   
of giving the tone for the song (ἐξη̑ρχον ἀοιδη̑ς). The distribution of roles is   
exactly the same as in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, where the Muses sing   
(ὑμνευ̑σιν) of the gods and mortals while the Graces, the Seasons, and other   
female goddesses dance (ὀρχευ̑νται) to the accompaniment of Apollo's lyre in

-49-

their midst (ἐγκιθαρίζει). [123.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678566&offset=1#123.#123.) Two passages, in Pindar and Aristophanes, clarify   
the role of the instrumental accompaniment and connect it with the semantic   
features 'to conduct' and 'to organize.' In the *Fifth Nemean*, Apollo is seated in   
the center (ἐν μέσαις) of the Muses, playing the lyre and conducting (ἁγει̑το) the   
various songs they sing (ἄειδ' ὁ χορός / παντοίων νόμων). Pindar then lists the   
subjects sung by the Muses, specifying which one they start with (αἱ δὲ   
πρώτιστον μὲν ὕμνησαν Διὸς ἀρχόμεναι σεμνὰν Θέτιν). Again the semantic   
feature 'to begin' is used together with the song of the Muses, while 'to conduct'   
is implied by Apollo's playing the lyre. In the *Birds* of Aristophanes, Apollo   
answers the song of the nightingale with the notes of his lyre, and thus arouses   
choruses of the gods (ἀντιψάλλων φόρμιγγα θεω̑ν ἵστησι χορούς). A connection   
can be made between the god playing his instrument and the idea of 'to   
organize.' [124.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678566&offset=1#124.#124.) But the most precise description, and the most complete, for the   
manner in which the instrumental accompaniment is the agent that directs the   
chorus is found in the *First Pythian*: the lyre is defined as the common property   
of Apollo and the Muses, it is the lyre that gives the rhythm for the steps of the   
chorus (βάσις), it marks the start of the feast (ἀγλαΐας ἀρχά), the songs of the   
singers follow its cues (πείθονται δ' ἀοιδοὶ σάμασιν). [125.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678566&offset=1#125.#125.) And Pindar adds in a   
substantive remark that it is the playing of the lyre that marks the start of the   
preludes that lead the choruses (ἀγησιχόρων προοιμίων ἀμβολὰς τεύχῃς). Thus   
the instrumental accompaniment gives the signal for the dance and the singing,   
since it starts the *prooimia* that lead the chorus. The melody played by Apollo   
on the lyre as a kind of introduction has then to be distinguished from the   
*prooimion* itself which, in this probable citharodic performance, is sung by a   
singer and danced by the chorus. [126.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678566&offset=1#126.#126.)

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| 123. | Hom. *Il*. 1.601ff., Ps. Hes. *Scut*. 201ff., *H. Ap*. 189ff.; for the meaning of  ἐξάρχειν, see Davison, *Arch.-Pind*., pp. 9ff., and Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, pp. 362ff.;  on the musical scene of *H. Ap*., see Lonsdale, *Dance*, pp. 52ff. For the iconography  of Apollo *kitharôidos* or leading the Muses, see O. Palagaia, *LIMC s.v. Apollo*, pp.  200ff., and G. Kokkorou-Alevras, *ibid*., pp. 268ff. On the meaning of the term  προοίμιον as prelude, see M. Constantini and J. Lallot, "Le *prooímion* est-il un  proème?," in *Etudes de littérature ancienne* III, Paris 1987, pp. 13-27. |
| 124. | Pind. *N*. 5.22ff., Aristoph. *Av*. 123ff. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, pp. 355-356,  has shown that in the Pindaric description the Muses begin by singing a προοίμιον, a  prelude. |
| 125. | Pind. *P*. 1.1ff., with the comments of O. Kollmann, *Das Prooimion der  ersten Pythischen Ode Pindars*, Wien-Berlin 1989, pp. 33ff., and of C. Brillante, "La  musica e il canto nella *Pitica* I di Pindaro," *QUCC* 70, 1992, pp. 7-21. |
| 126. | On this whole passage and on the complementarity of ἀναβολή and  προοίμιον, see now Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, pp. 353ff., who comments on this  citharodic performance; see also A. Gostoli, "L'inno nella citarodia greca arcaica," in  Cassio e Cerri (edd.), *L'inno*, pp. 95-105; Koller, *Musik*, pp. 61ff., has attempted to  show that the instrumental prelude performed by Apollo to introduce the chorus is  analogous to the sung *prooimion* which often preceded choral performances in rites.  Apollo would thus be the model of the κιθαριστής and would function as chorus leader |

-50-

Doubtless this action took shape in the form of a sort of instrumental   
prelude. Apollo gives introductory notes on the lyre, probably the musical theme   
of the song that follows; at the same time he gives the chorus the rhythm of the   
dance and the tone for the song. In spite of the inferior role of the lyre   
accompaniment compared with the song (ἀναξιφόρμιγγες ὕμνοι, says Pindar at   
the beginning of the *Second Olympian*), yet, whatever the form, danced or sung,   
of these *prooimia*, Apollo's instrument gives the signal for the chorus and the   
dance to begin. These introductory notes are comparable to those played by the   
orchestra or on the organ to introduce an *aria* in classical opera or a song sung in   
the Lutheran Church. [127.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678567&offset=1#127.#127.) By means of the prelude and the instrumental   
accompaniment following it, the *choregos* starts the performance, keeps the   
chorus together, and conducts the singers. The terms 'to organize,' 'to begin,'   
and 'to conduct' are thus the component and complementary elements of the   
leader's function as deduced from the figure of Apollo. This semantic complex   
corresponds exactly to the engraved image of the choruses of Apollo and the   
Muses on the cedar chest of Kypselos at Olympia, according to Pausanias.   
There, one could see the Muses in the act of singing (ᾄδουσαι), with Apollo   
playing the prelude (ἐξάρχων ᾠδη̑ς); an epigram as commentary described   
Apollo with the Muses dancing round him (ἀμφ' αὐτόν: visual image of   
'circularity' and 'center'), and Apollo giving them the note (χαρίεος χορὸς, [*haisi*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg67_1.fpx)  
κατάρχει). [128.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678567&offset=1#128.#128.)

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|  | by virtue of the κιθαρῳδία. But the choral performances with the lyre found in Homer  (Demodokos: *Od*. 8.261ff. and 370ff.; song of Linos: *Il*. 18.566ff., see below pp.  80f.; for a marriage: *Od*. 23.133ff. and 144ff.) show that the citharodic performance  is characterized by 'song' and 'instrumental accompaniment,' whereas only the latter  term is used for Apollo's musical activity. On the Homeric citharodic performances  see H. Abert, *RE* 11 (1921), s.v. κιθαρῳδία, col. 530f., and Davison, *Arch.-Pind*.,  pp. xixf.; on citharody in general see M.L. West, "Stesichorus," *CQ* 65, 1971 , pp.  302-314 (pp. 307f.), and Pavese, *Tradizioni*, pp. 230ff. If, in certain traditions (see  Procl. *ap*. Phot. *Bibl*. 320 a 3ff.), Apollo appears as the founder of νόμος  κιθαρῳδικός, the sch. Pind. *N*. 5.24 (III, p. 94 Drachmann) confirm that all that can  be attributed to the god are the melodies and not the songs which introduced the  choral performances: see Severyns, *Recherches* II, pp. 139ff. |

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| 127. | This definition of the leader's function is similar to that given by Jul. Ep.  186 for the activity of the χοροστάτης; the etymological analysis of the term gave  the semantic feature 'to organize'; its use in the context adds 'to begin.' |
| 128. | Paus. 5.18.4: see Hitzig-Bluemmer, *Paus*. II, p. 407. On Apollo as chorus  conductor, see Pind. fr. 94c M (ὁ Μοισαγέτας με καλει̑ χορευ̑σαι [Ἀ]πόλλων[, which  might represent the beginning of one of the *Separate Partheneia* of Pindar), Sapph. fr.  208 V and Eur. *Tr*. 328f. (ὁ χορὸς ὅσιος· ἄγε σύ, Φοι̑βε, νυ̑ν). On Apollo as *choregos*,  see Koller, *Musik*, pp. 58ff. The chorus in Eur. *Alc*. 582ff. expresses the semantic  feature 'circularity' in its evocation of the young fawns forming a chorus round  Apollo who is playing the lyre (χόρευσε δ' ἀμὶ σὰν κιθάραν). |

-51-

This image must be modified, however, since the passages cited from the   
Shield attributed to Hesiod and from the *Fifth Nemean* of Pindar associate the   
semantic element of 'to begin' with the song of the Muses rather than with   
Apollo's prelude on his instrument. In both passages, however, Apollo's lyre is   
mentioned, so it must be acknowledged that the prelude was played in two parts,   
instrumentally and vocally. In addition, in the *Shield*, the prelude sung by the   
Muses is clearly distinguished from the activity of the rest of the chorus formed   
by the Immortals. One can suppose that the chorus of the gods refrained from   
dancing, as in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* where the same three-part division   
is found between instrumental accompaniment, song, and dance. [129.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678568&offset=1#129.#129.) It is   
probably right to understand Plato in this way when he says that Apollo   
Musagetes, Dionysus and the Muses play the role of chorus-members   
(συνεορτασταί / συγχορευταί) and *choregoi* for humans, since it is they who   
set in motion and lead the choruses of men (κινει̑ν τε ἡμα̑ς καὶ χορηγει̑ν). [130.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678568&offset=1#130.#130.)

The Muses can function as *choregoi* in the same way as Apollo, since the   
beginning of their songs, models for men, works like the prelude of Apollo's   
lyre: both imply the semantic element 'to begin,' both establish the rhythm and   
the tone, "the rhythm and the harmony," to use Plato's terms, for human   
choruses. Thus, in one of the few extant fragments of Alcman, the one who   
recites the poem can invoke the Muse and ask her to sing a new song (ἀοιδὲ   
μέλος νεοχμόν) and to start singing for the young women (ἄρχε παρσένοις   
ἀείδην): the connection between the mythical song of the Muses and its   
function as prelude for the chorus of adolescents who are preparing to perform   
their own song is clear. In the same way, Stesichorus can qualify the Muse with   
the word ἀρχεσίμολπος, initiator of the song and the dance. [131.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678568&offset=1#131.#131.)

Other gods play the role of *choregos*, for instance, Artemis, whose image in   
the midst of her chorus of Nymphs we have already seen. In the *Homeric Hymn*   
dedicated to her, we see her enter the house of Apollo at Delphi, dispense with   
her huntress' attributes and organize the chorus of the Muses and Graces (καλὸν   
χορὸν ἀρτυνέουσα). [132.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678568&offset=1#132.#132.) Then she conducts the singing and dancing for which   
she gives the signal to begin (ἠγει̑ται ἐξάρχουσα χορούς); the Muses and

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| 129. | See H. Ap. 182ff., and C.F. Russo, *Hesiodi Scutum*, Firenze 1965, pp.  125ff.; Apollo can also accompany the melody played on the lyre with his voice: see  *H. Merc*. 475ff. and 500ff. (μέλπεο καὶ κιθάριζε / θεὸς δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄεισεν); in these  examples, Apollo receives the lyre from Hermes but does not conduct a chorus; the  passages cited on this by Wegner, *Musik*, p. U32, are not pertinent. |
| 130. | Plat. *Leg*. 654a and 665a; on the importance of rhythm in the educational  function of the chorus, see below pp. 222f. |
| 131. | Alcm. fr. 14 (*a*) P = 4 C; Stes. fr. 250 P, cited by Ath. 5.180e; see also  Himer. *Or*. 9.3. We should interpret in the same way the inscription on the kylix in  the style of Duris found at Naukratis: στησίχορον ὕμνον ἄγοιαι (*PMG* fr. ad. 938(c) P,  plate in *JHS* 25, 1905, pl. IV, 5); the subject of ἄγοισαι is probably Μοι̑σαι: the song  interpreted by the Muses serves as a prelude to the choral performance. |
| 132. | *H. Hom*. 27.12ff.; on the figure of Artemis see above p. 42. |

-52-

Graces then sing (ὑμνευ̑σιν) the praises of Leto and of her children. Again, in an   
Apollonian context, we find the ideas of 'organizing,' 'beginning,' and   
'conducting' attributed to a single person. Unfortunately, there is nothing to   
indicate the way in which Artemis exercises this function. [133.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678569&offset=1#133.#133.)

The example of Apollo shows that the direction of the chorus has three   
complementary elements: 'to organize,' 'to begin,' and 'to conduct.' To this   
basic system can be added another that takes into account the means by which   
the chorus is directed. Apollo's activity also has the attribute 'musical   
accompaniment'; however, when a chorus larger than that of the Muses is   
present, Apollo shares his function with the Muses: his role as leader is still   
marked by the semantic feature 'instrumental accompaniment,' but the Muses   
take over the direction of the chorus by means of the 'song.'

**2.3.2.2. Theseus: myth and ritual**

Theseus is also a complex mythological figure of a *choregos* who directs a   
chorus of young women. It is interesting therefore to examine how he too acts   
as director and conductor of a chorus. According to the scholia of the *Iliad*,   
Theseus, on leaving the Cretan Labyrinth, had woven a circular chorus at   
Knossos of seven girls and seven adolescent boys from Athens in honor of the   
gods. An analogous chorus appears in the *Hymn to Delos* by Callimachus; it   
dances in a circle round the Delian altar to the sound of the lyre (περὶ βωμὸν   
ἐγειρομένου κιθρισμου̑ κύκλιον ὠρχήσαντο). It is made up of children who   
have escaped from the Labyrinth (σὺν παὶδεσσιν) and is conducted by Theseus   
(χορου̑ δ' ἡγήσατο). [134.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678569&offset=1#134.#134.) In Callimachus the performance of this chorus led by   
the Athenian hero is displaced from Crete to Delos, corresponding to the   
descriptions of it given by Plutarch and Pollux. Plutarch reports that Theseus   
came ashore at Delos on returning from Crete and there consecrated the statue of   
Aphrodite given him by Ariadne; he continues by saying that the Athenian hero   
performed a choral dance (ἐχόρευσε μετὰ τω̑ν ἠιθέων χορείαν) round the altar "of   
the horns" (ἐχόρευσε δὲ περὶ τὸν κερατω̑να βωμόν) with the boys who were   
with him—Plutarch does not mention girls. The dance must have recalled the   
twists and turns of the Cretan Labyrinth (μίμημα τω̑ν ἐν τῳ̑ Λαβυρίνθῳ περιόδων   
καὶ διεξόδων), and thus followed alternating and circular movements   
(παραλλάξεις καὶ ἀνελίξεις). This information in an abridged version can be   
found in Pollux. [135.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678569&offset=1#135.#135.)

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| 133. | The function of Pan as χοροποιός has been mentioned: Soph. *Aj*. 698; Eur.  *Phoen*. 788 defines the Graces as χοροποιοί; on Dionysus as *choregos*, see *PMG* fr. ad.  1027(*d*) P and Soph. *Ant*. 1147: but the leadership of Dionysus has to do with the  dithyramb and does not lie within the bounds of my corpus. |
| 134. | Sch. AB Hom. *Il*. 18.590, see above p. 34.; Call. *Del*. 307ff.; the myth was  probably already treated by Sappho, see fr. 206 V. |
| 135. | Plut. *Thes*. 21; Poll. 4. 101; on the political reasons for the legend's  transferring Theseus' chorus from Crete to Delos, see Calame, *Thésée*, pp. 118ff. and |

-53-

These descriptions of Theseus' chorus use the terms 'circle' and 'center'   
frequently. The chorus organized by the hero in Crete or Delos is circular and has   
a central point. [136.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678570&offset=1#136.#136.) Theseus leads the chorus (ἡγήσατο) and also "weaves" it   
(ἔπλεκεν), so that his actions imply the features 'to conduct' and 'to organize.'   
However, the most significant part of his duties as *choregos* is the lyre   
accompaniment mentioned by Callimachus.

Pausanias confirms that the lyre is indeed in the hands of the *choregos*, since   
on the chest of Kypselos he is represented next to Ariadne, holding a lyre. The   
chorus is not mentioned by Pausanias, but it can be seen in its completeness on   
the famous François vase. [137.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678570&offset=1#137.#137.) This vase shows us a line of seven girls and seven   
boys arranged alternately holding hands and coming out of a boat. The line is led   
by Theseus playing his lyre and moving towards Ariadne. He is dressed much   
more sumptuously and richly than the young people following him; his hair is   
more elaborate, and his stature, greater than that of the other chorus-members,   
signifies the importance of his role. Because his head is missing, we unfortu-   
nately cannot see whether he is beardless like the male chorus-members he is   
leading, nor can we know whether he is singing to the accompaniment of his   
lyre. The chorus does not have the circular form suggested by the written docu-   
ments, but its linearity indicates the semantic feature 'procession.' The presence   
of the boat suggests a different moment of the legendary ritual than we see in the   
texts, and it is difficult to decide whether the scene is situated in Crete or at   
Delos. [138.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678570&offset=1#138.#138.) But since my analysis is at the moment essentially morphological, it

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|  | 424ff. The "homed" altar mentioned by Plutarch corresponds to the altar at Delos in  Callimachus; for a description, see Call. *Ap*. 58ff. (where the altar of the horns is as  well "weaved" by Apollo; ἔπλεκεν) with the commentary of F. Williams,  *Callimachus*, Hymn to Apollo, Oxford 1978, pp. 59ff.; the latter was the central altar  of the island, but not an altar to Aphrodite as some have thought: see E. Cahen,  "L'autel des comes et l'hymne à Délos de Callimaque," *REG* 36, 1923, pp. 14-25, W.  Deonna, "Les comes gauches des autels de Dréros et de Délos," *REA* 42, 1940, pp.  111-126, and Mineur, *Call. Del*., pp. 241ff. |

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| 136. | See also Hsch. s.v. Δηλιακὸς βωμός (Δ 817 Latte); L.B. Lawler, "The Dance  of the Ancient Mariners," *TAPhA* 75, 1944, pp. 20-33, states that the rite of  circumambulation described by Hesychius belongs to another festival; it would  probably be more exact to say that this rite could be a different sequence in the same  festival: see Call. Del. 316ff., with the sch. *ad loc*. (II, p. 73 Pfeiffer), who mentions  a related rite, E. Cahen, *Les Hymnes de Callimaque. Commentaire explicatif et  critique*, Paris 1930, pp. 213f., Bruneau, *Cultes de Délos*, pp. 26ff.; Mineur, *Call.  Del*., pp. 247ff.; and Calame, *Thésée*, p. 162. |
| 137. | Paus. 5.19.1; Firenze MA 4209 (189 = 172 Crowhurst) (pl. in K. Schefold,  *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder*, München 1964, pll. 50 and 51); for a geometric  representation of this chorus, see J.N. Coldstream, "A Figured Geometric Oinochoe  from Italy," *BICS* 15, 1968, pp. 86-96; other documents in Brommer, *Theseus*, pp.  83ff., and Calame, *Thésée*, pp. 207f. |
| 138. | K.F. Johansen, *Thésée et la danse à Délos*, København 1945, pp. 47ff.,  places the scene in Crete; he separates completely the rite described by the scholia to |

-54-

is the exterior attributes distinguishing the leader from the rest of the chorus and   
the use of the lyre as a way of conducting the chorus that are the important   
elements.

Plutarch and Pollux include in their information about the myth the fact that   
the choral dance performed at Delos was the pretext for a ritual still celebrated on   
the island at the time of Plutarch (ἔτι νυ̑ν ἐπιτελει̑ν Δηλίους λέγουσι); the legend   
of Theseus' performance therefore represents the *aition* of the dance, then called   
the *Crane Dance*. Pollux describes the choreography, saying that the chorus   
formed a line, one behind the other (ἕκαστος ὑφ' ἑκάστῳ κατό στοι̑χον), and at   
each end of the line was a *choregos* (τὰ ἄκρα ἑκατέρωθεν iwv ἡγεμόόνων   
ἐχόντων); the dance steps executed were those created by the chorus of Theseus   
round the altar of Delos when it imitated the movements required to leave the   
Labyrinth. The chorus leaders were given the title γερανουλκός, which means   
literally "the one who pulls the crane." This term is found in the *Lexikon* of   
Hesychius, who attributes to the γερανουλκός the function of 'to begin,' 'to set   
the chorus going' (ὁ του̑ χορου̑ του̑ ἐν Δήλωι ἐξάρχων); by using the verb   
ἐξάρχειν, the feature 'to begin' is illustrated, corresponding to the lexicographic   
definitions of the terms χοραγός and χοροστάτης. [139.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678571&offset=1#139.#139.) In the myth, the figure of   
Theseus as *choregos* is then characterized by the features 'to organize' and 'to   
conduct,' the latter actualized by the feature 'musical accompaniment.' In the   
description of the rite founded by the myth, we find the third concept of the   
semantic complex, that of 'to begin.'

It is true that the presence of two ἡγεμόνες, placed according to Pollux at the   
head of the chorus performing the rite, poses a problem. The solution can be   
partially found in the interpretation given to the movements in the Crane Dance.   
Diels and Latte imagine that the chorus was divided into two lines, with a leader

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|  | the *Iliad* that takes place in Crete, from the ritual celebrated around the altar at Delos;  see also C. Dugas, "L'évolution de la légende de Thésée," *REG* 56, 1943, pp. 1-24  (pp. 10f.), who sees in the scene on the François vase a dance preceding the slaying  of the Minotaur and not one that would follow it, as Johansen supposes. The  opposing theory was supported by H. von Steuben, among others, in *Frühe  Sagendarstellungen in Korinth und Athen*, Berlin 1968, p. 36 with n. 107, and H.  Herter, RE *Suppl*. 13 (1973), s.v. *Theseus*, col. 1143, who gives the whole  bibliography pertaining to this. On Theseus represented without a beard, see the vase  cited below n. 141 and Brommer, *Theseus*, p. 43; literary sources of Theseus as a  young man: Cat. 64.181, Nonn. 47.300; see Calame, *Thésée*, pp. 186ff. In some  versions of the legends, Theseus is counted as one of the seven adolescents sent to  Crete: see H. Steuding in Roscher, s.v. *Theseus*, col. 690f., and F. Brommer,  "Theseus-Deutungen II," *Arch. Anz*. 1982, pp. 69-88. |

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| 139. | Hsch. s.v. γερανουλκός (Γ 404 Latte); on this complex of rites see Nilsson,  *Gr. Feste*, pp. 380ff. |

-55-

at the head of each; it would have thus had the form of a *lambda*. [140.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678572&offset=1#140.#140.) Crowhurst   
has shown however that the majority of the iconographic representations, on   
which the interpretations of Diels and Latte depend, show circular choruses. [141.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678572&offset=1#141.#141.)   
Whether or not one accepts Lawler's interpretation of the Crane Dance as the   
dance of a serpent or, more probably, follows Detienne in associating the   
movements of the dance with the intelligent migration routes of the crane   
itself, [142.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678572&offset=1#142.#142.) the most striking parallel between the description by Pollux and the   
one by Plutarch is the mixed choral dance depicted on the shield of Achilles. The   
movements of the Homeric chorus, both circular or alternating, correspond   
exactly to the ἀνελήξεις and the παραλλάξεις used by Plutarch to describe   
Theseus' dance at Delos. Add to this similarity of form a true affinity found in   
the Homeric scholia which, when describing the chorus made by Theseus on   
issuing from the Labyrinth, gloss exactly that passage in the *Iliad* where there is   
mention of the chorus shown on the shield of Achilles. These scholia also   
explicitly identify the chorus formed by Daedalus, and used by Hephaistos as a   
model for its representation on the shield of Achilles, with the Theseus   
chorus. [143.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678572&offset=1#143.#143.)

Thus the presence, in the rite, of one ἑγεμών at each end of the chorus line   
imitating Theseus' chorus at Delos can probably be explained by the alternating   
movements that this chorus performed, according to Plutarch, and these are   
matched by the chorus described by Homer. It is nonetheless true that the actual   
direction of the choral group was certainly carried out by a single leader, as the   
example of Theseus' mythical chorus shows, with its paradigmatic value.

These analogies of the form of the chorus engaged in the Delian rites of the   
Aphrodisia with the mythological chorus of the Athenian hero and with the   
choral group represented by Hephaistos on Achilles' shield in the *Iliad* lead me to

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| 140. | H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, Berlin 1890, pp. 91f., and Latte, Salt., pp.  68ff. |
| 141. | Crowhurst, *Lyric*, pp. 293ff., see above p. 37; see München MAK 2443 (175  Crowhurst) (pl. in P.E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *Tausend Jahre griechischer Vasenkunst*,  München 1960, pl. 50), where the circular chorus of Theseus is shown in a precise V  formation; for the iconography of the mixed dance led by Theseus, see Brommer,  *Theseus*, pp. 83ff. |
| 142. | L.B. Lawler, "The Geranos dance," *TAPhA* 71, 1946, pp. 112-130; M.  Detienne, *L'écriture d'Orphée*, Paris 1989, pp. 20ff. See also Crowhurst, *Lyric*, pp.  298ff.; F. Frontisi-Ducroux, *Dédale*. *Mythologie de l'artisan en Grèce ancienne*, Paris  1975, pp. 145ff.; and Calame, *Thésée*, pp. 241f. The mention of a ῥυμός, a rope, in  two inscriptions concerning this ritual in honor of Aphrodite has been interpreted to  show that it helped the chorus members to follow the movements of the chorus: see  Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 380f. |
| 143. | Hom. *Il*. 18.599ff. with sch. AB *Il*. 18.590f., see above pp. 39f.; Eust. *Il*.  1166.16ff., affirms that the chorus described by Homer is identical to that of Theseus;  Willetts, *Cults*, pp. 123ff., sees a close relationship between the two choruses; see  also J. Duchemin, "Le thème du héros au labyrinthe dans la vie de Thésée," ΚΩΚΑΛΟΣ  16, 1970, pp. 30-52. |

-56-

think that this ritual chorus was similarly composed of young people. [144.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678573&offset=1#144.#144.) It   
would then be one of the rare examples of a mixed chorus performing a ritual,   
one of those mixed choruses, however, attested so frequently in the iconography,   
and the "weaving" of the mixed dance could be interpreted as a mimetic image of   
the civic texture the girls and the boys will be accomplishing in their future   
union. [145.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678573&offset=1#145.#145.) To the extent that the chorus imitating the mythical choral   
performance of Theseus can be identified with the mixed chorus mentioned by   
Callimachus just before his description of the rite carried out by the hero on   
returning from Crete, we can form an idea of how it was executed. [146.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678573&offset=1#146.#146.) The   
Alexandrian poet says in effect that on this occasion men or youths accompanied   
with songs a *nomos* composed by the legendary poet Olen, while women or   
maidens performed choral dances. Unfortunately, the uncertainty about whether   
the *nomos* mentioned by Callimachus was simply a melody, and the absence of   
any mention of a leader directing this performance, means that one cannot match   
it term by term with the mythological performance of Theseus' chorus. I shall   
return to this later.

For the moment, I conclude that the *choregos* as represented by Theseus is   
once again useful for complementing the features 'to organize,' 'to begin,' and   
'to conduct,' the second of these having been obtained, it is true, by analyzing   
the ritual that underlies the myth formed around the Athenian hero. It seems that

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| 144. | In the scene described by Hom. *Il*. 18.590ff., two acrobats are in the center  of the chorus, and it is they who perform the prelude to the song and dance  (ἐξάρχοντες, lines 604f.); so one could attribute to them the role of leaders of the  mixed chorus described by Homer. But the two lines mentioning this dance prelude are  repeated in *Od*. 4.15ff.: here we see Telemachos arriving at Sparta, and the two  acrobats are joined by a bard. Ath. 5.180de had already noticed this contradiction in  the respective functions of the bard and of the two acrobats; he consequently  proposed to correct ἐξάρχοντες by ἐξάρχοντος, the subject of which then becomes an  understood ἀοιδου̑; Athenaeus justifies this correction by affirming that the prelude is  played on the lyre, in other words by the bard (τὸ γὰρ ἐξάρχειν τη̑ς φόρμιγγος ἴδιον).  *Il*. 18.605 could be corrected in the same way; Kaibel does this in his edition of  Athenaeus when he inserts the line of *Od*. 4.17 into the later citation (5.181ab) of *Il*.  18.603-605 (on this see Davison, *Arch.-Pind*., pp. 10ff.); this mixed choral  arrangement could then be interpreted as a citharodic performance; for this see below  pp. 80f. with n. 217. However, Luc. *Salt*. 13f. attributes to the two acrobats the role  of leaders of the mixed chorus (see Webster, *Chorus*, pp. 51f.). It would be tempting  to follow Athenaeus' suggestion and have a single chorus leader, also a lyre player,  conducting the chorus of *Il*. 18.590ff., but the literary and iconographic parallels  given by Webster suggest that dancers can also perform the function of leader; then  there would be two leaders in Homer, as there are in the rites at Delos. |
| 145. | Tölle, *Reigentänze*, pp. 54f., and Crowhurst, *Lyric*, pp. 219ff.; for the  metaphor of weaving, see above n. 63, and for its implications, the study of the  *geranos* dance presented by J. Scheid and J. Svenbro, *Le métier de Zeus. Mythe du  tissage et du tissu dans le monde gréco-romain*, Paris 1994, pp. 110ff. |
| 146. | Call. *Del*. 303ff.; on the rite of the Aphrodisia celebrated at Delos see below  pp. 123ff. |

-57-

Theseus directed his mixed chorus with a 'musical accompaniment,' as did   
Apollo.

**2.3.2.3. The choregos and choral lyric: Alcman and Pindar**

Information about the function of the *choregos* is also found in the fragments   
of poems, themselves sung by a chorus. Leaving aside fragments 1 and 3 of   
Alcman, in a papyrus fragment, published some years ago and attributed to that   
author, there are two other references to the *choregos*. [147.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678574&offset=1#147.#147.)

Part of a treatise on the lyric poets, in which the controversial problem of the   
Lydian origins of Alcman is discussed, this fragment is in the form of a   
*hypomnema*; it is a running commentary on a poem, a few words of which are   
cited as *lemma* to each section commented. According to the two readable   
quotations in the fragment, the chorus that says *I/we* (ἁμω̑ν, line 16) is   
addressing its leader, a certain Agesidamos, son of Damotimos. This Agesidamos   
has some connection, not clear in the fragments of commentary, with the   
Dioskouroi. The chorus reciting the lines asks him to be the head (ἄρχε) of a   
certain chorus of the *Dymainai*, calling him σιοφιλὲς χο[ρα]γέ |Ἀ. κλεε[vv]ὲ   
Δαμοτιμία, "*choregos* beloved of the gods, illustrious son of Damotimos."   
Without wishing to give a circular interpretation, it is impossible not to recall   
the expression ἀ κλεννὰ χοραγός; of the first fragment (line 44). [148.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678574&offset=1#148.#148.) According   
to the commentary, Alcman continues describing the noble and handsome   
*choregoi*, those youths still without beards whose age is, broadly speaking, that   
of the chorus-members (ἁμω̑ν ἅλι[κ]ες νεανίαι φίλοι); if it is true that the terms   
ἅλικες and φίλοι suggest the features 'contemporary' and 'companionship'   
defined earlier, [149.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678574&offset=1#149.#149.) it is striking to see them used to qualify the bond between   
chorus and leader. Despite their leading position, they are still adolescents. On   
the other hand, the *Dymainai* mentioned in line 8 probably refers to the chorus   
itself, which is addressing Agesidamos and executing the song of Alcman. [150.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678574&offset=1#150.#150.)

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| 147. | Alcm. fr. 10(*b*). 11 and 15 P = 82a.3 and b.2 C, see also fr. 4.6.2 P = 62.2 C  (see above n. 109). |
| 148. | Alcm. fr. 1.44 P = 3.44 C. It is probable that the color ivory mentioned in  line 5f. is what characterizes the relationship between the Dioskouroi and  Agesidamos; the χο[ρα]γέ of line 11 figures in the diplomatic transcription given by  Page in *P. Oxy*. vol. 29, p. 6, only in the form of χ̣[]ε: the fact that the chorus leaders  mentioned in line 15 correspond very probably to the beardless young men cited in  the following line (γάρ, line 16) and the fact that Agesidamos himself is described as  beardless in the commentary that follows, justify Page's restoration and the function  attributed to the young man: see Calame, *Alcman*, pp. 455ff. Note that Page writes  the name of the chorus leader as Ἁγησίδαμος in *PMG* and Ἁγησίαμος in the P. Oxy.  edition. |
| 149. | See above pp. 27ff. and 33ff. |
| 150. | On this chorus see below pp. 155f. |

-58-

We know nothing about Agesidamos; the morphology of his name is related   
to names of kings of the Eurypontid dynasty. [151.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678575&offset=1#151.#151.) Agesidamos was quite   
probably someone belonging to the circle of citizens in possession of power and   
wealth in Sparta. The morphology of the name suggests just such a powerful   
position, and the presence in Ἀγησίδαμος of the verb ἡγέομαι, to lead, recalls   
the proper name Ἁγησιχόρα of the *choregos* in fragment 1; I shall return to this   
later. [152.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678575&offset=1#152.#152.) Note also that the performance of Alcman's poem offers an example of   
a chorus of young girls led by an adolescent of the opposite sex.

This role of leader of a female chorus while still adolescent recalls the   
description by Proclus of the festival of the Daphnephoria. An exceptional case,   
the description of the ritual is reflected in a poem, doubtless composed for the   
occasion. This text is the only *Partheneion* of Pindar that has come down to us   
in an acceptably readable state. [153.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678575&offset=1#153.#153.) The Daphnephoria was a Boeotian festival,   
celebrated every eight years in honor of Apollo Ismenios or Galaxios. During it,   
young women carried branches of laurel to the sanctuaries of the god and sang   
hymns in his honor. The Daphnephoria proper was a procession, the form of   
which originated in a myth reported by Proclus. At the head of the procession   
walked a boy who still had a father and mother (ἄρχει δὲ τη̑ς δαφνηφορίας παι̑ς   
ἀμφιθαλής). Beside him, his nearest relation carried the staff, called the κωπώ,   
entwined with laurel branches, flowers and various objects of symbolic value.   
The child was followed by a third person called *daphnephoros*, dressed in a   
particular manner and bearing the laurel branches. Behind him came a chorus of   
young girls with suppliant boughs, singing hymns. Pausanias briefly describes   
this same ritual in the book he devoted to Boeotia, but he speaks only of   
children carrying laurel wreaths, some of whom dedicated a tripod to the god; [154.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678575&offset=1#154.#154.)   
at this festival, he says, a young boy of good family, handsome and strong, was   
named priest of Apollo Ismenios for a year and bore the title *daphnephoros*. This   
other version of the rite allows us, I think, to see in the παι̑ς ἀμφιθαλής and the   
*daphnephoros* one and the same person. [155.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678575&offset=1#155.#155.) This child would be helped by his

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| 151. | See *Choeurs* II, pp. 141f. |
| 152. | See *Choeurs* II, p. 46, and Calame, *Alcman*, pp. 457f. |
| 153. | Procl. ap. Phot. *Bibl*. 321a 34ff. = sch. Clem. Alex. *Protr*. 1.10.2 (I, pp.  298f. Stählin); Pind. fr. 94b M: on the question of the classification of Pindar's  *Daphnephorika* in one of the books of the *Partheneia* or in the book of the *Separate  Partheneia* see *Choeurs* II, pp. 167f. |
| 154. | Paus. 9.10.4. According to Schachter, *Cults of Boeotia* I, pp. 84f., the  Daphnephoria proper, with the bearing of laurel-branches and wreaths, was a late  addition to the original procession with the κωπώ. |
| 155. | Severyns, *Recherches* II, pp. 211-232, comments at length on this passage  of Proclus; he vigorously denies (pp. 255f.) that the παι̑ς ἀμφスθαλής and the  *daphnephoros* are identical, following Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 164f.; in his critique of  Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, p. 433, Severyns forgets to mention that Wilamowitz also  took into account the poem of Pindar, which changes the facts of a simple  confrontation between the texts of Proclus and Pausanias. |

-59-

nearest relative to carry the κωπώ. He is the chorus master of the girls who   
follow him: the term ἄρχει used in Proclus' description implies 'to command'   
and the choral performance is characterized by the semantic feature 'procession.'   
Here, as for the Muses' chorus, the sung portion belongs to the choral group; it   
is therefore probable that the child *daphnephoros* played the instrumental   
accompaniment for the procession; however, there is no evidence to back this   
up.

In the Pindar poem, the chorus composed of young girls (feminine nouns   
used in lines 6, 33ff. and 38f., ἐμὲ δὲ πρέπει παρθενήϊα φρονει̑ν) begins by   
celebrating in song the family of Aioladas and his son Pagondas (lines 9ff.). The   
praise of a certain Agasicles who seems to be the son of Pagondas follows (lines   
38ff.). The chorus then takes up the proper occasion of its song (νυ̑ν, line 66): it   
asks the father of Damaina to conduct it (ἅγεο, line 67) and then sings the   
praises of its leading girl who walks behind the father of Damaina (τ]ὶν ἕψεται,   
line 67) near the "laurel with its beautiful leaves."

In spite of resemblances with the ritual that Proclus presents, there are still   
difficulties in identifying the functions of the persons celebrated by Pindar's   
chorus. If Proclus' description corresponds word for word with the ritual for   
which Pindar composed his *Daphnephorikon*, it is possible that the Agasicles   
mentioned in line 38 is the child *daphnephoros* of Proclus. The father of   
Damaina, his nearest relative (he may be the maternal uncle of Agasicles), would   
then be the bearer of the κωπώ. As for the young girl who walks at the head of   
the chorus (πρώτα), and whom Pindar calls simply θυγάτηρ (line 68) without   
saying whose daughter, she is probably Damaina mentioned in the preceding   
line. The possibilities of identification are numerous, particularly since Proclus'   
text lends itself to the various interpretations we have seen. [156.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678576&offset=1#156.#156.)

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|  | The position of ἀμφιθαλής corresponds to a precise function in the rituals  concerning adolescence, such as the Pyanopsia at Athens: see L. Robert,  "ΑΜΦΙΘΑΛΗΣ," *Athenian Studies presented to W.S. Ferguson*, Cambridge, Mass.‐  London 1940, pp. 509-519 (= *Opera Minora Selecta* I, Amsterdam 1969, pp. 633‐  643), who presumes a contamination between the word ἀμφιθαλής, he who has his  father and mother, and the word θαλλός, the branch. |

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| 156. | The problem of identifying fr. 94b M is an excellent example of  philological kaleidoscope; if one piece is moved, the whole changes shape. Without  repeating the reasons for it, here is the schema of the solution proposed by  Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, pp. 435f.:   Aioladas = Damaina  |  Pagondas = Andaisistrota  (carries the *kopo* for his son) |  -----------  Agasicles the first girl chorus-members  (*dapnhephoros*) |

-60-

For our purposes, the importance of Proclus' description of the Daphnephoria   
ritual and of the indirect indications in Pindar's poem lies in the fact that it is a   
young man who directs a chorus of girls (ἄρχει Procl., the ἅγ εο of Pind. line 67   
refers to the adult bearer of the κωπώ); this chorus does not dance, it walks in a   
procession (ἐπακολουθει̑ Procl., ἕψεται, βαίνοισα Pind. lines 67 and 70) and is   
responsible for the part of the ceremony that is sung (ὕμνタι Procl., ἀοιδὰν   
πρόσφορον Pind. line 37). Besides singing the praises of its leader, the chorus   
also celebrates the girl who occupies the first place among them (πρώτα, line   
68), and the woman by the name of Andaisistrota who prepared her (ἃν

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|  | A. Puech, *Pindare* IV, Paris 31961, pp. 170f., interprets Proclus' text differently  and dissociates Agasicles and his father and grandfather from the son of Damaina and  his daughter. Agasicles is the παι̑ς ἀμφιθαλής, *daphnephoros*; the son of Damaina is  his nearest relative who helps to carry the κωπώ; the daughter of this son is at the  head of the chorus. Skepticism expressed by Farnell, *Pindar*, p. 427, who adopts the  views of Puech; similarly by Sbordone, *Athenaeum* 28, pp. 33ff., who presumes an  uncle/nephew relationship between the son of Damaina and Agasicles. This same  hypothesis had been put forward by O. Schroeder, reviewing *P. Oxy*. vol. 4, I, in *PhW*  24, 1904, coll. 1473-1479 (coll. 1476ff.), who adds that the family of Aioladas was  responsible for the chorus, in the Athenian sense of the word, at the festival of the  Daphnephoria. In two recent studies, "Da una nuova ispezione di P. Oxy. IV 659  (Pindaro, Partheneia)," *MPhL* 2, 1977, pp. 227-31, and *BICS* 31, pp. 83ff., L.  Lehnus proposes to read πἀ[τε]ρ at line 66 instead of πα[ι̑. The new genealogical tree,  given by H. Maehler, *Pindarus* II. *Fragmenta*, *Indices*, Leipzig 1989, p. 95, would be:   Aioladas  |  Pagondas = Andaisistrota  (carries the *kopo* for his son) |  -----------  Agasicles Damaina  (*daphnephoros*) (*choregousa*)  But nothing in Pindar's text shows that Agasicles and Damaina are such close  relatives, nor that Andaisistrota is the wife of Pagondas. See also Grandolini, *AFLFP*  20, pp. 10ff., and F. Ferrari, "Tre papiri pindarici: in margine ai frr. 52n (a), 94a,  169a Maehler," *RFIC* 119, 1991, pp. 389-405.  Moreover there is nothing to suggest that Agasicles is the child *daphnephoros*  named by Proclus and Pausanias, unless the expressions ἀνδρὸς δ' οὔτε γυναικὸς. [*hon*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg77_2.fpx) θάλεσσιν ἔγκειμαι (line 36) and ἐσθλοι̑ς γονευ̑σιν (line 40) that form the context in  which Agasicles is mentioned could be understood as a paraphrase of ἀμφιθαλής! On  the other hand, it will not do to forget that a gap of 8 or 23 lines separates the  mention of Aioladas and Pagondas from that of Agasicles. Are they all members of  the same family?  Let us remember that Aioladas is again praised in another *Daphnephorikon* of  Pindar of which we have but a short fragment (fr. 94a.11ff. M). |

-61-

ἐπάσκησε, line 71). In Pindar's *Daphnephorikon*, two people occupy positions   
of importance in the chorus: the child *daphnephoros* (and the adult who   
accompanies him) and a girl; but the function of the educator who prepares the   
chorus is performed by a third person, Andaisistrota, whose task will be   
discussed later. [157.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678578&offset=1#157.#157.) The role of the child *daphnephoros* reminds us of   
Agesidamos, the beardless *choregos* of fragment 10(b) P = 82 C of Alcman. [158.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678578&offset=1#158.#158.)   
If we agree that in Pindar's poem Agasicles plays that role and that he is the son   
of the family of Aioladas and Pagondas—which corresponds to the παι̑ς οἴκου   
δοκίμου of Pausanias—the social position of the *choregos* is similar to that of   
Agesidamos, one of the noble *choregoi* ([ἀ]γερώχως χο[ρα]γώς) praised by the   
chorus in Alcman's poem. [159.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678578&offset=1#159.#159.)

In Pindar, the girl who follows the *daphnephoros* corresponds probably to the   
adolescent girl whom Alcman qualifies as φιλόψιλος in a context of which we   
are unfortunately ignorant. This expression, meaning literally 'she who likes to   
be like a feather,' is defined by the *Suda*, using the significant terms of   
ἵστασθαι and ἄκρος χορός, as 'she who likes to be placed at the head of the   
chorus.' [160.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678578&offset=1#160.#160.) This position belongs to the *choregos*, since Hesychius, in a   
probably mutilated definition, explains the Spartan word ψιλάκερ by the   
expression to *direct the chorus* (τὸ ἡγει̑σθαι χορου̑). [161.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678578&offset=1#161.#161.) Given the metaphor that   
associates the *choregos'* position with the image of a feather, it is likely that the   
Dionysus figure who was celebrated as a local divinity at Amyklai (according to   
Pausanias) was a winged god, not because, according to Pausanias' etymology,   
he gives men wings by means of wine (!), but because of his function as   
*choregos*. This same metaphorical use of ψίλον allowed Lobel to restore a   
ἁπαλὸ[ν ψίλ]ον, tender feather, in the passage of Alcman's fragment 3 where   
Astymelousa, the young girl praised by the chorus, is successively compared to   
a shining star crossing the sky, to a golden bough, and to a slender feather (line

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| 157. | See below p. 229. |
| 158. | See the suggestion by Treu, *RE Suppl*. 11, col. 26. |
| 159. | Eust. *Il*. 314.42f.: ἀγέρωχοι δὲ οἱ ἄγαν γέρας ἔχοντες...· δὲ ... οὕτως  ἡ λέξις τοὺς σεμνούς, ὡς Ἀλκμὰν βούλεται; see Alcm. fr. 5.1(*b*).4 P = 79c C, and  Calame, *Alcman*, pp. 429f. and 458f. |
| 160. | Alcm. fr. 32 P = 208 C; *Sud*. s.v. ψιλεύς (Ψ 101 Adler): ἐπ' ἄκρου χορου̑  ἱστάμενος, ὅθεν καὶ φιλόψιλος παρὰ Ἀλκμα̑νι, ἡ φιλου̑σα ἐπ' ἄκρου χορου̑ ἵστασθαι;  hence Porson's correction in Phot. *Lex*. s.v. ψιλεύς (II, p. 268 Naber), but the text  gives only the last two words of the gloss; Hsch. s.v. ψιλει̑ς (Ψ 197 Schmidt) is  certainly in error when defining this lemma as οἱ ὔστατοι χορεύοντες; note the  definition of the gloss ψιλάκερ (see n. 161) immediately preceding. Given the use of  φιλόψιλος by Alcman, Pickard-Cambridge (*Festivals* p. 241) was probably wrong to  relate the term ψιλει̑ς to the members of the tragic chorus. |
| 161. | Hsch. s.v. ψιλάκερ (Ψ 196 Schmidt, see Schmidt's note *ad. loc*.); ψι- for  πτι- in Laconian dialect: see F. Bechtel, *Die griechischen Dialekte* II, Berlin 1923,  pp. 319f.; on -ερ for -ες in Laconian words in Hesychius, see Bechtel, *ibid*., pp.  329f. |

-62-

66ff.); this last comparison as we shall see may refer to the function of *choregos*   
she probably performed. [162.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678579&offset=1#162.#162.)

It should not be forgotten that most of the interpretations explaining the   
meaning of terms with -ψιλος, using *feather* in a metaphorical sense, depend   
upon equating, as does Pausanias, the Dorian form ψίλον and the common form   
πτίλον, the feather. These interpretations are subject to discussion, since ψίλον,   
the feather, is related homonymically to ψιλός, naked. [163.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678579&offset=1#163.#163.) If the explanation of   
the expressions as metaphors of nudity does not convince, it is different for the   
word ψίλινοι that refers, with the term θυρεατικοί, to the wreath made of palm   
branches worn by the leaders of the choruses (τοὺς προστάτας τω̑ν ἀγομένων   
χορω̑ν) presented at the Spartan Gymnopaidiai. Given that the context of this   
ritual, in which three choruses representing the three age classes of Spartan   
society sing compositions by Alcman and the *Paeans* by Dionysodotus, is   
Dorian and that it connotes nudity, it is difficult to determine if the term used for   
the wreaths characteristic of this festival comes from an analogy with the nudity   
of the *choregoi* participating in the ritual or from relating the function of the   
*choregos* to those who wore them. If one accepts the formation of the term   
ψίλινοι from the Dorian form πτίλον, one can equally well imagine a semantic   
analogy between the image of the palm leaf and the image of a large feather. [164.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678579&offset=1#164.#164.)

**2.3.2.4. Other examples of the role of the choregos**

In his treatise on the dance, Lucian describes the Necklace Dance (ὅρμος), a   
dance by a chorus that forms according to Lucian "a necklace woven of   
moderation and courage." [165.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678579&offset=1#165.#165.) Danced by young boys and girls who form a circle   
that suggests a necklace, it is led by an adolescent boy (ἡγει̑ται μὲν ὁ ἔφηβος),   
followed by a young girl (ἡ παρθένος δὲ ἕπεται). The role of the boy is to dance   
the steps that may be useful in war; the girl to teach the chorus to dance   
according to the feminine conventions (τὸ θη̑λυ χορεύειν διδάσκουσα). Thus

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| 162. | Paus. 3.19.6: ψίλα γὰρ καλου̑σιν οἱ Δωριει̑ς τὰ πτερά; see Hitzig-Bluemmer,  *Paus*. I, pp. 835f., and Wide, *Kulte*, p. 162; on Alcm. fr. 3.66ff. P = 26.66ff. C, see  the commentary by Lobel, P. *Oxy*. vol. 24, p. 16, and Choeurs II, p. 105. |
| 163. | Frisk, *GrEW*, s.v. ψιλός. relates to the signified 'naked' the epiclesis ψίλαξ  and the choral appellation ψιλει̑ς. |
| 164. | Ath. 15.678bc = Sosib. *FGrHist*. 595 F 5; see Blech, *Kranz*, p. 310; H.T.  Wade-Gery, "Note on the Origin of the Spartan Gymnopaidiai," *CQ* 43, 1949, pp. 79‐  81 (p. 80 n. 3), thinks that these wreaths were made of feathers and that the people  who wore them, chorus leaders, are called *psileis*; however, note that the palm tree,  along with the laurel, is one of the trees specifically dedicated to Apollo, the  protector of the Gymnopaidiai: see Eur. Hec. 458ff., *IT* 1098ff., and *H. Ap*. 116ff. On  the bronze figurine found at Amyklai representing a lyre player wearing a wreath, who  might be one of the chorus leaders of the Gymnopaidiai, see P. Wolters, "Eine  spartanische Apollostatue," *JDAI* 11, 1896, pp. 1-10 (p. 7ff.). On the Gymnopaidiai,  see below pp. 203f. |
| 165. | Luc. *Salt*. 11f.; see above n. 63. |

-63-

the courage of which the chorus is "woven" is the masculine element;   
moderation, the feminine element. This shows that the *choregos*, while   
performing an educational function, may be of the same age as the chorus, as is   
the case in the ceremony honoring Artemis at Ephesos, described by Xenophon   
of Ephesos: Habrocomes and Antheia are as old as the adolescents in the groups   
they lead. [166.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678580&offset=1#166.#166.) Note also that each leader gives a lesson that corresponds to the   
sex of the group led; I shall return to this below. The Necklace Dance is an   
example of a choral performance where the chorus is activated by a dance rather   
than by vocal or instrumental accompaniment.

Timaeus also testifies to the age parallel between *choregos* and chorus‐   
members when he tells, as I have mentioned, that at Croton the daughter of   
Pythagoras led (ἡγει̑σθαι) the girls of the town when she was an adolescent, and   
that she kept the same function for the women when she became an adult. Saint   
Jerome, who relates the same anecdote, adds that she directed a choral group   
(*choro virginum praefuisse*): the verb ἡγει̑σθαι used by Timaeus can therefore be   
taken in the choral sense of 'to conduct,' 'to perform the role of *choregos*.' [167.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678580&offset=1#167.#167.)

The disparity of sex between leader and chorus seen in the poems of Alcman   
and Pindar is confirmed in Aegina. The inhabitants of the island, as the legend   
goes, having stolen the statues of Damia and Auxesia from the people of   
Epidaurus, founded a sanctuary in honor of the goddesses. They instituted   
sacrifices and choruses of women (σφεα καὶ χοροι̑ι γυναικηίοισι ἱλάσκοντο)   
whose role it was to mock other women of the region. These choruses were   
directed by men and numbered ten for each goddess. [168.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678580&offset=1#168.#168.)

Note that in two descriptions of choral performances, it is only the mention   
of an instrument accompanying them that suggests the presence of a leader. The   
young women in the chorus depicted on Hesiod's shield sing (ἱμέναιος ὀρώρει)   
to celebrate a wedding ceremony; they lead their chorus to the sound of the lyres   
(αἱ δ' ὑπὸ φορμίγγων ἄναγον χορόν), and a chorus of youths sings to the sound   
of the pipes (ὑπὸ συρίγγων). In Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*, the Amazons   
seem to form their own chorus themselves (κύκλῳ στησάμεναι χορὸν εὐρύν)   
round the statue of Artemis Oupis; but they are not without a conductor, since   
the music of pipes (ὑπήεισαν σύριγγες) accompanies their armed dance and gives   
them the rhythm. On the other hand, in the *Epithalamium for Helen* by   
Theocritus, the twelve maidens who make up the chorus (χορὸν ἐστάσαντο) in   
front of the marriage chamber sing and dance (ἄειδον δ' ἄρα πα̑σαι ἐς ἓν μέλος   
ἐγκροτέοισαι ποσσί) without mention of instruments or any means of directing   
the chorus. [169.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678580&offset=1#169.#169.) This is an isolated case, however, probably evoked by the literary   
character of Theocritus' *Idyll*.

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| 166. | Xen. Eph. 1.2.1ff.: cf. above p. 29. |
| 167. | Timae. *FGrHist*. 566 F 131; Hier. *Jov*. 1, 42 (XXIII, p. 285 Migne). |
| 168. | Hdt. 5.83; other similar rituals quoted by Nilsson *Gr. Feste*, pp. 413ff., and  by Burkert, *Religion*, pp. 172f.; see below, p. 139. |
| 169. | Ps. Hes. *Scut*. 274ff.; Call. *Dian*. 240ff.; Theocr. 18.3 and 7. |

-64-

An exception of a different kind is found in an epigram in the Palatine   
Anthology describing the activity of a chorus of women (Λεσβίδες, note the   
form in -ιδ-) conducted by the poet Sappho. [170.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678581&offset=1#170.#170.) This description first shows the   
chorus members going to the temple of Hera, and the 'procession' image is thus   
realized; then they form a fine chorus in honor of the goddess (καλὸν στήσασθε   
[*thee*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg81_1.fpx) χορόν). It is Sappho herself who gives the signal with her lyre to begin   
(ὔμμι δ' ἀπάρξει Σ. ἔχουσα λύρην). This production would have been relevant to   
the Apollonian type if the chorus members did not just dance (ὀρχηθμός), and if   
Sappho did not just play the lyre, but also sang (ὕμνον). The Alexandrian   
description of Sappho's musical activity conforms of course to the tradition that   
makes her compositions monodies rather than choral songs. But it is essential to   
note that here too Sappho assumes the leadership, and if the semantic feature   
'song' is no longer appropriate to what the chorus members do, but rather to   
what the leader does, the musical performance nevertheless remains choral. This   
type of choral performance is not far from citharodic performance, to which I   
shall return shortly. [171.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678581&offset=1#171.#171.)

A perusal of these different performances by female or mixed choruses leads   
me to distinguish two basic modalities of the chorus: the first corresponds to the   
model of the Apollonian example and the legend of Theseus, in which the chorus   
is directed by someone playing an instrument (pipe or lyre: 'musical   
accompaniment'); the semantic features 'dance' and 'song' are characteristic of   
the chorus' performance. The second type includes choral performances in which   
the leader's role is characterized by the word ἡγέομαι, without there being any   
visible means of directing the chorus. The two main representatives in this   
category are the two fragments of Alcman and Pindar. Perhaps the chorus was   
directed through the dance, as Lucian seems to indicate for the Necklace Dance.   
The presence of a choral *I/we* in the two lyric fragments tells us at any rate that   
the vocal part of the performance was the responsibility of the chorus, while the   
meters used imply 'dance.' If the activity of the chorus in the second case is   
characterized by the same features 'song' and 'dance' as in the first, 'dance' is   
probably used in place of 'musical accompaniment' in referring to the function   
of the choregos. On the other hand, in the execution of the Pindaric   
Daphnephorikon, the dance of the chorus in a circle is replaced by a procession.

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| 170. | AP 9.189 = Sapph. test. 59 Campbell. To add to the examples cited in this  paragraph is a metaphorical use of the relationship chorus/chorus leader: in Eur. Hel.  1454f., the ship that is to take Helen to Sparta is referred to as the chorus leader of the  dolphins who make beautiful choruses (χοραγὲ τω̑ν καλλιχόρων δελφίνων); the image  of the chorus of dolphins is repeated in PMG fr. ad. 939.4ff. P, with the animals  forming a circle round Poseidon (χορεύουι κύκλωι). |
| 171. | See below pp. 80ff.; this description of how Sappho's chorus acts is a proof  of the irrelevance for archaic poetry of the modern distinction (going back to Plat.  Leg. 764de) between choral and monodic poetry: see Harvey, *CQ* 49, p. 159 n. 3,  G.M. Kirkwood, Early Greek *Monody:* The History of *a* Poetic Type, Ithaca-London  1974, pp. 9ff., and M. Davies, "Monody, Choral Lyric, and the Tyranny of the Hand-  Book," *CQ* 82, 1988, pp. 52-64. |

-65-

The feature '(choral) dance' is thus alternately combined with 'circularity' and   
'procession,' as was seen in the analysis of iconographic documents of choral   
scenes.

**2.3.3. Figurative representations of the choregos**

In the iconographic examples of a choral performance, the absence of the   
linguistic signifier invites us to take into consideration, when analyzing the   
image of the choregos, all the figures from among the rest of the chorus   
members who show different characteristics. It is noticeable that one or two   
figures are distinguished from the group by attributes that vary case by case in   
almost every representation of a choral scene.

In Crowhurst's corpus, a third of the scenes has an instrumentalist—lyre   
player or piper—in addition to the male or female chorus. The lyre player is   
generally a man, whether the chorus is male, female, or mixed. [172.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678582&offset=1#172.#172.) He may stand   
at the center of the chorus or at the head, depending on whether the representation   
includes 'circularity' or 'procession.' There is an evident relationship between   
these lyre players and the mythological models of the choregos such as Apollo   
and Theseus. Two examples directly illustrating the legend of Theseus have   
already been given, and it will suffice to add the example of the geometric hydria   
from the Museum of Archaeology in Cambridge, published by Tölle; this is a   
fine example of a circular chorus in the shape of a V: two groups of women,   
dressed in long robes, face the player of a five-stringed lyre, who is naked. [173.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678582&offset=1#173.#173.)   
The arrangement of the chorus in this scene suggests the word 'dance,' since the   
V-formation indicates 'circularity.'

If the feature 'musical accompaniment,' signified by the lyre, applies to the   
choregos, it is more difficult in this whole category of representations to   
determine to whom the feature 'song' applies. [174.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678582&offset=1#174.#174.) Given our doubt about how

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| 172. | Crowhurst, Lyric, pp. 231ff., see Tölle, *Reigentänze*, p. 62; a vase from  Delos shows a chorus made up of fifteen girls led by a female lyre player who stands  in the center of the circle: see C. Dugas and C. Rhomaios, *Délos* XXI: Les vases  *attiques à* figures rouges, Paris 1952, pl. LVII with pll. V-VII. In this paragraph, as in  the study of written documents, I have not differentiated between the various kinds of  pipe and lyre: on the use of the terms κίθαρις, φόρμιγξ, αὐλός, and so on, and the  forms taken on by the signified of these terms in iconography, see Wegner, *Musik*,  pp. U2ff. and U19ff. |
| 173. | Cambridge MCA 345 (49 Tölle, with pl. 18; 72 Wegner with pl. U IIb);  unfortunately, the photographs of the vase published by Tölle and Wegner do not  show the number of members in the chorus. |
| 174. | See Crowhurst, Lyric, pp. 268ff.; for Tölle, *Reigentänze*, p. 67, it is quite  simply impossible to represent the act of singing. According to Crowhurst, Lyric,  pp. 273f., one should not even apply the feature 'song' to the chorus of Muses on the  François vase in the scene of the wedding of Thetis and Peleus; only 'dance' and  'musical accompaniment' would be visible: Florence MA 4209 (189 = 172  Crowhurst); for the plates, see above n. 137. |

-66-

Greek artists represented singing in choral iconography, it is practically   
impossible to know if the almost total absence of singing either among the   
chorus-members or among the choregoi is due solely to technical deficiency   
regarding the signifier, or if it should be attributed to the signified; in the latter   
case, representations would be numerous where neither the choregos nor the   
chorus was singing. But the contradiction is evident with written documents that   
regularly show, either for the choregos or for the chorus-members, the feature   
'song.' I conclude therefore that the absence of the feature 'song' in figurative   
representations is only real on the level of the signifier; however, I shall use this   
kind of conclusion prudently in order to avoid the vicious circle of a   
reinterpretation of texts based on iconography!

In Crowhurst's corpus, only the depictions of performances of the dithyramb   
show choruses unambiguously singing. However, Crowhurst cites some   
examples older than the red figure images of dithyramb performances in which   
the chorus, generally women, seems to be in an attitude of song. [175.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678583&offset=1#175.#175.)

The results of Crowhurst's analysis of choral activity show that the pipe   
player accompanying a women's chorus can be either male or female, but the   
one who plays for a male chorus is always a man. From a morphological point   
of view, the choruses can have the feature of 'circularity' or of 'procession'; in   
the latter case, as when the choregos is a lyre player, the piper can lead the   
chorus, walking at its head or facing the singers who walk in a line towards him.   
A good example of this second form is found on a Klazomenian amphora of the   
middle of the sixth century discovered at Benha in Egypt; [176.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678583&offset=1#176.#176.) a line of sixteen   
girls holding hands walks towards a female pipe player dressed exactly as they   
are. The last in line carries a wreath.

There are cases in which a piper and a lyre player are both present, playing for   
the same chorus. Such scenes are rare: Crowhurst has four, and two of those date   
from the fourth century, although one of them, it is true, is in the Archaic style.   
The most interesting of the two dating from the Archaic period is on the neck of   
a proto-Attic hydria discovered at Aegina and dating from the beginning of the   
seventh century. [177.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678583&offset=1#177.#177.) Nine girls, dressed in long robes and holding hands, in the   
same manner as found on all the necks of proto-Attic hydrias, form a line headed   
by a piper and lyre player. The two instrumentalists are nude, and there is no   
indication that the lyre player is also singing; however, their position at the head   
of the chorus clearly indicates the combination of 'leading (the chorus)' and   
'instrumental accompaniment.' In all scenes that have both a pipe- and lyre‐

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| 175. | Crowhurst, Lyric, pp. 192ff. and 270ff.; see Athinai MN 18435 (14  Crowhurst, 55 Tölle), and Athinai Agora P 20873 (17 Crowhurst, 53 Tölle) , see  above p. 22. |
| 176. | Berlin 4530 (76 Crowhurst). |
| 177. | Crowhurst, Lyric, pp. 236ff.; Berlin 31573 A 1 (13 Crowhurst, 126 Tölle,  69 Wegner), pll. in CVA Berlin I, p. 10 and 1, 1 and 2, description in Crowhurst,  Lyric, pp. 11f.: error concerning this in Webster, Chorus, p. 10. |

-67-

player, the chorus is made up of young girls in a format always implying   
'procession.' Except on the hydria just mentioned, the instrument players are,   
like the chorus members, always female. These are some of the rare examples of   
women playing the lyre at the head of a chorus.

From a diachronic point of view, in the corpora considered by Tölle and   
Wegner and covering the Archaic period, choruses with a pipe player at the head   
are rare in comparison with those led by a lyre player. [178.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678584&offset=1#178.#178.) The first example on a   
vase is the scene painted on the neck of the hydria just cited, with, in addition, a   
chorus of twelve male figures following a single piper. This gradual appearance   
of a piper at the head of the chorus corresponds to what is found in literary texts,   
where the principal models of the choregos, Apollo and Theseus, are lyre   
players. But one should not forget that a terra cotta of the eighth century shows   
three figures, whose sex is difficult to determine, surrounding a piper. [179.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678584&offset=1#179.#179.)

There is one other figure, besides the piper and citharist, who has   
distinguishing features compared with the rest of the chorus, and that is the   
dancer who is often represented at the head of the chorus. Scenes of this type can   
be divided into two categories: the dancer is either executing the same steps as   
the chorus, in which case he differs by stature, sex, or clothing, or he is doing   
something different, generally an acrobatic dance. In these two categories the   
dancer-leader is male. There is a third type that Crowhurst calls the *late arrival;*   
here the dancer, executing an acrobatic movement, follows the chorus instead of   
leading it. [180.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678584&offset=1#180.#180.) A geometric Attic hydria in Berlin shows a V-shaped chorus made   
up of seven nude females dancing around a nude male figure defined as a dancer‐   
leader, and a geometric Argive vase has an acrobatic dancer following a   
procession of at least six young women, perhaps led by a lyre player. [181.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678584&offset=1#181.#181.)

But four scenes that are somewhat outside Crowhurst's categories are of   
particular interest for my analysis. On an Attic black figure bowl dating about   
570, a chorus of girls is depicted standing in a line and holding hands. [182.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678584&offset=1#182.#182.) Each   
of them dances with a different step, which gives the illusion of their rapid   
movement towards an altar behind which another woman, most likely a   
priestess, is standing. The last chorus-member holds a branch and is closely   
followed by a nude young man of the late *arrival* dancer type who holds her arm   
and to whom she looks back. But the most significant element, besides the   
presence of the priestess and a woman sitting in the background watching the

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| 178. | See Wegner, Musikleben, pp. 39f., and Crowhurst, Lyric, pp. 237f. |
| 179. | New York MM 2118 (132 Crowhurst). |
| 180. | Crowhurst, Lyric, pp. 239ff. |
| 181. | Berlin 31312 (30 Crowhurst, 52 Tölle, 62 Wegner), pl. in CVA Berlin I, pl.  40; Athinai MN (65 Crowhurst, 101 Tölle, 53 Wegner), pl. in Wegner, *Musik*, pl. U  VI d; see Webster, Chorus, p. 7 with pl. 1. Placed at the head of the chorus, the dancer‐  acrobat might be called the προχορευόμενος: see Webster, Chorus, pp. 15 and 51f.,  and L. Threatte, "An Interpretation of a Sixth Century Corinthian Dipinto," *Glotta*  45, 1967, pp. 186-194 (with pl.). |
| 182. | London BM 1906.12-15.1 (164 Crowhurst); see B. Ashmole, "Kalligeneia  and Hieros Arotos," JHS 66, 1946, pp. 8-10, with pll. 2a and 3a, c, d, e. |

-68-

procession (perhaps a goddess), is the attitude of the girl at the head of the   
chorus. Dressed more richly than the others, she gestures either in salutation or   
as an invitation to the chorus that follows her to take part in the action round the   
altar behind which is the priestess; as she gestures, she turns her head to the girls   
behind her. The priestess holds a basket in which there are various objects,   
among them a phallus; this element motivated Ashmole to identify the scene as   
a depiction of the revealing of the phallus, one of the sequences in the ritual of   
the Thesmophoria. In this case, the nude young man joining the chorus might   
be seen as the παι̑ς ἀμφιθαλής, participating in this ceremony (according to   
literary sources). For the moment I shall retain only the absence of the feature   
'instrumental accompaniment' and the role of 'leading (the chorus)' that many   
indications attribute to the first choreutes of the choral group.

Another illustration of particular interest, in relief on the neck of an   
earthenware jar dating from the second quarter of the seventh century, consists of   
a procession scene. [183.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678585&offset=1#183.#183.) Four girls dressed in richly embroidered robes follow a   
woman of taller stature carrying a scepter. Her chiton is very elaborate and her   
hair is dressed differently from that of the girls who make up the procession.   
Over their heads the chorus holds an object that shows the same decorative   
motifs as their clothes—and which was first interpreted as a chest but was then   
identified, rightly, as a veil carried in offering. This resulted in a second   
identification, that of the scene in the sixth book of the Iliad, in which Hecuba   
offers a peplos, the finest she owns, to Athena. [184.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678585&offset=1#184.#184.) She goes to the temple of   
the goddess followed by the noblewomen of the city [185.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678585&offset=1#185.#185.) and hands the veil to   
Theano, Athena's priestess, before telling her of the Trojan women's vow. Song   
is not absent from the scene, since the act of consecration of the peplos is   
accompanied by the ritual cry of the companions of Hecuba (αἱ δ' ὀλουηῃ̑   
πα̑σαι Ἀθήνῃ χει̑ρας ἀνέσχον). This almost complete correspondence between   
written document and image underlines a comparison of the distinctive features   
that mark the figure of the choregos. In Homer, it is Hecuba's social status that   
gives her the right to head the procession of the Trojan women; on the Boeotian   
pithos, it is her stature, scepter, clothing, and coiffure that distinguish her as   
leader from the rest of the chorus and that indicate her status. On the other hand,   
without our referring to the iconography, the passage in Homer could not have   
been included among my sources on the chorus, since it lacks a signifier—except   
for ὀλολυγή—that clearly indicates the choral performance.

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| 183. | Boston MFA 529, see R. Hampe, *Frühe* griechische Sagenbilder in *Böotien*,  Athens 1936, pp. 56ff. with pll. 36 and 37, and Schefold, op. cit. n. 137, p. 42 with  pll. 30 and 31. |
| 184. | Hom. *Il*. 6.286ff. |
| 185. | Γεραιαί (Il. 287 and 296) also implies 'aged'; there is therefore an  inconsistency between the Homeric story and the illustration, which has no  indication of the advanced age of the women following Hecuba as described by  Homer, only of their clothes showing their nobility. |

-69-

The excavations near Paestum undertaken before and during the war uncovered   
an astonishing collection of metopes in the Archaic style dating from the middle   
of the sixth century. [186.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678586&offset=1#186.#186.) Decorating Hera's temple on the banks of the Sele, five   
of these metopes represent a choral scene. Four couples of young women follow   
a ninth who, in the attitude I have defined as being that of a choregos, looks   
back at the chorus dancing in her wake. This young woman has recently been   
identified as Helen, and the whole scene represents the abduction of Helen by   
Peirithoos and Theseus; as we shall see, the literary tradition confirms that Helen   
was kidnapped as she was performing a choral dance in the sanctuary of Artemis   
Orthia. [187.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678586&offset=1#187.#187.) According to the version of the story provided by the metopes of   
Paestum, the scene took place in the temple of Hera. What is significant in this   
interpretation of an iconographic document with reference to a literary source of   
somewhat conjectural character is that the features of the female figure of metope   
3 have led to the identification of the very model of the adolescent choregos,   
Helen; in addition, the signs marking this scene suggested to its interpreter the   
beauty contests that were part of the cult pertaining to Hera. I shall discuss this   
further.

The choral scene called the "partheneion," mentioned in connection with the   
number of women composing the female chorus, must be added to the evidence   
for the dancing *choregos*. [188.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678586&offset=1#188.#188.) On this red figure crater, the ten chorus-members   
are led by a female piper. Besides the function of choregos assumed by the piper,   
the attitude of the first in line signifies a leading function that I shall call an   
annex function. Her behavior resembles that of the female leader at the head of   
the procession, which could be related to the festival of the Thesmophoria in two   
ways: she is looking back at the chorus following her (it is true that two of   
them have the same attitude), and she makes a gesture of invitation with her left   
hand. To this can be added clothing somewhat different from that of the others   
who are, however, not dressed homogeneously. This gesture of invitation or   
salutation seems to be a characteristic of a choregos at the head of a chorus in   
scenes where the chorus moves towards an instrumentalist or a cult object. [189.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678586&offset=1#189.#189.)

The role of choregos divided between two individuals is characteristic of   
several illustrations, two examples of which are taken from black figure lekythoi   
signed by the Amasis painter. The first of these flasks has a wedding scene on   
the body, and on the shoulder two chorus scenes, [190.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678586&offset=1#190.#190.) the first of which shows

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| 186. | Paestum metopes Heraion 1-5 (127 Crowhurst), see P. Zancani-Montuoro and  U. Zanotti-Bianco, Heraion *alla foce* del Sele I, Roma 1961, pp. 123ff., with pll. XLI‐  LIX ; the order of the metopes proposed by Zancani is 2, 1, 5, 4, 3. |
| 187. | E. Simon, "Die vier Büsser von Foce del Sele," *JDAI* 82, 1967, pp. 275-295  (pp. 293ff.); on Helen's abduction, see below pp. 159ff. |
| 188. | See above p. 22 and n. 13. |
| 189. | See Crowhurst, Lyric, p. 242. |
| 190. | New York 56.11.1 (162 = 166 Crowhurst), pl. in Webster, Chorus, pl. 5; see  Crowhurst, Lyric, pp. 157f. |

-70-

six of the chorus forming a V on each side of a sitting lyre player; none of them   
is marked as playing the role of the leader. In the second scene, three girls are   
moving towards a pipe player, also seated; the girl at the head of the line looks   
backwards at her companions in the gesture we have defined as conducting the   
chorus. She therefore shares this function with the piper.

The second lekythos has, on the same area, a chorus of eight forming a   
V. [191.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678587&offset=1#191.#191.) Each of the girls heading the lines moving towards a central point is   
marked by her backward glance and gesture of invitation with the left hand, as   
was described previously. These two seem to share the position of choregos with   
two beardless youths who precede them and both of whom have the same   
invitational gesture. One of them is also looking back. It is noticeable that one   
of the groups of girls runs, while the other walks. The center of the scene is   
occupied by a veiled woman sitting on a throne, flanked by two bearded men.   
The principal scene on this vase depicts a veil being woven. This is thought to   
be the making of Athena's peplos for the Panathenaic rites, or the veil of a   
young bride, before the wedding ceremony. Whether the occasion is religious or   
matrimonial, it is almost certain that the choral scene represented here is related   
to the principal scene and that the woman in the center of the chorus in the first   
scene is the receiver of the peplos woven in the second.

A general comparison of the vase images I have just enumerated with the   
image of the female chorus offered by the texts is of course hindered by the   
almost total absence of an iconographic signifier for the feature 'song.' The   
Apollonian model ('instrumental accompaniment' for the leader, 'song' + 'dance'   
for the chorus) is well represented in the iconography, as also is the citharodic   
model ('song' + 'instrumental accompaniment' for the leader, 'dance' for the   
chorus). We find no parallel, however, for the double model of the chorus of   
Muses who sing and dance and of a larger chorus implying the single feature   
'song' as offered by certain Apollonian scenes. It should be noticed though that   
insofar as the leader is a woman, the absence of 'song' is paralleled in literature   
by the mythological model of Artemis as choregos.

The disparity in sex between chorus-members and choregos is widely agreed   
upon and is backed up by texts, particularly those of Alcman and Pindar. The   
figure of the παι̑ς ἀμφιθαλής of the Daphnephoria is encountered again in the   
form of an acrobatic dancer in several iconographic scenes showing the feature   
'procession'; however, he is generally placed at the end of the chorus, in the late   
*arrival* position. But one of the most remarkable points made by these late   
arrival scenes is the possible sharing of the leader's role by, for example, an   
instrumentalist and a chorus-member. This situation parallels that of Pindar's   
Daphnephorikon, in which the girl who is a principal chorus-member receives the   
praises of the chorus after they have celebrated the child heading the procession.

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| 191. | New York 31.11.10 (167 Crowhurst), pl. in Webster, Chorus, pl. 4, see  Crowhurst, Lyric, pp. 159ff., and S. Karouzou, The Amasis Painter, Oxford 1956, pp.  43f. with pll. 43 and 44.1. |

-71-

In spite of the possibilities offered by these morphological analogies between   
written and iconographic evidence, we must not be taken in by the diversity   
present in both domains, since it doubtless corresponds to the widespread   
distribution of choral performances in the most varied rites. Nevertheless, it is   
possible to make a clear distinction between the figure of the choregos, even if   
he/she has a double, and the homogeneous character of the chorus-members.

**2.3.4. The distinctive qualities of the choregos**

In the two areas where the existence of female choral performances is   
recorded, in legendary stories and cultural practice, the leader is set apart by her   
higher social position. It may be difficult to speak of a social hierarchy among   
the gods, but it is true that in the Greek pantheon Apollo occupies a higher   
position than the Muses, whose chorus he directs. The same holds for Artemis   
among her Nymphs or, in the epic legend, for Nausicaa, daughter of King   
Alkinoos, surrounded by her attendants, and for Hecuba leading the procession of   
Trojan women. Theseus, son of the king of Athens, holds a similar position at   
the head of the chorus formed by the young Athenians saved from the Labyrinth.   
Pausanias says that the child-choregos of the Daphnephoria was the child of a   
prominent family, as were Agasicles of Pindar's Daphnephorikon or Agesidamos   
of Alcman's fragment 10 (b) P = 82 C. Plutarch's anecdote about Agesilas, the   
future king of Sparta, can be explained in this way; because of his prominence,   
the organizer of the chorus in which he was supposed to take part was obliged to   
put him at the head of the chorus. [192.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678588&offset=1#192.#192.) The elevated social status of the choregos   
is spatially marked by the position he occupies in relation to the rest of the   
chorus. In the processional type of chorus this position corresponds to the head   
of the line; for the circular type it is generally the center of the group.

And, according to the best ethical canons of Archaic aristocracy, the leader   
adds to the nobility of his birth the complementary quality of beauty that   
character-izes the true καλὸς κἀγαθός. According to Proclus, the child‐   
daphnephoros must be beautiful and strong, and, as I have shown in discussing   
the qualities of the female choregos, one of the chorus participants is generally   
distinguished from her companions by her exceptional beauty. [193.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678588&offset=1#193.#193.) The function   
of choregos is bound up with this quality of beauty. Thus Helen, the ἁγνὰ   
χοραγός of the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, is distinguished by her comeliness   
(εὐπρεπής) from the young chorus that surrounds her, or Antheia, in the   
procession described in the *Ephesiaca* in which she directs the order of young   
women [*erche*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg88_1.fpx) τη̑ς τω̑ν παρθένων τάξεως), is so beautiful that the onlookers   
prostrate themselves as she passes, confusing her with Artemis. But the   
choregos is marked both by 'nobility' and 'beauty,' which together give 'value'

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| 192. | See above pp. 40f.; Luc. Salt. 8 insists on the fact that among the people of  Crete, to dance was an honor, and so it was cultivated by those who wanted power (οἱ  βασιλικώτεροι καὶ πρωτεύειν ἀξιου̑ντες). |
| 193. | See above pp. 42f. |

-72-

in the aristocratic sense of the word. [194.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678589&offset=1#194.#194.) In the iconography, the same features   
are represented by a taller stature, richer clothes, and a more elaborate headdress   
than the other chorus-members.

As regards sex and age, distinguishing characteristics are less clearly defined.   
Both in literary evidence and figured documents, a women's chorus may be   
directed by a man or a woman. The contrary is not true, however, because the   
male chorus is always directed by a man; likewise for the mixed chorus, even if   
it is double-headed, as in the Necklace Dance described by Lucian.

From the point of view of age, the choregos and chorus are, generally   
speaking, 'contemporaries,' as are the chorus-members among themselves. In   
fragment 10 (b) P = 82 C, Alcman, as we have seen, uses the term ἤλικες to   
signify one of the bonds uniting the choregoi with the chorus of the *Dymainai*.   
The iconography represents Theseus without a beard—which corresponds to the   
term ἀγένειοι in the same fragment of Alcman—like the young Athenians who   
make up the chorus. Equality of age is one of the basic characteristics that unites   
Habrocomes and Antheia with the groups of youths and maidens that each heads.   
In all the choral images on the necks of geometric Attic vases, the girl at the   
head of the line formed by the chorus following her is drawn in the same way as   
the other chorus members; the case of the παι̑ς ἀμφιθαλής of the Theban   
Daphnephoria would then be an exception to the general rule of age equality   
between choregos and chorus-members. However, if one acknowledges that the   
young dancer of the late *arrival* type in the iconography can be identified with the   
child who still has his father and mother, as the texts say, this exception is void.   
Indeed this child is generally represented as being as tall as the female chorus‐   
members whose chorus he rejoins. Recalling the polysemia of the term παι̑ς, [195.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678589&offset=1#195.#195.)   
he will be called a young man rather than a child.

In spite of the uncertainty surrounding the age of the female chorus-members   
in the iconography, most of the representations imply the feature 'adolescent'   
and this situation corresponds to the one found in written documents; we can   
then deduce from the preceding remarks that the age of the choregos, male or   
female, for a chorus of young men or of young women is generally that of   
adolescence. But, as we shall see in the last chapter, during adolescence, the   
choregos is, according to his/her leading position, slightly more mature than the   
companions belonging to his/her chorus. Still adolescent, he/she appears as the   
one who, within the group of the chorus-members, is about to reach the status   
of an adult.

And finally, it has to be pointed out that the choregos can be doubled in   
his/her role as conductor of the group by the girl occupying the first place in the   
line. It seems therefore that, particularly in iconographic evidence, the leader may   
receive a certain amount of assistance in conducting the chorus from the   
principal chorus-member.

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| 194. | See Fränkel, *Dichtung, passim*, esp. pp. 476ff. |
| 195. | See above p. 26. |

-73-

**2.4. The activity of the chorus**

Since song, dance, and musical accompaniment are the three basic elements   
associated with Greek music, [196.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678590&offset=1#196.#196.) the chorus is generally marked by one or two   
features that are not present in the function of the choregos. There are however   
two exceptions to this general rule: the feature 'dance' is generally shared by   
both chorus and choregos. On the other hand, if the feature 'instrumental   
accompaniment' is the sole attribute of the function of the choregos, that of   
'song' characterises either the activity of the choregos or that of the chorus, but   
rarely both at the same time. In one or other of the texts under consideration, it   
can occur that one of these three features may not be present. This of course   
should not be presumed to indicate the absolute non-existence of one of these   
features at the level of the signifier, as was true in the iconography in the case of   
'song.' We must take into account here the form first imposed by the texts.

The interaction of the choregos' musical activity and that of the chorus makes   
it unnecessary to review the interpretations already discussed to decide on the   
modalities of the chorus' activity. But the solution to the problem posed in the   
introduction concerning the definition of the partheneion as a literary genre   
justifies a comparison of female choral performances possessing the features   
'song' and 'dance' with the lyric genres, the forms of which were already well   
defined in the Archaic period. I have tried to show elsewhere that some of the   
lyric forms defined by the Alexandrian school in their attempt to classify the   
work of Archaic lyric poets was already quite consistent at that time: they are the   
paean, the dithyramb, the kitharodia, the threnody, and the nuptial song, to   
which can probably be added the hymn. [197.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678590&offset=1#197.#197.) Since the partheneion only seems to   
have existed as a lyric genre beginning with the Alexandrian period, as I have   
mentioned before, I thought it interesting to see whether interpretations of   
certain female choral performances might be classified among the Archaic   
categories of lyric or if the partheneion represented already, even if not so called,   
a specific category apart from the five original lyric genres. An examination of   
this question should produce a possible classification of the lyric songs written   
for female choruses.

**2.4.1. The hymn**

In the example of the chorus of the Muses directed by Apollo, the activity of   
the Muses implies the feature 'song.' Parallel to the verb ἀείδω, often used   
when referring to the sung section of a chorus, Greek authors make use of the   
term ὕμνος and its derivatives when referring to the singing of Apollo's

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| 196. | See Plat. *Resp*. 398d and Arist. Poet. 1447a 22ff.; T. Georgiades, Musik *und*  Rhythmus bei den Griechen, Hamburg 21958, *passim*. |
| 197. | "Réflexions sur les genres littéraires en Grèce archaïque," *QUCC* 17, 1974,  pp. 113-128; for the partheneion, see Choeurs II, pp. 149ff.; complementary remarks  in Käppel, *Paian*, pp. 34ff., and Nagy, Pindar's Homer, pp. 108ff. |

-74-

mythological chorus; [198.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678591&offset=1#198.#198.) this is the case in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. This   
same term is used with regard to other female choruses, such as the *Deliades* who   
sing (ὑμνήσωσιν) of Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, and then evoke the memory of   
various heroes (μνησάμεναι ἀνδρω̑ν τε παλαιω̑ν ἠδὲ γυναικω̑ν ὕμνον   
ἀείδουσιν); their hymn is also referred to as ἀοιδή (καλἡ συνάρηρεν ἀοιδή),   
which shows that these two terms were synonymous. [199.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678591&offset=1#199.#199.) However, in contrast   
to ἀοιδή, the word ὕμνος was used by the Alexandrians to describe a poetic   
genre. Consequently, the question is whether the hymn corresponded in the   
Archaic period to a specific choral form with a specific content. In the same way   
as the song of the Deliades is about gods and certain heroes, the Muses in the   
Hymn to Apollo sing of the privileges of the gods and the miseries that befall   
men; in the Hymn to Artemis they celebrate Leto and her children, as do the   
Deliades; in Pindar they begin their song by addressing Zeus, then sing of the   
deeds of Thetis and Peleus. The hymn thus defines itself as a song in which gods   
and heroes are celebrated. Independently of their probably recited form and of their   
function as *prooimia*, this corresponds also to what can be said about the content   
of the Homeric *Hymns*, which were referred to by the term ὕμνος already at the   
time of their composition. [200.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678591&offset=1#200.#200.) However, this word has a wider application in   
Archaic lyric, where it refers not only to choral singing, but to songs sung at   
banquets. The songs sung by the chorus of young Boeotians during the   
Daphnephoria procession are called hymns both by Pindar and Proclus, and as in   
the case of the Homeric Hymns, certain lyric compositions are not only termed   
hymns by the critics, but their internal naming process also uses the term

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| 198. | Ἀείδω/ᾄδω: Hes. Scut. 205, Pind. N. 5.23, Paus. 5.18.4; for the meaning of  this verb see LfgrE s.v. ἀείδω; for ὑμνέω: H. Ap. 190, H. Hom. 27.19 (in this case,  Artemis is the leader), Pind. N. 5.25, see also Eur. Hel. 1345; for this term, see Diehl,  RhM 89, pp. 86f. and 91f., and Fowler, Greek Lyric, pp. 94ff.  A third very generic term is used in Greece to designate choral song, partly in  situations where dance is not mentioned: it is μέλος; see e.g. Call. *Del*. 225ff., where  this word refers to the song of Eileithyia sung by the Deliades for the birth of Apollo  at Delos; its use parallels that of ὑμνέω (see Alcm. fr. 3.5 P = 26.5 C and Stes. fr.  212.2 P) and of ᾄδειν (Alcm. fr. 14 [*a*] P = 4 C, Prat. fr. 708.5f. P = fr. 3.3f. Sn.); see  below n. 234. |
| 199. | H. Ap. 157ff., same in Pind. N. 5.23ff.; see Aloni, *L'aedo*, pp. 125f. |
| 200. | H. *Ven*. 293, see Wegner, *Musik*, pp. U32f., and the references on the  designation of the Homeric Hymns given in my contribution "Variations  énonciatives, relations avec les dieux et fonctions poétiques dans les Hymnes  *homériques*," MH 52, 1995, pp. 2-19. |

-75-

ὕμνος. [201.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678592&offset=1#201.#201.) It is only with Plato that hymn begins to take on the narrower   
meaning of a 'prayer addressed to a god.' [202.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678592&offset=1#202.#202.)

The semantic variety of songs contained in the term ὕμνος is remarkable not   
only for content but also for execution. The hymns, according to Athenaeus who   
probably refers back to Aristoxenos, could be danced or sung without any   
movement in the chorus. [203.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678592&offset=1#203.#203.) A similar situation is reflected in certain descrip-   
tions of female choral performances in which the feature 'song' is designated by   
the term ὕμνος: if the ceremony of the Daphnephoria implies the feature   
'procession,' the song of the *Deliades* as it is described in the Hymn to Apollo   
apparently includes neither the feature 'dance' nor 'procession.'

However, since the song, in almost all the examples in the corpus, is   
connected with the dance, the absence of the feature 'dance' in these choral   
performances is probably due only to the accidents of tradition. In any case, the   
use of ὕμνος is not limited to this particular situation.

The very general meaning of the term does not indicate a defined lyric genre   
to which a certain category of songs sung by female choruses would belong. It is   
quite different for the other lyric genres I have listed.

**2.4.2. The paean**

Of the songs that could be sung by female choruses some have had a specific   
name since the Archaic period. Among these is the paean. For instance, the   
chorus of old men in Euripides' Hercules Furens states its intention of singing   
paeans for Herakles, following the example of the Deliades who sing the paean   
(παια̑να ὑμνου̑σι) for Apollo as they dance round his temple (εἱλίσσουσαι   
καλλίχοροι). As regards the signifiers, the link between the terms ὑμνέω and   
παιάν is evident, and it is repeated in the subsequent lines where the paeans sung   
by the chorus are called ὕμνοι. [204.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678592&offset=1#204.#204.) The term hymn is clearly taken here in its   
wider sense of 'choral song,' and the word paean refers to a certain category of   
hymns which I shall define. Another example of a girls' chorus singing a paean   
is found in Euripides; before her sacrifice, Iphigenia asks the chorus of girls from   
Chalcis to entone a propitiating paean to Artemis (ἐπευφημήσατε, [*o*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg92_1.fpx) νεανίδες,   
παια̑να... 'Άρτεμιν); this song is accompanied by the chorus moving round the

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| 201. | Choral song: Alcm. fr. 27.3 P = 84 C, Stes. fr. 212.2 P, Ibyc. fr. 282.12 P,  Bacch. 6.11, Pind. *O*. 1.8, etc.; song sung at a banquet (perhaps a scholion): Anacr.  fr. 356 (b).5 P: see Smyth, Melic pp. xxviiff., and Gentili, Introduzione, p. 62 with  n. 39; for the Daphnephoria, see Pind. fr. 94b.11 M (ὑμνήσω) and Procl. ap. Phot.  Bibl. 321b 29f. (πρὸς ἱκετηρίαν ὑμνω̑ν). |
| 202. | Plat. Symp. 177a, Resp. 607a, Leg. 700ab: see Harvey, *CQ* 49, pp. 165ff.;  this same narrow definition of hymn is found in Menander the Rhetorician, 1.18ff.  (III, p. 331 Spengel). |
| 203. | Ath. 14.631d, see Procl. ap. Phot. Bibl. 320a 19f. |
| 204. | Eur. HF 687ff.: contrast the description of the song of the Deliades in the H.  *Ap*. 156ff. to which I just alluded; for the use of ὑμνέω in a lyric composition that  could be a paean, see *PMG* carm. pop. fr. 867 P. |

-76-

temple and the altar of the goddess (ἑλίσσετ' ἀμφὶ ναὸν ἀμφί βωμὸ   
'Άρτεμιν). [205.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678593&offset=1#205.#205.) Here, as in the choral execution of the Deliades, the dance that   
gives rhythm to the paean is marked with the features 'circularity' and 'center.'

These two enactments of the paean by a chorus of young women represent   
exceptions, however. The paean was usually sung by a male chorus, but the oc-   
casions for which adolescent girls performed it nevertheless correspond exactly to   
its intended purpose. The paean is defined as a song of propitiation or gratitude,   
two complementary aspects of the prayer addressed to the gods. Sung as early as   
the Archaic period for occasions such as battles, banquets, or marriages, it was   
addressed to Apollo, or to Artemis, both of whom were the protecting gods with   
power over calamities. [206.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678593&offset=1#206.#206.) Different from the hymn, the paean was at this time a   
true poetic genre with a content determined by 1) its function of propitiation or   
gratitude for a misfortune avoided, and 2) by its recipients Apollo and Artemis.   
The signified of this song will later be enlarged to contain all songs addressed to   
gods or human beings possessing power to influence events. [207.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678593&offset=1#207.#207.) Morpho-   
logically, the paean could assume different forms, as we shall see later.

If, in Euripides, it is girls who sing the paean, earlier evidence shows it was   
performed by young men, with female choruses accompanying the song with   
ritual cries. The term used to designate this form of accompaniment is ὀλολύζω   
and its derivatives. The paean sung by the Trojans on the occasion of Hektor's   
marriage to Andromache, as described by Sappho, is given its rhythm by the   
voices of their women (γύναικες δ' ἐλέλυσδον). Bacchylides has a scene   
describing the return of Theseus from Poseidon's abode: the young Athenian   
girls make the sea resound with their voices (κου̑ραι ὠλόλυξαν), while their   
male companions sing the paean (ἠΐθεοι παιάνιξαν). Similarly, later, in   
Xenophon, before the Greek army crosses the Centrites the soldiers sing a paean   
and shout their war cries (ἐπαιάιζον πάντες οἱ στρατιω̑ται καὶ ἀνηλάλαζον),   
accompanied also by the cries of the women who follow the army   
(συνωλόλυζον δἑ καὶ αἱ γυναι̑κες ἅπασαι). [208.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678593&offset=1#208.#208.) The opposite situation also

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| 205. | Eur. *IA* 1467ff. and 1480ff. |
| 206. | Hom. *Il* 1.472ff., Alcm. fr. 98 P = 129 C, Sapph. fr. 44.32f. V; see sch.  Lond. Dion. Thrac. 451.12f. Hilgard, and below p. 103. On the numerous occasions  for the performance of a paean, see Käppel, *Paian*, pp. 43ff. |
| 207. | See Smyth, pp. xxxviff.; A. von Blumenthal, RE 18 (1939), s.v. *Paian*, coll.  2345ff.; Severyns, Recherches II, pp. 125ff. (with other bibliographical references);  Harvey, *CQ* 49, pp. 172f.; G.A. Privitera, "Il Peana sacro ad Apollo," CeS 41, 1972,  pp. 41-49; and Käppel, Paian, pp. 71ff. |
| 208. | Sapph. fr. 44.31ff. V (ολολυζο[ν] v. *l*.); Bacch. 17.124ff.: this mixed chorus  is probably formed by the seven girls and the seven young men whom Theseus had to  bring to Cnossos; then it is made up of the same singers that the hero conducted as  choregos in Crete or at Delos, see above pp. 53ff.; D.E. Gerber, "Bacchylides  17.124-29," ZPE 49, 1982, pp. 3-5; Calame, *Thésée*, pp. 206ff.; and Käppel, Paian,  pp. 174ff. (another solution is proposed by Zimmermann, Dithyrambos, pp. 77ff.,  who reminds us that this poem of Bacchylides is a dithyramb); Xen. An. 4.3.19; see  also Aesch. *Th*. 267f.: (Eteocles to the chorus) σὺ ὀλολυγμὸν ἱερὸν εὐμενη̑ παιώνισον. |

-77-

occurs, for instance, when the chorus of the Trachiniae sings on the return of   
Herakles to Deianeira. For this song of triumph and gratitude the terms ὀλολυγή   
and ἀλαλή (ἀνολολύζεται δόμος ἀλαλαι̑ς) are used; from the men are only   
heard cries in honor of Apollo (κοινὸ ἀρσένων *κλαγγ*ά), while the young girls   
sing the paean (ὁμου̑ δὲ παια̑να, paια̑ν' ἀνάγετ', [*o*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg94_1.fpx) παρθένοι) and songs to   
Artemis and the Nymphs. [209.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678594&offset=1#209.#209.) Again, the two protecting deities are associated   
with the paean, but the roles within the chorus are reversed, and it is the girls   
who are in control of the interpretation of the song. Here the execution of the   
paean implies the features 'dance' and 'instrumental accompaniment (pipe)'   
(ἀείρομ' οὐδ' ἀπώσοαι τὸν αὐλόν).

Morphologically, terms such as ὀλολύζω consist of the voicing and naming   
of an onomatopoeia. The cries that signify the act of ὀλολύζειν are interpreted   
variously as the cries of invocation during a ritual song or the regular repetition   
by the chorus of the words of a refrain. [210.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678594&offset=1#210.#210.) Although there are some exceptions   
to this rule, the ololyge is the function of a female chorus. The Trojan women   
who follow Hecuba in the propitiatory offering of a veil to Athena punctuate   
this ritual act by cries of invocation. The same ritual cries accompany the   
sacrifice of the ox that Nestor dedicates to Athena in the Odyssey, and when the   
young women cry in the Panathenaic festival it is also to Athena. In these cases   
the cries are accompanied by dances (ὀλολύγματα παννυχίοις ὑπὸ παρθένων   
ἰαχει̑ ποδω̑ν κρότοισιν). The cries with which Hera's sanctuary on Lesbos   
resounds when the women of the island hold their annual beauty contest are also   
described by Alcaeus with the word ὀλολυγή (περὶ δὲ βρέμει ἄχω θεσπεσία   
γυναίκων ἴρα[ς ὀ]λολύγας ἐνιαυσίας). [211.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678594&offset=1#211.#211.) Although not always associated with   
the paean, the ololyge has the same aims of propitiation and thanks and   
generally appears in a ritual context on occasions when a god's protection is   
needed, or to thank him/her for help given.

Probably born of the cry of invocation to Apollo, the paean—and its   
feminine counterpart, the ololyge—is a poetic form which shows distinctive   
features as early as the Archaic period, in contrast to the hymn and the   
hyporchema, which became lyric genres only during the Alexandrian period.

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| 209. | Soph. Tr. 205ff.; on these different forms of the performance of the paean,  see Käppel, *Paian*, pp. 80ff.; for the tragedy in particular, see I. Rutherford, "Paeanic  Ambiguity: A Study of the Representation of the παιάν in Greek Literature," *QUCC*  73, 1993, pp. 77-92. |
| 210. | Frisk, *GrEW*, s.v. ὀλολύζω; M. Wegner, RE 17 (1936), s.v. Ololyge; but  ἀλαλάζω is often restricted to the war cry: Chantraine, *Dict*. *étym*., s.v. ἀλαλά. On  the ololyge as a specifically female act, see L. Deubner, "Ololyge und Verwandtes,"  APAW 1941, 1; other references in E. Fraenkel, Aeschylus, Agamemnon II, Oxford  1950, pp. 296f. |
| 211. | Hom. *Il*. 6.301: on the role of the choregos assumed by Hecuba, see above p.  43; Od. 3.450ff., see sch. *ad loc*.: τὸν γὰρ ὀλολυγμὸν 'Όμηρος γυναικείαν εὀχήν  λέγει; Eur. Her. 777ff.: see Deubner, *Att. Feste*, p. 24; Alc. fr. 130b.18ff. V: see  Page, Sappho, p. 208; the ritual cries of a young girls' chorus are also called βοή: see  Eur. Tr. 547. |

-78-

Although the paean has a flexible form, its content is determined—propitiation   
or gratitude—and it has a fixed destination, addressed to the deities who have   
power over the forces that are too strong for men. That being so, the number of   
occasions for which it was needed was vast.

It should be added that the paean is not a choral song in the strict sense of the   
term. It was performed either by the whole chorus, or by one voice with the   
chorus joining in with dance steps and the refrain. The latter form was not much   
used, it is true, for the paean, and is never found in a context in which a   
women's chorus would take part. [212.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678595&offset=1#212.#212.) On the other hand, it leads us to other   
choral forms performed either by a mixed chorus or by a chorus of young   
women.

**2.4.3. The dithyramb**

But before moving on to choral forms in which the choregos sings most of   
the sung part of the performance, I shall speak briefly about the second lyric   
genre, the dithyramb, which had a definite shape as early as the Archaic period,   
and, like the paean, was sung for a deity, in this case mainly Dionysus. [213.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678595&offset=1#213.#213.)

I had at first excluded this genre from my corpus a priori, given the literary   
form it assumed in the classical period, particularly in Athens. But in spite of its   
rarity, there is some evidence that the dithyramb in its ritual form could be sung   
in the Archaic period by a women's chorus. An epigram attributed to Simonides   
shows that the ololyge of the women in the chorus of the Seasons could   
accompany a dithyramb. It is a similar situation to that of the paean, where the   
cries of a girls' or women's chorus answered the song of the chorus-members   
singing the ritual song itself. On the other hand, the ritual song that the women   
of Elis, according to Plutarch, addressed (ὑμνοι̑σαι) to Dionysus can be   
considered a dithyramb. The presence in this song of a refrain suggests that this   
dithyramb was sung by a single woman and that the chorus of her companions   
took up the refrain. [214.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678595&offset=1#214.#214.) I shall return to this, but for the moment I shall limit   
myself to saying that in interpreting the dithyramb, as also the paean, the feature   
'song' can be assumed by a single person, probably the choregos, while the

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| 212. | Xen. Cyr. 3.3.58 says e.g. that Cyrus sings a paean (ἐξη̑ρχεν παια̑να) and  that his soldiers take it up as a chorus (συνεπήχησαν). |
| 213. | On the dithyramb, see particularly Smyth, *Melic*, pp. xlviiiff., Pickard‐  Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, pp. 7ff., and Zimmermann, Dithyrambos, pp. 9ff. |
| 214. | Sim. fr. 148 B = Bacch. Epigr. 3 P (see below p. 136 n. 134), Plut. Mor.  299ab = PMG carm. pop. fr. 871 P; on the rite performed by the women of Elis, see  below pp. 136f.; the presence of the expression ἐξάρξαι μέλος [*oida*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg95_1.fpx) διθύραμβον in  the first piece of evidence that we have on this form, in Arch. fr. 120 West, inclines  me to think that this song was sung by a single person and the chorus took up certain  words as a refrain; on this see G.A. Privitera, "Archiloco e il ditirambo letterario pre-  simonideo," *Maia* 9, 1957, pp. 95-100, and now Zimmermann, Dithyrambos, pp.  19ff. |

-79-

chorus-members mark the rhythm with their dance and punctuate the song with   
repetitions of a refrain.

**2.4.4. The citharodic nomos**

Among the examples cited, the singing of a choral performance is done by   
the choregos or by the chorus-members, with the latter predominant; there are   
other situations in which the choregos sings the main song and the chorus   
dances or sings an accompaniment. This is a category of choral performances   
called *kitharodia*, [215.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678596&offset=1#215.#215.) related to a lyric genre called the citharodic nomos. The   
naming of this genre goes back no further than Plato, in contrast to the paean   
and the dithyramb, and it is only as a reconstruction that it figures among the   
five lyric genres with forms already defined in the Archaic period. [216.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678596&offset=1#216.#216.)

The citharodic type of performance is also found in female and mixed   
choruses. The Homeric description of the famous song of Linos depicted on   
Achilles' shield is one source: [217.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678596&offset=1#217.#217.) this song is performed on the occasion of a   
harvest rite by a child accompanied by a chorus of youths and maidens dancing

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| 215. | For more on *kitharodia*, see the bibliographical references given above n.  126. |
| 216. | Plat. Leg. 700b, see *art. cit*. n. 197, pp. 118f. |
| 217. | Hom. *Il*. 18.566ff. with sch. ABT *Il*. 18.570 (= PMG carm. pop. fr. 880 P)  and *Sud*. s.v. λίνος (A 570 Adler); on Linos' song see Pind. fr. 128c.6 M, Hdt. 2.79;  Eur. HF 348ff. (song sung by Apollo); sch. Eur. Or. 1396 (I, p. 223 Schwartz); Paus.  9.29.6ff.; Ath. 14.619c; and Poll. 1.38. On the meaning of this song: Smyth, *Melic*,  p. 497; Diehl, *RhM* 89, pp. 106ff.; W. Kroll, RE 13 (1927), s.v. Linos (1); Wegner,  Musik, p. U32; Pavese, *Tradizioni*, pp. 232f.; and below n. 224. Another mixed  chorus on Achilles' shield (Hom. *Il*. 18.590ff.) could also be included as a citharodic  nomos: see above n. 144. According to H. Koller, "Das kitharodische Prooimion.  Eine formgeschichtliche Untersuchung," *Philologus* 100, 1956, pp. 159-206, these  scenes represent the first forms of the citharodic *prooimion* which he identifies with  the type of the Homeric Hymn; it is certainly not correct to pose the problem in such  historical terms.  It is noteworthy that the choral scene in *Il*. 18.566ff. is described by Athenaeus  1.15d, as well as the choral interpretation accompanying the song sung by  Demodokos (Od. 8.260ff.), as being in the "hyporchematic mode." The reality of  these two scenes corresponds exactly to the etymological meaning of ὑπόρχημα:  accompanying dance (see Plut. Mor. 748ab and Ath. 14.628d), a dance with a very  pronounced mimetic character. It is probably this mimetic aspect of the  hyporchematic dance that explains the semantic shift of the term ὑπόρχημα from  'accompanying dance' to 'choral song in which the element of mimetic dance is  predominant.' But this type of song, first named in Plato, *Ion* 534c, only represented  a definite lyric genre in the Alexandrian period: see E. Diehl, RE 17 (1914), s.v.  *Hyporchema*, coll. 338ff.; Koller, Mimesis, pp. 166ff.; Webster, Chorus, pp. 62f.  and 95f.; Mullen, *Choreia*, pp. 13ff.; and Nagy, Pindar's Homer, pp. 351ff. It is  therefore not a genre applicable to my thesis since it had no consistency in the  Archaic period. |

-80-

and calling out (μολπῃ̑ τ' ἰυγμῳ̑). The use of the term ἰυγμός in this context   
shows that the accompanying cries of the chorus have the same type of refrain as   
the ololyge accompanying the paean. [218.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678597&offset=1#218.#218.) To describe the child's performance of   
the Linos song, Homer uses the verb ὑπαείδω; the prefix ὑπο- shows that the   
song serves only as an accompaniment to the melody played on the lyre by the   
child. Thus we find ourselves with a choral performance in which the song, sung   
by the choregos (a role marked by the central position of the child playing the   
song of Linos in the midst of the chorus), is subordinate to the purely musical   
performance.

This type of performance can also be found at Delos. During the festival of   
the Aphrodisia, mentioned in connection with Theseus, a male chorus sang an   
accompaniment to a "nomos" (οἱ μὲν ὑπαείδουσι νόμον) composed by Olen, the   
legendary poet, while the women danced the rhythm (αἱ δὲ ποδὶ πλήσσουσι   
χορίτιδες), [219.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678597&offset=1#219.#219.) The meaning of accompaniment implied by the verb ὐπαείδω,   
used to describe the activity of the male chorus, shows that the performance of   
this "nomos" was probably done by a single individual, a choregos not   
mentioned in Callimachus' text, as in the case of the song of Linos. But the   
term νόμος is too general to allow us to classify this choral performance as a   
citharodic nomos with certainty. [220.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678597&offset=1#220.#220.) Olen's nomos could conceivably be a   
simple melody without words; this melody would then be accompanied by a   
choral song with words or, as in the case of the *ololygai* which punctuate the   
paean, by ritual cries of invocation or repetitions of a refrain according to the   
sense given to ἀείδω. The passage in Callimachus is too vague to decide   
between one or the other solution.

The *aition* of this ritual musical performance of Olen's nomos is represented   
by the singing of the mixed chorus of Theseus around the homed altar at Delos   
on his return from Crete. [221.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678597&offset=1#221.#221.) The differences between this mythical performance   
and the cultural practice as described by Plutarch and Pollux have already been   
discussed. Comparing this description with other sources that include the Delian

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| 218. | As is the case for ὀλολύζω/ -γή / -γμός, the origin of ἰύζω/ -γμός is  onomatopoeic: see Chantraine, *Dict. étym*., s.v. ἰύζω; the formation of the word is  the same as that which determined the morphology of ὀλολύζω; it is characteristic of  the verbalization of onomatopoeias ending in a vowel (ἐλελευ̑, ἰύ, οἴ, and so on): cf.  Schwyzer, Gr. Gr. I, p. 716. Note that the αἴλινος, the invocatory part of the Linos  song, can serve as a simple refrain for a song with words: see Eur. HF 348ff., in which  Apollo accompanies his victory song with laments (αἳ Λίνον ἰαχει̑), and Aesch. Ag.  121. |
| 219. | Call. Del. 304ff.; concerning the legendary figure of Olen and the hymns he  composed, see G. Knebel in LAW, s.v. Olen; Pavese, Tradizioni, p. 234; and J.  Platthy, The *Mythical* Poets of Greece, Washington D.C. 1985, pp. 138ff. |
| 220. | On the *nomos*, see Smyth, *Melic*, pp. lviiiff.; Lasserre, Mus., pp. 22ff.;  Gentili, *Poesia e* pubblico, pp. 31ff.; and Nagy, Pindar's Homer, pp. 89ff. and 357ff.  For the influence of Terpander, in Alcman's Sparta, on the formation of the citharodic  nomos, see A. Gostoli, Terpander, Roma 1990, pp. xxxiiiff. |
| 221. | See above p. 57. |

-81-

rite of the Aphrodisia, we should find that the chorus described by Callimachus   
would be identical with the one that performs the Crane Dance. The presumption   
that this chorus and that of Theseus have the same structure leads me to suppose,   
at the head of the singers and dancers mentioned by Callimachus, a choregos   
carrying a lyre in the image of Theseus. If Olen's nomos is citharodic, this   
choregos would be the singer; in that case, he would have the same function as   
Homer's child. If it is a matter of a simple melody, he would play it on the lyre.   
In light of these uncertainties, it is also possible to imagine that the Crane   
Dance and the performance of Olen's hymn are two different events performed in   
the same ritual and having the same aetiological legend: for the first, girls and   
boys would be mixed in the chorus; in the second, each person would have a   
specific role of singer-accompanist (male) or dancer (female).

Finally, if the feature 'song (of accompaniment)' is assured by the male part   
of the chorus, and the feature 'dance' marks the activity of the female part, in   
Homer's represented performance of the song of Linos these two features are   
included in the activity of the whole of the chorus. The great diversity of the   
modalities of performance is once more in evidence.

**2.4.5. The threnody**

This type of monodic performance with choral accompaniment is   
characteristic of yet another form regarded as choral, namely the threnos, a lyric   
genre referred to by this name as early as Homer. In the Homeric poems, the   
funeral song is sung by a soloist of either sex with a rhythmic accompaniment   
of exclamations by a chorus of women. Thetis, learning of her son's sorrow at   
the death of Patroklos, begins a long lamentation which heralds the start of the   
laments (ἐξη̑ρχε γόοιο) of her sisters and attendants, the *Nereides*. The Nereides   
thus merely punctuate the monody of Thetis by their cries. Similarly, during   
Hektor's funeral, the threnos is sung by bards, probably professional singers,   
responsible for starting the singing of the threnos (ἀοιδοὺς θρήνου ἐξάρχους);   
the Trojan women reply in chorus with cries of lamentation (ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο   
γυναι̑κες); this is followed by the successive laments of Andromache, Hecuba,   
and Helen that incite the keening of the women around them (the formula ἐξη̑ρχε   
γόοιο is repeated three times). [222.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678598&offset=1#222.#222.) The use in these different passages of the   
terms ἔξαρχος and ἐξάρχω, by making the feature 'to begin' a reality, indicates

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| 222. | Hom. *Il*. 18.37ff. and 24.720ff.; see Smyth, Melic, pp. cxxff.; E. Reiner,  Die rituelle *Totenklage der Griechen*, Stuttgart-Berlin 1938, pp. 8ff. and 61ff.; M.  Andronikos, Totenkult (*Archeologia Homerica* Bd. *III, Kap. W*), Göttingen 1968, pp.  W9ff.; M. Alexiou, The *Ritual* Lament in Greek Tradition, Cambridge 1974, pp. 11ff.  and 102f.; and M. Cannatà Fera, Pindarus. Threnorum *fragmenta*, Roma 1990, pp. 8ff.  The lamenting can also come from a men's chorus: see Hom. *Il*. 18.314ff. For  figurative representations of threnodies, see W. Zschietzschmann, "Die Darstel-  lungen der Prothesis," *MDAI(A)* 53, 1928, pp. 17-47, and Crowhurst, Lyric, pp.  xivff. |

-82-

that Thetis, the bards, Andromache, Hecuba, and Helen all play the role of the   
choregos for the chorus of women who punctuate their songs with ritual   
cries. [223.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678599&offset=1#223.#223.)

The numerous terms for the lamentations that accompany the funeral chant   
(ὀδυρμός, [*oiktos*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg99_1.fpx), ὀλοφυρμός) show the importance of the ritual refrain in the   
threnody. The ἰάλεμος, another ritual cry accompanying the song, has even   
given its name to funeral music and become a synonym for threnos, just as the   
invocation αἴλινος (originally αἲ Λίνον) subsequently referred to the entire song   
sung in honor of Linos. [224.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678599&offset=1#224.#224.) The origin of the term παιάν is analogous, formed   
on the cry of invocation ἰἡ/ἰὼ Παιάν, which itself has its origin in the name of   
the god involved: Paian-Apollo. The morphological origin of this signifier   
suggests that the paean had an implementation similar to the Homeric threnody.   
The existence of a refrain in the paean is confirmed by Athenaeus, who describes   
a typical refrain of this sort. [225.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678599&offset=1#225.#225.) It corroborates what I said at the end of the   
discussion of the paean concerning the swing between the choral form and the   
monodic form of this song. The cult songs addressed to Dionysus doubtless were   
also performed variously. Called διθύραμβος or ἰόβακχος, they take their names   
from their refrains, which themselves refer to the god sung in the poem. [226.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678599&offset=1#226.#226.)

**2.4.6. The epithalamium/hymenaeus**

The fact that this song originates in a cry of invocation used as a refrain leads   
us to the fifth lyric form, the epithalamium or hymenaeus, which has had,   
within the parameters of the corpus of women's choruses, distinct characteristics   
since the Archaic period. In the same way as the paian and the iobakkhos, the   
nuptial song took its name from the refrain that interrupts it at intervals. It is   
this refrain, Ὑμἡν [*o*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg99_3.fpx) Ὑμέναιε, that Kassandra chants in the scene in which she

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| 223. | See Reiner, op. *cit*. n. 222, pp. 30ff. |
| 224. | See Smyth, *Melic*, pp. cxxiif.; Diehl, *RhM* 89, pp. 106ff. and 112f.; Reiner,  op. *cit*. n. 22, p. 6f.; and Frisk, *GrEW*, s.v. ἰάλεμος. For the song of Linos, see  Cannatà Fera, op. *cit*. n. 222, pp. 151ff.; for the corresponding poet's figures of  Ialemos and Linos, see Platthy, op. *cit*. n. 219, pp. 93 and 103ff. |
| 225. | H. Ap. 516ff.: the Cretans follow Apollo along the road to Delphi as they  sing the paean (ἰὴ Παιήον' ἄειδον, [*o*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg99_2.fpx) τε Κρητω̑ν παιήονες...); here the cry of  invocation is used explicitly for the whole song; Ath. 15.696e: τὸ παιανικὸν  ἐπίρρημα; on the refrain of the paean, see PMG fr. ad. 933 P; Pind. frr. 52b.35 and  107, 52d.31 and 62 M; Call. Ap. 96ff., etc.; and Käppel, *Paian*, pp. 65ff.; the  existence of a form *pa-ja-wo-ne* on a tablet from Cnossos (KN V 52.2) does not refute  the fact that the paean was named for the refrain that punctuated it: the primitive  eponym of the deity determined the ritual cry of the invocation, which itself took its  name from this cry; for polemics on this subject, see Privitera, *art. cit*. n. 207, pp.  41 f. |
| 226. | Smyth, Melic, pp. xlivf. and lxix, and Fowler, Greek Lyric, pp. 90ff. For the  variety in the performance of the dithyramb, Zimmermann, *Dithyrambos*, pp. 19ff.;  for the *threnos*, see Cannatà Fera, *op. cit*. n. 222, pp. 36ff. |

-83-

imagines her wedding before the temple of Apollo, inviting the young Trojan   
women of the chorus to celebrate with her her marriage in song and dance   
(βοάσαθ' Ὑμέναιον). This same cry can already be found in one of Sappho's   
*Epithalamia* in the form ὐμήναον. [227.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678600&offset=1#227.#227.)

If the passage cited from Euripides' *Trojan Women* suggests a performance in   
which the wedding song is sung by a single person accompanied by dancing and   
by repetitions of the refrain by the chorus, other sources have a choral song sung   
by a women's or a mixed chorus. The only exception to these patterns is in the   
wedding scene on Achilles' shield: only the young men dance to the pipe and the   
lyre, while the women admire from their doorways the nuptial procession in   
which the bride is led to the house of her future husband. But the description of   
the nuptial song itself is reduced in the Homeric scene to the mention of the   
raising of the ritual cry (πολὺς δ' ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει). An analogous description of   
the νυμφαγωγία is taken up in the *Shield* attributed to Hesiod, where it begins   
with the same words. But the poet says that choruses followed the young bride   
surrounded by her attendants. One, composed of men, sings (ἵεσαν αὐδήν) to the   
pipe, the other, composed of women, dances (ἄναγον χορόν) to the lyre. [228.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678600&offset=1#228.#228.)

Other texts with a choral performance of the epithalamium/hymenaeus cite   
choruses of young girls exclusively; these singers are generally the contempo-   
raries and friends of the young bride. Thus Pindar can speak of "the clamor of the   
nuptial songs with their multiple sounds that the young girls, companions of   
the same age, like to sing when evening comes" (παμφώνων ἰαχὰν ὑμεναίων,   
ἄλικες [*hoia*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg100_1.fpx) παρθένοι φιλέοισιν ἑται̑ραι ἑσπερίαις ὑποκουρίζεσθ' ἀοιδαι̑ς). The   
twelve young girls forming the chorus that sings the epithalamium for Helen in   
Theocritus are all Spartan, the principal adolescents of the town. They sing and   
dance (ἄειδον δ' ἅμα πα̑σαι ἀς ἕν μέλος ἐγκροτέοισαι ποσσὶ περιπλέκτοις) and   
the palace of the heroine resounds with the nuptial song (ὑπὸ δ' ἴ*αχε* δω̑μ'   
ὑμεναίῳ). [229.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678600&offset=1#229.#229.)

In Aeschylus it is the voices of the *Oceanides* singing the nuptial song of   
Prometheus at his marriage with Hesione, and, in Euripides, the dances of the   
fifty daughters of Nereus who celebrate with a chorus the marriage of Thetis and   
Peleus (εἱλισσόμεναι κύκλις πεντήκοντα κόραι γάμους Νηρέως ἐχόρευσαν). In   
this last choral performance of the epithalamium only the feature 'dance' is   
realized. But Euripides in the *Phaethon* offers a complete performance of the

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| 227. | Eur. Tr. 314 and 331; Sapph. fr. 111 V; see Smyth, *Melic*, pp. cxiiff.; Diehl,  *RhM* 89, pp. 108f.; R. Muth, "'Hymenaeus' und 'Epithalamium'," *WS* 67, 1954, pp.  5-45 (especially pp. 7f.); and E. Contiades-Tsitsoni, *Hymenaeus und Epithalamium.  Das Hochzeitslied in der frühgriechischen Lyrik*, Stuttgart 1990, pp. 30ff., who does  not add very much; on the refrain and its origin, see Severyns, *Recherches* II, pp.  198f., and Gow, *Theocr*. II, p. 361: to the references given by the latter, add Eur.  *Phae*. 227. |
| 228. | Hom. *Il*. 18.491ff.; Ps. Hes. *Scut*. 273ff. |
| 229. | Pind. *P*. 3.16ff.; Theocr. 18.1ff.; for another type of performance, see  Aesch. fr. 43 Radt, and Prod. *ap*. Phot. *Bibl*. 321a 17ff., with the commentary of  Severyns, *Recherches* II, p. 193. |

-84-

nuptial song. At the beginning of the play, it is the servants in the palace who   
want to sing for the wedding of Phaethon (ὑμέναιον ἀει̑σαι, line 97), but it is   
finally a group of young women, different from the tragic chorus made up of the   
attendants, who have the honor of singing the nuptial song. Merops conducts   
them (γαμηλίους μολπὰς ἀϋτει̑ παρθένοις ἡγούμενος, lines 217f.), and they   
dance in a circle in the palace round the altars of the gods and particularly around   
Hestia's altar (χορεω̑σαι κἀγκυκλώσασθαι, line 247). [230.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678601&offset=1#230.#230.) Like the paean, the   
hymenaeus or epithalamium shows itself to be a flexible choral form, adapting   
itself to the demands of the occasion on which it is sung. It does not actually   
refer only to the song accompanying the νυμφαγωγία, but also to the one sung   
at the wedding banquet and to the *Ständchen* sung in front of the door of the   
bridal chamber (*epi-thalamion* in the proper meaning of the term). It even   
extends its double name to the song meant to awaken the young couple on the   
morning after their wedding night. [231.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678601&offset=1#231.#231.) It nevertheless remains associated with the   
different moments of the wedding ceremony and to that extent constitutes, as   
does the paean, a lyric genre usually performed by a chorus of young women,   
dating back to the most ancient period.

**2.4.7. Other choral performances**

There are naturally a number of women's choral productions that do not enter   
into the five lyric categories I have just defined. Listing them would include, to   
be exhaustive, all the choral performances left aside in the preceding analysis and   
might seem superfluous. I shall list them anyway, at least partially, as it will

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| 230. | Aesch. *Prom*. 555ff.; Eur. *IA* 1054ff., *Phae*. 87ff. and 217ff., see also  Aristaenet. 1.10; in the *Phaethon* the chorus that sings the nuptial song is perhaps  made up of Heliads: see J. Diggle, *Euripides. Phaethon*, Cambridge 1970, pp. 76 and  149f., for the meaning of ἐγκυκλόω, see *ibid*. pp. 160f.; the *Epithalamia* of Sappho  are probably sung by young women: see frr. 30 and 114 V, with the commentary of  Page, *Sappho*, pp. 119ff., and Lasserre, *Sappho*, pp. 36ff.; note that the song sung  by young girls and accompanied by the pipe described in fr. 44.24ff. V by the same  author is probably a nuptial song. The poem by Theocritus apparently inspired two  poems by Catullus (61 and 62): the first is spoken by the poet himself who acts as  *choregos* calling the young virgins (*integrae virgines*, lines 36f.) to sing the nuptial  song with him; the second is sung alternately by adolescent boys (*juvenes*, line 1)  and girls who are all of the same age (*aequales*, line 32). For the iconographic  sources, see Crowhurst, *Lyric*, pp. 1ff. |
| 231. | Muth, *art. cit*. n. 227, pp. 30ff.; for the various moments of the nuptial  ceremony in which a hymenaeus was sung, see C. Calame (ed.), *L'amore in Grecia*,  Roma-Bari 1983, pp. xviiiff. Like ὑμέναιος, *epithalamium* is a generic term referring  not only to the song sung in front of the nuptial chamber. It is a late name, which  explains the Alexandrian classification of Sappho's bridal songs as epithalamia: see  Muth, *ibid*., pp. 36ff. The two terms cover pretty much the same signified, as proved  by Theocr. 18.8, who applies the term ὑμέναιος to the epithalamium he composes  for Helen. |

-85-

enable me to complete the analysis of the terms describing the different features   
involved in women's choral activity that I began in the study of the hymn. This   
analysis will conclude my reflections on the modalities of the activity of   
choruses and will be a counterpart to the analysis of the inclusive term χορός   
which opened this chapter. In that case I analyzed the signified of the term into   
its constitutive elements (semantic features), starting with its signifier; now I   
shall reconstruct it by studying the signifiers of those elements.

The choral performances by women that do not fit into the lyric categories   
defined above are in the first place characterized by the single semantic feature   
'dance.' For example, this is the case of the dance executed by the Amazons   
round the statue of Artemis in Ephesos while their queen, Hippo, performs a rite   
for the goddess: the armed dance of the young women is accompanied by a   
melody played on the pipe. The term used for this dance is ὀρχέομαι. This same   
verb also describes what the chorus of Cretan women does when they dance   
round an altar in the fragment of Aeolic poetry of uncertain attribution cited   
above. [232.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678602&offset=1#232.#232.) Euripides frequently uses the term εἱλίσσω to express the same   
feature; the chorus, followers of Iphigenia, thus "turn" in imagination when they   
dream of the choruses of their native country. [233.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678602&offset=1#233.#233.)

But in the majority of the sources for my corpus, the choral dance is   
connected with the song; a performance of this type reproduces the Apollonian   
model. One of the terms frequently used to indicate this double feature is the verb   
μέλπω and its derivatives. Its signified includes the features 'song' and   
'dance.' [234.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678602&offset=1#234.#234.) This meaning of μέλπω and its derivatives is confirmed by certain   
passages, generally extracts from lyric texts, which explain it by its two   
semantic features. Bacchylides, in a passage mentioned above from the *epinikion*   
he offered on the victory of Pytheas the Aeginetan at the Nemean Games,   
describes one of the young girls of the island who, compared to a carefree fawn   
perhaps playing the role of *choregos*, celebrates ([αἰ]νει̑) the Nymph Aegina by   
dancing with her companions (θρώισκουσα). The young girls take up the   
praises of the Nymph (μέλπουσι τ[εὸν κλέο]ς), and then sing of the glories of   
the heroes who took part in the Trojan War. [235.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678602&offset=1#235.#235.) It is possible to see in this   
scene the performance of a prelude of invocation to the goddess, protector of the   
island, sung by a single girl, the *choregos*, and accompanied by the chorus   
dancing. This prelude would be followed by the choral song proper; taken up by

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| 232. | Call. *Dian*. 237ff., *PLF* fr. inc. 16 LP, see above p. 36. |
| 233. | Eur. *IT* 1145, see *HF* 690 and *Tr*. 333. |
| 234. | On the questions raised by the problem of the original meaning of this term,  see Diehl, *RhM* 89, pp. 88 and 92f., K. Bielohlawek, "Μέλπεσθαι und Μολπή," *WS*  44, 1924/25, pp. 1-18 and 125-143, and 45, 1925/26, pp. 1-11, with the remarks of  Frisk, *GrEW*, s.v. μέλπω, on the fragility of the relationship between μέλπω and  μέλος; on the meaning of μέλος, see Färber, *Lyrik*, I, pp. 7f., and H. Koller, "Melos,"  *Glotta* 43, 1965, pp. 24-38. |
| 235. | Bacch. 13.83ff., see Maehler, *Bakchylides* II, pp. 265ff., and above p. 32. |

-86-

the chorus, the song would consist of a long mythical narration, like those of   
Stesichorus.

In the *Second Paean* of Pindar, the celebration at Delos by Apollo is described   
simply by the term μολπαί, while at Delphi the god is celebrated by songs and   
dances of a chorus of young girls (χορὸν [ταχύ]ποδα, αὐδᾳ̑). On the other hand,   
to the mention in the *Third Pythian* of a chorus of girls celebrating Pan and the   
Great Mother (Ματρὶ, τὰν κου̑ραι σὺν Πανὶ μέλπονται) there probably   
corresponds a fragment of a poem, composed by the same author and classified in   
the *Separate Partheneia*, in which the chorus celebrates the same deities in song   
and dance. [236.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678603&offset=1#236.#236.) Finally, the term μέλπω is used twice by the chorus of Trojan   
women of Euripides to describe the choruses of young girls who celebrated the   
arrival in Troy of the Greek horse. In the first passage, ἄμελπον is separated into   
κρότον ποδω̑ν, the thud of the dancers' feet, and βοὰν εὔφρονα, their songs of   
joy. In the second, the accusative Διὸς κόραν governed by ἐμελπόμαν suggests   
the celebration of the goddess by a song of invocation, while χοροι̑σι denotes   
the dance. [237.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678603&offset=1#237.#237.)

Another term is sometimes used in a choral context parallel to μέλπω: the   
verb παίζω and its derivatives. As to its meaning, it has too often been   
connected with 'game,' because of its derivation from the word παι̑ς. Its   
recurrence in the text of the *Shield* describing the dancing at the marriage   
ceremony shows on the contrary that this verb is intimately connected with the   
activity of dancing and singing. But when it is used in a choral context, it refers   
to the dancing of the young girls' chorus, particularly during a ceremony   
dedicated to Artemis. [238.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678603&offset=1#238.#238.) This particular use of the verb παίζω in a choral   
context allows us to interpret as a choral scene the passage where Nausicaa plays   
ball with her attendants. [239.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678603&offset=1#239.#239.) This game of ball was probably accompanied by the   
songs and dances of the girls round the daughter of Alkinoos, and we should   
certainly understand in its essential meaning the expression ἤρχετο μολπη̑ς that   
defines Nausicaa's role; since it is she who gives the signal for the song and   
dance, she is acting as the *choregos* of her attendants. In the same way, the   
Nymphs, to whom these girls are compared and whose actions are also described

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| 236. | Pind. fr. 52b.96ff. M, see also fr. 52f.15ff. M, which mentions the κόραι  μελπόμεναι in a similar context: see Käppel, *Paian*, pp. 235f.; *P*. 3.77ff. and fr. 95  M, with sch. *P*. 3.78 (II, p. 81 Drachmann): see the commentary of Lehnus, *L'inno a  Pan*, pp. 68ff., and below, pp. 139f. |
| 237. | Eur. *Tr*. 545ff. and 551ff. |
| 238. | Ps. Hes. *Scut*. 277 and 282, see also Hom. *Od*. 8.251 and 23.134 and 147; *H.  Ven*. 117ff.; *H. Cer*. 425; *H. Hom*. 30.14f.; Autocr. fr. 1 KA; Plut. *Mor.* 249de. See  also *H.* Ap. 200f. and 206 and *IG* I 2919 (inscription on an *oinochoe* dating from  about 725), also *Orph. H*. 23.2 who uses the term χοροπαίγμων and Plat. *Leg*. 764e  who speaks of χορω̑ν παιδιάν. |
| 239. | Hom. *Od*. 6.100 and 106 with 7.291, see above p. 42; for the ancient  lexicons μέλπεσθαι, παίζειν and ὑμνει̑ν are synonymous: see Bielohlawek, *art. cit*.  n. 234, pp. 125ff.; on the meaning of παίζειν in a choral context, see now Lonsdale,  *Dance*, pp. 33ff. |

-87-

by the term παίζω, certainly make up a choral group, and Artemis is their   
*choregos*.

It is evident that the number of choral performances that do not fit into the   
five genres listed above is high. They can extend, if we stay within the domain   
of songs in popular tradition, from the simple game such as the tortoise, in   
which young girls run around a companion asking her rhythmic questions, to the   
ritual song sung by the young women of Bottiaia in Thrace at a given sacrifice   
in memory of their Athenian origins. [240.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678604&offset=1#240.#240.) Mention of this cult song brings us to   
the next chapter in which I shall examine the ritual and religious elements of the   
singing and dancing performed by women's choruses.

The results of the analysis up to this point show that the partheneion as lyric   
genre did not exist in the Archaic period, nor did its name. The female   
performances I have examined, mostly undertaken by young girls, only partially   
fit the lyric categories defined for this period; this fact leads me to conclude that   
the poems performed by female choruses do not constitute a well-defined genre,   
but were composed and performed in response to diverse occasions, as is the case   
for most of Greek lyric production. [241.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678604&offset=1#241.#241.) The Alexandrian definition of partheneion   
as a literary genre appeared only as an aid to sorting out a production that was   
otherwise difficult to classify. The definition of partheneion as a poem written   
for a chorus of young girls in honor of other young girls confirms how difficult   
it is to find distinctive features for it. But the judgments of Dionysius of   
Halicarnassus and of Aristoxenos on the particular style and tone of the   
partheneia allow us to recognize at least a certain distinctiveness. [242.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678604&offset=1#242.#242.)

Nor does the diversity of modalities of female choruses give us a clear   
classification. The richness of possibilities of combination of the two actors—   
the *choregos* and the chorus-members-undertaking this performance, and the   
features characterizing their respective activities—'song,' 'song of accom-   
paniment,' 'dance,' and 'instrumental accompaniment'—are the basis for this   
diversity. There are, however, permanent features evident for each individual   
participant, such as 'conducting' or 'beauty' for the *choregos* and 'contemporary'   
or 'companionship' for the group of chorus-members. These features will be   
examined as we continue the analysis.

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| 240. | Poll. 9.125, Eust. *Od*. 1914.55ff. = *PMG* carm. pop. fr. 876 (c) P, see  Smyth, *Melic*, p. 504; Plut. *Thes*. 16.3; and *Mor*. 298f. = *PMG* carm. pop. fr. 868 P. |
| 241. | On this subject, see Gentili, *Introduzione*, p. 67, and A&A 36, pp. 5ff.; R.  Kannicht, "Thalia. Ueber den Zusammenhang zwischen Fest und Poesie bei den  Griechen," in W. Haug and R. Warning (eds.), *Das Fest*, München 1989, pp. 29-52;  and G.F. Gianotti, "La festa: la poesia corale," in G. Cambiano *et al*. (edd.), *Lo spazio  letterario della Grecia antica* I. 1, Roma 1992, pp. 143-175. |
| 242. | See *Choeurs* II, pp. 169f. |

-88-

**3. CHORUS AND RITUAL**

Up to now, my analysis of the chorus has been mainly morphological; I have   
described its internal organization and defined the positions and roles assigned to   
each of its participants. The relationship between *choregos* and chorus-members   
is at the heart of the ensemble. The function of the *choregos* is to set up and   
conduct the chorus, and he/she is responsible for the arrangement and coordina-   
tion of its musical activity; on the basis of its own actions, the chorus forms a   
whole with a coherent activity. But the *choregos* him/herself is an integral part   
of the choral ensemble, and it is in this relation between the leader of the chorus   
and the chorus-members that the different components of Greek music are uni-   
fied. The connection that unites the *choregos* with the chorus-members, there-   
fore, is what gives the system of the lyric chorus its particular cohesion.

In this second section, I shall place the chorus in its ritual and religious   
setting. The definition of the chorus and its musical activity as a closed system   
does not exclude its being seen in a wider framework. We have observed that the   
chorus does not act for itself, but always exists for a specific occasion, most   
frequently a cult. It therefore possesses a religious aspect that associates it   
regularly with a deity.

This chapter on ritual is divided into two parts, one devoted to non-Spartan   
rituals, the other to those attested in Sparta itself. I have made this division   
because part of this research is aimed at defining those rituals that might have   
furnished the occasion for the performance of Alcman's fragments 1 and 3, and I   
shall therefore examine Spartan rites more closely. Given the uncertain   
relationship between signifier and signified, it is impossible to gather a complete   
body of evidence; the first part of this chapter, therefore, does not claim   
exhaustiveness—the material included would anyhow be too vast. I simply give   
a general classification of the occasions for which women's choruses were   
organized in ancient Greece, and I attempt to define briefly the qualities of the   
gods to whom those choruses were dedicated, so that I may then determine the   
connection between chorus and divinity and the various religious functions of the   
choral performances by girls and women.

-89-

**3.1. Non-Spartan rituals**

**3.1.1. Choral festivities among the gods**

The analysis of the function of the *choregos* has brought to light several   
descriptions of divine choruses that serve as paradigms for humans. Those most   
often mentioned are the choruses of Muses and Nymphs; the first is generally led   
by Apollo, the second by Artemis; these two deities are thus the divine *choregoi*   
par excellence of the Greek pantheon.

By definition, the ritual as relating man to divinity is a concept irrelevant to a   
description of the internal organization of the domain of the gods. Among the   
gods, a lyric and choral performance need not be motivated by a cult. In the   
passage of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* mentioned above, the mere arrival of   
Apollo on Mt. Olympus gives rise to hymns sung by the Muses, dances   
performed by the Graces and the Seasons, the song of Artemis, and the dance‐   
steps of Ares and Hermes executed under the delighted gaze of Leto and Zeus.   
Theseus, when he dives into the ocean, finds the house of Amphitrite and   
Poseidon filled with the *Nereides* dancing, according to Bacchylides. Dance seems   
to be their main activity. Similarly, according to the author of the *Homeric   
Hymn to Aphrodite*, the Nymphs, neither mortal nor divine, live on without   
end, feeding on divine food and dancing in chorus with the gods. [1.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678606&offset=1#1.#1.) Dancing and   
singing form part of the image of the Golden Age and constitute one of the main   
features of the life of the Blessed. According to Pindar, the Hyperboreans, who   
know neither sorrow nor war, like the men of Hesiod's golden race, live in   
perpetual bliss, banqueting and sacrificing to Apollo; and their whole country   
resounds to the feet of young girls dancing in chorus to the lyre and pipe. The   
choral dance, specifically when performed by adolescents and women, symbolizes   
for Pindar one of the basic features of a life equal to that of the gods. [2.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678606&offset=1#2.#2.) In Archaic   
Greek poetry, music is the pleasure of the gods!

If, among men, the return to the Golden Age through choral music needs an   
occasion that confines it in time, the gods, who live perpetually in the bliss of   
the Golden Age, need no such temporal limitation for their dances. However,   
since they eat and marry in the same way as men, it is not surprising that the   
wedding ceremony and the banquet are the only motives, if motives are indeed   
needed, for a dance by a divine chorus. In the first book of the *Iliad*, the   
banqueting of the gods is accompanied by Apollo's lyre and the singing of the   
Muses. And in *Iphigenia at Aulis* by Euripides, the divine marriage of Thetis and   
Peleus is celebrated by the choruses of the fifty daughters of Nereus. [3.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678606&offset=1#3.#3.)

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| 1. | *H. Ap*. 186ff.; Bacch. 17.100ff.; *H. Ven*. 259ff. |
| 2. | Pind. *P*. 10.31ff., see also Bacch. 3.58ff., with the bibliography given by  Page, *Sappho*, p. 251 n. 1, and by Maehler, *Bakchylides* II, pp. 51f. |
| 3. | Hom. *Il*. 1.601ff.; Eur. *IA* 1036ff. |

-90-

**3.1.2. Rites dedicated to Artemis**

According to the dictum reported by Aesop, the Greeks posed a rhetorical   
question as to whether there was a single occasion when Artemis did not   
participate in choruses: που̑ γὰρ ἡ 'Άρτεμις οὐκ ἐχόρευσεν; [4.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678607&offset=1#4.#4.) The occasions are   
indeed very frequent on which Artemis danced with her chorus of Nymphs, and   
the festivals consecrated to her, in which it can be presumed choruses of girls and   
women were involved, were no less numerous. Following my principle of   
respect for the signifier of the sources, literary or iconographic, I shall refer   
exclusively to documents describing or representing explicitly female choruses in   
the service of the goddess.

The chorus of Euripides' tragedies, when made up of women, often speaks of   
its service to Artemis. It is this goddess whom the chorus of Trojan women fêted   
when the horse was introduced into Troy: Artemis, the virgin of the mountains,   
the daughter of Zeus (τὰν ὀρεστέραν παρθένον, Διὸς κόραν). Iphigenia, in the   
play about her sacrifice, asks the young women (νεανίδες) who form the chorus   
to sing the paean in honor of Artemis, the daughter of Zeus (Διὸς κόρην), in   
expiation of the murder about to be committed. The chorus of the captive Trojan   
women in *Hecuba* wonder about their fate and whether they will ever again join   
the young *Deliades* (Δηλιάσι κούραισιν) to celebrate Artemis. The chorus of   
attendants in *Iphigenia in Tauris* expresses a similar longing to rejoin the Greek   
choruses, those choruses in which the young girls (παρθένοι) had been rivals in   
grace: they danced before marriage, having left their mothers to join the groups   
of girls of their age (ἁλίκων θιάσους); as the lines at the beginning of the   
*stasimon* suggest, these adolescent choruses were dedicated to the service of   
Artemis. And finally Helen, in the tragedy that bears her name, replies to the   
chorus of young Greek captives with her in Egypt that she envies the fate of the   
virgin Kallisto, metamorphosed by Zeus, and the fate of the daughter of Merops   
(Μέροπος κούραν), whom Artemis chased away from her chorus because of her   
beauty and then turned into a deer. [5.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678607&offset=1#5.#5.)

In these stories, choruses in the service of Artemis seem to consist mainly of   
adolescents, implying the virginity characteristic of the goddess and also of her   
paradigmatic chorus of Nymphs. The common element in these three examples   
is the use, when naming Artemis, of the expression (Διὸς) κόρη, *daughter (of   
Zeus*), an expression also used for individuals of the chorus of Nymphs and for

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| 4. | Aes. *Prov*. 9. |
| 5. | Eur. *Tr*. 551ff.: the chorus is made up of young girls since Hecuba calls them  κόραι (line 446); *IA* 1467ff.; *Hec.* 462ff.: the chorus consists of women rather than  girls (lines 475 and 657), but Talthybios calls them Τρῳάδες κόραι (line 485); on  the *Deliades*, see below pp. 104ff.; *IT* 1143ff.; *Hel.* 375ff.: the chorus is formed by  young captive girls (Ἑλλανίδες κόραι, line 193); the legend of the daughter of  Merops has no parallel (see H. Kruse, *RE* 15 [1931], s.v. *Merops* [1], col. 1066), but  Ant. Lib. 15 reports the metamorphosis that the grandchildren of Merops had to  undergo, the result of an insult to Artemis and Athena: see below n. 128. |

-91-

the girls in a choral group. [6.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678608&offset=1#6.#6.) Still adolescent, the girls who form the choruses in   
honor of Artemis are not married. This connection of the virgin goddess with the   
premarital period is found in the numerous scenes of abduction of an adolescent   
in Greek mythology.

Indeed most of these scenes take place within the context of adolescent   
choruses dedicated to Artemis. Hermes falls in love with Polymele, daughter of   
Phylas, when he sees her dancing and singing in the chorus of Artemis (χορῳ̑   
καλὴ Π. Φύλαντος θυγάτηρ). The union of the god and the abducted maiden is   
virginal (not matrimonial), since there is born of this union a παρθένιος, a child   
of a maiden, who later becomes the brave general Eudoros. In the *Homeric   
Hymn* dedicated to her, Aphrodite passes herself off as a maiden who has not yet   
known love in order to seduce Anchises; she disguises herself as an adolescent   
abducted by Hermes from a chorus dedicated to Artemis while she was frolicking   
with her comrades (πολλαὶ δὲ νύμφαι καὶ παρθένοι παίζομεν). [7.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678608&offset=1#7.#7.) The chorus in   
Euripides' *Helen* tells how Kore was abducted from the circular choruses of   
virgins (κυκλίων χορω̑ν ἔξω παρθενίων) and immediately searched for by   
Artemis and Athena; this version of the Persephone myth corresponds to the one   
in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*: the girl was dancing (παίζουσαν/παίζομεν)   
and picking flowers in a field with the *Oceanides* when Hades carried her off to   
the underworld. If it is not explicitly said that a chorus of *Oceanides* was   
performing a ritual in honor of Artemis, the young goddess, accompanied by   
Athena, nevertheless took part in an adolescent group with choral connotations. [8.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678608&offset=1#8.#8.)

But the mythical paradigm of the abduction of the young virgin is given by   
Pausanias in his story of the *aition* of the statue of Artemis Alpheiaia at Letrini   
between Elis and Olympia. This epiclesis of Artemis originated in the love that   
Alpheios one day offered to the goddess. Faced with the resistance of Artemis to   
marriage, Alpheios tried to rape her by clandestinely entering a nocturnal feast   
that the goddess was celebrating among her Nymphs. Here the person to be raped   
is not an adolescent singing for Artemis or a Nymph dancing in her retinue, but   
the goddess herself. However, the plans of Alpheios came to naught because the   
goddess mingled with her Nymphs and they all covered their faces with mud. In   
this way the goddess kept her eternal virginity. [9.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678608&offset=1#9.#9.)

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| 6. | Artemis is called in turn θυγάτηρ, κόρη/κούρα, παι̑ς, παρθένος and τέκνον of  Zeus or Leto: Roscher, *Suppl*. 1, pp. 46ff. |
| 7. | Hom. *Il*. 16.179ff.: on virginal unions, see above p. 64; *H. Ven*. 117ff. and  133; on Hermes as abductor, see W.H. Roscher in Roscher, s.v. *Hermes*, col. 2372. |
| 8. | Eur. *Hel*. 1310ff.; *H. Cer*. 5ff. and 417ff.; for the participation of Artemis and  Athena in the chorus of the *Oceanides*, see N.J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to  Demeter*, Oxford 1974, pp. 290ff., with the remarks of pp. 140ff. on this chorus. |
| 9. | Paus. 6.22.9, see 5.14.6; on the other versions of the legend, see H.W. Stoll in  Roscher, s.v. *Alpheios*, Farnell, *Cults*, pp. 428 and 558f., and P. Ellinger, *La légende  nationale phocidienne*, Paris 1993, pp. 40ff.; this *aition* can also be found, among  others, in Telesilla, fr. 717 P, in a fragment that could well be taken from a  partheneion (see *Choeurs* II, p. 174 n. 70). On other scenes of abduction and rape, see |

-92-

To these irregular unions between gods and human beings correspond regular   
unions among humans, springing from the same root. I shall recount three, that   
of Habrocomes and Antheia, Hermochares and Ktesylla, and Akontios and   
Kydippe, and, although they are attested in post-Hellenistic romances, I shall   
analyze them in detail. [10.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678609&offset=1#10.#10.) All of these unions start with a festival honoring   
Artemis in which the future brides, still virgins, are dancing; in each case, the   
adolescent girl arouses the desire of her suitor when he sees her among her   
companions. The obvious marriage control function of these festivals has been   
explained by Plutarch in connection with a custom among young girls on the   
island of Keos (Κείων παρθένοις: note the semantic feature 'geographical/family   
association'); these adolescent girls went together to public festivities (ἱερὰ   
δημόσια) where they played and danced (παιζούσας καὶ χορευούσας) under the   
eyes of their suitors. Their relations with their future husbands were thus under   
constant supervision and, adds Plutarch, in this way seduction and adultery were   
completely avoided. [11.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678609&offset=1#11.#11.) The exemplary love story of Hermochares and Ktesylla   
takes place precisely on Keos. The chorus that performs in the rituals for   
Artemis is therefore made up of adolescent girls past puberty but not yet married.   
The choral performance in honor of the virgin goddess seems to consecrate the   
religious aspect of that period in the life of a young girl that extends from   
puberty to the first legal sexual contact, marked in Greece by marriage.

Among festivals dedicated to Artemis in which female choruses take part, the   
best documented is that of Artemis at Ephesos. Autocrates, the comic author, in   
a fragment of the *Tympanistai* quoted by Aelian, pictures the movements of a   
chorus of young girls dancing. He describes these young virgins, girls of the   
Lydians (φίλαι παρθένοι Λυδω̑ν κόραι), as they gambolled near the statue of the   
goddess, dancing lightly, making their hair flow and playing music (on the lyre?)   
with both hands; with their hips they executed a movement similar to that of a   
dipper when it descends. [12.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678609&offset=1#12.#12.) This dance corresponds to one performed by the   
Amazons in a myth reported by Callimachus, which perhaps plays the role of

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|  | Zeitlin, "Rape," pp. 127ff., and G. Doblofer, *Vergewaltigung in der Antike*, Stuttgart‐  Leipzig 1994, pp. 83ff. |

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| 10. | Xen. Eph. 1.2ff., Ant. Lib. 1, Aristaenet. 1.10, see Call. Aet. III, fr. 67ff. Pf.;  see below pp. 112ff. |
| 11. | Plut. *Mor*. 249de. |
| 12. | Ael. NA 12.9 = Autocr. fr. 1 KA; doubtless the ἐξαίρουσα of line 8 should be  understood as ἐξαίρουσαι; on the movement executed by the girls, see the fragments  30 and 148 KA of Aristophanes quoted in the same passage of Aelian: Diels, *Hermes*  31, p. 362, likens this festival to the one for Artemis Orthia in Sparta, and sees  indications of a lascivious dance; in my opinion, Autocrates' description suggests,  on the contrary, order and restraint. On the whole complex of the Ephesia, see  Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 243ff., and R. Fleischer, *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte  Kultstatuen*, Leiden 1973, pp. 18ff. |

-93-

*aition* for the ritual alluded to in Autocrates. In his *Hymn to Artemis*,   
Callimachus recounts how the Amazons set up a statue to Artemis on the shore   
of Ephesos. Hippo, the Queen of the Amazons, performed a particular ritual   
(τέλεσεν ἱερόν) on this occasion, and her followers performed an armed dance   
called *prylis*, followed by a circular choral dance (κύκλῳ στησάμεναι χορὸν   
εὐρύν); the music of the syrinx accompanied their dances, adds Callimachus,   
giving them the necessary rhythm and cohesiveness. If this dance is not the exact   
model of the one described by Autocrates—there are too few elements for a   
definitive comparison—Callimachus sees in the erection of the statue of Artemis   
by the Amazons the initial act of founding the sanctuary that was subsequently   
built. [13.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678610&offset=1#13.#13.)

These two sources should be complemented by two other texts that use terms   
connoting a choral performance without actually mentioning it. They concern   
rites performed by boys and girls of Ephesos in honor of Artemis. The   
*Etymologicum Magnum*, in explaining the epiclesis *Daitis*, which refers to   
Artemis of Ephesos, describes both the ritual and the founding legend of this   
cult. The rite consists of a meal offered to the goddess by the Ephesians. Its   
origin lies in an offering of salt once made, on a mythical occasion, by   
adolescent girls and boys of Ephesos (κόραι καὶ ἔφηβοι); under the leadership of   
Clymena, daughter of the king of the city (K. θυγάτηρ βασιλύως: note the line   
of parentage), boys and young virgins carried a statue of Artemis out of the city   
and set it up in a field near the sea. After having danced and sung (παιδιὰν καὶ   
τέρψιν), they wanted to honor the goddess with an offering in place of a meal,   
and they offered her salt. The following year, the offering was not repeated, and   
the young people suffered a visitation of cosmic anger (μη̑νις) and an epidemic   
(λοιμός) sent by Artemis. Since then, the offering of a meal was regularly made   
to expiate the fault committed by the young Ephesians and as propitiation in fear   
of the scourges sent by the goddess (ἐξηυμενίσαντο τὴν θεόν). [14.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678610&offset=1#14.#14.) The structure   
of the account in the *Etymologicum Magnum* ([1] act of devotion to a god, [2]

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| 13. | Call. *Dian*. 237ff., with the commentary of Bornmann, *Dian*., pp. 114ff.; see  also Dion. Per. 828ff. and Hyg. *Fab.* 223.1 and 225.2; on the role of the Amazons  and Hippo as a probable hypostasis of Artemis, see Cahen, *op. cit*. p. 54 n. 136, pp.  143ff., C. Picard, *Ephèse et Claros*, Paris 1922, pp. 431ff., and by the same author,  "L'Ephésia, les Amazones et les abeilles," *REA* 42, 1940, pp. 270-284. For the  iconography of armed dances by women, see M.-H. Delavaud-Roux, *Les danses  armées en Grèce antique*, Aix-en-Provence 1993, pp. 112ff., and the forthcoming  study by P. Ceccarelli. |
| 14. | *EM* 252.11ff.; on the ritual of Artemis Daitis, see Picard, *op. cit*. n. 13, pp.  312ff., with an interpretation often difficult to follow; a more interesting  interpretation by R. Heberdey, "Δαιτίς. Ein Beitrag zum ephesischen Artemiskult,"  *JŒAI* 7, 1904, pp. 210-215 with *Beiblatt* col. 44, who, in connection with the  publication of an inscription of the first century B.C., in which there is mentioned an  offering of salt to Artemis, recalls the ritual of the Plynteria at Athens; on these rites  of the bathing of statues of female divinities, see below p. 129 with n. 117. On the  choral connotations of the term παιδιά, see above pp. 87f. |

-94-

transgression of this act, [3] a curse put on the transgressors, [4]   
expiation/propitiation by a ritual act performed regularly and repeating the   
original act of devotion) shows that in some way the ritual hinges on its legend   
of foundation: by the offense and its expiation, the single act of devotion is   
turned into a repetitive and proper ritual. So much for the form of the story. As   
we shall see, its substance is characteristic of several rites of adolescence, such as   
that begun by the *Proitides* at Lousoi or the one honoring Artemis at Brauron.

The final important source for the festival of the Ephesia is that of Xenophon   
of Ephesos, quoted above. Even if it is difficult to take a romance as a document   
on a cultic practice, the coincidence with the information already given confers   
on this literary description a certain verisimilitude. As we have seen, it was at a   
festival of Artemis at Ephesos that the model couple, Habrocomes and Antheia,   
met. The author of the romance specifies that the sanctuary of Artemis where the   
rite took place was outside the city, seven stades from its walls. That it was   
outside the circumference of the city corresponds to the information given in the   
*Etymologicum Magnum* on the festival of Artemis Daitis, since the original   
ritual took place in a field, obviously outside the city, probably on the shore if   
we follow Callimachus. All the boys of sixteen and all the girls of fourteen went   
in procession (πομπεύειν) along the seven stades between the town and the place   
of celebration. Each group was led, according to the description given above, by   
the most beautiful and most representative of them, in this case Habrocomes and   
Antheia. In the procession, the adolescents carried ritual objects, torches,   
baskets, and perfumes for the sacrifice. They were followed by horses, dogs, and   
people carrying hunting gear. People of the region and foreigners brought up the   
rear of the procession, in the center of which were Habrocomes and Antheia,   
admired by the onlookers. After the procession and a sacrifice performed at the   
goddess' temple, the young people could finally meet each other; it was then that   
the exemplary love of Habrocomes for Antheia began, according to Xenophon of   
Ephesos. [15.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678611&offset=1#15.#15.)

In Nilsson's opinion, Xenophon's story offers little interest, since the   
elements that pertain to the Ephesian festival are not original. This is justified to   
the extent that the description is very general, characteristic of any of the   
festivals for Artemis involving adolescents. For my thesis, however, it is   
precisely this accumulation of the semantic features underlying female festivals   
that makes it attractive. In fact, Xenophon's account, with such details as the   
arrangement of the procession, the ages of the participants precisely noted, the   
companionship evident in the two groups, the leading positions of Habrocomes   
and Antheia, the ritual allusion to the Artemisian activity of hunting, and the   
presence of a large crowd of onlookers, constitutes a sort of "structural"   
description of an adolescent ritual dedicated to Artemis. And the author goes so

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| 15. | Xen. Eph. 1.2.2ff.; on the participation of women in the festival of Artemis at  Ephesos, see Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 4.25.4f. and Thuc. 3.104.3, with the critical  comment of S. Hornblower, "Thucydides, the Panionian Festival, and the Ephesia  (111.104)," *Historia* 31, 1982, pp. 241-253. |

-95-

far as to give an analysis of its function by indicating that the ritual played the   
role of organizing new marriages (ἔθος [*en*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg112_1.fpx) ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῃ̑ πανηγύρει καὶ νυμφίους   
ται̑ς παρθένοις εὑρίσκεσθαι καὶ γυναι̑κας τοι̑ς ἐφήβοις). Xenophon's   
description conforms therefore to the model of the adolescent festival, the   
function of which is to allow the crossing of the line between puberty and   
marriage, at the moment of integration into adult life.

If, synchronically speaking, the four accounts of the Ephesia are not entirely   
satisfactory because their differing particulars cannot be organized into a single   
ritual, a fifth source offers a diachronic dimension by suggesting a *terminus post   
quem* for the date of the festival. In Aristophanes' *Clouds*, the mention of the   
celebration held by the girls of the Lydians (Λυδω̑ν κόραι) for Artemis of   
Ephesos recalls on the levels of expression and content the account of   
Autocrates; [16.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678612&offset=1#16.#16.) it sets back the participation of a young girls' chorus in the   
festival of Artemis at Ephesos to 423 B.C. From Aristophanes to the   
*Etymologicum Magnum*, the texts reveal a remarkable consistency.

It is also possible that the Λυδω̑ν κόραι organized a chorus of young   
professional dancers at Ephesos, dedicated to the service of Artemis. Such a   
chorus would be comparable to that of the *Deliades*, which appeared on various   
occasions particularly in the cult of Apollo. Mentioned by several playwrights,   
these girls seem to have been quite famous in the classical period. A fragment of   
Ion of Chios that most probably refers to those young women describes them as   
players of the lyre and singers of hymns. [17.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678612&offset=1#17.#17.)

Not far from Ephesos, at Magnesia on the River Meander, several datable   
ruins and decrees indicate the founding of a new temple dedicated to Artemis   
Leukophryne. In the classical period, this Artemis was also honored at Athens,   
in the context of the political relationships of Themistocles with Magnesia on   
the Meander, and perhaps in Crete. [18.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678612&offset=1#18.#18.) The first decrees found date from 207/6, the   
last from 129 B.C., but all refer back to the same act of foundation. [19.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678612&offset=1#19.#19.) At

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| 16. | Aristoph. *Nub*. 599f.; Picard, *op. cit*. n. 13, pp. 182ff., sees in the *girls of the  Lydians* a sign of the existence in the classical period of Ephesian priestesses attested  later in connection with the cult of Artemis. |
| 17. | Ion 19 F 22 SK (Λυδαὶ ψάλτριαι, παλαιθέτων ὕμνων ἀοιδοί), see also Diog.  Ath. 45 F 1.6ff. SK (κλύω δὲ Λυδὰς Βακτρίας τε παρθένους ... [*Artemin*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg112_2.fpx) σέβειν  ψαλμοι̑ς); the comparison of the chorus of the *Deliades* with that of Ephesos has been  made by Allen, *Hymns*, p. 224; for a very hypothetical parallel in Sardis: Dion. Per.  839ff. On the *Deliades*, see below pp. 105ff. On probable iconographical depictions  of the chorus of Ephesos, see Ghali-Kahil, *art. cit*. n. 28, p. 28. |
| 18. | Paus. 1.26.4, see also 3.18.9; *CIG* 2651b 26, see W. Drexler in Roscher, s.v.  *Leukophrys*, coll. 2009f.; on the importance of this sanctuary, see Strab. 14.1.40;  Magnesia on the Meander was, according to Strab. 14.1.11, a Cretan and Thessalian  colony. |
| 19. | W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum Il*, Lepizig 31917, decrees  557, 559, 562 and 695. Commentary in O. Kern, "Magnetische Studien," *Hermes* 36,  1901, pp. 491-515, and Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 248ff. |

-96-

Magnesia, Artemis Leukophryne had the role of the polis divinity (τη̑ι   
ἀρχεγέτιδι τη̑ς πόλεως Ἀρτέμιδι: 695. 18; τα̑ι εὐεργέτιδι καὶ καθαγεμόνι τα̑ς   
πόλιος: 559. 36). This goddess resembles, then, Artemis of Ephesos. [20.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678613&offset=1#20.#20.) The   
beginning of the decree 695 shows that we have here an ancient cult, since the   
founding of the sanctuary is described as the renovation of an already existing   
temple. In fact, after the epiphany of Artemis in 221/20, the *xoanon* of the   
goddess was taken to a new building constructed especially for her, namely, the   
Parthenon. [21.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678613&offset=1#21.#21.) The decrees of 207/6 speak about a festival occurring every four   
years, organized along the lines of the Pythian Games, and the decree of 129   
about an annual festival organized the sixth day of the month Artemision, which   
corresponds to 6 Thargelion in the Attic calendar, the same date as the Athenian   
spring festival of the Thargelia. [22.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678613&offset=1#22.#22.) The ritual included sacrifices and an official   
festivity (πανήγυριν) with competitions in music, gymnastics, and horse‐   
manship. [23.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678613&offset=1#23.#23.) This date was a national holiday; children did not go to school and   
slaves had the day off. All the townspeople met in the public square attired in   
their best clothes and crowned with laurel wreaths. The women went to the   
temple as followers of the goddess, and the priest was responsible for organizing   
(συντελείτω ὁ νεωκόρος) choruses of young girls to sing hymns in honor of   
Artemis (χοροὺς παρθένων ᾀδουσω̑ν ὕμνους). [24.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678613&offset=1#24.#24.) Performances of adolescent   
female choruses were therefore an integral part of a ritual in which the whole city   
participated.

Not far from Ephesos, at Samos, Artemis was also honored by choruses of   
adolescents (ἵστασαν χοροὺς παρθένων τε καὶ ἠϊθέων). This information comes   
from Herodotus who describes this rite as the consequence of a historical   
event. [25.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678613&offset=1#25.#25.) It is therefore difficult to speak of a real "myth" of foundation, since the   
founding of the rite occurred in historical times! However, it plays exactly the

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| 20. | On Artemis of Ephesos as a polis divinity, see Picard, *op. cit*. n. 13, p. 367;  on other common features of the two goddesses, Farnell, *Cults* II, p. 483, and T.  Schreiber in Roscher, s.v. *Artemis*, col. 593. |
| 21. | 695.4ff., with the commentary of Dittenberger *ad loc*.; on the epiphany of the  goddess: 557.5f. |
| 22. | On the Thargelia, see below pp. 126f. and n. 110. |
| 23. | 562.19f.: see 558.19 (ἀγω̑να ἰσοπύθιον); 695, 4ff. As with many other  celebrations in Greece, the festival of the Delia, renewed by the Athenians and  celebrated in honor of Apollo, also included competitions in music, gymnastics, and  horsemanship: Thuc. 3.104.3 and 6, see below p. 105. |
| 24. | 695.28ff.; the term νεωκόρος often refers to a priest of Artemis: see LSJ s.v.  this word; on his function, Kern, *art. cit*. n. 19, p. 511. |
| 25. | Hdt. 3.48; the existence of a cult of Artemis at Samos is confirmed in other  texts: see Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 240, and G. Dunst, "Zur samischen Artemis," *Chiron*  2, 1972, pp. 191-200; the latter gives the transcription of a hymn addressed to  Artemis Soteira: this is exactly the epiclesis expected, considering the underlying  myth of the cult. The hymn contains an invocation to Artemis, then to Apollo; the  inscription presenting the hymn dates from the second/third century A.D. |

-97-

same role since, according to Herodotus, the event was the cause of a festival   
that became a regular cultural practice. The historian from Halicarnassus says   
that Periander, the tyrant of Corinth, in order to punish the Corcyreans for the   
murder of his seventeen-year-old son Lycophron, had sent to Alyattes of Sardis   
three hundred children from Corcyra to be castrated. The Samians, during a   
stopover of the Corinthians on their island, hid the children from their guards and   
shut them up in the temple of Artemis. The Corinthians, forbidden to take the   
suppliants from the temple by force, tried to wear them down by starvation; but   
the Samians lifted the Corinthians' siege by instituting a festival in which   
choruses of maidens and ephebes carried sesame cakes and honey to the goddess;   
the children from Corcyra hid the food and ate it and were thus saved. This ritual   
was performed regularly thereafter. There are present here, although in a different   
context, two elements of the founding legend of the cult of Artemis Daitis at   
Ephesos: the offering of food and the rescue that results from it. It looks as if the   
consumption of foods, associated in ancient Greece with the consummation of   
the marriage, would rescue the adolescents from the symbolic death represented   
in the founding event by the castration. In addition, the details given by Hero-   
dotus suggest a date for the beginning of the ritual at Samos, since it is con-   
temporaneous with a Samos crater that the Spartans sent to Croesus. We can   
therefore date the ritual from the middle of the sixth century. [26.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678614&offset=1#26.#26.)

Other great festivals consecrated to Artemis must have included choruses of   
young girls, but gaps in the literature limit our knowledge severely. Sometimes   
iconographic evidence exists to fill the gaps. This is the case for the festival of   
Artemis at Brauron, a festival essential for young Athenian adolescents. The rite   
has recently been the object of detailed historic and structural studies to which I   
refer the reader. [27.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678614&offset=1#27.#27.) I will limit myself here to the probable choral aspects of the   
ritual.

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| 26. | Cf. H. Stein, *Herodotos* 11.1, Berlin 41893, p. 55, and D. Asheri, *Erodoto. Le  Storie* III, Milano 1990, p. 267; this date corresponds more or less to the ones  tradition attributes to the life of Periander: 627 to 584 or 590 to 550. In a  comprehensive new reading of this founding legend, Sourvinou-Inwood, *Greek  Culture*, pp. 246ff., has now shown that the aetiological story and the ritual have an  initiatory character. On the values of the sesame, see Calame, *Alcman*, pp. 372ff. |
| 27. | Brelich, *Paides*, pp. 240ff., and now Brulé, *La fille d'Athènes*, pp. 179ff.,  with the complementary remarks in "Retour à Brauron: repentirs, avancées, mises au  point," *DHA* 15, 1990, pp. 61-90; the premarital function of this festival was  acknowledged already in antiquity: see Crater, *FGrHist*. 342 F 9 (πρὸ γάμων); see also  I.D. Kontis, "ἈΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΒΡΑΥΡΩΝΙΑ," *AD* 22A, 1967, pp. 156-206; W. Sale, "The  Temple-Legends of the Arkteia," *RhM* 118, 1975, pp. 265-284; S. Montepaone,  "L'ἀρτκτείa à Brauron," *SSR* 3, 1979, pp. 343-364; R. Hamilton, "Alkman and the  Athenian arkteia," *Hesperia* 58, 1989, pp. 449-472, with the response of C.  Sourvinou-Inwood, "Ancient Rites and Modern Constructs: On the Brauronian Bears  again," *BICIS* 37, 1990, pp. 1-14; see also P. Perlman, "Acting the She-Bear for |

-98-

The founding legend of this ritual, of which there are several versions, can be   
reduced to a schema like the one for the ritual of Artemis Daitis at Ephesos: the   
first act of the ritual in the Athenian rite concerns the presence of a bear in the   
sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron (thirty kilometers from Athens); its death at the   
hands of youths provokes the anger of the goddess, who sends an epidemic or   
famine as punishment; this scourge is expiated and propitiated by the sacrifice of   
the daughter (θυγάτηρ) of a citizen; for the human victim an animal is   
substituted, and the sacrifice is carried on by the periodic service of young   
Athenian girls to the goddess. This service consists in imitating the bear   
(ἀρκτεύειν, μιμήσασθαι τὴν ἄρκτον), thus repeating the original event by   
*mimesis*. The sources explicitly report that the intention of this service is to   
prepare the young women for marriage. So, under the aegis of Artemis, we have   
a characteristic female rite of adolescence.

The recent excavations at the sanctuary of Iphigenia at Brauron have brought   
to light several fragments of vases, one of which, dating from around 560,   
shows three girls holding hands and dancing to a pipe player. [28.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678615&offset=1#28.#28.) This picture   
corresponds to the model of the choral performance as I have defined it. It can be   
expanded by a series of vase fragments found on the site of the sanctuary that   
show very young girls moving towards an altar. [29.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678615&offset=1#29.#29.) It is thus certain, although   
there is no written evidence for it, that the service of the bear at Brauron included

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|  | Artemis," *Arethusa* 22, 1989, pp. 111-133, and Lonsdale, *Dance*, pp. 171ff.,  particulary on the meaning of the bear. |

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| 28. | Pyxis Brauron A3, see L. Ghali-Kahil, "Quelques vases du sanctuaire d'Artémis  à Brauron," *AK Beiheft* 1, 1963, pp. 5-29 (pp. 6f.), with pl. I, 4: I have Claude Bérard  to thank for this reference. On the connection between the rite of Brauron and the  sacrifice of Iphigenia, see sch. Aristoph. *Lys.* 645 with the important commentary of  Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* 103, pp. 89ff., and the remarks of Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*,  London 1989, pp. 9ff. Although the sources I use always speak of παρθένοι and κόραι  in the cult of Brauron, they give age ten for the "bears": on this contradiction see  above, pp. 28f. with n. 38. |
| 29. | Cf., among others, Brauron A 25 and 26 with the notes of L. Ghali-Kahil,  "Autour de l'Artémis attique," *AK* 8, 1965, pp. 20-33 with pll. 7.3 and 5; see also  Brauron krateriskoi frr. 8 and 9 (pll. 8.4 and 5) and fr. Brauron (168 Crowhurst): see  Crowhurst, *Lyric*, p. 210, who speaks of *young girls*; see similarly P. Truitt, "Attic  White Ground Pyxis and Phiale ca. 450 B.C.," *BMusB* 67, 1969, pp. 72-92 (pp. 86ff.  with pl. 23); see also the statuettes cited by Kontis, *art. cit*. n. 27, p. 190, and the  new frr. of three krateriskoi found at Athens and published by L. Kahil, "L'Artémis de  Brauron: rites et mystères," *AK* 20, 1977, pp. 86-98; coming probably from the  Brauronion on the Acropolis and dating from the end of the fifth century, these  fragments show groups of young girls, nude or with a short *chiton*, performing a race  with a palm tree in the background; see also Brûlé, *La fille d'Athènes*, pp. 251ff.  (with pll. 31ff.), Arrigoni in *Le donne in Grecia*, pp. 101ff. (with pll. 17f.);  Sourvinou-Inwood, *Girls' Transitions*, pp. 39ff.; and E. Keuls, *The Reign of the  Phallus. Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens*, New York 1985, pp. 310ff. (with pll.  275ff.). |

-99-

choral performances, by the young girls, with the features 'circularity' and   
'procession.' On the other hand, the ritual fits the model of the Artemis festival   
to the extent that it also was the scene of the abduction of girls, whether by the   
Pelasgians or the Lemnians. [30.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678616&offset=1#30.#30.)

I associate with this service to Artemis the one performed, according to   
Bacchylides, by the girls of Aegina for the Nymph of the same name, daughter   
of the River Asopos. On the occasion of this ritual, as we have seen, a girl,   
probably a *choregos*, dances while her companions sing of Endais and her   
descendants. [31.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678616&offset=1#31.#31.) It is typical of lyric poetry to allude to the exploits of heroes, so   
these songs sung by young girls of Aegina suggest what may have been the   
subjects of the hymns performed during women's rituals. They offer the   
additional image of a girls' chorus dancing and singing while the *choregos*   
celebrates the divinity.

The female rituals for Artemis are thus mainly the business of adolescent   
girls. The scenes of abduction so often present in these rites show them to be   
characteristic of the period in a girl's life at puberty when she arouses men's   
desire but is not yet accepted into adult life through marriage; the mythical figure   
of Atalanta, the adolescent who arrives at maturity but flees marriage, is her   
incarnation. [32.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678616&offset=1#32.#32.) These rituals tend to suppress irregular unions, and to integrate   
the young girl into sexual life. Artemis appears as the 'nurturing' goddess,   
*kourotrophos* in the wider sense of the word. [33.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678616&offset=1#33.#33.) This term has too often been

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| 30. | Sch. A Hom. *Il*. 1.594 = Philoch. *FGrHist*. 328 F 101; Plut. *Mor*. 247a, with  comment by Brelich, *Paides*, p. 241. |
| 31. | Bacch. 13.83ff.: see above pp. 86f. On Artemis as goddess of rivers, thus as  Nymph, see Schreiber, *art. cit*. n. 20, col. 559ff.: on Aegina, see W. H. Roscher in  Roscher, s.v. *Aigina.* To the sources cited, add Pind. fr. 52f. 132ff. M: (Zeus)  ἀνερέψατο παρθένον Αἴγιναν. It is unlikely that this ritual in honor of Aegina can be  compared with the feasts of Hera on the island of Aegina on the model of the Argive  festival: Pind. P. 8.79, sch. *ad loc*. (II, p. 217 Drachmann), and Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p.  46. It seems that the three archaic representations of female choruses found at Aegina,  one of which (A 1) shows a chorus of nine women led by a pipe player and a citharist,  should be related to the Heraia: Aegina Mus. 1750 (128 Tölle, 1 Wegner), Berlin  31573 A 1 (13 Crowhurst, 126 Tölle, 69 Wegner) and A 48 (129 Tölle, 70 Wegner),  see A 41 and 49 (24 and 25 Crowhurst). See also the choral dances performed by the  young Athenian girls for the Hyacinthides, the young daughters of Erechtheus  sacrificed for the salvation of the city: see below pp. 180f. |
| 32. | Theogn. 1287ff.; on the figure of Atalanta, see M. Detienne, *Dionysus mis à  mort*, Paris 1977, pp. 82ff., Sourvinou-Inwood, *Greek Culture*, pp. 85ff., and Calame,  *I Greci e l'Eros*, pp. 18f. |
| 33. | On Artemis *kourotrophos*, the goddess who leads children up to the point of  marriage, see Schreiber, *art. cit*. n. 20, coll. 569f. and 574, and Farnell, *Cults* II, p.  577; the parallels given by Schreiber show that Artemis is the protector of  adolescents far more than of the newborn; as to her image as *Hochzeiterin*, it is  limited to the period immediately preceding marriage: see on this the prudent remarks  of Nilsson, *Religion* I, pp. 493ff., and of Burkert, *Religion*, pp. 235f. On the |

-100-

used to refer exclusively to her influence over early childhood; however,   
*kourotrophos* does not stand just for the care given to nursing infants, but   
implies divine supervision over the whole of the child's education until he or she   
passes into adulthood.

Furthermore, most of these festivals honoring Artemis and involving female   
choruses have an underlying myth that can be reduced to the following schema:   
'mythical act of devotion; failure to perform the act; punishment sent by the   
goddess; expiation/propitiation through a ritual repeating symbolically the   
original act of devotion at regular intervals.' This is so for the cult of Artemis   
(Daitis) at Ephesos, Artemis at Brauron, and, to a degree, Artemis at Samos. The   
punishment sent down for the initial lapse involves the death of the perpetrators,   
and the ritual expiation of the fault in turn involves a symbolic dying. In the   
context of adolescence, this death can be understood as the ritual that marks the   
moment of negation and immersion into chaos in the tripartite structure of tribal   
initiation ritual. [34.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678617&offset=1#34.#34.) I shall enlarge later the initiatory interpretation of these rites   
and the exact function of the groups of adolescents forming the choruses in this   
cultic context.

**3.1.3. Apollo**

Women's rituals in honor of Apollo are grouped geographically around the   
two principal centers of the cult of Apollo in Greece, Delphi and Delos. Pindar's   
second *Paean* recapitulates this situation, showing Apollo celebrated by the   
songs of young girls (π[αρ]θένοι) who gather in choruses (ἱστάμεναι χορόν)   
both at Delos and at the foot of the rocks of Parnassus. [35.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678617&offset=1#35.#35.)

At Delphi Apollo was particularly worshipped in the feast of the Stepterion,   
which may be related to the already mentioned Daphnephoria of Thebes. [36.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678617&offset=1#36.#36.) The   
*theoria* of young nobles, one acting as ἀρχιθέωρος, moved from Delphi to   
Tempe, then from Tempe back to Delphi; the sacrifice performed at Tempe in   
honor of Apollo was followed by a second procession that recalls in more than   
one respect the ritual of the Daphnephoria at Thebes. The same adolescents

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|  | meaning of κουροτρόφος, see Chantraine, *Dict. étym*., s.v. κόρος (2); Artemis shares  this quality with other goddesses: see Burkert, *Religion*, pp. 285 and 368. |

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| 34. | Cf. Brelich, *Paides*, pp. 263 and 291, and Burkert, *Homo Necans*, pp. 77f. |
| 35. | Pind. fr. 52b. 96ff. M: Δα̑λ]ον ἀν' εὔοδμον is Housman's conjecture based on  Call. Del. 300: the choral dances of the girls of Delphi are mentioned again in fr. 52f.  16ff. M. |
| 36. | For the whole complex of the Delphic ceremony of the Ste-/Septerion, see  (after Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 150ff., Farnell, *Cults* IV, pp. 293ff., and Jeanmaire,  *Couroi*, pp. 388ff.) the more recent discussions of J. Fontenrose, *Python. A Study of  Delphic Myth and its Origin*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1959, pp. 453ff.; Brelich,  *Paides*, pp. 387ff.; and Burkert, *Homo Necans*, pp. 144ff. On the Daphnephoria of  Thebes see above pp. 59f., with the comparison proposed by S. Grandolini, "Canto  processionale e culto nell'antica Grecia," in Cassio and Cerri, *L'inno*, pp. 125-140. |

-101-

carried the laurel bough from Tempe to Delphi, which was then used to make   
wreaths for the winners of the Pythian Games. The road they followed was called   
Pythias, and it probably retraced Apollo's legendary journey to Delphi. [37.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678618&offset=1#37.#37.) Like   
the Theban Daphnephoria, the procession of the Stepterion took place every   
eight years; the recent discovery of the remains of a Daphnephorion in Eretria,   
and also in Thebes, one of the stopping places on the Pythian Way, would seem   
to confirm the connection between the Theban and Delphic rituals. The findings   
at Eretria are all the more interesting as the architecture of this ancient sanctuary   
reproduces the pattern of a true laurel hut. [38.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678618&offset=1#38.#38.) Nilsson compares this ritual with   
the festival of the May Tree (εἰρεσιώνη), held in the spring in several locations   
in Greece, among them Athens (assuming the εἰρεσιώνη present at the Thargelia   
in honor of Apollo), Samos (Apollo) and Sparta (Artemis Korythalia); Farnell   
takes up the idea of the May Tree and makes the Theban Daphnephoria a   
springtime festival with solar implications and with the purpose of reactivating   
the forces of nature. [39.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678618&offset=1#39.#39.) The epiclesis *Galaxios*, under which Apollo was honored   
in the Theban Daphnephoria, suggests this, since at Delos the month of   
Galaxion is the same as the first month of spring. [40.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678618&offset=1#40.#40.)

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| 37. | Ael. *VH* 3.1 = Theopomp. *FGrHist*. 117 F 80 and *Arg. Pind. Pyth*. (II, p. 4  Drachmann), see also Ephor. *FGrHist*. 70 F 31b and Plut. *Mor*. 293c. A connection  between the Delphic ritual and the Theban was denied by Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 164,  but reaffirmed by Sbordone, *Athenaeum* 28, pp. 36ff., and Brelich, *Paides*, pp. 413ff.  and 421ff.; on the stages of Apollo's journey from Tempe to Delphi, see Famell,  *Cults* IV, p. 124. |
| 38. | On this, see C. Bérard, "Architecture érétrienne et mythologie delphique: le  Daphnéphoréion," AK 14, 1971, pp. 59-73. |
| 39. | Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 165 with pp. 116ff. and 182ff.; on the Thargelia and the  *eiresione*, see below n. 110; on the cult of Artemis Korythalia, see below p. 169;  Farnell, *Cults*, IV, pp. 284ff.; Sbordone, *Athenaeum* 28, pp. 42ff., relates the  Daphnephoria to the festival of the Pyanopsia (see below pp. 125ff.); he sees in it a  rite of thanksgiving. The interval of eight years between one Daphnephoria and the  next one corresponds to the complete cycle of the sun and moon, perhaps represented  symbolically in the *kopo* carried by the nearest relation of the *daphnephoros:* on this  see A. Furtwängler in Roscher, s.v. *Apollon*, coll. 423ff., with the prudent remarks  and the complementary references given by Schachter, *Cults of Boeotia* I, p. 84 n. 2.  The Daphnephoria is in any case something more than a simple annual ritual of the  May Tree. |
| 40. | Cf. E.F. Bischoff, *RE* 7 (1910), s.v. *Galaxion* (2), and O. Jessen, *ibid*., s.v.  *Galaxios* (1). In the text of Photius Γαλαξίου has to be read rather than Χαλαζίου, in  spite of Nilsson, Gr. *Feste*, p. 164 n. 3, and Severyns, *Recherches* I, p. 224 and II,  pp. 230f.; see U. von Wilamowitz, "Lesefrüchte," *Hermes* 34, 1899, pp. 203-230  (pp. 223f., reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften* IV, Berlin 1962, pp. 64ff.), and  Schachter, *Cults of Boeotia* I, pp. 48f., with Pind. fr. 104b M = PMG fr. adesp. 997 P  and the remarks of E.D. Francis, "Pindar Fr. 104b Snell," *CQ* 66, 1972, pp. 33-41,  who has serious doubts about the attribution of this fragment to Pindar. It has to be  remembered that the Athenians celebrated during the spring a "milk ritual" called  *Galaxia*: see Robertson, *Festivals*, pp. 29f. |

-102-

Our documents on the Delphic ritual of the Stepterion interpret the   
procession to and from Tempe as a gesture of expiation for the founding act of   
the Pythian Games: the murder by Apollo of the dragon occupying the site of   
Delphi. On the other hand, the Theban Daphnephoria could be interpreted as a   
local equivalent of the ritual of Delphi. Those rites would then contain the same   
features of 'expiation' and 'propitiation' as those seen in the aetiological legends   
of the festivals of Artemis Daitis at Ephesos and Artemis at Brauron. It is   
noteworthy that Artemis and Apollo have exactly the same powers; like Artemis   
of Ephesos, who sends calamities on men only to deliver them again, Apollo   
sends sickness and then cures it: he is the god of misconduct and expiation. [41.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678619&offset=1#41.#41.)   
This pattern implies that any ritual associated with this area of divine   
functioning must have two closely connected components: expiation (of the fault   
committed) and propitiation (to avoid any further lapses). And the ritual of   
"renewal," because of the change it signifies, must include a phase of   
purification (of the past) and a phase of propitiation (for the future). One of these   
elements is represented in the account given by Proclus of the Theban ritual,   
namely that the hymns sung by the chorus of young girls walking behind the   
*daphnephoros* child are songs of supplication (πρὸς ἱκετηρίαν). [42.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678619&offset=1#42.#42.)

Therefore, if it is possible to interpret with Nilsson and Farnell the Theban   
Daphnephoria and the Delphic Stepterion as spring festivals renewing Nature's   
forces, this can only be in a metaphorical sense, on the level of "vegetal   
growth." The supplications of the adolescents during the Theban Daphnephoria   
suggest that this rite had an initiatory significance. [43.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678619&offset=1#43.#43.) In spite of the scarcity of   
elements that might attribute such a value to it, this festival was probably a   
ritual consecration for girls when they separated from the world of childhood, and   
passed into the segregation phase of tribal initiation. To the extent that the   
feature 'expiation/propitiation' can be applied to an adolescent context, a very   
general confirmation might be seen in it. Moreover, the epiclesis of the god   
honored in the rite of the Daphnephoria, along with *Galaxios*, associates the   
sanctuary of Apollo, where the adolescents gathered, with a river: he was   
venerated under the name *Ismenios* because his cult was connected with the River   
Ismenos. [44.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678619&offset=1#44.#44.) To go to the temple, the girls, led by the child *daphnephoros*, had to   
leave the town, in other words civilized space; also probably their stay near a

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| 41. | Cf. Furtwängler, *art. cit*. n. 39, coll. 433f. and 441f., and Burkert, *Religion*,  pp. 228f. On the meaning of the procession of the Stepterion, see Blech, *Kranz*, pp.  137f. and 221ff. |
| 42. | Procl. ap. Phot. *Bibl*. 321b 30; Proclus uses the term ἱκετει̑αι, in addition to  that of τάξις, to describe the paean to Apollo in contrast to the Dionysiac dithyramb:  according to Proclus, the paean was expressly written to exorcise misfortune: *ibid.*  320b 24ff.; see Käppel, *Paian*, pp. 44ff. |
| 43. | On a similar interpretation of the flight to Tempe, see Brelich, *Paides*, pp.  426f.; on the Theban Daphnephoria, see *ibid*., pp. 418f. |
| 44. | Paus. 9.10.2, sch. A.R. 1.537 (p. 46 Wendel), see H.W. Stoll in Roscher, s.v.  *Ismenios* (1). On the situation of the sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios, near Thebes, see  Schachter, *Cults of Boeotia* I, pp. 80f. |

-103-

river symbolized the period of marginality in a liminal space present in every   
tribal initiation, as it did for the adolescents participating in the initiation ritual   
of Sicyon, which I shall presently analyze.

The supplications of young Thebans to Apollo Ismenios-Galaxios during a   
spring festival probably were meant to call down on the adolescents the   
protection of the deity and to assure them of their rebirth and physical   
completion after the period of their initiatory death. Realizing that such an   
interpretation is based on conjecture, I nevertheless put forward the suggestion   
that the ritual of the Theban Daphnephoria was meant to introduce the young   
girls in the chorus to the period of marginality and death in a tribal initiation   
procedure.

The facts concerning female choral performances in honor of Apollo on Delos   
do not form a coherent whole. It is possible that they should be linked to several   
rituals or in any case to different phases in the same festival.

The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* is the oldest source for an Apollonian   
ceremony at Delos: the festival is celebrated by the Ionian men with their wives   
and children; competitions are organized (στήσωνται ἀγω̑να) including boxing,   
dancing, and singing. But the high point of the feast is the singing of the   
"hymn" by the *Deliades* (κου̑ραι Δηλιάδες), the youthful servants of Apollo; in   
this song the girls celebrate Apollo, as well as Leto and Artemis, and go on to   
the exploits of men and women whom they remember and whose voices they   
imitate. [45.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678620&offset=1#45.#45.) This passage, important for the understanding of the role of *mimesis*   
and memory in the Greeks' idea of poetry, is partly paraphrased and partly quoted   
by Thucydides: the Athenian historian reports that on the occasion of the radical   
purification of Delos in 426 and after a first intervention of Peisistratos in the   
sixth century, the Athenians took over the Ionian festival, called it the Delia, and   
celebrated it every four years. [46.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678620&offset=1#46.#46.) Concerning the first form of the ritual as it was   
celebrated by the Ionians, and as it is described in the *Homeric Hymn*,

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| 45. | *H. Ap.* 146ff.; on the role of *mimesis* in this choral song, see Miller, *Delos*,  pp. 57ff., and Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, pp. 43ff. and 375ff. |
| 46. | Thuc. 3.104.1ff. and 1.8.1, Hdt. 1.64.2, Plut. *Nic*. 3.5ff.; on the reasons for  taking over the Ionian ritual, see A.W. Gomme, *A Historical Commentary on  Thucydides* II, Oxford 1956, p. 414; Strabo, 10.5.2, says in his description of Delos  that the inhabitants of the Cyclades organized theoria and public sacrifices there  (πέμπουσαι δημοσίᾳ θεωρούς τε καὶ θυσίας); Strabo also mentions choruses, saying  they are made up of young girls (χοροὺς παρθένων): perhaps he is confusing the  chorus of the *Deliades* proper and the choruses, the composition of which we do not  know, sent by neighboring cities. The political meaning of the purification of Delos  by the Athenians and of the reinstitution of the Delia are explained by S. Hornblower,  *A Commentary on Thucydides* I, Oxford 1991, pp. 517ff. For the circumstances of the  composition and performance of the *H. Ap*., see W. Burkert, "Kynaithos, Polykrates,  and the Homeric Hymn to Apollo," in G. Bowersock *et al*. (edd.), *Arktouros*, Berlin  1979, pp. 53-67; Miller, *Delos*, pp. 1ff. and 111ff.; and Aloni, *L'aedo*, pp. 35ff. and  91ff. |

-104-

Thucydides adds that the Ionians and the inhabitants of the neighboring islands   
arrived at Delos in procession (ἐθεώρουν), as they did later in Thucydides' time   
at Ephesos for the already-mentioned festival of the Ephesia, and that the   
different towns sent choruses (χοροὺς ἀνη̑γον). He mentions the chorus of the   
*Deliades* (τὸν Δηλιακὸν χορὸν τω̑ν γυναικμω̑ν), without specifying whether it   
was retained in the reformed version of the Athenians. The historian ends his   
account by affirming that the Athenians and the island people sent choruses   
(χοροὺς ἔπεμπον) to Delos from their own cities, following the custom of the   
Ionians, and added another competition to the original ones, a horse-race.

We owe a third description of the festival to Callimachus, this time separated   
from its *aition*. In his version, all the towns in Greece sent choruses to Delos   
each year (πα̑σαι δὲ χοροὺς ἀνάγουσι πόληες), along with the tributes and the   
first fruits due to Apollo. [47.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678621&offset=1#47.#47.) According to legend, the first ears of wheat were   
sent by the Hyperboreans as first fruits; it was the three daughters of Boreas   
(θυγατέρες Βορέαο, line 293, παρθενικαί, line 298) whose duty it was to make   
the first journey, accompanied by three young men (ἄρσενες ἄριστοι ἠιθέων). In   
other legends, these young women are closely associated with the cult of   
Artemis and Apollo. Their names, *Oupis*, *Loxo*, and *Hekaerge*, correspond to the   
epicleseis of one or another of these gods; their Naiad nature and their connection   
with the legend of Iphigenia in Tauris suggest a semantic complex connoting   
female adolescence. [48.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678621&offset=1#48.#48.)

The same legend is already found in Herodotus, who says that the first fruits   
were offerings wrapped in wheat and straw. He gives two different traditions of   
the myth, one that gives the young Hyperboreans, of which there are only two   
in this version, the names *Hyperoche* and *Laodike* (they had an escort of five   
men), the other that names them *Arge* and *Opis*. The first came to Delos with a

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| 47. | Call. *Del*. 278ff.: other sources given by P. Stengel, *RE* 4 (1901), s.v. *Delia*  (3), and by Mineur, *Call*. *Del*., pp. 231f.; see also H. Galet de Santerrre, *Délos  primitive et archaïque*, Paris 1958, pp. 239ff., and Bruneau, *Cultes de Délos*, pp. 37ff.  (on the history of the festival); Stengel, interpreting Plat. *Phaed*. 58ab, improperly  relates the Delia to the myth of Theseus returning to Athens. Theseus was celebrated  at Delos, certainly, but during the festival of the Aphrodisia: see Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*,  pp. 380ff., Calame, *Thésée*, pp. 158ff., and below pp. 123ff. |
| 48. | Artemis had the epiclesis of *Oupis* in the cult celebrated by the Amazons in  Ephesos: Call. *Dian*. 204 and 240 (see above, pp. 93f.); O. Crusius in Roscher, s.v.  *Hyperboreer*, col. 2813; Farnell, *Cults* II, pp. 487f.; and O. Höfer in Roscher, s.v.  *Opis* (1), (2), and (3); without any doubt, the name Loxo refers to Loxias, cult name of  Apollo: see R. Ganszyniec, *RE* 13 (1972), s.v. *Loxo*; *Hekaergos/erge* is an epiclesis  of Apollo as well as of Artemis: see H.W. Stoll in Roscher, s.v. *Hekaerge* (2) and  *Hekaergos* (1), and also L. Radermacher, "Die Mädchen aus dem Hyperboreer Land,"  *RhM* 93, 1950, pp. 325-329. The Hyperboreans are regularly associated with the cult  of Apollo and Artemis; they are generally present in the founding legends of  Apollonian rites: Crusius, *art. cit*., coll. 2831f.; other bibliographical references on  the Hyperboreans in A. Corcella and S.M. Medaglia, *Erodoto. Le storie* IV, Milano  1993, pp. 258f. |

-105-

tribute of thanksgiving to Eileithyia for having been present at the birth of   
Apollo. This tribute could be interpreted as the first fruits mentioned both by   
Callimachus and Herodotus. The second set were said to have arrived in the   
island "with the gods themselves," Leto and Eileithyia. [49.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678622&offset=1#49.#49.)

Herodotus and Callimachus continue their accounts with an identical episode:   
to the daughters of Boreas (Hyperoche and Laodike in Herodotus, Oupis, Loxo   
and Hekaerge in Callimachus), the young Delian maidens (αί κόραι Δηλίων   
Hdt., Δηλιάδες, κου̑ραι Call.) consecrate their hair (ἥλικα χαίτην Call.) just   
before marriage. [50.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678622&offset=1#50.#50.) To the same young women (but according to Callimachus to   
the young men who accompanied them), the youths of Delos (παι̑δες Hdt. and   
Call.) consecrate either their hair or their first beard. This rite of consecration of   
hair by adolescents on the eve of their marriage was widespread throughout   
Greece. At Troizen, for example, it was part of the heroic cult of Hippolytus, the   
supreme adolescent hero, about whom I shall have more to say; in his   
description of this rite, Euripides adds that it was accompanied by a musical   
performance by unmarried adolescents (κόραι ἄζυγες γάμων) who had dedicated   
to him locks of their hair. And at Athens, during the festival of the Apatouria,   
the boys, on joining the ephebes, and the girls, at marriage, consecrated their   
hair to Artemis. [51.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678622&offset=1#51.#51.)

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| 49. | Hdt. 4.33ff.; on identifying τοι̑σι θεοι̑σιν with Eileithyia and Leto, see P.E.  Legrand, "Herodotea," REA 40, 1938, pp. 225-234 (pp. 230f.); if we accept with  Stein, *op. cit*. n. 26, II. 2, p. 38, an identification with Artemis and Apollo, we must  admit that the version that introduces Arge and Opis represents another legend  unrelated to the birth of Apollo at Delos: the Delian Eileithyia also comes from the  country of the Hyperboreans; she is the object of a cult at Delos during which the  people of Delos make sacrifices and sing in her honor a hymn composed by Olen:  Paus. 1.18.5, see also 8.21.3. On the problem of the two groups of young women  mentioned by Herodotus, see W. Sale, "The Hyperborean Maidens on Delos," *HThR*  54, 1961, pp. 75-89, and Bruneau, *Cultes de Délos*, pp. 45ff. |
| 50. | Cf. also Paus. 1.43.4 (αἱ θυγατέρες αἱ Δηλίων). |
| 51. | On the cult of Hippolytus at Troizen, see Eur. *Hipp*. 1423ff.; Paus. 2.32.1ff.,  with commentary by W. Fauth, "Hippolytos und Phaidra," *AAWM* 1958, 9 and 1959,  8 (pp. 389ff.), and that of W.S. Barrett, *Euripides*. *Hippolytos*, Oxford 1964, pp. 3f.;  on Hippolyus, see below pp. 241f. On the Athenian rite, see Deubner, *Att*. *Feste*, pp.  232ff.; Jeanmaire, *Couroi*, p. 258; and Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir*, pp. 147f. and  190. On a similar custom at Megara, see Paus. 1.43.4; other parallels in Burkert,  *Homo Necans*, p. 75 n. 20. According to Poll. 3.38, who emphasizes the premarital  character of this rite mainly for girls, Artemis was generally the object of the  consecration, see also Hsch. s.v. κουρεω̑τις and γάμων ἔθη (K 3843 and Γ 133 Latte;  see also the dedicatory epigrams *AP* 6.276-279, which show that Artemis received the  hair of the girls and Apollo that of the boys (on Apollo ἀκερσεκόμης, see Hom. *Il*.  20.39, *H. Ap*. 134, Pind. *P*. 3.14, etc.). On this rite in general, see Jeanmaire,  *Couroi*, pp. 257f. and 379f.; Nilsson, *Religion* I, pp. 238 and 493; von Gonzenbach,  *op. cit*. p. 11 n. 26, pp. 95ff.; Brelich, *Eroi*, pp. 126f.; Burkert, *Homo Necans*, pp.  74f., who includes this rite in the larger category of premarital sacrifices, and  Dowden, *Death*, pp. 2f. and *passim*. |

-106-

The meaning of the Delian rite of the offering of hair, and its connection with   
adolescence and the passage to adulthood, represented for the girls by marriage, is   
quite clear and should allow an overall interpretation of this festival, insofar as   
the rite is part of the Delia. A connection with Artemis can be added, as indicated   
by the presence of the tomb of Hyperoche and Laodike in the Artemision; [52.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678623&offset=1#52.#52.) it   
was on this tomb that the girls and boys placed their hair, according to   
Herodotus.

For the moment, let us note that the various accounts of the Delia center   
around three main points: the first is the *aition* of the festival which includes the   
legend of the Hyperborean virgins who bring the first fruits to Delos on the first   
occasion (Hdt., Call.) and the story, only in Herodotus, of the journey of the   
young Hyperborean girls to be present at the birth of Apollo; these are legendary   
acts underlying the ritual of the Delia. The second point includes the service of   
the *Deliades*; according to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and Thucydides, the   
girls are in effect the servants of Apollo and in the ritual celebrated by the   
Ionians sang songs celebrating their master, along with Artemis and Leto. As we   
shall see, the *Deliades* held different religious observances for Apollo in different   
places. We are therefore talking about a professional chorus performing for cults,   
and, at Delos, their performance should be clearly distinguished from that of   
choruses sent by cities in Ionia, later by Athens (Hom., Thuc., Call.). Musical   
performances by these choruses is the third point in our knowledge about the   
Delia. They are included among the various ritual practices of the festival, such   
as gymnastic and musical competitions, later, horse-racing, and consecration of   
the first fruits. Probably the account of Herodotus in which the Delians sang of   
Opis and Arge in a hymn composed by Olen, the native poet of Delos, and   
which the Ionians and the island people also sang, can be associated with the   
Delian rites. This hymn can be viewed as one of the ritual songs performed by   
the choruses sent to the festival. [53.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678623&offset=1#53.#53.)

There are two unanswered questions pertaining to the Delia concerning the   
unity of the festival and its meaning. [54.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678623&offset=1#54.#54.) The first is connected with its place in   
the ritual calendar of Delos. Some French scholars have differentiated between   
the Delia and the Apollonia by having them celebrated at different times of the   
year. Nilsson has shown that these two terms referred to a single ritual held in

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| 52. | On the location of this tomb, see C. Picard and L. Replat, "Recherches sur la  topographie du Hiéron délien," *BCH* 48, 1924, pp. 217-263 (pp. 247ff.); Gallet de  Santerre, *op. cit*. n. 47, pp. 165ff. and 217f.; and P. Bruneau and J. Ducat, *Guide de  Délos*, Paris 31983, pp. 149f.; for the probable tomb of Opis and Arge, see *ibid*., pp.  144f. |
| 53. | Hdt. 4.35; this hymn cannot be identified with the *nomos* of Olen mentioned  by Call. *Del*. 304f., as U. von Wilamowitz thinks, *Die Ilias und Homer*, Berlin 1916,  p. 451; that *nomos* was included in the Aphrodisia and not the Delia: see above p. 57. |
| 54. | On the archaeological identification of the place where the Delia were held,  see E. Bethe, "Das archaische Delos und sein Letoon," *Hermes* 72, 1937, pp. 190‐  201. |

-107-

early spring during the month of Hieros. [55.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678624&offset=1#55.#55.) Since the documents do not allow for   
absolute certainty, I simply stand by Nilsson's and Bruneau's deductions.

The significance of the Delia is just as difficult to determine as the date. Their   
importance and complexity prevent the festival's reduction to one aspect. The   
legends underlying the festival associate it with the birth of Apollo and the cults   
of Leto and Eileithyia. In the myth, the connotations are consequently   
pedotrophic. As regards the ritual, the *Deliades* are defined as young girls, which   
leads the interpreter into the realm of adolescence. [56.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678624&offset=1#56.#56.) Unfortunately, the *Homeric   
Hymn* does not reveal the qualities invoked for Apollo, Leto and Artemis in the   
hymn sung by the young girls; only Artemis receives her customary epiclesis of   
*archer*. The consecration of the first fruits, doubtless at the beginning of spring,   
suggests the idea of propitiation perhaps before the plants come into flower. It   
marks the passage from a dead season to a new one. Besides evident political   
reasons related to the position of Athens in the League of Delos, this semantic   
feature of 'renewal' probably translates into one of the motives that caused the   
Athenians to reorganize the Delia after the complete purification of the island in   
425. This purification has itself a sense of propitiation or expression of   
thanksgiving—propitiation so that the plague is not renewed, or thanks for its   
end. [57.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678624&offset=1#57.#57.) We have also seen how the cult, celebrated by adolescents of the island in   
honor of the young Hyperborean virgins who were the first to bring the first   
fruits to Delos, refers to courotrophy and to the preparation for marriage.

Because of 1) the celebration of the birth of Apollo, 2) the cult honoring   
Eileithyia, 3) the sense of renewal implied in the offering of the first fruits, and   
4) possibly the premarital consecration of their hair by the adolescents of the   
island to the Hyperborean virgins, the Delia embodied a great seasonal festival of   
propitiation for the growth of children and adolescents. This latter function is all   
the more evident because, according to Plato, the celebration of the festival of   
the Delia was justified by the legend of the expedition of Theseus and his   
companions to Crete. Plato describes the *theoria* that went annually from Athens   
to Delos as an act of thanksgiving for the protection granted by Apollo to the   
seven girls and the seven boys sent with Theseus to the Minotaur at Knossos. [58.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678624&offset=1#58.#58.)   
If the victorious return of Theseus from the Labyrinth was celebrated at Delos in   
a particular rite called the *Aphrodisia*, already mentioned and to be discussed   
further below, there is little doubt that the link between the Delia and the

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| 55. | Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 145ff. See also Farnell, *Cults* IV, pp. 288ff.; Allen,  *Hymns*, p. 195 n. 1; Gallet de Santerre, *op. cit*. n. 47, pp. 246ff.; and Bruneau, *Cultes  de Délos*, pp. 82ff. The decisive evidence is given by Dion. Per. 526ff. who speaks of  choruses sent to Delos on the occasion of the first day of spring. |
| 56. | In the H. Ap. 169, they are invoked under the name κου̑ραι; but Thuc. 3.104.5  uses the expression τὸν Δηλιακὸν χορὸν τω̑ν γυναικω̑ν. |
| 57. | Cf. Gomme, *op. cit*. n. 46, p. 414. |
| 58. | Plat. *Phaed*. 58ac, see also Xen. *Mem*. 4.8.2; on the link between the Delia  and the legend of Theseus, see Calame, *Thésée*, pp. 159ff.; on the Aphrodisia at  Delos, see below pp. 123ff. |

-108-

Theseus myth, most probably established by the Athenians leading the League   
of Delos, gave the festival an initiatory value. Unfortunately, information about   
this is too incomplete to determine the precise moment when the initiation   
process came into play in the Delia.

On the other hand, these aspects of pedotrophy and courotrophy presented by   
the festival of the Delia should not obscure the fact that the choruses sent there   
from Ionia and the islands indicate something more. Open to women as well as   
to children, the festival, on the eve of spring, probably represented a ritual of   
renewal for the whole city. Nor did the Delia concern a single city, but a large   
region, and no doubt touched various aspects of social life, from agriculture to   
the admittance of adolescents to citizenship.

Moreover, Delos was not only the island of adolescent dance, but its   
metaphor as well. Its central position in the Cyclades is associated with the   
image of the choral circle since, according to Callimachus, the Aegean isles   
surround it in the form of a chorus (ἀμφί τε νη̑σοι κύκλον ἐποιήσαντο καὶ ὡς   
χορὸς ἀμφεβάλοντο). Also, the island had a reputation as one "in which the   
songs of the choruses never end." [59.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678625&offset=1#59.#59.) And, still according to the *Hymn to Delos*   
of Callimachus, those "Muses' birds" who are the swans, those "most musical   
of all birds," celebrate the birth of Apollo circling (ἐκυκλώσαντο) seven times   
around the island. We come thus, besides the circular choral dance, to the second   
aspect of Delos' semantic reality: the island's nurturing of Apollo, since it   
protected both his birth and his childhood (ἁγιωτάτη, Ἀπόλλωνος   
κουροτρόφος). It is because of this that it receives first fruits and choruses from   
Greek cities. [60.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678625&offset=1#60.#60.) There is therefore a close link between the nurturing character of   
Apollo and that of the island that watched over his birth. [61.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678625&offset=1#61.#61.)

Finally, as regards the Delia, it is interesting to note that the observances of   
the *Deliades* for Apollo were well known in antiquity. It is twice mentioned by   
the tragic choruses of Euripides as an example of an ideal choral performance. In   
*Herakles*, the chorus of old men singing a paean to the hero of the play is   
compared to the *Deliades* (Δηλιάδες εἱλίσσουσαι καλλίχοροι) who sing   
(ὑμνου̑σι) the paean for Apollo, the son of Leto (Λατου̑ς εὔπαιδα γόνον). And   
the most fervent wish of the captives in *Hecuba* is to be free to rejoin the young   
*Deliades* (Δηλιάσιν κούραισιν) and sing of Artemis with them. [62.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678625&offset=1#62.#62.)

The *Deliades*, in contrast to the adolescent choruses, formed a group of young   
professional dancers, as several Delian accounts dating from the beginning of the   
third century confirm. They appeared not only at the great festival of Apollo but

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| 59. | Call. *Del*. 300ff., Dion. Per. 526, and Luc. *Salt*. 16; see Mineur, *Call. Del*. pp.  235f. |
| 60. | Call. *Del*. 249ff. and 275ff.; see Mineur, *Call.* Del., pp. 206ff. and 222ff. |
| 61. | On the courotrophic aspects of Apollo, see Furtwängler, *art. cit*. n. 39, col.  442f., Willetts, *Cults*, pp. 174f., and Brelich, *Paides*, pp. 435f. |
| 62. | Eur. *HF* 687ff.; on the nature of the reference made to the *Deliades* by the  chorus of old men, see Wilamowitz, *Herakles* II, pp. 140ff.; on the meaning of  εὔπαις, *ibid*. III, p. 158; *Hec*. 462ff.; see also *IT* 1234ff. |

-109-

also at the rites for Artemis (Artemisia, Britomartia), at the Letaia, the   
Aphrodisia, the Eileithyiaia, etc.; they were accompanied by a pipe player,   
engaged for the year and paid. [63.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678626&offset=1#63.#63.) The mythical model of this chorus is perhaps to   
be found in the group of the nymphs of Delos (νύμφαι Δηλιάδες) which sang   
the holy chant (ίερὸν μέλος) of Eileithyia to announce the birth of Apollo. The   
fame of this chorus was such that it probably performed at rites outside Delos. [64.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678626&offset=1#64.#64.)   
An Archaic representation of a chorus found in the Artemision at Delos perhaps   
reflects one of these performances. [65.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678626&offset=1#65.#65.) The professional character of the *Deliades*   
proves the possibility of the simultaneous presence in a given ritual of a   
permanent chorus, and of choruses formed for the particular occasion.

*Choregos* and *kourotrophos*, Apollo is close to Artemis. His domain covers   
partly the same area as that of the virgin goddess as far as adolescence is   
concerned. The relationship of these two divinities, both children of Leto and   
Zeus, is reflected in their sphere of activity. [66.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678626&offset=1#66.#66.) It is seen in a festival that took   
place in Sicyon, where Apollo and Artemis were honored simultaneously. The   
*aition* of this adolescent ritual is based on the original dispatch of seven youths   
and seven girls as suppliants (παι̑δας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἴσας παρθένους ἱκετεύοντας) to   
the bank of the River Sythas. This *aition* parallels the structure of certain   
foundation legends of rites for Artemis and for Apollo: the mission of the   
adolescents was motivated by an epidemic visited upon the Sicyonians when the   
divinities came to the town after the death of the serpent Python in order to be   
purified, but out of fear they had to flee to Crete. The propitiation of the two   
divinities for their return to Sicyon was obtained by sending the young people to   
the River Sythas; it resulted in the regular observance of a ritual by the   
adolescents (παι̑δες) of the town. During this ritual, the effigies of the divinities   
were carried into the sanctuary of Peitho (because both divinities were persuaded   
to go back to Sicyon) on the former Acropolis and then returned to the temple of

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| 63. | T. Homolle, "Comptes et inventaires des temples déliens en l'année 279,"  *BCH* 14, 1890, pp. 389-511 (pp. 500ff.), and Bruneau, *Cultes de Délos*, pp. 36f.; see  Latte, *Salt*., pp. 67f. The inscription commented on by Homolle speaks of a χορὸς  τω̑ν γυναικω̑ν, whereas, as we have seen, the literary tradition makes the *Deliades*  young girls. |
| 64. | Call. *Del*. 255ff.; see Mineur, *Call. Del*., pp. 211f.; Latte, *Salt*., p. 83; and  above p. 75 n. 198. |
| 65. | Mykonos *Mus*. B 4208 (70 Crowhurst [who gives the reference of Delos  4.208], 131 Tölle, 115 Wegner), pl. in C. Dugas and C. Rhomaios, *Délos* XV: *Les  vases préhelléniques* et *géométriques*, Paris 1934, pll. XLIII and LVI; on a sacrifice of  the *Deliades* made in honor of Artemis Britomartis, see Ath. 8.335ab, and Nilsson,  *Gr. Feste*, p. 210. |
| 66. | On the relationship of Artemis and Apollo, see Schreiber, *art. cit*. n. 20, coll.  576ff.; on their cult relationship, *ibid*., coll. 582ff. Like Artemis, but less often,  Apollo is called variously γόνος, κου̑ρος, παι̑ς, υἱός of Zeus and Leto, as well as  Λατοΐης; Roscher, *Suppl*. 1, pp. 22ff.; for the iconography of Artemis and Apollo,  see now L. Kahil in *LIMC* II, s.v. *Artemis*, pp. 697f. and 703ff. |

-110-

Apollo on the banks of the Sythas. [67.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678627&offset=1#67.#67.) Motivated by the expiation of the same   
murder of Python as the Delphic ritual of the Stepterion, the dispatch of the   
adolescents out of the town onto the banks of the river recalls the route of the   
Theban Daphnephoria and clearly has an initiatory sense. At the river, the young   
people probably performed a rite aimed at expiating the death of Python and   
propitiating the epidemic which symbolized the death of the adolescents. The fact   
that the adolescents appear as suppliants, and that they leave inhabited space for   
the river, recalls the Apollonian and Artemisian rites already mentioned, at the   
same time confirming the initiatory interpretation I have offered. Unfortunately,   
the only source for the rite at Sicyon does not mention a choral performance.

When differences appear between the spheres of Apollo and Artemis in their   
mediation of growth and adolescence, it can generally be reduced to a difference   
that reflects the respective sexes of the divinities. Apollo refers to masculinity,   
in spite of his close ties with the chorus of the Muses, while Artemis is the   
goddess of female adolescence. Generally speaking, girls' choruses are not seen   
in the cult of Apollo except where his authority is greatest; Artemis protects   
boys where she reigns alone. Together in the same cult, they share the same   
sphere of action, each according to his/her character. For example at Delos, the   
consecration of hair by young Delians has a clearly Artemisian character   
although it takes place in an entirely Apollonian context. The presence of the   
tomb of the young Hyperboreans in the Artemision, where the consecration took   
place, and the names attributed to these young girls are the exterior marks of the   
Artemisian aspect of the ritual. These marks are significant for the direct   
connection of the ritual act with preparation for marriage.

Recalling the distinction made by Dumézil and Detienne, as described in the   
introduction, between the sphere of action of a god and the ways in which he/she   
intervenes, one can say that, contrary to Athena and Poseidon, who intervene in   
the same sphere of action—navigation or cavalry—but in different ways,   
Artemis and Apollo tend to share the sphere of adolescence and intervene in   
identical ways. [68.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678627&offset=1#68.#68.) In the myth, Apollo as well as Artemis punishes with a   
plague, then cures it. In the rite, they are both protectors of childhood and   
*kourotrophoi*, Apollo more for boys, and Artemis for girls.

The same sharing of influence is represented by the contradictions in the   
account of Antoninus Liberalis of the loves of Ktesylla and Hermochares. [69.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678627&offset=1#69.#69.)

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| 67. | Paus. 2.7.7: see Hitzig-Bluemmer, *Paus*. I, pp. 523f., Nilsson, Gr. *Feste*, pp.  171f.; Brelich, *Paides*, pp. 377ff.; and D. Musti and M. Torelli, *Pausania. Guida della  Grecia* II, Milano 1986, pp. 242ff. |
| 68. | Cf. above pp. 16f.; the distribution of the modes of action between Athena  and Poseidon has been studied by M. Detienne and J.P. Vernant, *Les ruses  d'intelligence. La métis des Grecs*, Paris 1974. For a similar rivalry between Artemis  and Apollo in the rituals of Athenian adolescents, see Jeanmaire, *Couroi*, pp. 257ff. |
| 69. | Ant. Lib. 1; see above, p. 93, for Plutarch's story of the legendary fidelity of  the young girls of Ceos. The fact that the Ceans had a banquet hall within the |

-111-

This account follows the narrative shape of the legends I have cited which   
recount the adventures of a young girl who arouses the desire of a man while she   
dances in a chorus dedicated to Artemis. In the story of Hermochares and   
Ktesylla, it is not during a festival for Artemis but during the Pythia of   
Karthaia, a city on Keos, celebrated in honor of Apollo, that the suitor saw the   
young girl dance for the first time; daughter of Alcidamas (Ἀλκιδάμαντος   
θυγάτηρ), Ktesylla danced around the altar of the god (χορεύουσαν περὶ τὸν   
βωμὸν του̑ Ἀπόλλωνος). Two of the semantic complexes defined in our   
morphology of the Greek chorus can be recognized behind these expressions; the   
first, defining the status of Ktesylla, has the features 'adolescence' and 'family   
association'; the second, concerning the choral performance, includes 'circularity'   
and 'center.' But it is in the sanctuary of Artemis that Hermochares throws   
Ktesylla the apple with the vow which, spoken aloud and sworn in the name of   
Artemis, bound the girl to her lover by a promise of marriage. [70.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678628&offset=1#70.#70.) It is also from   
the sanctuary of Artemis that Hermochares abducted Ktesylla when he heard that   
the father of the girl had concluded another marriage, in spite of having sworn an   
oath to give his daughter to Hermochares. The misfortune that finally befell   
Ktesylla was the result of her father's broken vow. The union of the lovers was   
quite regular and Ktesylla, after her death, was honored by the Ceans of Ioulis   
under the names of *Aphrodite Ktesylla*, and in the other cities on the island   
*Ktesylla Hekaerge*. [71.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678628&offset=1#71.#71.)

Above and beyond the indications that this story gives about the privileged   
relationship of Artemis and adolescent female dance, it shows that Artemis and   
Apollo can intervene on exactly the same occasion but are bound by their sexual   
difference: the oath written by Hermochares and spoken by Ktesylla was made in   
the name of Artemis, while the father's word was given in the name of Apollo.   
On the other hand, the location of the story, at first during a festival for Apollo,   
then in a sanctuary belonging to Artemis, shows the reciprocity possible   
between the two divinities.

The parallel story of the loves of Akontios and Kydippe, for which an *Aition*   
by Callimachus gives a happy ending, shows a similar link between Artemis and   
Apollo. Akontios and Kydippe are also adolescents from Keos, but it is at Delos   
during the Delia—therefore in an Apollonian context—that Akontios sees

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|  | Artemision at Delos, near the tomb of the Hyperborean virgins (Hdt. 4.35), could  possibly be connected with their exemplary conduct in adolescence; there is anyhow  convergent information on the Ceans regarding female *kourotrophia*. |

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| 70. | On the festival of Apollo at Karthaia, see Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 160 n. 1, and  Farnell, *Cults* IV, pp. 444f.; on the sanctuary of Artemis at Ioulis, see  Papathomopoulos, *Ant. Lib*., p. 72. |
| 71. | In n. 48 above, I said that *Hekaerge* is a frequent epiclesis of Artemis,  particularly in the Cyclades; see Papathomopoulos, *Ant. Lib*., p. 73, correcting H.W.  Stoll's error in Roscher, s.v. *Hekaerge* (3), who saw in Ktesylla Hekaerge an  hypostasis of Aphrodite. |

-112-

Kydippe for the first time and falls in love with her. However, it is during   
Kydippe's service in the temple of Artemis that Akontios throws her the apple   
with the marriage vow. It is very probable that the rites performed by Kydippe in   
the goddess' honor included singing in a chorus. On returning to Keos, Kydippe   
falls mysteriously ill when her father, who is unaware of her involuntary vow,   
wants to marry her to another. However, she is saved by the oracle of Apollo,   
which her father consults and so learns of the existence of the vow. [72.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678629&offset=1#72.#72.) Here the   
division is clear: the female aspect of the story is under the influence of Artemis   
and its male aspect, under Apollo's power. The vow made by Kydippe,   
pronounced in an Artemisian context and in the name of the goddess, is entirely   
under the goddess' sign. The solution to the obstacle preventing the union of the   
lovers, represented by the father's project for the girl, depends on Apollo. Both   
gods are finally responsible for the perfect union of the two adolescents.

**3.1.4. Hera**

With Hera and the rituals dedicated to her, we find the problem of the   
transition from the status of a virgin to that of a married woman. Hera is defined   
specifically as the goddess of marriage, and her marriage with Zeus is the   
paradigm for all human marriages. As a result, she is the protector of the   
legitimately married woman, and her sphere of influence also covers the reason   
for matrimonial union in Greece, namely, children. [73.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678629&offset=1#73.#73.) Hera seems obligated   
therefore to intervene in the spheres of Artemis and Apollo. However, she only   
does so to the extent that marriage marks the end of adolescence, and that   
childbirth, its goal, implies the presence of the newborn. Thus Hera, goddess of   
married women, is also honored under the epiclesis of Παρθένος, the *Young   
Virgin*. But, significantly, this cult of Hera Parthenos, either at Hermione in   
Argolis or at Stymphalos in Arcadia, is never separated from that of Hera Teleia,   
Hera the Adult. [74.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678629&offset=1#74.#74.)

Adolescence being the period of transition from one condition to another, it is   
right that this should be the meeting place of several gods. While Artemis and   
Apollo cover the whole process of growth from birth to the end of adolescence,

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| 72. | Ov. *Her*. 20 and 21; Call. *Aet*. III, fr. 67ff. Pf.; Aristaenet. 1.10, see W.H.  Roscher in Roscher, s.v. *Akontios* (2); on the probable presence of female choruses  during the Artemisia at Delos: Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 209, and above p. 110. |
| 73. | W.H. Roscher in Roscher, s.v. *Hera*, coll. 2098ff.; Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp.  40f., and *Religion* I, pp. 429ff.; Farnell, *Cults* I, pp. 184ff. and 195f., who shows  that the *hieros gamos* of Zeus and Hera is an exemplary incarnation of human  marriage much more than a symbol of a hypothetical cosmic marriage between earth  and heaven; see also Burkert, *Religion*, pp. 209f., and, as far as the etymology of her  name is concerned (as "the mature one"), Pötscher, *Hera*, pp. 2f. |
| 74. | Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἑρμιών (p. 277 Meineke) and sch. Theocr. 15.64 (pp. 311f.  Wendel); Paus. 8.22.2 and Pind. *O*. 6.88: see Farnell, *Cults* I, pp. 190f., and Kerényi,  *Zeus*, pp. 104f.; at Nauplia, the statue of Hera every year was the object of a bath in a  neighboring river, through which she became a παρθένος. Paus. 2.38.2. |

-113-

Hera covers only the two extremes of this process: the matrimonial period   
extending from adolescence to maternity. During this time, the young girl is   
under the protection of Hera, but also under that of Aphrodite. Birth, growth,   
adolescence, marriage, maternity—the cycle is a closed circle. Artemis and   
Apollo on the one hand, Hera and Aphrodite on the other, share the   
responsibility without there being theoretically any overlap between their   
respective spheres of action.

Among observances paid to the cult of Hera by women, I shall first consider   
that of the association of sixteen women of Elis. It has often been used as an   
analogy when the ritual aspect of Alcman's fragment 1 is in question, in   
particular to prove the possibility that the lyric chorus could be divided into two   
half choruses. I have already pointed out that this proof was based on an   
erroneous interpretation of the text of Pausanias. [75.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678630&offset=1#75.#75.) According to the author, the   
sixteen women of Elis were responsible for the organization of two distinct   
choral performances. The first was dedicated to Hippodameia, the second to   
Physkoa. Weniger, then Nilsson, have shown that the chorus of Hippodameia   
could be associated with the cult of Hera, with Pisa as its site, in other words   
Olympia, and the chorus of Physkoa with the cult of Dionysus and the town of   
Elis. Thus these two choruses appear in different geographic and cult contexts,   
the former belonging to the Olympic festival of the Heraia, the latter to that of   
the Thyia. [76.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678630&offset=1#76.#76.) I shall discuss the Dionysiac aspect of these observances later.

In the rich festival of the Heraia at Olympia, three elements are pertinent to   
my thesis: the connection to Hera of the sixteen women of Elis, about whom   
the word χορός is not used, but who form an association relevant to my   
analysis; the ritual function of the chorus of Hippodameia; and the girls' foot-   
race organized by the sixteen Eleans, parallel to the choral performance and   
taking place during the same festival (the race was previously mentioned in   
connection with age groups). [77.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678630&offset=1#77.#77.)

The connection of the sixteen women with Hera is justified by their status as   
married women, as Pausanias explicitly states. Their role was originally   
political: a legend tells that after the demise of Damophon, tyrant of Pisa,   
hostility between Pisa and Elis ended. To bring about peace, each of the sixteen   
districts of Elis delegated the oldest, most esteemed and most sensible woman   
(ἡλικίᾳ πρεσβυτάτη καὶ ἀξιώματι καὶ δόξῃ). These sixteen women formed a   
college which, after having settled the differences between Pisa and Elis, was   
given the duty of organizing the Heraia at Olympia. These women were also   
active in the cult of Hera, and every four years they wove a veil for her. After the

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| 75. | Paus. 5.16.1ff., see above pp. 24f. and n. 23, and now my study "Pausanias le  Périégète en ethnographe ou comment décrire un culte grec," in J.M. Adam et *al*., *Le  discours anthropologique. Description, narration, savoir*, Paris 1990, pp. 227-250. |
| 76. | Weniger, *Elis*, pp. 2ff., Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 62f. and 291ff. |
| 77. | Cf. above p. 28. |

-114-

region was politically restructured into eight *phylai*, each *phyle* sent two women   
to the college, which was active right up to the time of Pausanias.

It is hardly likely that these women performed choral dances themselves. [78.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678631&offset=1#78.#78.)   
However, it is possible that the choruses of Hippodameia and Physkoa were   
structured along the lines of the college, even if Pausanias never says that they   
were women's choruses. Another passage by Pausanias leaves open the   
possibility of a sacrifice and other ritual practices performed every year by   
women at the tomb of Hippodameia within the Altis. [79.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678631&offset=1#79.#79.)

The cult of Hippodameia is in any case associated with the idea of a married   
woman. The feature 'matrimonial' is one of the elements of a second legend   
serving as *aition* for the existence of the Elean college. According to this myth,   
Hippodameia, to express her gratitude to Hera for permitting her marriage with   
Pelops, [80.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678631&offset=1#80.#80.) brought together the sixteen women and with them inaugurated the   
festival of the Heraia. This *aition* is not at variance with the one about the   
political intervention of the Elean college; the second story describes the   
founding of the Heraia as an event following the establishment of peace in Elis.   
Since Hippodameia also belongs to the domain of marriage, she so resembles   
Hera that some scholars have tried to make them identical and see in one the   
hypostasis of the other. The chorus organized in honor of Hippodameia should   
therefore show a marked matrimonial character; it was perhaps made up of   
women rather than young girls.

It is surprising to find in the context of the Heraia a girls' footrace (ἅμιλλα   
δρόμου παρθένοις). This race, divided among three age classes, took place in the   
Olympic stadium. The competitors wore a short tunic leaving the knees and   
shoulders bare. The winners received a crown of olive leaves and the right to part   
of the cow sacrificed in honor of Hera. The latter practice shows that the race was   
under the jurisdiction of the goddess of marriage. And yet its *aition* connects it   
with adolescence since, again according to Pausanias, it was Chloris, the   
daughter of Amphion (Ἀμφίονος θυγάτηρ), one of the Niobids, who won the   
first prize at the race organized by the sixteen women of Elis. [81.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678631&offset=1#81.#81.) Given the   
adolescent character of this race, one would expect Artemis to be present, since

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| 78. | Paus. regularly uses the term γυναι̑κες to refer to them, likewise Plut. *Mor*.  251e, 299a, 364f, etc.; on the political meaning of the ritual weaving of the peplos,  see J. Scheid and J. Svenbro, *Le métier de Zeus. Mythe du tissage et du tissu dans le  monde gréco-romain*, Paris 1994, pp. 17ff. |
| 79. | Paus. 6.20.7; Weniger, *Elis*, p. 18, identifies these women (stretching the  evidence I would say) with the sixteen women of Elis; on the location of the  Hippodameion, see Hitzig-Bluemmer, *Paus*. II, pp. 639f. |
| 80. | On the myth of the marriage of Hippodameia, see O. Höfer in Roscher, s.v.  *Hippodameia* (1), coll. 2668ff., and below pp. 242ff. |
| 81. | On Chloris, see L. von Sybel in Roscher, s.v. *Chloris* (4). According to L.  Drees, *Der Ursprung der olympischen Spiele*, Schorndorf bei Stuttgart 1962, pp.  87ff., in the Mycenaean period this race was included in the celebration of the *hieros  gamos* of Hera-Hippodameia. |

-115-

she was indeed at Olympia; there she was mainly connected with the cult of the   
River Alpheios. [82.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678632&offset=1#82.#82.)

Two solutions are available to the interpreter: to admit that adolescence in   
general, and not just its upper limit, is included in Hera's sphere of influence,   
which thus puts her in competition with Artemis, or to acknowledge that in   
places where a particular god exercises the greatest influence, certain aspects   
usually included in the sphere of action of other gods falls under the aegis of this   
divinity. In this way one would be brought to recognize a certain mobility of the   
signifier in relation to the signified, following a geographical parameter:   
depending on the location, identical elements of social life can be included in the   
spheres of action of different gods. The meaning of Hera's cult at Olympia, based   
on the single source of Pausanias, cannot be definitively decided from this point   
of view; however, the importance of Hera's temple at Olympia would tip the   
balance for the second solution. [83.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678632&offset=1#83.#83.) In fact, the premarital character of the myth   
connected with Hippodameia, to be analyzed in the next chapter, as also the   
youth of the girls in the race organized by the sixteen women of Elis, marks this   
rite as typically adolescent. Its inclusion in the festival of the Heraia, while   
accentuating its character as preparation for marriage, must be attributed to the   
importance of Hera as the female divinity on the site of Olympia. This   
overlapping of Hera's influence with that of Artemis is nevertheless exceptional,   
since generally their two spheres are clearly defined.

The best example of a simultaneous but different involvement of Artemis and   
Hera is in the legend of the *Proitides*, of which only the choral ritual will be   
mentioned here. The account of this legend given by Bacchylides lies at the   
junction of the spheres of Artemis and Hera; it signifies perfectly the passing   
from the virginal state, protected by Artemis, to that of a married woman,   
protected by Hera, as also from the state of wildness which refers metaphorically   
in ancient Greece to adolescence, to the state of civilization for the girl referred to   
by marriage. [84.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678632&offset=1#84.#84.) According to this version of the myth, the daughters of Proitos

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| 82. | Paus. 5.14.6 with Farnell, *Cults* II, pp. 559f.; the cult of Artemis Alpheiaia is  described by Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 214ff.; see also above p. 92. According to T.F.  Scanlon, "The Footrace of the Heraia at Olympia," *AW* 9, 1984, pp. 77-90, the races  of the girls have to be related to the ones during the Olympic games. |
| 83. | One can add that the feast of the Heraia took place in summer (Weniger, *Elis*,  p. 17) while the Artemisian rituals took place in spring. However, we have no precise  way of dating the Heraia. For Arrigoni, *Le donne in Grecia*, pp. 95ff., the footrace of  the Heraia has a distinctive adolescent and prematrimonial character; see also P.  Angeli Bernardini, "Le donne e la pratica della corsa nella Grecia antica," in P. Angeli  Bernardini, *Lo sport in Grecia*, Roma-Bari 1988, pp. 153-184. |
| 84. | Bacch. 11.37ff. and 82ff.; see also Apoll. 2.2.2 and sch. Hom. *Od*. 15.225;  other sources in A. Rapp in Roscher, s.v. *Proitides*. This passage for the daughters of  Proitos from savagery to civilization has been explained by C. Segal, "Bacchylides  Reconsidered: Epithets and the Dynamics of Lyric Narrative," *QUCC* 22, 1976, pp. |

-116-

(Προίτου θύγατρες) were still young girls (εὔπεπλοι κου̑ραι, παρθενίᾳ ἔτι   
ψυχᾳ̑) when they penetrated the sanctuary of Hera and committed an act of   
*hybris*, boasting of their father's power. To punish them, Hera made them go   
mad and flee into the mountains. Artemis, invoked by Proitos, intervened, and   
the girls regained their sanity. In gratitude, the *Proitides* raised a temple and an   
altar to Artemis; they founded in her honor a sacrifice and choruses of women   
(καὶ χοροὺς ἵσταν γυναικω̑ν).

Still adolescent (κου̑ραι), the *Proitides* seem to be under the protection of   
Artemis, and indeed only her intervention could save them. But as a fragment of   
Hesiod shows, Hera, provoked by their lasciviousness, sent a madness that took   
away the flower of their youth, as they had become young girls who had arrived   
at the end of their sexual development; [85.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678633&offset=1#85.#85.) thus they are situated exactly at the   
juncture of the domains assigned to Artemis and Hera. That is why the   
institution of choruses in honor of Artemis signifies the end of their quarrel with   
Hera. In addition, according to most of the sources, the story of the madness of   
the daughters of Proitos ends in their marriage. Having expiated their crime   
towards Hera with the help of Artemis, the young adolescents are ready for   
marriage. The narrative schema we know, 'offending a divinity / calamity sent   
by the divinity / order reestablished by a regular ritual practice,' is present on   
two different levels, that of the intervention of Artemis and that of Hera's   
jurisdiction. It marks the passage from one state to another: from adolescence,   
the *Proitides* move on to the status of married women; from the jurisdiction of   
Artemis, they move to that of Hera. [86.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678633&offset=1#86.#86.) The change is thus no longer to the   
beginning of the marginal period of tribal initiation, but to the terminus of the   
initiation period, namely the status of an adult. It is likely that the act of *hybris*   
committed by the *Proitides* represents a refusal to acknowledge Hera's domain, in   
other words, a refusal to marry; the act would therefore signify the moment of   
negation that precedes any change to a new state.

The temple of Artemis founded by the *Proitides* has not been identified for   
certain. According to Callimachus, Proitos dedicated two temples to Artemis in   
thanksgiving for his daughters' cure; one to Artemis Koria in the mountains of   
Azania near Cleitor, the other to Artemis Hemera at Lousoi. These sites are both   
Arcadian. [87.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678633&offset=1#87.#87.) In spite of the uncertainties of the tradition that attributes to Athena

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|  | 99-130 (pp. 122ff.), and by A.P. Burnett, *The Art of Bacchylides*, Cambridge, Mass.‐  London 1985, pp. 107ff. |

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| 85. | Hes. fr. 132 MW, see also fr. 130 MW which, by saying that all Greek men  were suitors of the daughters of Proitos, shows that the girls had arrived at a  marriageable age. |
| 86. | On the contact between Artemis and Hera concerning premarital and marriage  rites, see Poll. 3.38.; the transition of the *Proitides* from the domain of Artemis to  the one of Hera through the "taming" preparatory to marriage has been analyzed in  detail by Seaford, *JHS* 108, 1988, pp. 118ff. |
| 87. | Call. *Dian*. 233ff., see Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀζανία and Λουσοί (pp. 30 and 419  Meineke); Paus. 8.21.4, knows a temple of Athene Koria near Cleitor in Azania; on |

-117-

rather than to Artemis the Azanian cult of Koria, the semantic and   
morphological derivation of the epiclesis of the goddess celebrated at Cleitor is   
clear, and it is significant that in one version of the myth the cure of the young   
girls ends in a dedication of a temple to the goddess "of adolescents." The   
epiclesis *Hemera* on the other hand is more interesting in that the ancients had an   
explanation for it, namely, that Artemis had succeeded in "taming," or   
"civilizing" (διὰ τη̑ς 'A. ήμερώθησαν) the daughters of Proitos. We may find an   
echo of this passage in the epiclesis that Bacchylides attributes to the Artemis   
who governs the city of Metapontum, where the addressee of his ode comes   
from: she is said to be at the same time Ἀγροτέρα (wild huntress) and Ἡμ]έρα   
(civilized). [88.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678634&offset=1#88.#88.) This image of being tamed after a period of time spent in the wild   
countryside (Callimachus speaks of ἄγριος θυμός) appears in various accounts of   
the education of an adolescent girl in Greece and her attainment of adult status as   
a married woman, and it is illustrated by the taming of animals. I shall try to   
explain this concept of education as taming in the section on the educational

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|  | the temple of Artemis at Lousoi, see Paus. 8.18.8 and Pol. 4.18.10. On these two  cults, see R. Stiglitz, *Die Grossen Göttinnen Arkadiens*, Wien 1967, pp. 100f. Other  sources in Burkert, *Homo Necans*, p. 192 n. 16, and now M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et  cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris 1985, pp. 46ff. and 419ff. Other versions of the legend of the  *Proitides* make Proitos or Melampous the one who cures the girls: see Bornmann,  *Hymnus in Dianam*, pp. 112f. |

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| 88. | Paus. 8.18.8 (Ἄρτεμις Ἡμερασία), sch. Call. *Dian*. 236 (II, p. 65 Pfeiffer)  who combines into a single explanation the epicleses of *Koria* and *Hemera*: διότι τὰς  κόρας ἡμέρωσεν; it is not by chance that in this context Hesiod, fr. 37.13 MW,  qualifies Bias, one of the two heroes charged with bringing back the *Proitides* from  their mad chase, as ὶππόδαμος, tamer of horses. The existence of the cult of Artemis  Hemera at Lousoi allowed Blass to restore a Ἡμ]έρα in the text of Bacch. 11.39 (see  *IG* V. 2, 398), which would directly link the latter's version of the myth with the cult  in Lousoi; on this, see R. Merkelbach, "Bakchylides auf einen Sieger in den  Ἡμεράσια zu Lousoi," *ZPE* 11, 1973, pp. 257-260; this restoration is more certain  than the proposal that the whole song was dedicated to a victor at Metapontum whose  divinity was Artemis Hemera: see Maehler, *Bakchylides*, II, pp. 195f. and 219f.  Jeanmaire, *Dionysus*, pp. 204ff., sees this myth as a rite of adolescence without  making a distinction between the domains of Artemis and Hera; see also J.E.  Harrison, *Encyclopedia of Religions and Ethics* III, Edinburgh 1914, p. 322. Burkert,  *Homo Necans*, pp. 189ff., also speaks of the reversal of the order of the *polis* and the  change from young girl to queen as represented in the myth of the madness of the  *Proitides*; he connects this to the Argive ritual of the Agrio(/a)nia. G. A. Privitera's  statement in *Dioniso in Omero e nella poesia greca arcaica*, Roma 1970, p. 17 n. 9,  that the dances instituted by the *Proitides* were supposed to imitate the race of the  girls through the hills is only conjecture; see also Dowden, *Death and the Maiden*,  pp. 91ff., and G. Casadio, *Storia del culto di Dioniso in Argolide*, Roma 1994, pp.  51ff. and 83ff., who, after having enumerated the different versions of the myth,  gives a review of the various interpretations given to the ritual of the Agriania. |

-118-

character of the Archaic chorus. For the moment, we will keep to the mythical   
and cultic aspects.

In contrast, it is almost certain that the sanctuary profaned by the daughters of   
Proitos, the king of Argos and Tiryns, was the great Heraion situated at some   
distance from Argos towards Mycenae. We have sparse information about the   
festival celebrated there. It is probably correct to suppose with Nilsson that   
various rites were held in this sanctuary. Numerous sources seem to agree that   
the principal festival celebrated in the Argive Heraion was a rite repeating the   
ἱερὸς γάμος of Zeus and Hera. However, none of the sources is explicit enough   
to affirm that interpretation categorically. [89.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678635&offset=1#89.#89.)

We have but two brief indications of women's choruses participating at the   
Argive Heraia. One in the *Electra* of Euripides mentions the departure of the   
young Argive girls (παρθενικαί) for the temple of the goddess and the choral   
dances that they performed there for a sacrifice; this presumably corresponds to   
the celebration of the festival of the Heraia. The other, found in Pollux the   
lexicographer, cites an Argive ritual during which women bearing flowers (ται̑ς   
ἀνθεφόροις) sang a sacred song to the accompaniment of a pipe. But this should   
probably be assigned to the cult of Hera Antheia rather than that of the Hera of   
the Heraion. [90.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678635&offset=1#90.#90.)

To these brief indications can be added two more. The first is a late text by   
Dionysius of Halicamassus in which he says that the festival of Hera at Falerii   
was enacted along the lines of the Argive festival: the upkeep of the temple was   
assured by the priestesses (γυναι̑κες ἱεραί); a *kanephoros*, a girl who is still a   
virgin (ἁγνὴ γάμων παι̑ς), was responsible for the sacrifices, and the goddess was   
celebrated in local hymns by choruses of girls (χοροὶ παρθένων ὑμνουσω̑ν τὴν   
θεὸν ᾠδαι̑ς πατρίοις). [91.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678635&offset=1#91.#91.) The second document is made up of various fragments   
of geometric vases found on the site of the Argive Heraion itself depicting   
women's choruses performing. The stylization of the drawing unfortunately

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| 89. | Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 42ff., and Kerényi, *Zeus*, pp. 94ff.; on the excavations  undertaken on this site, see C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, 2 vol., Boston-New  York 1902, and J.L. Caskey and P. Amandry, "Investigations at the Heraion of  Argos," *Hesperia* 21, 1952, pp. 165-221. The old statue of Hera venerated within the  Heraion came from Tiryns, Proitos' country: Paus. 2.17.5 and 8.46.3, with Burkert's  commentary, *Homo Necans*, p. 189. The various rituals for the girls celebrated at the  Argive Heraion are now described by A. Avagianou, *Sacred Marriage in the Rituals of  Greek Religion*, Bern-New York 1991, pp. 39ff. |
| 90. | Eur. *El*. 171ff., with the commentary of J.D. Denniston, *Euripides. Electra*,  Oxford 1939, pp. 70f.; Poll. 4.78; see *EMag*. 108.48. The temple of Hera Antheia  was in Argos itself near the sanctuary of Leto: Paus. 2.22.1; on the significance of  the cult of Hera Antheia, see Pötscher, *Hera*, pp. 138ff. |
| 91. | Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 1.21.2; Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 45 n. 5, has reservations,  as previously noted, as to the value of this source. |

-119-

gives no help in deciding whether the figures are those of young girls or adult   
women. [92.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678636&offset=1#92.#92.)

This information is clearly too vague to draw conclusions about the function   
of girls at the Argive Heraia. Even if the myth of the *Proitides* sharply divides   
the domains of Hera, the goddess of marriage, and that of Artemis, protector of   
adolescence, the Argive Hera probably played some role in adolescence. Perhaps   
the procession to the sanctuary and the choral dances performed by the young   
girls in *Electra* correspond to the final phase of tribal initiation, the presenting of   
the new initiates. At any rate, the sequence recalls the Spartan festival of the   
Hyakinthia, to be discussed later, which certainly had a ritual function of this   
type. [93.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678636&offset=1#93.#93.) We are nevertheless forced to acknowledge that a divinity can include in   
its field of action semantic features belonging to a neighboring deity, in   
proportion to the importance it assumes at a given site. This is probably the   
case for the Argive Hera, in spite of the definitely adult role attributed to her in   
the myth of the *Proitides*. Her authority in Argos allows her to include in her   
name structural features of other female divinities; in the same way that Artemis   
reigns at Ephesos, Hera is the guardian of Argos, and her influence probably   
passed the strict limits of the domain of marriage and covered the whole of   
female adolescence. [94.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678636&offset=1#94.#94.)

Note that the annual service of seven boys and seven girls (ἑπτὰ κούρους καὶ   
ἑπτὰ κούρας) on behalf of Hera Akraia at Corinth also encroaches on the normal   
field of influence of Artemis. [95.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678636&offset=1#95.#95.) Not only was this ritual performed by

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| 92. | Argos Mus. C 229 (50 Crowhurst) and fr. (97 Tölle, 4 Wegner), Athinai MN  frr. (56 Crowhurst, 92, 93, 95, 96 and 100 Tölle, 52 Wegner) and frr. (61 Crowhurst,  101 Tölle, 53 Wegner); see Waldstein, *op. cit*. n. 89, II, p. 114 with pl. 57, and  Wegner, *Musik*, pl. U VId. |
| 93. | By showing that the procession of the Heraia for the boys participating  marked "die Initiation des waffenfähigen Epheben," Burkert, *Homo Necans*, pp.  183f., gives a similar interpretation of this festival. |
| 94. | On the guardianship of Hera at Argos, see Roscher, *art. cit*. n. 73, col.  2075ff., and R.A. Tomlinson, *Argos and the Argolid*, London 1972, pp. 203f.; on  the protector aspect of Artemis at Ephesus, see above n. 20. Hera in Homer was  already named Ἀργείη: Hom. *Il*. 5.908 and Hes. *Theog*. 12; Argos is one of the cities  preferred by the goddess: Hom. *Il*. 4.51f.; on Hera's central position at Argos, see S.  Eitrem, *RE* 8 (1912), s.v. *Hera*, coll. 372f.; Hera was also celebrated on the acropolis  of Argos, where she bore the epiclesis of *Akraia*: Paus. 2.24.1, with Roscher, *art*. *cit*.  n. 73, coll. 2075f.  Artemis is not totally absent from Argos: see Paus. 2.21.1 and Hsch. s.v. Ἀκρία  (A 2565 Latte); moreover, Hera too is celebrated in certain places as Parthenos: see  above p. 113, and U. von Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* I, Berlin 1931, pp.  129ff.; near Nauplion, says Paus. 2.38.2f., the statue of Hera was washed at a spring,  permitting the goddess to regain her virginity: on the bathing of statues of virgin  goddesses, see below pp. 129ff. with n. 117. |
| 95. | Sch. Eur. *Med*. 264 (II, pp. 159f. Schwartz) = Parmeniscus fr. 13 Breithaupt,  and Creophylus *FGrHist*. 417 F 3; other sources and discussion in Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, |

-120-

adolescents, its founding legend, as far as it can be reconstructed from different   
versions, follows the schema of the myths underlying the rites of courotrophy   
for Artemis. The model 'outrage of a god / calamity sent by the god /   
expiation/propitiation by a regular ritual' is easily discernible in the Corinthian   
legend of the children of Medea, which serves as *aition* for the rite of Hera   
Akraia; this myth has the following sequence of events: murder of the children   
(by the Corinthians or by Medea), plague in Corinth, annual rite by seven   
Corinthian boys and seven girls to appease the anger of Hera Akraia.

It is permissible to presume that the rite included choral singing, although no   
source mentions it. [96.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678637&offset=1#96.#96.) As Brelich says, the close analogy between this ritual and   
the founding legend and enactment of the rite of Artemis at Brauron proves that   
the cult at Corinth contained a rite characteristic of adolescence, in spite of   
Hera's normally matrimonial interests. Given this structural homology, we can   
only accept the flexibility of the signifiers *Hera* and *Artemis* (on a geographic   
axis: Hera at Corinth, Artemis at Brauron) in relation to the fixed signified   
'adolescence.' [97.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678637&offset=1#97.#97.) In the Peloponnese, Hera occupies a privileged position without   
equivalent in the rest of Greece, except in her cult celebrated by the Samians.

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|  | pp. 57ff., A. Brelich, "I figli di Medeia," *SMSR* 30, 1959, pp. 213-254, and by the  same author, *Paides*, pp. 355ff.; the tradition of the myth of the children of Medea and  the rite founded on it probably goes back to Eumelus (frr. 3 and 5 Bernabé), i.e. to the  7th century B.C.  See C. Picard, "L'Héræon de Pérachora et les enfants de Médée," *RA* 5.35, 1932,  pp. 218-229, who presents this ritual as a "novitiate," has shown that the sanctuary  in which it took place is that of Hera Akraia and Limenia at Perachora; situated to the  north of the town, across an arm of the Gulf of Corinth, this sanctuary has the  characteristics of a sanctuary beyond the town walls of a place particularly well  adapted to an adolescent initiation; on the problems of establishing the site of the  sanctuary of Hera Akraia, see Brelich, *Paides*, p. 356 n. 117; on the excavations at  Perachora, see H. Payne *et al., The Sanctuary of Hera Akraia and Limenia*, 2 vol.,  Oxford 1940 and 1962. In describing the myth of the children of Medea with the  words *death* and *resurrection*, E. Will, *Korinthiaka*, Paris 1955, pp. 89ff., is very near  an interpretation of this myth as initiatory. |

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| 96. | Depictions of women's choruses found in the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora  have been collected by Payne, *op. cit*. n. 95, II, pl. 77; see also those found at  Corinth: Berlin SM 31093 (65 Wegner) and Corinth Mus. (55 Crowhurst, 113 Tölle,  104 Wegner). |
| 97. | One proof of the adolescent character of Hera Akraia's cult is the substitution  at Corfu (see P.G. Kalligas, "Τὸ ἐν Κερκύρᾳ ἱερὸν τη̑ς Ἀκραίας Ἣρας," AD 24,  1969, pp. 51-58) of her cult imported by the Corinthians in place of a preexisting  cult of Apollo Daphnephoros. Another example of the fixed signified in relation to  the flexibility of the signifier is given by Herodotus' account (4.180) of a Libyan  ritual. This rite, he says, is dedicated to Athena. Since we know that this ritual was  annual and included a contest between young girls, with the most beautiful being  fitted out as a soldier, it is easy to see how this designation comes from a deity  foreign to Greece through the intermediacy of the name *Athena*: the presence of the |

-121-

On the other hand, in Lesbos, the cult of Hera was related to the beauty   
contests of women (γυναι̑κες) rather than adolescents. According to Athenaeus,   
contests of this sort were organized at Tenedos, Basilis on the Alpheus, and at   
Lesbos. Those at Basilis were dedicated to Eleusinian Demeter, those on Lesbos,   
to Hera, where they took place in her sanctuary. This last piece of information   
comes from a scholion explaining the passage of the *Iliad* where Agamemnon   
suggests to Nestor that he calm Achilles' anger by giving the hero a gift of   
seven women from Lesbos (Λεσβίδας) chosen from among those who had won   
the contests; among these seven women was Briseis. [98.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678638&offset=1#98.#98.) Homer's passage shows   
how ancient the institution of beauty contests was on Lesbos. It is probable that   
Hera's sanctuary, where the contest took place, corresponds to the great sanctuary   
of Zeus, Hera, and Dionysus of which both Sappho and Alcaeus speak; this   
sanctuary was situated at Mesa or Messon north of Pyrrha at the back of the Gulf   
of Callona. [99.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678638&offset=1#99.#99.) A fragment of Alcaeus associates the song of the women of   
Lesbos with the ritual of the Kallisteia. In this poem, without actually   
mentioning the name of Hera, Alcaeus expresses his desire to withdraw into the

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|  | features 'adolescent,' 'female,' and 'armed' in the rite are decisive. The attribution to  Dionysus, also by Herodotus (2.48), of an Egyptian phallic procession offers an  analogous semantic mechanism: see W. Burkert, "Herodot über die Namen der Götter:  Polytheismus als historisches Problem," *MH* 42, 1985, pp. 121-132. In this way the  signified is determined by the signifier. At Corinth, the feature 'adolescence' and the  schema '*hybris* / calamity / expiation' would suggest the signifier *Artemis*. If we find  *Hera* instead it is because, in the religious language of the Corinthians, Hera means  what Artemis means elsewhere in Greece. The problem of the Libyan divinity's name  is a problem of translation: in the same way, the flexibility of the signifier in  relation to the signified in Greece is reduced as a last resort to a question of religious  translation between different geographic points.  For the parallel offered by the rite of the "Locrian Maidens," see F. Graf, "Die  Lokrischen Mädchen," *SSR* 2, 1978, pp. 61-79, and Sourvinou-Inwood, *Greek  Culture*, pp. 248ff. |

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| 98. | Ath. 13.609eff., Hom. *Il*. 9.129f. with sch. A *ad loc*.; see also Hsch. s.v.  Πυλαιΐδεες (Π 4342 Schmidt); see Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 57 and 336, and the same  author, *RE* 10 (1919), s.v. *Kallisteia*; on the rite of Basilis, see Stiglitz, *op. cit*. n.  87, pp. 58f., who compares the contest of the Kalligeneia on the last day of the  festival of the Athenian Thesmophoria with this ritual; on the meaning of the  Athenian ritual, see below n. 140. |
| 99. | Sapph. fr. 17 V, Alc. fr. 129 V, with Page, *Sappho*, pp. 60ff. and 168, Treu,  *Sappho*, pp. 235ff., Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets*, pp. 159ff. (with n. 4), and  Pötscher, *Hera*, pp. 14ff.; on the identification of the sanctuary of Hera where the  beauty contests were held, see L. Robert, "Recherches épigraphiques," REA 62, 1960,  pp. 276-361 (pp. 311ff.), who gathers together the reconstructions of his  predecessors. The relationship drawn between the term Πυλαιΐδεες and Mount  Pylaion by K. Tümpel, "Lesbiaka 5: Pylaiïdees," *Philologus* 50, 1891, pp. 566-568,  is criticized by G. Radke, RE 23 (1957), s.v. *Pylaiidees*. |

-122-

sanctuary where "the Lesbian girls compete in beauty and where echoes of their   
ritual cries resound each year" (ἄχω θεσπεσία γυναίκων ἴρα[ς ὀ]λολύγας   
ἐνιαυσίας). [100.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678639&offset=1#100.#100.) The ritual of the Kallisteia thus contained an important musical   
event. It is in this context that we should view the epigram in the *Palatine   
Anthology* previously mentioned, which describes the arrival at the temple of   
Hera of the young Lesbian women who formed a chorus there, led by   
Sappho. [101.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678639&offset=1#101.#101.) The reason for this choral performance, if it is not purely fictive,   
may differ from the rite of the Kallisteia; the scene described in the epigram   
nevertheless accords perfectly with the information given by Sappho and Alcaeus   
themselves.

None of the sources, let it be noted, speaks of *young girls*; only the   
morphology of the terms used, Λεσβίαδες and Λεσβίδες, might suggest the   
participation of adolescents. However, Homer, who also uses the term Λεσβίδες,   
elsewhere calls the participants *women* (γυναι̑κες). A deity of adult women such   
as Hera, or Demeter, is in her right place in this context. A more precise   
interpretation of the function of this ritual will be given later in my discussion   
of the Spartan cult of Helen. [102.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678639&offset=1#102.#102.)

**3.1.5. Aphrodite**

The religious life of Delos seems to have been dominated in antiquity by the   
celebration of the festival of the Delia in honor of Apollo. Plutarch and Pollux   
mention the celebration of another choral performance on the island, dedicated to   
Aphrodite. The complex ritual of the Aphrodisia at Delos is linked with the   
myth of the chorus of adolescents formed by Theseus on his return from Crete. I   
have already discussed this mythical chorus, the *aition* for the Aphrodisia, in   
connection with the figure of the *choregos*. [103.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678639&offset=1#103.#103.) Here I confine myself to the cult   
aspects.

The legend says that, on arriving at Delos following his victory over the   
Minotaur, Theseus formed the chorus mentioned above and consecrated to Apollo   
the statue of Aphrodite given him by Ariadne in Crete. It is this ancient *xoanon*   
of the goddess that the Delians crowned with wreaths, performing on this   
occasion the Crane Dance in a ritual act repeating that of Theseus. The rite took   
place in summer, in the month of Hekatombaion, and it is described not only in   
literary texts but also in inscriptions. [104.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678639&offset=1#104.#104.)

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| 100. | Alc. fr. 130b. 13ff. V; see Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets*, pp. 178ff. On the  *ololyge*, see above pp. 78f. |
| 101. | *AP* 9.189: see Lasserre, *Sappho*, pp. 40f., and above p. 65. |
| 102. | Cf. below p. 199. |
| 103. | Cf. above p. 53. |
| 104. | Call. *Del*. 304ff., Plut. *Thes*. 21, Paus. 9.40.3f.; on the composition of the  chorus performing the Crane Dance, see above p. 56; for the inscriptions, see  Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 380ff., and Bruneau, *Cultes de Délos*, pp. 331ff. and 341, with |

-123-

Before asking what Aphrodite's function was in this festival, it must be   
stated that the choral performance, probably by a mixed chorus of boys and girls,   
has some connection with the cult of Ariadne, and this connection is not   
unimportant. In the *Iliad*, as we have seen, Hephaistos depicts on Achilles'   
shield a mixed chorus of adolescents similar to the one fashioned by Daedalus at   
Knossos—in white marble, adds Pausanias—for Ariadne. As I indicated, the   
scholia of this passage show that the chorus was a representation of the one   
Theseus was supposed to have formed in Crete on leaving the Labyrinth, and   
which inspired Hephaistos in his work. [105.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678640&offset=1#105.#105.) From there to an affirmation that the   
only difference between the chorus formed by Theseus in Crete and the one   
danced at Delos is geographic, and that there exists between Ariadne and   
Aphrodite only a difference of name, is a small step—and one that tradition   
invites us to make. Ariadne was indeed associated with the cult of Aphrodite in   
sites as far apart as Cyprus and Argos, and Theseus himself was said to be the   
founder of the cult of Ariadne-Aphrodite in Cyprus. [106.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678640&offset=1#106.#106.)

It is curious to find Aphrodite, the goddess of sensuality and beauty, associ-   
ated with a clearly adolescent festival in an island dedicated to Apollo. In fact,   
Aphrodite's field of action covers, in the East whence she is supposed to have   
come as well as in Greece, one aspect of adolescent, particularly adult, female-   
ness not yet mentioned, namely sexual pleasure; she is defined as the goddess of   
human and animal sexuality and of vegetal fecundity. [107.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678640&offset=1#107.#107.) This domain comple-   
ments those belonging to Artemis and Hera: if Artemis protects the growth of   
children and adolescents, and if Hera blesses legal marriage and birth, Aphrodite   
arouses desire and love incarnated in the power of Eros; by seduction and sexual   
pleasure she encourages the reproduction of mankind. Consequently, she repre-   
sents the force that perpetuates the cycle 'birth—adolescence—marriage—birth'   
shared by Hera and Artemis. Protector of what we would call "sexuality," she   
covers all forms taken on by the sexual drive: sensuality, seduction, physical at-   
traction, and so on. Given her influence over adolescents and young married cou-   
ples, it is not surprising that Aphrodite sometimes assumes characteristics of

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|  | the complementary references I give in *Thésée*, pp. 158f.; see also Pirenne-Delforge,  *Aphrodite*, pp. 395ff. |

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| 105. | Hom. *Il*. 18.590ff. and sch. AB *Il*. 18.590f. also Paus. 9.40.3: see Herter,  *art*. cit. p. 54 n. 138, col. 98, and above pp. 55f. |
| 106. | Plut. *Thes*. 20.7; Paus. 2.23.8; other sources are mentioned by H.W. Stoll in  Roscher, s.v. *Ariadne*, coll. 543f.; see also Farnell, *Hero Cults*, pp. 48f.; Nilsson,  *Gr. Feste*, p. 382, recalls the interesting comparison made by others between the  etymology of the word Ἀριάδνη as ἀρι-άγνη and the adjective ἁγνή that Aphrodite  receives in an inscription mentioning the service of a *kanephoros* at the Aphrodisia  of Delos; on the assimilation between Ariadne and Aphrodite, see Calame, *Thésée*,  pp. 198ff. |
| 107. | See in particular Aesch. fr. 44 Radt and Soph. fr. 941 Radt; A. Furtwängler in  Roscher, s.v. *Aphrodite*, coll. 397ff., Burkert, *Religion*, pp. 239ff., Calame, *Eros*,  pp. 87ff., and Pirenne-Delforge, *Aphrodite*, pp. 419ff. |

-124-

Artemis and Hera to the point of being confused in some places with one or the   
other of them. Thus in Sparta there was a *xoanon* of Aphrodite-Hera and on Keos   
Ktesylla was honored either under the name of *Aphrodite* or *Hekaerge*. [108.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678641&offset=1#108.#108.)

These characteristics of Aphrodite, as well as the Aphrodisian connotations of   
the figure of Ariadne in Crete and the different versions of the myth of the love   
of Ariadne for Theseus and Dionysus, show that the Aphrodisia at Delos   
consecrated a period of courotrophy different from that of the Delia dedicated to   
Apollo. But in order to understand the precise function of this festival, we must   
make a detour by way of Athens. Here, the same myth of the victorious exit   
from the Cretan Labyrinth was the *aition* for the festival of the Oschophoria.   
Like the Delian ritual, the Athenian was performed by adolescents who   
represented the girls and boys brought back safe and sound from Crete by   
Theseus. Dedicated to Ariadne and to Dionysus in the legend, and to Athena   
Skiras and Dionysus in the rite, this was preceded by the ritual of the Pyanopsia   
which was held in honor of Apollo. [109.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678641&offset=1#109.#109.)

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| 108. | Paus. 3.13.9; on this cult, see below pp. 205f. On the matrimonial and  courotrophic aspects of Aphrodite, see Farnell, *Cults* II, pp. 655ff. and Pirenne‐  Delforge, *Aphrodite*, pp. 421ff.; Diod. Sic. 5.73.2, defining the children of Zeus in  their reciprocal positions, attributes to Aphrodite the protection of girls at the  moment of marriage; this protection is not incompatible with that of Zeus and Hera  Teleioi which covers the whole marriage. On the simultaneous intervention of Zeus  Teleios, Hera Teleia, Aphrodite, Peitho, and Artemis in the marriage process, see  Plut. *Mor*. 264b; on Aphrodite and marriage, see Sapph. test. 194 V.  Given the place occupied by Apollo and Artemis at Delos, it would be useless to  explain the presence of a nurturing Aphrodite on the island with semantics such as I  used to account for the exceptional powers of Hera at Argos; Aphrodite intervenes on  Delos according to her usual mode of action. Note that she is also present in the  legends of Akontios and Kydippe and of Hermochares and Ktesylla, legends which  seem to be entirely under the sign of Artemis/Apollo (see above p. 112): this  presence is symbolized by the apple bearing the vow of love between the lovers (on  this symbolism see J. Trumpf, "Kydonische Äpfel," *Hermes* 88, 1960, pp. 14-22, and  A.R. Littlewood, "The Symbolism of the Apple," *HSCPh* 72, 1967, pp. 147-181).  When love comes into play, Aphrodite intervenes in the domain of adolescence.  On Hekaerge as hypostasis of Artemis, see above n. 48; also Ant. Lib. 13.6,  which identifies Aspalis Hekaerge with Artemis. |
| 109. | On the Pyanopsia and Oschophoria, see Plut. *Thes*. 22f., other sources in  Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 198ff. and 142ff., and in Severyns, *Recherches* II, pp.  243ff., bibliography in Herter, *art. cit*. p. 54 n. 138, col. 102ff.; the analysis of  Jeanmaire, *Couroi*, pp. 344ff., needs to be revised; the rather badly articulated  remarks of Willetts, *Cults*, pp. 124ff. and 193ff., also move towards an initiation as  characteristic of the Delian and Athenian rituals; on an interpretation of the Athenian  ritual as initiatory, see Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir*, pp. 164ff.  Sources more recent than Plutarch attribute to Athena Skiras, and no longer to  Ariadne, the honors given at the Oschophoria. Thus Severyns, *Recherches* II, p. 247,  following A. Rutgers van der Loeff, "De Oschophoriis," *Mnemosyne* 43, 1915, pp.  404-415 (p. 409), proposes to introduce an Ἀθηνᾳ̑ in the place of Ἀριάδνῃ in |

-125-

Many are the interpreters who thought that they were able to recognize in the   
unfolding of the legend of the journey of Theseus and his companions from   
Athens to Crete and then back via the Labyrinth from Crete to Delos and Athens   
the tripartite scheme of an initiatory ritual. According to them, Theseus' victory   
over the Minotaur could be interpreted as a resurrection after the initiation death   
represented for his young Athenian companions by their wanderings in the   
Labyrinth. This mythical journey would be repeated in ritual by the rite of 6   
Mounichion, dedicated to Apollo and commemorating the departure of Theseus   
for Crete at the beginning of the summer (rite of separation), and by the festivals   
of the Pyanopsia and of the Oschophoria which celebrated his return at the   
beginning of autumn (rite of aggregation). It is significant that a symbolic   
branch was carried at the first as well as at the second festival. [110.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678642&offset=1#110.#110.) But above all,   
these rituals, according to Plutarch's explanation, repeat the vow addressed to   
Apollo by Theseus on his departure for Crete, probably on the occasion of the   
dedication at 6 Mounichion of the supplication branch taken from the sacred

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|  | Plutarch's text, considering Procl. ap. Phot *Bib*l. 322a 21. It is probably necessary  to distinguish here, as does R. Flacelière, "Sur quelques passages des *Vies* de Plutarque  I," *REG* 61, 1948, pp. 67-103 (p. 81), between myth and ritual. It would take too  long to analyze this, so I shall simply say that Ariadne, as well as Athena Skiras (see  Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 46f.) is associated with the adult female: see Calame, *Thésée*,  pp. 128f. and 206. On the Oschophoria in general see also E. Kadletz, "The race and  procession of the Athenian Oschophoroi," *ZPE* 21, 1980, pp. 363-371, E. Simon,  *Festivals of Attica. An Archaeological Commentary*, Madison 1983, pp. 89ff., and  Robertson, *Festivals and Legends*, pp. 121ff. (with further bibliography!). |

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| 110. | Plut. *Thes*. 18.1ff. (ἱκετηρία) and 22.6f. (εἰρεσιώνη), see Deubner, *Att.*  Feste, p. 201 with p. 199 n. 9; Jeanmaire, *Couroi*, pp. 312ff.; Chirassi-Colombo,  *QUCC* 30, 1979, pp. 31ff.; and below n. 293. On the texts of Plutarch, the commen-  tary of C. Ampolo and M. Manfredini, *Plutarco. Le vite di Teseo e di Romolo*, Milano  1988, is very useful (see particularly pp. 220 and 231ff.). The supposed recurrence of  the presentation of the *eiresione* at the Thargelia has led J.-P. Vernant, "Ambiguïté et  renversement. Sur la structure énigmatique d'Oedipe-Roi," *Echanges et Communica-  tions (Mélanges offerts à Claude Lévi-Strauss*) II, Paris 1970, pp. 1253-1279,  reprinted in J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Mythe et tragédie en Grèce ancienne*,  Paris 1972, pp. 101-131 (pp. 119ff.), to see this rite as having the same role as the 6  Mounichion ritual, but Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 191f., has denied that the *eiresione*  was also carried at the Thargelia (see also Calame, *Thésée*, pp. 308ff.). Seeing the  same connection between these two rites, W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte* II,  Berlin 21905, pp. 214ff., had already conjectured a connection between the Thargelia  ("Früherntefest") and the Pyanopsia ("Erntedankfest"); he had also shown their  parallels with the myth of the departure and return of Theseus. In Mannhardt, all the  testimony on the *eiresione* can be found (p. 218); on the meaning of this ritual  instrument, see below p. 183. J. Robert and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," *REG*  62, 1949, pp. 92-162 (p. 106), published a decree dating from 150/49 B.C. showing  that the *eiresione* was carried at the Pyanopsia in honor of Apollo and Theseus. See  the critical remarks on these studies in my *Thésée*, pp. 126ff. and 143ff. |

-126-

olive-tree, and granted by the god on his return to Athens. Carried on the   
occasion of the Pyanopsia, the *eiresione*, an olive branch decorated with figs,   
cakes, and receptacles of honey, olive oil, and wine, recalls the first branch of   
supplication. The Pyanopsia then would represent the ritual act of thanksgiving   
to Apollo after the death act symbolized by the experience in the Labyrinth and   
after the act of propitiation preceding it on 6 Mounichion. And, still according to   
the aetiological description of Plutarch, the performance of the Oschophoria, one   
day later, was explained as the repetition of the sorrow felt at the announcement   
of Aigeus' death at the return of the hero from Crete, and the race of Theseus'   
companions from the harbor of Phaleron towards the city.

The supplication of the adolescents in the Theban Daphnephoria or in the   
rites of Sicyon seem to represent only the first phase of tribal initiation, but, if   
we want to follow this interpretive line, the complex Athenian ritual would   
cover its three principal stages. The departure of Theseus for Crete would be the   
mythical model for the start of the initiation process (6 Mounichion), his fight   
with the Minotaur, for the marginal period of trial, and the return of the hero to   
Athens, for the end of the initiation (7 Pyanopsion). Under these conditions, and   
since it was dedicated to Athena and Dionysus rather than to Apollo, the   
Oschophoria that immediately followed the Pyanopsia would have to represent   
the integration of the new initiates into the adult world, or at any rate the   
affirmation of the ability of the neo-initiates to become adults. In a recent study   
devoted to the young Theseus, I tried to show that the initiatory significance   
attributed to the Athenian ritual complex can be only a reinterpretation of   
previous disparate rituals. It may have been the same at Delos with the   
Aphrodisia which, dedicated to a divinity of adult sexuality as were the   
Oschophoria, celebrated ritually one of the stages in the return of Theseus to   
Athens. This ritual acceptance of the adolescents into the adult world can be read   
on the level of myth in the love between Theseus and Ariadne, a love that failed,   
ending in Ariadne's marriage to Dionysus, the god of adult femininity. The   
mythical complex surrounding Ariadne, honored under the guise of Aphrodite at   
Delos, marks the function of the choral ritual of the Crane Dance as preparation   
for adulthood. On the other hand, in the same way as the Crane Dance mirrored   
the original dance by the mixed chorus of Theseus, the Athenian rite of the   
Oschophoria contained a procession repeating, according to Plutarch, the   
procession of adolescents led by the hero on his return from Crete. This was   
probably carried out by seven girls and seven boys, or rather five maidens and   
nine ephebes, two of whom were dressed as girls. [111.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678643&offset=1#111.#111.) And to this procession   
were certainly added choral dances; in fact, in the Alexandrian classification of

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| 111. | Plut. *Thes*. 23.3; on the meaning of this cross-dressing, see below pp. 150f.  The fact that the legendary race of Theseus' companions has exactly the inverse  direction of the ritual procession leading the young Athenians from the sanctuary of  Dionysus "in the Marshes" to the sanctuary of Athena Skiras at Phaleron shows that  the aetiological relationship of the ritual with Theseus' legend is secondary: see  Calame, *Thésée*, pp. 162ff. and 446ff. |

-127-

Archaic lyric production given by Proclus, the *oschophorika* are listed with the   
*daphnephorika* and the *tripodephorika* as one of the sub-genres of the   
partheneia. [112.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678644&offset=1#112.#112.) Proclus thus confirms the presence of girls at the Oschophoria   
and consequently its connection with the Aphrodisia at Delos. In addition, it is   
probably the fact of the mixed chorus at the Oschophoria that moved the   
Alexandrian editors to class the songs sung by this chorus among the partheneia.

Probably therefore the function of the Crane Dance in the Aphrodisia was to   
consecrate the passage of adolescents—those perhaps initiated at the Delia   
dedicated to Apollo—to adult status. The Ariadne-Aphrodite venerated on this   
occasion seems to have been the incarnation of the young girl who, after   
initiation, gives way to her sexual instinct and to adult love; she is not any more   
the representative of a παρθένος, but of a νύμφη. [113.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678644&offset=1#113.#113.) That is why it was to   
Apollo and not to another god that Theseus dedicated the statue of Aphrodite that   
he brought back from the Labyrinth; he was the god of adolescence who had   
protected the whole initiation enterprise in Crete. The original consecration to   
Apollo did not, however, prevent Aphrodite from receiving the honors of the   
Crane Dance. [114.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678644&offset=1#114.#114.) This contact between Apollo and Aphrodite in a unique ritual   
is explained by the adolescent's transition to adulthood symbolized by this rite.   
At Athens, this transition is marked by two distinct rites—the Pyanopsia   
dedicated to Apollo and the Oschophoria dedicated to Ariadne and Dionysus. At   
Delos, they are combined into one festival, the Aphrodisia, which includes both   
aspects of the cult.

**3.1.6. Athena**

A fifth deity, Athena, is celebrated by female choruses. It is in her honor that   
the Argive girls in a troop (ἴλα, line 33) perform the bathing of Pallas described   
by Callimachus in his hymn to the goddess. [115.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678644&offset=1#115.#115.) The young girls, called παι̑δες

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| 112. | Procl. ap. Phot. *Bibl*. 322a 13ff.: see *Choeurs* II, pp. 157f.; Ath. 14.631b  also speaks of dances called ὠσχοφορικοί. See also the proposal of I. Rutherford and  J. Irvine, "The Race in the Athenian Oschophoria and an Oschophoricon by Pindar,"  *ZPE* 72, 1988, pp. 43-51. |
| 113. | For a semantic analysis of the figure of Ariadne as the meeting point of the  influence of Artemis and Aphrodite, see C. Gallini, "Potinija Dapuritoio," *Acme* 12,  1959, pp. 146-176; mistress of the labyrinth, Ariadne is situated between  adolescence and adult sexuality; see also Willetts, *Cults*, pp. 193ff., and Calame,  *Thésée*, pp. 205f. On the supposed initiatory character of the Crane Dance, see  Brelich, *Eroi*, p. 170 n. 269. |
| 114. | This goes against the arguments of Gallet de Santerre, *op. cit*. n. 47, pp.  179ff., who, among others, separates the rite of the Crane Dance from the Aphrodisia  at Delos. |
| 115. | Call. *Lav. Pall*. 1ff.; the sch. *ad loc*. (II, p. 74 Pfeiffer) define the ἴλα as ἡ  τω̑ν νυμφω̑ν φρατρία καὶ ἄθροισις; these same scholia paraphrase the rite described  by Callimachus, saying that it is the women (γυναι̑κες) of Argos who go down to the  River Inachos to wash the statues of Athena and Diomede: Jost, *op. cit*. n. 87, pp. |

-128-

(line 57), κω̑ραι (lines 27 and 138), Πελασγιάδες (line 4), Ἀχαιϊάδες (line 13)   
and (παρθενικαί) παι̑δες Ἀρεστοριδα̑ν (line 34), embody all the semantic   
features characteristic of those in a chorus of virgins: 'adolescence,' 'collectiv-   
ity,' 'family association,' 'geographical belonging.' They also have a qual-   
ification associated with the ritual they perform: *bathers of Pallas* (*λωτρ*ο*χ*όοι   
τα̑ς Παλλάδος, lines 1 and 134). In the mimetic manner characteristic of many   
Hellenistic poems, the hymn composed by Callimachus is the hymn of   
invocation that the girls of Argos were reputed to sing during the ritual. Before   
invoking the appearance of the goddess, they invite their companions to attend   
the rite. The invocation to the goddess serves as introduction to a long   
description of the mythical scene underlying the ritual. The first bathing of   
Athena, of the goddess herself, not of her image, takes place in a virginal   
context, as in the ritual. The goddess, and her favorite companion, Chariklo, the   
choregos of the chorus of Nymphs (χοροστασίαι, line 66; ἁγει̑το, line 67),   
servants of the goddess, bathe, nude, near the spring Hippocrene. [116.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678645&offset=1#116.#116.) How the   
story continues is well known: Teiresias, then adolescent (γένεια περκάζων, line   
75f.), surprises the two naked females; Athena punishes him by striking him   
with blindness; Chariklo, his mother, prays to the goddess, who compensates   
him for his blindness with the power of divination.

The purification of the statue of Athena, presented by Callimachus both as   
myth and as literary account, appears again in the Athenian ritual of the   
Plynteria. The sources for this festival give weight to the account of   
Callimachus, the only source for the Argive ritual: they guarantee his   
authenticity, and clear him of all suspicion of Hellenistic invention. Deubner   
offers an exhaustive description of the Athenian Plynteria. [117.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678645&offset=1#117.#117.) I shall isolate   
only those features that relate it to the Argive ritual. During the month of   
Thargelion, the ancient *xoanon* of Athena Polias was carried in a procession of   
ephebes to the port of Phaleron, where it was bathed in seawater. The bathing   
itself was done by two girls (κόραι) called λουτρίδες or πλυντρίδες, the bathers   
or washers.

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|  | 30ff. The name *Pallas* is probably a synonym of *Parthenos*: see Frisk, *Etym.  Wörterbuch*, II, pp. 468f., with the comment of Pötscher, *Hera*, pp. 165ff. On the  mimetic character of Callimachus' *Hymn* and on the story as it is treated by the  Alexandrian poet, see A.W. Bulloch, *Callimachus. The Fifth Hymn*, Cambridge 1985,  pp. 3ff. and 14ff. |

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| 116. | On the particular function of Chariklo, the nymph beloved of Artemis, see  Bulloch, *op. cit*. n. 115, pp. 163f. and 174ff., and above p. 46. |
| 117. | Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 17ff., with numerous references on the ritual, and  Brulé, *La fille d'Athènes*, pp. 105ff. On other ritual bathing of female statues of  goddesses, see Fehrle, *Keuschheit*, pp. 171ff.; Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 255f.; and,  above all, R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè: recherches sur le bain dans l'Antiquité grecque*,  Paris 1962, particularly pp. 292ff. On the bathing of the statue of Artemis Daitis at  Ephesos, see above n. 14; on that of Hera Parthenos at Nauplion, see above n. 94. |

-129-

Like the Athena Polias of Athens, the Athena of Argos has a pronounced   
civic character. The girls who invoke her in the hymn by Callimachus call her   
*mistress of the city* (τὰν *Παλλ*ά*δα* τὰν πολιου̑χον, line 53); at the end of the   
song they beg her to watch over Argos (κάδευ δ' Ἂργεος, line 140). This   
feature corresponds to the cult of which she was the object in Argos: there,   
among other sanctuaries, she had a temple on the Argive acropolis, and there she   
was honored under the name of Ἀκρία, *Athena of the citadel*. This position on   
an acropolis indicates the citizenship aspect of the goddess. [118.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678646&offset=1#118.#118.)

The relationship of this polis divinity to adolescence, and more particularly to   
female adolescence, raises the problem once again of the limits of her field of   
action compared with those of neighboring divinities. In Argos there seems to   
have been an overlapping of the influence of Athena and of Hera, as I have   
defined it; in Athens, there is a similar overlap, but with the preponderant   
influence of Artemis.

Let us consider the case of Athens. First the resemblances: Athena like   
Artemis is a virgin; Callimachus tells us that she too is associated with the   
Nymphs. From the dominant role of the cult of Athena in Attica and in Athens   
as the goddess of citizenship in particular for adolescents, [119.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678646&offset=1#119.#119.) one could deduce   
that the goddess reigned over the domain of adolescence normally given to   
Artemis in this region—and this all the more easily as Athena appears as a   
young girl. We would seem to have here a displacement of the signifier, as was   
presumed to explain certain interventions of Hera at Argos or at Corinth. This   
however is not the case, since we have seen the importance given to the ritual of   
Artemis at Brauron in the education of Athenian girls. Attested in Aristophanes   
among others, those rites show the part played by Artemis in the domain of   
Athenian female adolescence.

However, the ritual of the Plynteria is not an isolated case. Other festivals   
dedicated to Athena included young girls as participants, and more precisely in   
choruses. Athenian girls were naturally involved in the great festival of the   
Panathenaia. They took part firstly in the *pannychis* that preceded the great   
procession: according to Euripides, the girls accompanied the songs of the young

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| 118. | Cf. Paus. 2.24.3 and Hsch. s.v. Ἀκρία (A 2565 Latte) with F. Dümmler, *RE*  2 (1896), s.v. *Athena*, coll. 1971f.; on the mythical background of this cult, *ibid*.,  coll. 1972ff.; for the difficult positioning and identification of this temple of Athena  Akria at Argos not far from a sanctuary of Hera Akraia (Paus. 2.24.1), see F. Geiger,  *RE* 12 (1925), s.v. *Larisa* (1); Bulloch, *op. cit*. n. 115, pp. 14ff.; and D. Musti and M.  Torelli, *Pausania. Guida della Grecia* II, Milano 1986, pp. 290ff. |
| 119. | Cf. C.J. Herington, *Athena Parthenos and Athena Polias*, Manchester 1955,  M. Detienne, "L'olivier: un mythe politico-religieux," in M.I. Finley (ed.), *Prob-  lèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne*, Paris-La Haye 1973, pp. 293-306, and C. Leduc,  "Les naissances assistées de la mythologie grecque," in *Se reproduire, est-ce bien  naturel?*, Toulouse 1991, pp. 91-175. |

-130-

men (νέων ἀοιδαί) with ὀλολύγματα and dances. The context of this account   
indicates a choral performance (χορω̑ν τε μολπαί). [120.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678647&offset=1#120.#120.)

There is another complex of rituals in connection with Athena and the   
Panathenaia, which denotes more specifically female adolescence. These were   
performed by the *arrhephoroi*, four in number. Chosen from the best families of   
Athens, two of them were responsible for weaving the *peplos* offered to Athena   
at the Panathenaia; the two others performed the nocturnal rite of the   
Arrhephoria. During this rite, the girls went down through a subterranean room   
to a sanctuary belonging to Aphrodite called *in the gardens*, a sanctuary that   
archaeologists have succeeded in identifying on the north slope of the Acropolis.   
This room led to a spring to which they brought objects in a reed basket—   
objects they were not allowed to see. They brought back others that one source   
identifies as cakes in the shape of snakes and *phalloi*.

In a recent study, Burkert has shown that the myth of the Cecropids could be   
related to the rite of the Arrhephoria for which it gives the *aition*. [121.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678647&offset=1#121.#121.) The myth   
says that these three young virgins, daughters of the first king of Attica, were   
given charge of a reed chest that they were forbidden to open. One night,   
however, they disobeyed; seeing in the box the baby Erichthonios and a snake,   
they were seized by such fright that they threw themselves from the top of the   
Acropolis. I shall not insist on the obvious parallel between this and the rite   
performed by the *arrhephoroi*. What is important is to be aware that these three   
girls (κόραι) danced in chorus on the slopes of the Acropolis to the sound of   
Pan's pipes, as described by the chorus in Euripides' *Ion*. And we know, in   
addition, that the *arrhephoroi* had a place specially reserved for ball games   
(σφαιρίστρα). [122.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678647&offset=1#122.#122.) I previously pointed out how the game of ball, which   
Nausicaa plays with her companions in the *Odyssey*, is very similar to choral   
performance. In Homer's story, the troupe of companions of Nausicaa is   
compared to the chorus of Nymphs led by Artemis. [123.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678647&offset=1#123.#123.) It is thus almost certain   
that the rite of the Arrhephoria contained a choral dance during which the girls   
perhaps sang the myth of the Cecropids.

Burkert has given an insightful interpretation of this ritual, seeing in it a rite   
of passage, specifically a rite of initiation permitting the young Athenian girl to

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| 120. | Eur. *Her*. 777ff.; Deubner, *Att. Feste*, p. 24, identifies the songs of the  young people with the paean mentioned by Hld. *Aeth*. 1.10. |
| 121. | W. Burkert, "Kekropidensage und Arrhephoria," *Hermes* 94, 1966, pp. 1-25  (now in *Wilder Ursprung. Opferritual und Mythos bei den Griechen*, Berlin 1990, pp.  40-59), who gives the sources and the basic bibliography for this much discussed  ritual of the Arrhephoria, as also *Homo Necans*, pp. 169ff.; see among others  Jeanmaire, *Couroi*, pp. 264ff.; Brelich, *Paides*, pp. 231ff.; Brulé, *La fille d'Athènes*,  pp. 68ff. and 79ff.; and Pirenne-Delforge, *Aphrodite*, pp. 50ff. See also above p. 28  n. 38. |
| 122. | Eur. *Ion* 492ff.; on the exact site described by Euripides and on a textual  uncertainty about the name of the Cecropids, see A.S. Owen, *Euripides. Ion*, Oxford  1939, p. 105; Plut. *Mor*. 839c. |
| 123. | Hom. *Od*. 6.99ff., see above pp. 42 and 87f. |

-131-

enter the world of adult womanhood. The different characteristics of the ritual of   
the Arrhephoria and of its *aition* make it without doubt a rite of adolescence. The   
signified of this rite is an initiation into sexuality with the connotations of   
vegetal and animal fecundity implied by it. However, it is difficult to go along   
with Burkert when he interprets the Arrhephoria as a ritual signifying the   
accession of the adolescent to adult woman. The age of the *arrhephoroi* falls,   
according to Aristophanes, somewhere between six and eleven years, and their   
service was the first of four steps Athenian girls had to accomplish before   
arriving at marriage. [124.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678648&offset=1#124.#124.) In spite of Burkert's evidence for the extremely low age   
of nubile girls among the Romans, it would not do to reverse the chronological   
order of the initiation stages indicated by Aristophanes. I would be inclined to   
think of the Arrhephoria as a rite of entry into adolescence rather than a rite of   
exit; it would represent a first ritual contact with sexuality and with its power of   
generation. Entry into adolescence is also a rite of passage, and the mythical   
death of the Cecropids as well as the ritual disappearance underground of the   
*arrhephoroi* are justified in this case as symbolic realizations of the status of   
neutrality and temporary annihilation that accompanies any transition from one   
state to another. Burkert has himself shown that the start of the Arrhephoria   
signifies for the girls a break with the family. The *arrhephoroi* do not leave their   
childhood under the control of the family to embrace immediately that of the   
married woman. That would be to forget the whole period of adolescence with its   
intermediary status, the institutions of which I shall define more exactly.

But at this entrance into adolescence, why Athena rather than Artemis? Again   
we find the answer in the *Ion* of Euripides. In this tragedy, the chorus of   
attendants of Creusa at the beginning of the *stasimon* in which there is an   
allusion to the myth of the Cecropids, invokes both Athena and Artemis, the   
two virgin sisters of Apollo (δύο παρθένοι). [125.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678648&offset=1#125.#125.) The chorus of women asks the   
virgin goddesses to grant Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus and the mother of Ion,   
much progeny in order to assure the line of the kings of Athens. In contrast to   
this intercession, the same *stasimon* has the story of the exposure of Ion, whom   
Creusa conceived in a virginal union with Apollo. This birth was the cause of   
her later infertility. Ion had been placed in a basket identical to the one that held   
Erichthonios. This event links his story with the myth of the Cecropids.   
Erichthonios was born from the seed of Hephaistos that Earth received after the   
god had tried unsuccessfully to rape the virgin Athena. [126.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678648&offset=1#126.#126.)

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| 124. | Aristoph. *Lys*. 641: see *EM* 149, 18ff. and *An. Gr*. I, p. 202, 3ff. Bekker,  who takes the age limit of this service to eleven years. About this passage of  Aristophanes, see above pp. 28f. See now the interpretation I have presented of the  Arrhephoria in *Eros*, pp. 134ff. |
| 125. | Eur. *Ion* 465ff., with the comment of Loraux, *Enfants d'Athéna*, pp. 226ff.  (see particularly n. 119!). |
| 126. | On the myth of Erichthonios, see R. Parker, "Myths of Early Athens," in  Bremmer, *Greek Mythology*, pp. 187-214, and G.J. Baudy, "Der Heros in der Kiste.  Der Erichthoniosmythos als Aition athenischer Erntefeste," A&A 38, 1992, pp. 1‐ |

-132-

The myth of the Cecropids has therefore to do with illegitimate unions with   
young girls who, even after the consummation of these unions, remained   
virgins. Moreover, for the daughters of Cecrops, the revelation of sexuality has a   
fatal outcome. The features of fecundity that some interpreters have tried to find   
in this myth and in the rite based on it have a negative value. Such a negative   
qualification could confirm the interpretation of the Arrhephoria as a ritual   
consecrating the moment of segregation, then the marginality of the initiation   
process during which the girl is not yet ready for marriage; either by rape, or   
through the ill-omened vision of phallic images, she experiences the assaults of   
a sexuality she is not yet completely ready to assume.

But the important point is that the chorus intercedes jointly with Artemis and   
Athena for the posterity of the kings of Athens. The two deities were probably   
both present during the rite of the Arrhephoria, the first as the goddess of female   
adolescence, the second because the ritual marks the entry of a girl into the   
period leading to adulthood; Athena would therefore intervene in her political role   
as guardian of the city. Moreover the double tradition of the service of the   
*kanephoroi* who were dedicated, according to the different versions, either to   
Artemis or to Athena, could be explained structurally by the fact that it   
represents the final stage in the initiation of Athenian girls. Located at the limit   
between adolescence and marriage, it would be a field of influence shared by   
Artemis and Athena. [127.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678649&offset=1#127.#127.) Athena intervenes in the domain of adolescence in a   
period of apprenticeship for the life of a woman. But adolescence, marriage, and   
maternity are interesting for her only because Athenian girls are potential   
mothers of future citizens. In relationship with the different myths that make the   
Athenians real autochthons, born from the soil of Attica, Athena's domain of   
influence covers the whole of the cycle of human reproduction. She acts   
differently than Artemis or Hera, according to her nature as guardian of the   
polis. [128.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678649&offset=1#128.#128.)

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|  | 47; Erichthonios was associated with both the founding of the Panathenaia and with a  cult of a courotrophic goddess honored in the sanctuary of Aglauros: references in  Burkert, *art. cit*. n. 121, pp. 20 n. 3 (end) and 23 n. 1. |

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| 127. | On the service of the *kanephoroi*, see Brelich, *Paides*, pp. 286ff., and Brulé,  *La fille d'Athènes*, pp. 301ff. |
| 128. | On the maternal aspects of Athena, see Fehrle, *Keuschheit*, pp. 193ff.;  Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 15ff.; and Loraux, *Enfants d'Athéna*, pp. 63ff., with the  critical remarks of G. Sissa and M. Detienne, *La vie quotidienne des dieux grecs*, Paris  1989, pp. 233ff. One should distrust Fehrle's interpretation, since he sees in the  marital and adolescent aspects of Athena the evolution of a primitive *Muttergottheit*  to a more recent *Jungfrau*. The synchronic explanation here replaces the historical:  Athena watches over this ambiguous period of female adolescence but also has an  interest in virginity as well as in marriage. Farnell, *Cults* I, p. 302, has grasped the  political and adolescent connotations of the cult of Athena Apatouria; see also P.  Schmitt, "Athéna Apatouria et la ceinture: Les aspects féminins des Apatouries à  Athènes," *Annales E.S.C*. 32, 1977, pp. 1059-1073. |

-133-

But in Argos? The presence of the virgin Athena beside the wife Hera is less   
easily explained than in Athens. The two have a marked civic character in Argos,   
as I have said. Recourse to a historical explanation showing the substitution at a   
certain time of Hera for Athena as protector of the city is not valid. The myth of   
the Trojan origins of the Argive statue of Pallas and the connection of the   
goddess with the cult and legend of Perseus prove how ancient Athena's presence   
at Argos was. [129.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678650&offset=1#129.#129.) We can do no more than acknowledge the concurrence of the   
two goddesses in Argos. Perhaps in Athena's rites the accent was more on the   
quality of girls as future citizens, and in Hera's on the adolescent preparing for   
life as future wife and mother. The hints that have come down to us about the   
Argive cult of one or the other are too tenuous to decide. It remains a fact that   
Hera was the major divinity in the religious life of the Argives.

**3.1.7. Dionysus**

It is not necessary to insist on the complexity of the figure of Dionysus. The   
*Bacchae* of Euripides shows the extent and also the ambiguity of the semantics   
of this deity. His field of influence covers the whole of the female experience,   
but turns on two opposing concepts—that of σωφροσύνη, temperance, wisdom,   
and that of μανία, frenzy, unreason. [130.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678650&offset=1#130.#130.) Given that it is usually assumed that the   
bacchanalian orgy represents the reversal of civic order, it seems paradoxical to   
consider the dances of the Maenads as established women's choruses.

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|  | Athena appears beside Artemis also in the myth of Meropis (Ant. Lib. 15), which  tells how the two daughters (παι̑δες) of Eumelos, granddaughters of Merops, backed  up by their brothers, refused to go to the sacred wood of the two goddesses at the same  time as the virgins of their age (ὁμήλικες). Athena and Artemis intervene side by side  in a story, the essential features of which denote female adolescence. On the cult of  Athena, protector of adolescence and of the city, see Herington, *op. cit*. n. 119, pp.  8ff.; Athena and Artemis Parthenoi: O. Höfer in Roscher s.v. *Parthenos*, coll.  1661ff.; on the figure of Artemis at Ephesos as guardian of the polis, see above n. 20. |

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| 129. | Paus. 2.23.5, who denies the authenticity of this statue; on the different  versions of the legend of the Palladion, see the bibliographical references given  above n. 115. It is still true that Athena plays an important role in the most ancient  Argive myths: see Dümmler, *art. cit*. n. 118, coll. 1972ff. |
| 130. | Eur. *Bacch*. 196, 299, 686ff., etc.; all ages are subject to the influence of  Dionysus: *ibid*. 201ff.; in the enormous amount of new readings provoked in those  last twenty years by Euripides' *Bacchae*, see particularly C. Segal, *Dionysiac Poetics  and Euripides' Bacchae*, Princeton 1982, and J.-P. Vernant, "Le Dionysus masqué des  *Bacchantes* d'Euripide," in J.-P. Vernant and P. Vidal-Naquet, *Mythe et tragédie en  Grèce ancienne* II, Paris 1986, pp. 237-270, with the useful historical and critical  study of A. Henrichs, "'He Has a God in Him': Human and Divine in the Modern  Perception of Dionysus," in Carpenter and Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*, pp. 13-43.  For the dance of the Maenads, see Lonsdale, *Dance*, pp. 99ff. |

-134-

Nevertheless, it has been recently shown that the ritual aspect of community   
plays an essential role in the groups of Maenads, and rituals such as the   
Agrio(/a)nia celebrated at Thebes and Orchomenos as well as at Argos show that   
we are concerned with true rites that have a founding legend. The reversal of the   
civic order was an integral part of this very order itself. The founding myth for   
the Agrionia of Orchomenos is the myth of the *Minyades;* for the Argive rite,   
one of the versions of the myth of the *Proitides;* and for the Theban festival, the   
legend of Pentheus. [131.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678651&offset=1#131.#131.) The *Minyades,* like the *Proitides* in the second version of   
the myth given by Apollodorus, are seized by madness because they refuse the   
mysteries of Dionysus. Overcome by bacchic frenzy, the daughters of Minyas   
tear to pieces one of their children in the same way that Agave and her   
companions tore apart Pentheus in the Theban legend. And the Argive myth also   
recounts how the women of Argos followed the *Proitides,* who were still   
adolescent, in their mad flight and tore apart their own children.

The mythical chorus of the Maenads, the followers of Dionysus, has its   
replica in the different locations in which the god was celebrated. In the Theban   
legend, there were three choruses of women seized by bacchic frenzy, each led by   
one of the three daughters of Cadmos. It is probable that the three *Proitides* and   
the three *Minyades* were also the *choregoi* for the women who followed them in   
their wild course through the mountains. [132.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678651&offset=1#132.#132.) The young girls are certainly not   
excluded from the Dionysiac mysteries, but the bacchic choruses were usually   
made up of married women: one of the effects of the Dionysiac frenzy was to   
abolish the differences in the social statuses, and then the delimitation between   
adolescent girl and married woman. The *sparagmos* of children by their own   
mothers was an essential part of the mythical ritual dedicated to Dionysus. It

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| 131. | For the celebration of the Agrio(/a)nia, see F.A. Voigt in Roscher, s.v.  *Dionysus*, col. 1052ff.; Jeanmaire, *Dionysus,* pp. 202ff.; Burkert, *Homo Necans,* pp.  189ff.; Dowden, *Death and the Maiden,* pp. 82ff.; and Casadio, *op. cit.* n. 88, pp.  83ff. and 108ff., who has not understood the meaning of the remarks presented here  on the intervention of Dionysus in the domain of femininity in general. For  Orchomenos and Thebes in particular, see Schachter, *Cults of Boeotia* I, pp. 179ff.  and 185ff.; a ritual of the Agriania was celebrated at other Boeotian sites as well: at  Chaironeia and maybe at Haliartos and Tanagra: *ibid.,* pp. 173ff., 176 and 183ff. On  the legend of the *Minyades,* see S. Eitrem, RE 15 (1932), s.v. *Minyaden;* the main  source for this myth is Ant. Lib. 10: see Papathomopoulos, *Ant. Lib.,* pp. 90ff.; on  the *Proitides,* see above pp. 116ff. |
| 132. | On the Maenads, see Voigt, *art*. *cit*. n. 131, col. 1042ff., and J. Bremmer,  "Greek Maenadism Reconsidered," ZPE 55, 1984, pp. 267-286. The communal and  ritual character of the groups of Maenads has been pointed out by A. Henrichs,  "Changing Dionysiac Identities," in B.F. Meyer and E.P. Sanders (edd.), *Jewish and  Christian Self-Definition* III, London 1982, pp. 137-160; for the Maenads in  Athenian tragedy, see R. Schlesier, "Mixtures of Masks: Maenads as Tragic Models,"  in Carpenter and Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus,* pp. 89-114. The comparison of the  three *Proitides/Minyades* and the three daughters of Kadmos has been made by E.R.  Dodds, *Euripides. Bacchae,* Oxford 21960, pp. 161f. |

-135-

represents the negation of the status of the married woman, wife and mother. But   
this moment of negation or rather regression to the state of an animal, as we   
have seen, was in turn part of what it denied: the status of married woman also   
included a period of return to an uncivilized state; it is fundamentally ambivalent.   
That is why the refusal of the adolescent *Proitides* and the refusal of the married   
*Minyades* to participate in the Dionysiac rites was a rejection of the condition   
that would be theirs in the future—or already was. The fact that Dionysus   
intervenes mainly in the domain of the married woman explains how the myth   
of the *Proitides* could move between the spheres of Dionysus and of Hera. [133.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678652&offset=1#133.#133.)

These Dionysiac choruses of the myth are nevertheless at the borders of our   
field of investigation; overcome by bacchic frenzy, they are far from the model of   
the organized lyric chorus and they are outside the semantic field analyzed here.   
The ritual Dionysiac chorus shows up in the domain of the dithyramb, and I   
have explained above my reasons for excluding it from my inquiry. Without   
wanting to address the diachronic problem of the connection between the lyric   
chorus and the dithyramb, let me emphasize that the mythical model of the   
dithyrambic chorus may be made up of young girls, although that is never the   
case in real life. For example, an epigram attributed to Simonides mentioned   
above concerns the Seasons, in this case called *Dionysiades;* we see them   
combine their songs (ἀνωλόλυξαν) with those of the dithyrambic choruses of   
the tribe of the Acamantids. [134.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678652&offset=1#134.#134.)

Another ritual chorus of women or girls formed to honor Dionysus is the one   
instituted by the college of sixteen women of Elis, parallel with the one   
dedicated to Hera and discussed above. This chorus bore the name of Physkoa,   
the lover of Dionysus at Elis and the founder of the cult of that god in this part   
of the Peloponnese. Most likely this chorus performed in the Thyia, the great   
Dionysiac festival celebrated at Elis. Given this probability, Weniger compares   
the service performed by the sixteen Eleans to the service of the college of   
Thyads at Delphi: the analogy is quite striking and is surely not the result of   
chance. The very name *Thyad* was a synonym for *Maenad* or *Bacchant* from   
antiquity. [135.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678652&offset=1#135.#135.) The rite of the Elean Thyia offers the image of an established   
Dionysiac women's chorus, showing no signs of the mad excesses of the   
Bacchants that myth recounts. It is still possible that the chorus of Physkoa   
carried attributes belonging to the Maenads. At any rate, Plutarch tells us that   
the women of the Eleans, possibly the sixteen women of the college themselves,

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| 133. | The college of sixteen women of Elis served both deities jointly: see above  p. 114. For the composition of the chorus of Dionysus, see Seaford, *JHS* 108, pp.  124ff. |
| 134. | Sim. fr. 148 B = Bacch. *Epigr.* 3 P, see Wilamowitz, *Sappho,* pp. 218ff.,  Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb,* p. 16; see above pp. 79f. |
| 135. | Paus. 5.16.6f. and 6.26.1; Plut. *Mor.* 299a; Weniger, *Elis,* pp. 4ff. and  10ff., J. Schmidt in Roscher, s.v. *Thyia* (4), and Nilsson, *Gr. Feste,* pp. 291ff.; on  the meaning of *Thyad,* see J. Schmidt in Roscher, s.v. *Thyias:* the Thyads are mainly  adult women. |

-136-

sang a song (ὕμνος) in honor of Dionysus, the text of which he gives us. It is a   
short invocation to the god to appear in his temple and to leap as a bull (θύων, a   
verb that recalls the denomination of the Thyads); the song begins and ends with   
the cry of invocation ἄξιε ταυ̑ρε, *noble bull*. [136.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678653&offset=1#136.#136.)

Dionysus intervenes above all in the field reserved for wives and mothers: he   
is associated with Athena Skiras in the festival of the Athenian Oschophoria; he   
is celebrated for the same reason as Hera was by the college of sixteen Eleans;   
and he is a possible substitute for Hera in the myth of the *Proitides.* He   
represents the reversal of the legal matrimonial order, where the reversal is   
legalized and an integral part of the order itself. Thus at Patras on the banks of   
the River Meilichos, the children of the region offer up to Artemis the wreaths   
they wear and then proceed to the temple of Dionysus Aisymnetes, crowned with   
new garlands. The myth underlying this rite says that the παρθένος priestess of   
Artemis at Patras made love with her fiancé in the temple of the goddess,   
transforming the sanctuary into a bridal chamber. Artemis sent famine and   
disease to the population, which was released by means of the human sacrifice of   
two young people. With its schema 'sacrilege of the deity / sending of a plague /   
expiation by a rite symbolizing the death of the adolescents,' it shows that the   
return to the temple of Dionysus of the children who have been purified in the   
river stands for their integration into the adult world. Leaving their old crowns   
for Artemis, they renounce the adolescence she embodies to take on the adult   
status represented by Dionysus, a Dionysus Meilichios, a Dionysus the Sweet,   
yielding, integrated into the city as its ruler (αἰσυμνήτης). [137.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678653&offset=1#137.#137.)

Integrated in the female cult system, Dionysus is invoked at the same time as   
Apollo, Artemis, and Hera by the chorus of the women at the Thesmophoria of

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| 136. | Plut. *Mor.* 299b and 364f = *PMG* carm. pop. fr. 871 P; see above pp. 79f.  The poem has been commented on by C. Bérard, "*Axie taure,"* in *Mélanges Paul  Collart*, Lausanne 1976, pp. 61-78, and C. Brown, "Dionysus and the Women of Elis:  *PMG* 871," *GRBS* 23, 1982, pp. 305-314. Insisting on the leaping of Dionysus, M.  Detienne, *Dionysus à ciel ouvert,* Paris 1986, pp. 84ff., recalls that Paus. 6.26.1 puts  the Thyia of Elis in relationship with one other, extra-urban sanctuary of Dionysus,  marked by a ritual miracle of the wine, in this case no longer for the women, but for  the men. |
| 137. | Paus. 7.19.1ff.; see M. Massenzio, "La festa di Artemis Triklaria e Dionysus  Aisymnetes a Patrai," *SMSR* 39, 1968, pp. 101-132, who interprets this rite and its  *aition* as initiatory; see also Privitera, *op. cit.* n. 88, pp. 29ff., and R. Seaford,  "Dionysus as Destroyer of the Household: Homer, Tragedy, and the Polis," in  Carpenter and Faraone, *Masks of Dionysus*, pp. 115-146, with the fine interpretation  of the relationship between the *aition* and this "prematrimonial" ritual proposed by  J.-P. Vernant, *Figures, idoles, masques,* Paris 1990, pp. 189ff., and the development  given by J. Redfield, "From Sex to Politics: The Rites of Artemis Triklaria and  Dionysus Aisymnêtês at Patras," in Halperin, Winkler, Zeitlin, *Before Sexuality,* pp.  115-134. |

-137-

Aristophanes. And this evocation, significantly enough, takes place at the   
moment the chorus expresses its wish to begin dancing and singing. [138.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678654&offset=1#138.#138.)

**3.1.8. Demeter**

Like Dionysus, Demeter is a deity who stands for the whole of the female   
experience, with the accent on adult femininity understood as a state of achieved   
civilization. Goddess-mother, goddess of the culture, Demeter protects the sexual   
life of the woman, as long as this life is ordered within the framework of   
marriage and the family. In the same way as she favors the cultivation of a fertile   
soil as opposed to wild nature, Demeter is the guarantee of fecundity for the   
woman whose sexuality obeys the civic norms. Her influence does not extend to   
marriage itself, but to what the Greeks thought of as its principal goal: the legal   
procreation of future citizens. [139.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678654&offset=1#139.#139.) The order represented by Demeter as mother is   
exactly the one overturned by the cult of Dionysus. Demeter is close to Hera and   
even if the beauty contests on Lesbos took place in the sanctuary of Hera, at   
Basilis on the Alpheios, they were dedicated to Eleusinian Demeter. [140.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678654&offset=1#140.#140.)

There is no mention of a choral performance in the Skira or the   
Thesmophoria, which were the principal festivals at Athens dedicated to   
Demeter. However, it is to be noted that the chorus of the *Thesmophoriazusae* of   
Aristophanes was made up of noble women (εὐγενει̑ς γυναι̑κες), and the   
*koryphaios* of the *Frogs* speaks of girls and women (κόραις καὶ γυναιξίν) who   
have celebrated a night festival in honor of the goddess (παννυχίζουσιν   
θεᾳ̑). [141.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678654&offset=1#141.#141.) As these two comedies show, dance was certainly not excluded from   
rites for Demeter, but it was for married women with the status of citizens.   
Dancing and singing are at any rate confirmed in Eleusis; there was a well there,   
already called in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* καλλίχορος, *for the beautiful   
choruses*. Pausanias explains the term saying that the women (γυναι̑κες) of the

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| 138. | Aristoph. *Thesm*. 969ff.; on the play on genre and gender in this comedy,  see F.I. Zeitlin, "Travesties of gender and genre in Aristophanes' *Thesmophor-  iazousae*," in Foley, *Reflections of Women*, pp. 169-217. |
| 139. | See Farnell, Cults III, pp. 78ff. and 91ff.; O. Kern, RE 4 (1901), s.v.  *Demeter*, coll. 2748ff.; and Nilsson, *Religion* I, pp. 461ff. On the privileged  relations between Demeter and Dionysus, *ibid.,* coll. 2754f. |
| 140. | Ath. 13.609ef, see above pp. 122f. The fact that the third day of the  Thesmophoria at Athens was called *Kalligeneia*, during which the participants prayed  for perfect offspring, might confirm the interpretation of the beauty contests: the  beauty of the woman was perhaps judged by whether she looked as if she could bear  fine children. On the Kalligeneia, see Deubner, *Att*. *Feste*, pp. 57f., and M. Detienne  and J.-P. Vernant, *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, Paris 1979, pp. 191ff. |
| 141. | Aristoph. Thesm. 331 and *Ran*. 445ff.; on these two rituals see Deubner, *Att*.  *Feste,* pp. 40ff., and Chirassi Colombo; *QUCC* 30, pp. 38ff. For the rest of Greece,  Nilsson, *Gr. Feste,* pp. 313ff. On the composition of the chorus of Aristophanes'  *Ranae* and the ritual it performs, see K.J. Dover, *Aristophanes. Frogs,* Oxford 1993,  pp. 57ff. |

-138-

Eleusinians danced and sang there for the goddess (χορὸν ἔστησαν καὶ [*esan*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg155_1.fpx) εἰς   
τὴν θεόν). [142.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678655&offset=1#142.#142.)

Elsewhere, the scholia to another passage by Aristophanes show the Athenian   
women shouting insults to each other from wagons carrying them to Eleusis to   
celebrate the mysteries of Demeter. Probably this custom could be a basis for   
interpreting the institution of women's choruses at Aegina mentioned by   
Herodotus. Instituted to honor Damia and Auxesia, whose statues had been   
stolen from Epidaurus, these choruses, led by male *choregoi,* mocked each other   
(χοροι̑σι γυναικηίοισι κερτόμοισι). [143.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678655&offset=1#143.#143.) From many points of view, Damia and   
Auxesia are close to Demeter and Kore, and were substituted for them in towns   
such as Troizen. [144.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678655&offset=1#144.#144.)

Near to the figure of Demeter, the Great Mother had a sanctuary that was   
supposed to be next to the house of Pindar in Thebes. The person who sang the   
*Third Pythian*, who may be the poet himself, promises that for Hieron he will   
invoke the help of the Mother, the goddess that young girls (κου̑ραι) celebrated   
(μέλπονται) along with Pan in nocturnal festivals (ἐννύχιαι) near his house.   
Following the critical tradition of reconstructing the biography of the Archaic   
poets on apparent information given in their work, the scholiast commenting on   
these lines suggests that Rhea, identified traditionally with the Great Mother, had   
a temple near the poet's house; in a second version, the scholiast explains in the   
same fictional vein that Pindar himself had built a sanctuary for the Mother of   
the gods and Pan. [145.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678655&offset=1#145.#145.) The goddess is invoked here because she has the power to

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| 142. | *H. Cer.* 270ff., Paus. 1.38.6, see Deubner, *Att*. *Feste,* p. 74 with pl. (6, 2) of  the archaic well found on the site of Eleusis, and Richardson, *op. cit*. n. 8, pp. 326ff.,  for the complicated question of the archaeological identification of this well. On the  austere female character of this festival, implying the legitimacy of marriage and  domestic virtues in contrast to the disorder rampant in the Adonia, see Detienne,  *Adonis,* pp. 151ff. On the other hand there is no way of linking to any known cult the  Alexandrian fragment (*Coll*. *Alex.* fr. lyr. ad. 9 Powell) sung by a chorus of adoles-  cents in honor of Demeter; it is probably only a free imitation of a poem by Alcman:  see the commentary of Powell *ad loc.;* but see nevertheless Call. *Cer.* 118f., whose  hymn was perhaps composed for a festival of Demeter that took place at Alexandria:  see the prudent remarks of N. Hopkinson, *Callimachus*. *Hymn to Demeter,* Cambridge  1984, pp. 32ff. |
| 143. | Sch. Aristoph. *Plut*. 1014 and Tzetz. *ad loc*. (IV. 1, p. 209, 11ff. Koster);  Hdt. 5.83, see above p. 64, and Richardson, *op. cit*. n. 8, pp. 213ff. The insults  proffered by the women were also customary in the Athenian ritual of the Stenia; this  ritual, dedicated to Demeter and Kore, was connected with the Thesmophoria: see  Deubner, *Att*. *Feste*, p. 52. |
| 144. | Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 41ff., Farnell, *Cults* III, pp. 112f., Deubner, *Att.  Feste,* pp. 53 and 57f.; see H.W. Stoll in Roscher, s.v. *Auxesia*, and R. Peter, *ibid.,*  s.v. *Damia*. |
| 145. | Pind. P. 3.77ff., sch. *ad loc*. (II, p. 80f. Drachmann), see *Vita Ambros*. (I, p.  2, 4ff. Drachmann) and Paus. 9.25.3, who mentions the existence at Thebes of a |

-139-

give and withdraw illness and, in particular, to cure madness (μανία). In this she   
resembles Artemis, who sends famine and epidemics to her servants in Ephesos,   
while curing the *Proitides* of their madness. This overlapping of the influence of   
Artemis and the Theban Mother perhaps explains the presence of girls in the cult   
of a goddess who is principally the protector of adult women, being the one who   
gives birth to all life. Again according to the scholia of the third *Pythian,* the   
daughters of Pindar (Πινδάρου θυγατέρες), Protomache and Eumetis, were   
supposed to be among the adolescents participating in the ritual. [146.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678656&offset=1#146.#146.)

It is particularly interesting to note that these same scholia add that Pan is   
celebrated as Rhea's *paredros* in one of the *Separate Partheneia* of Pindar, of   
which they cite a passage. Another fragment, from the same book of poems,   
describes Pan as the most accomplished of the chorus-members among the gods   
(χορευτὴν τελεώτατον θεω̑ν). [147.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678656&offset=1#147.#147.) There is therefore a close correspondence   
between the account in the *Third Pythian* of the participation of a chorus of   
young girls in a ritual celebrated in honor of the Theban Mother, and the fact   
that the poems written for Pan were classified by the Alexandrians in the book of   
the *Separate Partheneia*. It is therefore likely that some of these poems were   
composed by Pindar for the girls celebrating the Great Mother.

**3.1.9. The chorus and the pantheon**

The above example of the relation of a rite performed by a girls' chorus to the   
Alexandrian category of the partheneion leads to the conclusion of this first half   
of the chapter devoted to the cult context. Just as in the case of the Theban   
Daphnephoria, the compositions classified by the Alexandrians within the   
partheneia and associated poems were used in a great variety of cults. Their only   
common characteristic was that they were performed by a chorus of young girls.

In spite of the enormous variety of choral performances by women, the   
characteristics of the deities for whom they performed help us to make   
distinctions and to classify, to a degree, those "partheneia," based on the   
circumstance of their performance. The first were dedicated to Artemis and   
Apollo; they were generally performed by young adolescents during rituals   
marking the stages of what I have described as a process of tribal initiation: the

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|  | temple dedicated to Meter Dindymene: on this very controversial information, see  Lehnus, *L'inno a Pan,* pp. 5ff. (other bibliographical references at p. 9 n. 14), and  Schachter, *Cults of Boeotia* II, pp. 138ff.; see also above, p. 87. On this cult, see  also A. Rapp in Roscher, s.v. *Kybele*, col. 1662, who shows the specific  relationship of the Mother with Pan and the Nymphs in contrast to Cybele, Farnell,  *Cults* III, p. 290, and Latte, *Salt.,* pp. 93f. |

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| 146. | This information corresponds to one of the solutions given by the scholia to  explain the term κόραι; the other version uses the term νύμφαι. |
| 147. | Pind. frr. 95 and 99 M; the *Vita Ambros., loc*. *cit.* n. 145, gives a somewhat  different version of fr. 95: see Lehnus, *L'inno a Pan,* pp. 107ff. and 189ff.; on the  *Separate Partheneia*, see *Choeurs* II, pp. 167f., and Lehnus, *L'inno a Pan,* pp. 68ff. |

-140-

adolescents sang a propitiatory song during the rite marking the beginning of the   
initiation, and at the closing ceremony they sang a song of thanksgiving for the   
successful completion of the process. But the closing ceremony of initiation was   
generally followed for the initiates by a ritual of integration into their new   
condition as adults. It is no longer Artemis or Apollo watching over the event,   
but Aphrodite, the goddess of love who inspires the grown girl, or Hera, the   
goddess of legal marriages who marks the exact moment for adolescents of their   
arrival at adult status; these two goddesses are also celebrated by choruses of   
girls, but grown, almost adult girls. Between these two poles, Athena plays an   
intermediate role, overseeing the civic aspect of the transition to adulthood. And   
finally, Dionysus and Demeter, the gods who protect above all the period after   
marriage, are celebrated by choruses of women rather than of girls.

This division among various gods of the moments marking the life of a   
woman from pre-puberty to wifehood differs according to the city under   
discussion. I shall now examine what this division looks like in Sparta.

**3.2. Lacedaemonian rituals**

The gloomy colors in which our scholarly manuals and, at times, the   
political regimes that find it useful, paint the traditional image of Spartan life   
contrast vividly with the richness of the evidence that has come down to us of   
the musical and artistic activity of the Lacedaemonians. [148.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678657&offset=1#148.#148.) This activity was not   
always as important in the life of the city, it is true. For the time being, I shall   
limit myself to Athenaeus, who said that, among the Greeks, the Spartans were   
the strongest in maintaining their musical traditions; the author of the   
*Deipnosophists* takes as proof a line of Pratinas who describes the Spartan as a   
cicada always ready to join the chorus. [149.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678657&offset=1#149.#149.) Athenaeus continues by explaining   
that the musical activity of the Lacedaemonians compensated for their restraint   
and the austerity of their customs: with this explanation, Athenaeus introduces   
his reader to the conventional imagery of Spartan order. For an opinion on the   
compatibility of music and war, I shall refer the reader to the next chapter and to   
my analysis of the social function of the chorus and the role played by singing   
and dancing in ancient Sparta.

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| 148. | On the use the Nazis made of Spartan rigor, see Oliva, *Sparta*, p. 10, and  Rawson, *Tradition,* pp. 338ff.; on the use of it made at the end of the sixties by the  fascist regime in Greece, see for example the help given by the military government  to the paramilitary associations of the *Alkimoi (Le Monde*, March 30, 1973). |
| 149. | Ath. 14.632f, Prat. fr. 709 P = 4 Sn.; Pratinas shows a particular interest in  Spartan music: see Plut. *Mus*. 7.9 and 42 (= Prat. fr. 713 P = 7- 9 Sn). On Sparta's  musical fame, see Tigerstedt, *Sparta* I, pp. 41ff.; F. Stoessl, "Leben und Dichtung im  Sparta des siebenten Jahrhunderts," in *Eumusia*. *Festgabe für E. Howald*, Erlenbach‐  Zürich 1947, pp. 92-114; Prato, *Tirteo,* pp. 37ff.; and *Choeurs* II, pp. 33ff. On the  musical gifts of the Lacedaemonians, see W. Schmid and O. Stählin, *Geschichte der  griechischen Literatur,* I. 1, München 1929, p. 453 n. 10. |

-141-

As in the rest of Greece, musical and choral activity in Sparta was as much   
the responsibility of women as of men. As regards the women's, it was mainly   
young girls who sang in choruses generally dedicated to Artemis. Beyond the   
privileged relationship between Artemis and adolescence, which I have attempted   
to show, the goddess held a special position in Sparta, equally as important as   
Hera's position in Argos or Athena's in Athens.

**3.2.1. Artemis**

The reader who follows in the steps of Pausanias through Laconia will note   
that the cult of Artemis existed in the most varied sites on Spartan territory. At   
the time under discussion, Artemis was revered in all comers of Laconia, in   
Karyai in the north, on the frontier with Arcadia near Las in the south, towards   
Cape Tainaron, at Limnai in the west, on the Messenian frontier, at Epidauros   
Limera in the southeast, on the banks of the Aegean Sea across from the island   
of Santorini. [150.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678658&offset=1#150.#150.) The goddess was celebrated under many different epicleseis with   
a wide variety of functions. Using the methodology described above, I shall limit   
the analysis to cults in which the service of a female chorus is expressly   
mentioned. Hence the partial character of my study, which of course does not   
deny that choruses of young girls sang to Artemis Soteira in Boiai, Artemis   
Dereatis on the Taygetos or Artemis Dictynna in Sparta. [151.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678658&offset=1#151.#151.) Before examining   
the cults of Artemis directly associated with the city of Sparta, which will be   
examined in a wider cultic and ritual framework than merely the cult offered to   
the virgin goddess, I shall discuss two cults of Artemis located within the   
confines of Spartan territory—one at Limnai, the other at Karyai.

**3.2.1.1. Artemis Limnatis**

There were two places by the name of *Limnai* on Spartan territory. The one   
on the Spartan plain was one of the four or five *obai* that made up the city of   
Sparta. The other was on the Messenian side of the Taygetos, in a small valley   
stretching from the mountain to the Gulf of Messenia, south of the present   
Kalamata. Leading down from the Langada pass, this valley follows the course   
of the Sandava, ancient Choireios. Parallel to the valley of the Nedon, which the   
modem road from Laconia to Messenia follows, it represented the southern   
frontier of the territory of Messenia. [152.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678658&offset=1#152.#152.) The Messenian Limnai had a large

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| 150. | Paus. 3.10.7, 3.24.9, 4.4.2 and 4.31.3, 3.23.10: see particularly Wide,  *Kulte*, pp. 102ff. |
| 151. | On the cults, see Paus. 3.22.12, 3.20.7, 3.12.8; on the Spartan cult of  Artemis Dictynna, see Musti and Torelli, *Pausania* III, pp. 202f. |
| 152. | Paus. 4.31.3 and Strab. 8.4.9, who distinguishes the Messenian Limnai from  the Lacedaemonian. |

-142-

sanctuary where Artemis was honored under the name *Limnatis*. [153.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678659&offset=1#153.#153.) The Spartan   
Limnai should perhaps be related to another sanctuary of Artemis, called   
Limnaion by Strabo. I shall address later the connections that can be made   
between the Spartan cult of Artemis, particularly Artemis Orthia, and the cult on   
the other side of the Taygetos.

The name *Limnai* itself defines the Artemis venerated on this site as a   
goddess of the wild water, water gushing from a spring or flowing in a river.   
This aquatic aspect is a semantic feature as characteristic of Artemis as of her   
followers, the Nymphs, and it can be found in the whole of Greece where   
Artemis was often given the name of the watercourse beside which her sanctuary   
was constructed, conforming to the reputation of the goddess for frequenting   
damp, wild places. The epiclesis *Limnatis* was given to Artemis at different   
points in the Peloponnese such as Sicyon, Patras and Tegea. [154.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678659&offset=1#154.#154.) Add to this her   
connections with mountains and untamed nature that distinguished her in   
Limnai. The sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis probably lay at the bottom of a   
gorge where the valley curves towards the southwest, near the modem village of   
Pigadhia, for access to the sea. The cult was therefore practiced in a wild setting,   
closely relating to the character of the divinity inhabiting the region. [155.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678659&offset=1#155.#155.)

In his account of the causes of the first Messenian war, it is in this sanctuary   
that Pausanias places the rape by the Messenians of the young Lacedaemonian   
girls (παρθένους) who were celebrating Artemis. Pausanias gives two versions   
of the event, one Laconian, the other Messenian. [156.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678659&offset=1#156.#156.) According to the first, the   
Laconian girls present at the ritual for Artemis Limnatis were raped by the   
Messenians, who also killed the king of Sparta, Teleklos, when he tried to   
intervene. This version adds that, after having been raped, the young girls   
committed suicide for shame. The Messenians report that Teleklos had plotted to   
overthrow the aristocracy controlling Messene and rule the country. Profiting by   
the gathering of Messenian lords at the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis, the

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| 153. | Paus. 4.4.2 and 3.2.6 and 7.4 (Ἄρτεμις Λιμνάς). On the modern  identification of the site and of the sanctuary, see *IG* V. 1, 1373-8 and 1431, 37ff.,  with F. Geiger, *RE* 13 (1926), s.v. *Limnai* (2), M.N. Valmin, *Etudes topographiques  sur la Messénie ancienne*, Lund 1930, pp. 189ff., Chrimes, *Sparta*, pp. 63f., E.  Meyer, *RE Suppl.* 15 (1978), s.v. *Messenien,* coll. 189f., and Musti and Torelli,  *Pausania* III, p. 286. |
| 154. | Paus. 2.7.6 (Ἄρτεμις Λιμναία), 7.20.7 and 8.53.11; see Schreiber, *art*. *cit*.  n. 20, coll. 559ff., H. Kruse, *RE* 13 (1926), s.v. *Limnatis*, and Thomson, *Altgr.  Gesellschaft* I, p. 221. |
| 155. | On the meanings of the water and mountain traits of the Nymphs and Artemis  and on the frequency of their occurrence, see L. Bloch in Roscher, s.v. *Nymphen*,  coll. 504ff. and 519ff., Fehrle, *Keuschheit*, p. 166, as also Farnell, *Cults* II, pp.  427ff. |
| 156. | Paus. 4.4.2ff.; on the murder of Teleklos see also 3.2.6, 3.7.4 and 4.31.3 as  also Strab. 6.3.3. In "Discours mythique et discours historique dans trois textes de  Pausanias," *Degrés* 17, 1979, pp. 1-30, I tried to show all the elements of initiatory  ritual that are integrated into both versions of the story. |

-143-

Spartan king chose young beardless Spartan youths (ἀγένειοι νεανίσκοι) whom   
he armed and disguised as girls (ὡς παρθένους). Sent to the temple of Artemis,   
they went in to where the Messenians were sleeping to assassinate them, but   
they were discovered by their adversaries who killed them, along with Teleklos   
who accompanied them. The Lacedaemonian version is repeated by Strabo, who   
gives it as the cause of the first Messenian war. [157.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678660&offset=1#157.#157.) Since this war began   
between 743 and 736, according to modern historians, the Lacedaemonian   
version offers a relative measure of how far back the presence of young Spartan   
girls in the sanctuary of Limnai goes, and of the antiquity of the rite performed   
there for Artemis. [158.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678660&offset=1#158.#158.) Incorporating in their plot the rape and suicide of young   
girls or an act of transvestism of males, these two semi-historical stories look   
like two different *aitia* of the cult celebrated for Artemis Limnatis.

Actually, in the different passages in which he mentions the rite that the   
Spartan girls were performing when they were raped, Strabo gives us a   
description of the cult. He speaks of *sacrifice* (θυσία) and, more generally, of   
*religious service* (ἱερουργία); he adds that the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis was   
the location of a great festival and of a joint sacrifice offered by Messenians and   
Lacedaemonians together (κοινὴν συνετέλουν πανήγυριν καὶ θυσίαν). Pausanias   
uses the more general term for festival (ἑορτή) to describe the ritual. Neither of   
them mentions a choral performance. However, two facts allow us to presume   
that the Lacedaemonian girls raped by the Messenians were performing a choral   
dance for Artemis Limnatis.

In his *Hymn to Artemis,* Callimachus mentions several cult sites where he   
shows Artemis surrounded by her chorus of Nymphs, and the words he uses   
suggest 'circularity' and 'center,' features characteristic of the chorus. One of   
these sites is Limnai. This mythical image was widespread and was reflected in   
the rites performed by adolescents in honor of Artemis, which leads me to think   
that at Limnai, too, this model was mirrored in the festival mentioned by   
Pausanias and Strabo. In addition, the incursion into the sanctuary of Limnai and   
the rape of the Laconian girls recall the scenes of abduction often committed on   
choruses of girls dancing in honor of Artemis. In Laconia itself, this schema is   
repeated in legends associated with the cults of Artemis at Karyai and Artemis   
Orthia at Sparta. [159.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678660&offset=1#159.#159.) In these three stories, the Spartan maidens are dancing in a   
chorus when their ravishers surprise them.

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| 157. | Strab. 8.4.9 and 6.3.3: in this last passage, Strabo only mentions the  assassination of Teleklos, but he reports the event by referring to the description of  Ephoros of the founding of Tarentum (Eph. *FGrHist.* 70 F 216: on Ephoros and the  credibility of his report, see Tigerstedt, *Sparta* I, p. 210 with n. 896); Strab. 6.1.6:  the rape is given as one of the reasons for the flight of a group of Messenians, guilty  of murder, who then colonized Rhegium. |
| 158. | See Kiechle, *Mess. Studien*, pp. 9ff., Oliva, *Sparta*, pp. 105f., and Cartledge,  *Sparta*, pp. 112ff. |
| 159. | Call. *Dian*. 170ff.; see above p. 92 and below pp. 151ff. and 159ff. |

-144-

This rape scene at the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis, as in other similar   
scenes of abduction and rape already mentioned, evokes adolescence inasmuch as   
in this period of pubescence the young girl arouses desire but refuses the   
advances of men; those she provokes resort to violent action, and the violence of   
the abduction and of the rape has to be understood as a metaphorical   
domestication, by force and through sexuality, of the untamed young girl. [160.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678661&offset=1#160.#160.)

To this typically adolescent characteristic of the legend, associated as a kind   
of *aition* with the cult of Limnatis, can be added a votive epigram containing all   
the features I have defined as signifying female virginity. [161.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678661&offset=1#161.#161.) This epigram,   
addressed to Artemis Limnatis without further qualification, might express the   
vows of a young Spartan girl or of any young girl of Patras, Tegea or Sicyon. It   
is significant in that it describes the objects that an adolescent girl (κόρα),   
Timareta, daughter of Timaretos (παι̑ς Τιμαρετεία), dedicates to Limnatis the   
virgin (κόρα), daughter of Leto (Λητῴα), before her marriage (πρὸ γάμοιο). It is   
obvious that the words used betray the semantic features 'adolescence' + 'female'   
and 'family association' which describe exactly and significantly both the young   
girl Timareta and Artemis. Among the objects dedicated to the goddess are the   
tambourines (τύμπανα) of the young maiden, her ball (σφαι̑ρα), the net that   
held back her hair (κεκρύφαλος), and her dolls (κόρας). The adolescent   
significance of the ball game is already present in Homer in the scene in which   
Nausicaa, like Artemis surrounded by her Nymphs, plays with her attendants; the   
consecration of the hairnet can be aligned with the consecration of hair by the   
Delian girls to the Hyperborean virgins, hypostases of Artemis. [162.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678661&offset=1#162.#162.) The presence   
of the dolls, not previously seen, is an obvious symbol of childhood; their   
description as κόραι again repeats the word that is applied in the epigram to both   
Timareta and Artemis; as for the tambourines, I shall explain their function later,   
in the study of the cult of Artemis Korythalia. [163.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678661&offset=1#163.#163.) All the objects dedicated by   
Timareta are thus associated with adolescence. Their dedication to Artemis   
signifies for the young girl the end of the period that they symbolize, and at the   
same time probably the transition to adulthood through marriage. The semantic   
constellation contained in these anonymous lines depicts the function of the cult   
of Artemis Limnatis as a preparation for the adolescent to adulthood. This image   
corresponds to the image of violence of which the girls celebrating Limnatis   
were victims.

A third element can possibly be added. In the Messenian version of the rape at   
the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis, as recounted by Pausanias, it is possible to   
see a real contamination of a historical event by the founding legend of the cult   
that is its context, even perhaps the historicization of the legend. The Messenian   
version, with its Spartan youth disguised as girls, recalls the numerous scenes of

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| 160. | See, among others, Zeitlin, "Rape," pp. 137ff.; see also above, p. 92 and  below pp. 238ff. |
| 161. | *AP* 6.280. |
| 162. | Hom. *Od.* 6.99ff., see above p. 42; Call. *Del.* 296f., see above p. 106. |
| 163. | See below pp. 172f. |

-145-

cross-dressing in certain founding myths of adolescent rites. [164.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678662&offset=1#164.#164.) For instance,   
Plutarch, in telling the story of Theseus and the Minotaur, reports that among   
the seven Athenian maidens and seven youths that accompanied Theseus to Crete   
there were two boys disguised as girls. They went on the expedition as girls, and   
then, during the ritual of the Oschophoria explained by the Cretan cycle, the   
same transvestites are to be found heading the cultic procession. [165.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678662&offset=1#165.#165.) In terms of   
ritual, taking on the characteristics of the opposite sex for a short time is typical   
of a transitional phase; it signifies the reversal of the order characteristic of the   
period which is located between separation and reintegration into a new order. In   
the myths and rites of puberty, cross-dressing takes on an additional value, since   
it corresponds to the sexual ambiguity in Greek eyes of the first years of   
puberty. I shall follow this up in the next chapter.

To the ritual act of cross-dressing, as in the Messenian story, can be added   
that of deception, of ἀπάτη, also characteristic of adolescence. In the story, the   
*apate* is represented by the dagger that the adolescents hide under their tunics to   
assassinate the Messenian dignitaries in the sanctuary of Limnatis. The   
connotations of such an act of daring, performed in several Greek cities by the   
ephebe before being integrated into the adult military order as a hoplite, [166.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678662&offset=1#166.#166.) are   
explained in a myth such as that of Aspalis. [167.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678662&offset=1#167.#167.) This myth tells how Astagytes,   
while still a child (ἀντίπαις ὤν), wanted to avenge his sister Aspalis who, as a   
young girl (παι̑ς), hanged herself out of fear that the tyrant of the town would

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| 164. | The comparison of the Messenian story and the ritual scenes of cross‐  dressing has been made by Brelich, *Paides,* p. 164 n. 156, with the ethnographic  parallels cited p. 72 n. 60; on the theme of the inversion of the exterior signs of  sexuality, see J.E. Harrison, *Themis,* Cambridge 21927, pp. 505ff.; M. Delcourt,  *Hermaphrodite,* Paris 1958, pp. 5ff.; Brelich, *Eroi,* pp. 240ff.; C. Gallini, "Il  travestismo rituale di Penteo," *SMSR* 34, 1963, pp. 211-228; and Zeitlin, *art*. *cit*. n.  138. |
| 165. | Plut. *Thes.* 23, see Jeanmaire, *Couroi,* pp. 351ff., and above pp. 125ff., with  the particulars I give in *Thésée*, pp. 128, 145, and 335f. The cross-dressing linked to  a ruse and then to death is for instance the central point of the myth of Leukippos,  son of Oinomaos: he disguised himself as a girl in order to come near the Nymph  Daphne who avoided men, and to introduce himself among her companions; but the  girls, on discovering the trick and led by the jealousy of Apollo, killed the hero:  Paus. 8.20.2ff. and Parth. 15, see Jeanmaire, *Couroi,* pp. 440ff.; Dowden, *Death and  the Maiden,* pp. 66 and 174ff.; Forbes Irving, *Metamorphoses,* pp. 152ff.; and below  p. 252. |
| 166. | The role of the cross-dressing in the Messenian story has been compared to a  homologous ruse in a ritual war between Phocians and Thessalians: see Ellinger, *op.  cit*. n. 9, pp. 37ff. and 307f. On the role of the *apate* in the founding myths of  adolescent rituals and particularly that associated with the Athenian Apatouria, see  Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir*, pp. 155ff. The author shows to what degree the  principle of inversion (institutional, sexual, etc.) is characteristic of the period of  transition between adolescence and adulthood; see also Schmitt, *art*. *cit*. n. 128, pp.  1060ff. |
| 167. | Ant. Lib. 13, with the commentary of Papathomopoulos, *Ant. Lib.,* p. 102. |

-146-

abduct her and rape her as was his custom with his young subjects before they   
married (ἐμίγνυτο πρὸ γάμου κατὰ βίαν). To do this, the youth dressed in his   
sister's clothes and, armed with a sword lying flat against his left thigh, [168.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678663&offset=1#168.#168.) he   
entered the house of the tyrant, whom he killed. He is fêted by the citizens of the   
town as a result, and Aspalis, to whom a statue is raised near that of Artemis, is   
honored as *Aspalis Ameilite Hekaerge.*

It is the insistence of Pausanias on the Spartan youths' lack of beards (γένεια   
οὐκ [*eichon*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg163_1.fpx) ἀγενείους νεανίσκους) that opens the door to a comparison with the   
legends recounted above. The presence of cross-dressing and the *apate* represented   
by the weapons and the entry at night manifestly characterize it as a story   
explaining an adolescent ritual practice. If looked at in the context of the schema   
common to all initiatory rites and particularly to tribal initiation rites with the   
three phases of reversal, segregation, and reintegration, it is tempting to see in   
the deaths of the Spartans a symbolic initiatory death before rebirth as hoplites   
in the adult world. Since the Spartans are disguised as girls, the Messenians kill   
women, not men. In other words, they symbolically destroy the female aspect in   
the adolescents who leave the state of sexual indifferentiation of childhood to   
embrace adulthood. [169.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678663&offset=1#169.#169.)

If we return to the Spartan version, the suicide of the girls after being raped   
by the Messenians is a striking parallel to the murder of the boys; it is my   
opinion that this murder gives us the authority to interpret the suicide in a   
similar way and to see in it also the symbol of an initiatory death. Aspalis, in   
the legend that supports my interpretation of the Messenian version, is forced to   
commit suicide in her desire to avoid being raped. Rape (submitted to or not) and   
suicide are linked, [170.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678663&offset=1#170.#170.) and it is probable that, if the violence of the rape refers   
symbolically to an attempt to domesticate the adolescent, suicide, by refusing   
adult sexuality, signifies entry into the period of puberty; it is thus the symbol   
of an initiatory death in the same way as the murder of the boys seems to   
represent the transition from childhood to adolescence. In this way it can be   
presumed that the two versions of the causes of the first war with Messenia are a   
kind of historicization of two founding myths associated with the cult of

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| 168. | Papathomopoulos, *loc*. *cit*. n. 167, recalls that the hoplite normally carried  his sword on the right: here too the reversal is significant. |
| 169. | On a Cretan myth and rite of sex change in adolescence, see Ant. Lib. 17,  with Willetts, *Cults,* pp. 175ff., and Brelich, *Paides,* pp. 201f. |
| 170. | According to Ps. Plut. *Fluv.* 17.3, the Nymph Taygete hanged herself for  shame after being violated by Zeus. Similarly, the Nymph Britomartis, the hunting  companion of Artemis, threw herself into the sea for fear of the advances of Minos;  saved by the nets of fishermen, she was later worshipped as Artemis Dictynna: sch.  Eur. *Hipp.* 1130 (II, p. 121 Schwartz). Again, according to one of the episodes of  Pausanias before the battle of Leuctra, the two daughters of a local man, raped by  Spartan soldiers, strangled themselves, not wanting to survive such an act of *hybris:*  Paus. 9.13.5; on other parallels in myths about the suicides of young women, see  Brelich, *Paides,* p. 443 n. 2. On the rape of adolescents as prematrimonial sacrifice,  see Burkert, *Homo Necans*, pp. 73ff. |

-147-

Artemis Limnatis; and in fact the Roman inscriptions found in Messenia and   
Boiai mention the presence of an ἀγωνοθέτης and choruses of boys (παι̑δες /   
νέοι) in the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis. [171.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678664&offset=1#171.#171.) The result is a correspondence   
between myth and ritual, and through the legend made into history can be seen   
the myth explaining the ritual.

The varied information about the cult of Artemis Limnatis offers a closer   
interpretation of this ritual than that given by Nilsson at the beginning of the   
century. [172.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678664&offset=1#172.#172.) Artemis indeed could connote fecundity, inhabiting cool, humid   
gorges, in a fertile and rich natural setting. But she is not alone in the Greek   
pantheon to fill this function. Artemis is actually the goddess of growth rather   
than of fecundity. She connotes humidity for its nutritive qualities rather than for   
its power to fertilize, and she exercises her nurturing power on a wild nature,   
apart from the means of agricultural cultivation and civilization. In the dry   
climate of Greece, places watered by a spring or a stream that does not dry up   
even in summer are the exception. They are like oases where continuous spring   
reigns and where nature flourishes in a constantly renewed youthfulness, without   
the intervention of the culture. This springtime of nature is echoed by the one   
known to humans: adolescence finds in the humid places inhabited by Artemis   
and the Nymphs a context that signifies what adolescence itself signifies,   
namely, the natural and free development of the forces of growth and   
blossoming.

The exuberance of spring is also the setting for the bacchic orgy. In the   
*Bacchae*, Euripides describes the valley in which Pentheus surprises the Maenads   
as a gorge with steep sides, watered by numerous springs and shaded by tall   
trees. [173.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678664&offset=1#173.#173.) These Artemisian and Dionysiac landscapes are paralleled by the   
presence of bacchanalian elements in certain rituals of the cult of Artemis. I shall   
account for these elements and define their function later. For the moment, I   
shall just mention that in Sparta cymbals dedicated to Limnatis have been found.   
Remember that tambourines were dedicated by the girl of the epigram to the   
same goddess before marriage. [174.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678664&offset=1#174.#174.) Traditional attributes of the Maenads, the   
tambourine and cymbals are essential symbols of Dionysiac cult. However,   
dedicated to Artemis, as seen in the epigram, along with dolls and balls, the

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| 171. | See *IG* V. 1.1375-77, and V. 1.952, with Brelich, *Guerre,* p. 39. Plutarch,  *Mor*. 239c, notes that in Laconia adolescents of both sexes had common sanctuaries. |
| 172. | Nilsson, *Gr. Feste,* pp. 210ff. |
| 173. | Eur. *Bacch.* 1051f., see also 704ff.; on the correspondence between the  Dionysiac landscape and characteristics of the god and his followers who inhabit it,  see Voigt, *art*. *cit.* n. 131, coll. 1059ff., Rapp, *art*. *cit.* n. 132, coll. 2245ff., and  Buxton, *Imaginary Greece,* pp. 94ff. |
| 174. | *IG* V. 1.225 and 226, AP 6.280.1; see Nilsson, *Gr. Feste,* pp. 211f.; on the  τύμπανον as Dionysiac instrument, see K. Schneider, *RE* 7A (1939), s.v. *Tympanum,*  coll. 1750f. |

-148-

tambourine also represents female adolescence in the Artemisian system of   
values. Like the cymbals, it becomes the meeting point of two deities.

And finally, the location of the sanctuary of Limnatis on the boundary   
between the territories of Laconia and Messenia defines it as a sanctuary of the   
periphery, of distance from the order of the city, and a further sign of the   
adolescent and initiatory character of the cult celebrated there. There is more; a   
note of Tacitus tells us that this sanctuary was not only on the boundary   
between two hostile countries, but also in the interior of the *ager Denthe-   
liatis*. [175.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678665&offset=1#175.#175.) This area, a sort of no man's land, was apparently constantly disputed   
by Messenians and Lacedaemonians until Roman times. In his study of the   
armed struggle between Eretria and Chalcis for possession of the Lelantine Plain   
and that between Argos and Sparta for the Thyreatid, Brelich shows the mythical   
and ritual values of this type of war. [176.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678665&offset=1#176.#176.) These traditional struggles in a liminal   
setting, associated by authors who write about them with historical events, take   
on a very precise political and religious function. In relation to the cults of   
Artemis and Apollo they serve the agonistic education of young warriors. This   
function is similar to that of the cult of Artemis Limnatis, as we have seen in   
the *apate* of the Messenian version of the cause of the first war. This story,   
astride both founding myth and historical discourse, corresponds in its structure   
to the stories of the wars for the Lelantine Plain and the Thyreatid which also   
combine both historical and legendary elements. Thus these stories, among   
which Brelich includes the ones about the first Messenian war and the cult of   
Artemis Limnatis, confirm by form and content the adolescent character of the   
cult.

**3.2.1.2. Artemis Karyatis**

Like the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis in a mountainous region on the   
border between Laconia and Messenia, the sanctuary of Artemis Karyatis, near   
Karyai, was in the mountains separating Laconia and Arcadia, near the road   
leading from Sparta to Tegea. [177.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678665&offset=1#177.#177.) The whole of the site of Karyai was dedicated   
to Artemis and to the Nymphs. The sanctuary was open to the sky; in its center   
there stood a statue of Artemis inscribed with her title *Karyatis*. According to the

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| 175. | Tac. *Ann.* 4.43, Steph. Byz. s.v. Δενθάλιοι (p. 255 Meineke); on the  position of this territory, see Valmin, *op. cit*. n. 152, pp. 194f. |
| 176. | Brelich, *Guerre, passim*, F. de Polignac, *La naissance de la cité grecque,* Paris  1984, pp. 58ff. and 146ff., and Ellinger, *op. cit*. n. 9, pp. 41ff.; on the meanings of  boundary territory, outside the city, see also Robert, *art*. *cit.* n. 99, pp. 304ff., and  Buxton, Imaginary *Greece,* pp. 81ff. |
| 177. | Phot. *Lex*. s.v. Καρυάτεια (I, p. 314 Naber). On the location of Karyai, see  Frazer, *Paus.* III, pp. 319f.; Chrimes, *Sparta*, pp. 68f.; and Musti and Torelli,  *Pausania* III, pp. 189f. Karyai might have been near the remains of a fortress, more  than a kilometer from the modem village of Kryavrysi. At the foot of the hill runs the  Sarantopotamos. It is possible that the sanctuary of Artemis Karyatis, as that of  Limnatis, was associated with a landscape in which there was much humidity. |

-149-

sources, the Spartans made sacrifice there or more generally held a feast. [178.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678666&offset=1#178.#178.) The   
central element of this annual feast was choral dances by Spartan maidens in   
honor of the goddess. Pausanias describes the rite with two terms that belong to   
the sphere of chorality: to organize (χοροὺς δὲ αἱ Λακεδαιμονίων παρθένοι   
κατὰ ἔτος ἱστα̑σι), and local (ἐπιχώριος ὄρχησις), which imply the semantic   
features 'to institute' and 'geographical belonging.' [179.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678666&offset=1#179.#179.)

The dance of Spartan maidens at Karyai acquired a certain fame throughout   
Greece and the appearance of the word *Karyatides* for those who performed the   
dance suggests the formation of a permanent chorus attached to the cult of   
Artemis Karyatis, similar to the *Deliades* at Delos. Attempts at describing the   
dance, aided by the attitudes of the famous caryatids, architectural elements   
supporting the entablature of a building, have so far failed due to lack of source   
material; the use of the word *Karyatides* for an architectural component probably   
simply originates in the fame of the maidens dancing for Artemis. [180.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678666&offset=1#180.#180.) In any   
case, a ring with a seal showing dancing *Karyatides*, given to Ctesias, the doctor   
of Artaxerxes II, by Klearchos, according to an anecdote of Plutarch, shows that   
at the end of the fifth century the image of the caryatids was associated with the   
Spartan community. This ring, in Klearchos' mind, represents a symbol of the   
friendship of Ctesias for his parents and his Spartan friends. Pollux, too, cites   
the dance of the *Karyatides* in honor of Artemis as a typical Laconian dance. [181.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678666&offset=1#181.#181.)   
Professional or not, the chorus of *Karyatides* is certainly a specifically Spartan   
institution.

In addition to the dance, the *Karyatides* also sang. This at any rate is reported   
in the sources that explain the origin of bucolic poetry by the replacement, in   
the time of the Persian wars, of the traditional chorus of maidens by local   
shepherds. Latin writers explain that the day on which the chorus of adolescent   
girls was to sing the traditional hymn in honor of Artemis Karyatis *(eo die quo   
solitus erat chorus virginum Dianae Caryatidi hymnum canere*), shepherds sang a   
pastoral, becoming substitutes for the girls who had fled terrorized by the   
war. [182.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678666&offset=1#182.#182.)

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| 178. | Paus. 3.10.7; Hsch. s.v. Καρυάτεια and Καρυα̑τις (K 907 and 908 Latte). |
| 179. | Contrary to Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 197, I do not think the term ἐπιχώριος  means that the dance was performed only by girls from Karyai. The sources insist on  the participation of young Spartan girls in this festival. It is likely that in antiquity  Karyai was not even a village. |
| 180. | See E. Fiechter, *RE* 10 (1917), s.v. *Karyatides*, coll. 2249f., and Nilsson,  *Gr. Feste*, pp. 197f. The comparison made by Eucrates (anecdote told by Ath.  6.241de) between the attitude of a person eating in a friend's crumbling home and that  of the karyatid is the first time the term karyatid is associated with the specific pose  of the architectural forms. It dates from the second half of the fourth century; see also  Vitr. 1.1.5, and E.M. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Karyatide*, Würzburg 1982, pp. 17ff. |
| 181. | Plut. *Artax*. 18.1, Poll. 4.104, see also Luc. *Salt.* 10 and Stat. *Theb.* 4.225.  For representations of these dances, see Ghali-Kahil, *art*. *cit.* n. 29, p. 29 with n. 69. |
| 182. | Diom. *Art. Gramm.* 3 (I, p. 486, 20ff. Keil), Prob. ad Verg. *Buc.* and *Georg.*  (= Serv. III. 2, p. 324, 8ff. Thilo-Hagen) and Serv. ad Verg. *Buc., Prooem*. (III. 1, pp. |

-150-

Like the cult of Artemis Limnatis, the cult of Artemis Karyatis is associated   
with a scene of violence perpetrated on the maidens celebrating the goddess.   
Pausanias tells that Aristomenes, the champion of the revolt of the Messenians   
against the Spartan occupation, attacked Lacedaemonia by night but was deflected   
by the miraculous apparition of Helen and the Dioskouroi, then placed himself   
and his soldiers in ambush near the sanctuary of Artemis at Karyai. [183.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678667&offset=1#183.#183.)   
Surprising the Spartan girls who were dancing there for the goddess (παρθένους   
χορευούσας τῃ̑ Ἀρτέμιδι), he carried off those whose fathers occupied the most   
visible positions in Sparta. Stopping to pass the night in a Messenian village,   
he entrusted the girls to his young soldiers (νεανίσκοι) who, perhaps under the   
effect of drink, tried to rape them (πρὸς βίαν ἐτρέποντο τω̑ν παρθένων).   
Intending to respect Greek custom, Aristomenes killed most of these soldiers and   
returned the captives intact for a large ransom.

In this story, the relationship between myth and history is still more com-   
plex than in the case of the rape of the Lacedaemonians and the murder of   
Teleklos in the sanctuary at Limnatis. Aristomenes is a Messenian hero who   
was the object of intense idealization after the liberation of Messenia in 370/369   
B.C. It is generally admitted that, according to Rhianos, the author of the   
*Messeniaka*, Aristomenes was the leader of the revolt at the beginning of the   
fifth century, whereas Ephorus, and Callisthenes in his *Hellenica*, place him in   
the second Messenian war, associated with Tyrtaeus. Although Pausanias fol-   
lows the events of the poem by Rhianos, he goes along with the second date. [184.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678667&offset=1#184.#184.)

The impossibility of identifying the story with a historical event shows the   
semi-mythical nature of Aristomenes. It also shows that the story contains   
certain features of a traditional nature, all the more since the event has not been   
defined historically. Here again it is not impossible that the account of the   
"historical" event has been fleshed out with elements belonging to the founding   
myth of the cult. Such a process is all the more probable since the invasion of   
the temple of Karyatis, symbol of the Messenian revolt, repeats the theme of the   
causes of the first war with Messenia and the subjugation of the country   
symbolized by the Spartan invasion of the sanctuary of Limnatis. And if it is   
true that Pausanias takes a good deal of his information in the first part of the   
book dedicated to Messenia from the epic poem of Rhianos, in other words the

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|  | 1f. Thilo-Hagen) = sch. Theocr. *Proleg.* (p. 20 Wendel)); see F. Frontisi-Ducroux,  "Artémis bucolique," *RHR* 198, 1981, pp. 29-56, and below p. 155 with n. 194. |

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| 183. | Paus. 4.16.9f. |
| 184. | Callisth. *FGrHist.* 124 F 23, with commentary by Jacoby, *FGrHist.* II C, pp.  424f., and Ephor. ap. Diod. Sic. 15.66; see also Paus. 4.6.1ff. On Aristomenes as  historical character, see Jacoby, *FGrHist.* III A, pp. 169ff., as also Oliva, *Sparta*, pp.  104f. and 139ff., and on the mythical aspect of this same figure, Brelich, *Eroi,* pp.  317ff. |

-151-

Messenian version of the facts, [185.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678668&offset=1#185.#185.) then the story of Karyai, with a Messenian   
bias, is the complement of the Messenian version of the events of Limnai. Just   
as at Limnai, the murder of the Spartan boys disguised as girls (in fact an   
initiatory episode) seems justified from the Messenian point of view as a   
legitimate defensive reaction to the Spartan trick, so also at Karyai, the   
abduction and attempted rape (also initiatory) are not marked negatively, since   
Aristomenes forbids the soldiers to rape the girls and returns them to Sparta. By   
abducting the girls Aristomenes simply intended to affect the ruling class in   
Sparta, just as in the Messenian version of events at Limnai the Spartan ruse   
was directed at the highest dignitaries of Messenia. The story by Pausanias of the   
Messenians at Karyai shows how two sequences from the founding myth of   
adolescent rituals, abduction and rape, can be absorbed into a tale with a   
historical character, the aim of which is the ideological defense of a political   
action.

Defining the boundaries between historical events, legendary stories and their   
ideological value can give us a preliminary interpretation of the cult of Artemis   
Karyatis. The dance of the *Karyatides*, whose name ending in -ίδ- implies the   
features 'collective' and 'geographical belonging,' the abduction and attempted   
violence depict this cult as characteristic of female adolescence. It remains to be   
known whether the ritual described by the sources symbolizes separation in the   
tribal initiation rite or reintegration and admission to the adult order.

Brelich considers it possible to integrate the episode of abduction and rape   
with the few elements we possess of what must have constituted the founding   
legend of the cult of Artemis Karyatis. [186.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678668&offset=1#186.#186.) In a commentary by Lactantius on the   
*Thebaid* of Statius, the chorus of maidens dancing for Artemis at Karyai *(cum   
luderent virgines*), fearing some misfortune would overcome them *(meditatus ru-   
inam chorus*), took refuge in a nut tree and hanged themselves from a branch.   
Lactantius adds that the Greeks call this species of nut tree *carya*. He says that   
the goddess and her sanctuary take their name from this tree. [187.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678668&offset=1#187.#187.) The suicide of   
the *Karyatides* naturally recalls that of the Spartan virgins after being raped by   
the Messenians near the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis. This suicide, in the   
adolescent context of the rite of Karyai, can be interpreted as the symbol of an   
initiatory death in the same way as that at Limnai. This semantic similarity   
suggests that the misfortune the *Karyatides* were escaping was abduction and   
rape. Certainly in the Limnai story the suicide of the girls is provoked by rape,   
whereas at Karyai, it is the fear of rape. The latter motive is not without paral‐

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| 185. | See the remarks of Jacoby, *FGrHist.* III A, pp. 138ff., concerning the sources  of Paus. 4.14.6-17.9; Kiechle, *Mess. Studien,* pp. 15f. and 104f., thinks that  Pausanias' story only follows Rhianos from 4.17.10 (see 4.6.2). |
| 186. | Brelich, *Paides,* p. 165. |
| 187. | Lact. ad Stat. *Theb.* 4.225. King, in *Images,* pp. 118ff., has recently pro-  posed to interpret the suicide of young girls by strangulation as a symbolic expres-  sion of the fear of the bloodletting of menarche and of defloration. |

-152-

lels. It is the cause of the suicide of Aspalis in the myth that I have connected   
with the cult of Limnatis. In the same way, rape, either suffered or feared, stands   
in opposition to the accepted idea of dominated sexuality in the case of the adult   
woman. The conjecture advanced by Brelich would then be confirmed and it   
would be believable that the misfortune feared by the young suicides of Karyai   
was the experience of a violent sexuality for which they were unprepared.

If the suicide of the *Karyatides* suggests an initiatory death, the myth attached   
to the sanctuary of Artemis Karyatis and consequently the rite it founds appears   
to signify the first stage of initiation, that is, the withdrawal from the old order.   
From a narrative point of view, the etymological explanation of the Lactantius   
story justifies its interpretation as the *aition* for the Karyai rite.

Another mythological element in a later source hints at the probable relation   
of the cult of Artemis Karyatis to that of Dionysus. Servius relates that Apollo   
wanted to thank Dion, king of Laconia, for his hospitality and the cult instituted   
for him, so he conferred on the three daughters of the king, Orphe, Lyko, and   
Karya, the gift of divination. Dionysus was on his way to Sparta but fell in love   
with Karya and made her his lover. Karya's sisters were opposed to the love of   
the god: he abducted them in anger, took them to Taygetos, and changed them   
into stones. As for Karya, the god changed her into a nut tree. According to   
Servius, it was Artemis who told this to the Laconians and that is why they   
founded a sanctuary dedicated to Artemis Karyatis. [188.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678669&offset=1#188.#188.) The myth contains various   
matters of interest. First, there is the sequence of adult violence invading the   
domain of intact sexuality of the adolescent, as we saw in Lactantius' myth. The   
semantic and syntactic analogy between the two myths continues with the death   
of the maidens, which appears to be the consequence of violence done to them.   
In both cases, the death is associated with a nut tree; but in the first myth it is   
suicide, in the second, a metamorphosis. The transformation into a tree is one of   
the essential moments of a whole series of stories about the first sexual experi-   
ence of adolescence. [189.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678669&offset=1#189.#189.) It may be significant that the three daughters of Dion,   
although not specifically described by Servius as adolescent, fall under the juris-   
diction of Apollo because of the gift of divination he gave them. Dionysus, in

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| 188. | Serv. ad Verg. *Buc*. 8.29 (III. 1, p. 96f. Thilo-Hagen); see Forbes-Irving,  *Metamorphoses,* pp. 264ff. and 50ff. To the criticisms formulated by the author  concerning an "initiatory" interpretation of this story, I should answer that the whole  setting of the myth (sanctuary of Artemis, on the border of Laconia, in an  uncultivated region) refers this particular metamorphosis to the rites of tribal  initiation. The metamorphosis into a mineral or into a vegetable itself can, of course,  have different semantic values according to the narrative context into which it has  been inserted. |
| 189. | See Ant. Lib. 32.5: Smyrna transformed into a myrrh tree after a 'virginal'  union with her father; Apoll. 3.14.4 = Panyas. fr. 27 Bernabé: Syrinx was changed  into a reed to escape Pan; Ant. Lib. 22.4: the Nymphs were transformed into poplars  by Poseidon so that he could unite with one of them; see Forbes Irving,  *Metamorphoses,* pp. 128ff. On the Hamadryads, Nymphs of the trees among whom is  Karya, see Ath. 3.78b. |

-153-

his semantic character as divinity of the young adult woman, would then intro-   
duce adult sexuality into the sphere of adolescence that is under the jurisdiction   
of Apollo or Artemis. The resistance that Dionysus meets in the sisters of   
Karya, and its mortal consequences for the girls, are certainly characteristic ele-   
ments of adolescent myths. Once again, a pubescent girl awakens the desire of a   
man, but cannot assume normal sexual relations with him. [190.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678670&offset=1#190.#190.)

The presence of Dionysus in the Karya legend has led some scholars studying   
the Artemis Karyatis cult to conclude that there was a close association between   
the cults of the two deities, even that this legend proved the Dionysiac aspect of   
the cult of Artemis Karyatis. [191.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678670&offset=1#191.#191.) The story of Karya, like the legends associated   
at Patras with Artemis Triklaria and Dionysus Aisymnetes, shows us how   
important it is to distinguish clearly the respective fields of action of these two   
deities. Their intervention in the same sphere does not mean that their functions   
are the same; it signifies on the contrary the point of contact between two   
distinct periods of human life, adolescence and adulthood, the first embodied by   
Artemis, the second by Dionysus.

The only indication that might identify the dance of the Lacedaemonian maid-   
ens in honor of Artemis with a bacchic dance comes from two very different   
sources. The first is the title of a play or a poem by Pratinas, Δύμαιναι ἢ   
Καρυάτιδες, *the Dymainai or the Karyatides*; the second is a gloss of Hesychius   
which defines the *Dymainai* as Bacchants who danced at Sparta in chorus   
(χορίτιδες). [192.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678670&offset=1#192.#192.) In examining the cult of Limnatis we have seen that the   
Nymphs and the Maenads have various features in common to the extent that the   
followers of Artemis blend together with those of Dionysus. This semantic   
proximity mainly concerns the environment in which the two groups exist. The

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| 190. | The gloss of Servius (above n. 188) relating the myth of Karya indicates the  various meanings given to the nut in Roman antiquity; all these cultural  significations in one way or another denote marriage: it may be the "nuts of Jupiter"  (*juglandes*) when speaking of his union with Juno, or the nuts thrown down to cover  the cries of the young wife at the moment of her deflowering; given the implications  of adolescence in the myth of Karya, it is not improbable that the nut had similar  connotations in Greece. |
| 191. | Wide, *Kulte*, p. 108 and Brelich, *Paides*, pp. 164f. Among sources reporting  the cult relation between Artemis and Dionysus cited by Wide, only that for the cult of  Patras (Paus. 7.19.1ff.) is pertinent. At Epidaurus (Paus. 2.29.1) and at Troizen (Paus.  2.31.5), the two divinities enjoyed only a geographic closeness. At Aegina (Paus.  2.30.1), this closeness, which also included Apollo, might have had a cult basis, but  there is no evidence that confirms it. |
| 192. | Prat. fr. 711 P = 1 Sn. (quoted by Ath. 9.392f: δυμαναις cod., Δυσμαίναις  corr. Meineke), see above p. 79; Hsch. s.v. Δύμαιναι (Δ 2600 Latte; δυσμαιναι cod.,  Δύμαιναι corr. Latte): αἱ ἐν Σπάρτῃ χορίτιδες Βάκχαι; see also *Brev. Exp*. ad Verg.  *Georg.* 2.487 (III. 2, p. 316, 16f. Thilo-Hagen) and Plin. *NH* 36.4.23. |

-154-

Nymphs, like the Maenads, live in humid and shaded places. They are part of   
wild nature and enliven the mountains and forests with their dances. [193.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678671&offset=1#193.#193.)

Although their environments may be comparable, the functions of the   
Nymphs and Maenads are not necessarily the same. This led the lexicon of   
Hesychius into the utmost error. Certainly during the puberty of Spartan girls,   
the period of segregation in a mountainous area such as Karyai signifies a return   
to the natural state, over which Artemis presides, and a reversal of the order of   
the civic community by a temporary deferment of normal social life. Dionysiac   
activities also represent a rupture with society and a temporary return to   
savagery. At this point Artemis and Dionysus seem to occupy the same spheres;   
however the contexts are different to the extent that the Artemisian reversal has   
to do with adolescent rites of passage, whereas the Dionysiac touches the whole   
community of women at regular intervals. The two cults therefore cannot be   
confused at all. On the other hand, the similarity of environments means that in   
the time of the Persian wars the substitution of a pastoral song for the dancing   
*Karyatides* could take place. [194.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678671&offset=1#194.#194.)

In the chapter on the *choregos* I said that a chorus made up of members called   
Dymainai was mentioned in several recently published papyrus fragments of   
commentaries on poems by Alcman. In the fragment analyzed in the preceding   
chapter, the *Dymainai* formed a chorus led by Agesidamos. [195.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678671&offset=1#195.#195.) In another   
fragment, the chorus of *Dymainai* is cited as the group which very certainly   
performed the poem commented on. [196.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678671&offset=1#196.#196.) The reference to the chorus comes as a   
sort of preliminary note to the explanation of the poem and is found just after   
the invocation to the Muses which opened Alcman's composition and before the   
exegesis of the cosmogonical development. As we shall see later, the name   
*Dymainai,* according to Alcman's commentator, derives from the name of one of   
the three Dorian tribes that made up the Spartan community, the Dymanes, and   
perhaps also from a village called Δύμη, one of the *obai* forming the city of   
Sparta. [197.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678671&offset=1#197.#197.) A third fragment, less complete than the others, links the *Dymainai*   
on several occasions with what seems to be a chorus of *Pitanatides,* young girls

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| 193. | See above pp. 137f. and pp. 142f. See M. Detienne, *Dionysus mis à mort,*  Paris 1977, pp. 75ff., and G. Hedreen, "Silenus, nymphs and maenads," *JHS* 114,  1994, pp. 47-69. |
| 194. | See above p. 150 with n. 182; the name *astrabikon* that Probus gives to the  pastoral song of Karyai could come from the Spartan hero's name Astrabakos whom  Wide, *Kulte*, pp. 279f., interprets as the hypostasis of Dionysus; see Nilsson, *Gr.  Feste,* pp. 198f. On contacts between Artemis and Dionysus with regard to bucolic  poetry, see R. Reizenstein, *Epigramm und Skolion,* Giessen 1893, pp. 193ff., and at  Sparta itself in a poem of Alcman (fr. 56 P = 125 C), see Calame, *Alcman,* pp. 520ff. |
| 195. | Alcm. fr. 10 (*b*). 8ff. P = 82a. 1 C = P. Oxy. 2506 (a), fr. 5, col. II. 8ff., see  above pp. 58ff.; in the *PMG,* Page conjectures Δυ|μαί[ναις, while in vol. 29 of the *P.  Oxy*., p. 7, he writes δυ[|μαι[. |
| 196. | Alcm. fr. 5.2, col. I (sic). 24f. P = 81, col. II. 24f. C = P. Oxy. 2390, fr. 2,  col. II. 24f.: ὁ δὲ χ]ορός (ἐστι) | I Δύμα[ιναι. |
| 197. | See Calame, *Alcman*, pp. 388ff., and below pp. 219f. |

-155-

from the Spartan *obe* of Pitane. The two repetitions of the word παρθένος   
confirm that the chorus or choruses were made up of adolescents. [198.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678672&offset=1#198.#198.)

The evidence provided by these fragments is useful for more than one reason.   
First, since the *Dymainai* are designated as a chorus of adolescents, the   
interpreter need not follow Hesychius concerning the Dionysiac character of this   
chorus. [199.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678672&offset=1#199.#199.) Also, if one agrees that the double title of the play by Pratinas   
names the same chorus, these fragments show that the choruses dancing at   
Karyai were formed by adolescent girls from the town of Sparta, and their   
participation depended on the political structure in the city; I shall develop this   
point later. Finally, they lead us to think that the cult of Karyai existed in the   
seventh century and that some of the poems of Alcman composed for the   
*Dymainai* were intended for this ritual.

**3.2.1.3. Artemis Orthia**

From the boundaries of the Lacedaemonian territory it is time to return to its   
center, Sparta itself. Artemis was honored there in more than one place, with   
numerous titles varying from one place to another. Without counting Orthia,   
Pausanias mentions no less than six cults in six different locations throughout   
the city. [200.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678672&offset=1#200.#200.) As far as it is possible to locate them, these cult sites are generally   
at a distance from the city center. But Artemis, with Apollo and Leto, had her

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| 198. | Alcm. fr. 11 P = 24 C = P. Oxy. 2389, fr. 35: col. I, 5 Δύμαι | [ν-, j17  Δ]υμαιν[, 1 παρσεν[ (as *lemma),* 25 πα]ρ σένω[ν] μάλι[σ]τ ἀείσατ[ε, with the  commentary of Lobel, *P. Oxy.* vol. 24, p. 47; cf. also Alcm. fr. 4.5 P = 61 C. |
| 199. | I prefer to Meineke's correction (Δυσμαίναις, see above n. 192) the reading  of the ms. of Athenaeus (δυμάναις), which can probably be corrected to Δυμαίναις;  but in Hesychius, Latte is right in modifying the lemma Δύσμαιναι to Δύμαιναι; what  Hesychius offers us is a kind of reinterpretation of the lemma through its definition,  itself a reinterpretation wrongly accepted by Farnell, *Cults* V, p. 155 ( = *the  dangerously mad ones),* and Jeanmaire, *Dionysus*, p. 212; see also now Arrigoni, in  *Le donne in Grecia*, pp. 77ff. |
| 200. | Artemis Dictynna (Paus. 3.12.8) had a temple within the walls of the city,  but near them (see Frazer, *Paus.* III, p. 331, Hitzig-Bluemmer, *Paus*. I, p. 775, Musti  and Torelli, *Pausania* III, pp. 202f.); another temple was probably near the  fortifications, since it was in a spot called τά Φρούρια (Paus. 3.12.8; a place difficult  to identify: see Musti and Torelli, *Pausania* III, p. 204). The sanctuaries of Artemis  Aiginaia and Issoria were west of the Agora near the Pitane quarter (Paus. 3.14.2: see  Musti and Torelli, *Pausania* III, p. 213), the latter also associated with a fortified site  (see Plut. *Ages.* 32.6, with Frazer, *Paus.* III, pp. 334f.). Artemis Hegemone, near the  sanctuaries of the Dioskouroi, the Graces, Eileithyia, and Apollo Karneios, was at a  distance from the famous Dromos (Paus. 3.14.6) which itself was outside the town  (Liv. 34.27, with Hitzig-Bluemmer, *Paus.* I, p. 787). It is hard to identify the site of  the temple of Artemis Knagia, whose originating legend is related by Pausanias  (3.18.4f.; see Musti and Torelli, *Pausania* III, p. 233) just at the end of his description  of the town. He then goes on to speak of Amyklai. On the cults of Artemis in Sparta,  see Ziehen, *RE* 3A, coll. 1462ff. |

-156-

statue in the market place, and thus had a presence in the heart of the city, within   
the space the Spartans called the *Chorus* (χορός). [201.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678673&offset=1#201.#201.)

Among the cults mentioned, that of Artemis Orthia was far and away the   
most important. The number of sources referring to it, and the relatively large   
number of archaeological discoveries made on the site of the sanctuary, show it   
to have been at the center of the religious and social life of the Lacedaemonians.   
The excavations of the site have revealed cult activity since the tenth century   
B.C. and since the construction of a new altar and of a first temple in the middle   
of the eighth century. This temple was reconstructed during the sixth century,   
showing important activity through the whole Archaic period. [202.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678673&offset=1#202.#202.)

Pausanias reports that the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia was in a place called   
*Limnaion.* It is easy to connect the aquatic and swampy character, also   
appropriate to the Limnai site on the outskirts of Laconia. It is more than likely   
that the place called *Limnaion* is related to the village of Limnai, one of the four   
or five *obai* joined together to form the city of Sparta. The *obe* of Limnai   
probably lay along the banks of the Eurotas. Strabo describes the surroundings   
of Sparta as being marshy and therefore called *Limnai*, the marshes; he mentions   
a temple of Dionysus built in the village of Limnai which stood on marshy   
ground. [203.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678673&offset=1#203.#203.) The village of Limnai was thus associated with the damp place its   
name denotes.

It is, however, the excavations undertaken on the site of the sanctuary of   
Artemis that make the relation between the signifier and signified of *Limnaion*   
certain. [204.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678673&offset=1#204.#204.) Even today we can see the foundations of the temple of Orthia next   
to the Eurotas. The humidity of this reedy area is in sharp contrast to the arid   
dryness of the Laconian countryside. The traveller from the north who goes there   
in summer is surprised to find, after having visited the thistly acropolis, grass of   
a green unmatched by the cisalpine fields. The sanctuary is down by the river on   
the furthest edge of town and is thus defined as a boundary sanctuary, comparable   
to Limnatis and Karyatis in their positions on the frontiers of Laconian territory.

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| 201. | Paus. 3.11.9; see Musti and Torelli, *Pausania* III, pp. 196f. |
| 202. | The great account of the excavations undertaken on the site of the sanctuary  of Orthia at the beginning of the century dates from 1929: R.M. Dawkins, "The  History of the Sanctuary," in Dawkins, *Orthia*, pp. 1-51. For the chronological  development of the sanctuary, see more recently J. Boardman, "Artemis Orthia and  Chronology," ABSA 58, 1963, pp. 1-7; J.T. Hooker, *The Ancient Spartans,* London‐  Toronto-Sydney 1980, pp. 52ff.; Nafissi, *Kosmos*, pp. 161f.; and Musti and Torelli,  *Pausania* III, pp. 226f. See Paus. 3.16.7f., Strab. 8.4.9; without unfortunately being  able to explain this isolated piece of information, we notice that Pausanias, 3.14.2,  says that Artemis Issoria or Britomartis also has the epiclesis *Limnaia* in Sparta; this  is not enough, however, to see in Artemis Orthia the figure of an Artemis Limnatis, as  some would like: see O. Höfer in Roscher, s.v. *Orthia*, col. 1211; on other Hellenic  sites with a cult of Artemis Orthia, *ibid.,* col. 1210. |
| 203. | Strab. 8.5.1; on the location of the Limnai quarter, see Bölte, *RE* 3A, coll.  1363f. |
| 204. | See above n. 202. |

-157-

The sanctuary of Artemis Orthia was particularly famous in antiquity for the   
bloody whipping (διαμαστίγωσις) that Spartan ephebes were obliged to   
undergo. [205.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678674&offset=1#205.#205.) The ancients as well as the modems were so impressed with this   
image that it has become one of the symbols of the traditional severity of   
Spartan customs. [206.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678674&offset=1#206.#206.) It seems that the rite of flagellation of the ephebes was one   
of the important elements of the return to the origins and to Lykourgos, and in   
Sparta continued into the Roman period. [207.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678674&offset=1#207.#207.) Several historians of Greek religion   
have shown that, in comparing this rite with similar customs among peoples   
called "primitive," it is one among many trials Spartan boys had to undergo   
before attaining their status as adult citizens. [208.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678674&offset=1#208.#208.) From an ethnographic point of   
view, the rite of flagellation in the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia could be defined   
as a rite of initiation, and more precisely a rite of tribal initiation. It refers to one   
of the three phases characteristic of all rites of passage. Between the separation   
from the old order (childhood) and the reintegration into the new order   
(adulthood), it represents among other things the phase of death, of segregation,   
of "immersion in chaos," to use the terms of Eliade.

Historians and specifically historians of religion have seen in the Spartan   
*agoge* an education system by age groups that almost all so-called "primitive"   
societies know. Texts give precise names to the seven age groups in which the   
sons of Spartan citizens were enrolled from fourteen to twenty years of age. [209.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678674&offset=1#209.#209.)   
Reference to several of these classes found on inscriptions (late, it is true) in the   
sanctuary of Artemis Orthia show the meaning of the rite of flagellation in the

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| 205. | See Xen. *Resp. Lac.* 2.9, Plut. *Mor.* 239cd, *Lyc.* 18.2 and Paus. 8.23.1. |
| 206. | See Rawson, *Tradition*, pp. 109ff., 132, 178, and 252. |
| 207. | See Liban. *Or*. 1.23, Tert. *Mart.* 4, other references in Wide, *Kulte*, p. 100,  and Michell, *Sparta*, p. 176 n. 4. Michell is certainly wrong in considering this rite  to a large extent a Roman creation; see on the contrary Chrimes, *Sparta*, pp. 248ff.,  and Brelich, *Paides,* pp. 133ff. |
| 208. | The first scholars to use the term *initiation* with regard to this rite were  Frazer, *Paus.* III, pp. 341f., and Nilsson, *Klio* 12, p. 308ff. See later Jeanmaire,  *Couroi,* pp. 510f.; Willetts, *Cults,* p. 46; and Brelich, *Paides*, pp. 129ff. and 173ff.  Cursory allusion to the initiatory function of the rite in I. Chirassi, *Miti e culti  arcaici di Artemis nel Peloponneso e nella Grecia Centrale,* Trieste 1964, pp. 16f.;  see now also J.-P. Vernant, *La mort dans les yeux*. *Figures de l'Autre en Grèce  ancienne*, Paris 1985, pp. 25ff., and Pettersson, *Apollo at Sparta*, pp. 78ff. |
| 209. | See sch. ad Hdt. 9.85 and sch. ad Strab. published by H. Diller, "A New  Source on the Spartan *Ephebia*," *AJPh* 72, 1941, pp. 499-501. On the controversy  about this, see H.-I. Marrou, "Les classes d'âge de la jeunesse spartiate," *REA* 48,  1946, pp. 216-230; A. Billheimer, "Age-Classes in Spartan Education," *TAPhA* 78,  1947, pp. 99-104; Michell, *Sparta*, pp. 165ff.; Den Boer, *Lac. Studies,* pp. 248ff.;  C.M. Tazelaar, "ΠΑΙΔΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΦΗΒΟΙ. Some Notes on the Spartan Stages of Youth,"  *Mnemosyne* IV. 20, 1967, pp. 127-153, etc., as also analyses of the historians of  religion mentioned above n. 208 (particularly Brelich, *Paides*, pp. 116ff.). |

-158-

Spartan *agoge*. [210.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678675&offset=1#210.#210.) The essential role of the *agoge* being to prepare adolescents   
for citizenship, the sanctuary of Orthia seems to have been one of the centers of   
the religious life and also of the civic life of ancient Lacedaemonia. The cult   
honoring Artemis is a sign that religion took upon itself in ancient Sparta, as in   
most societies with a tribal structure, the political and military education of the   
future citizen.

This civic character is confirmed by one of the myths explaining the origin of   
the flagellation rite, which relates a struggle round the altar of the goddess   
between the inhabitants of the four villages that formed Sparta in the beginning.   
Those who were not killed fell ill and the oracle ordered the altar of Orthia to be   
regularly washed in human blood, probably so that the sickness would end. [211.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678675&offset=1#211.#211.)   
The story, reported by Pausanias, fits into the schema of almost all the myths   
about the origin of the cults of Artemis with their expiation/propitiation of a   
scourge sent by the god for punishment of a crime, and the ritual practice   
depending on a unique mythical event. This *aition* refers to the current image of   
the cult of Artemis without specifying a particular function. However, the fact   
that the whole of the Spartan community was involved indicates the political   
character of this strange cult.

But it was not only a cult for ephebes—young girls also had their part in it—   
although the little information we have belongs to the "mythical." It is in the   
sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta that Plutarch places the abduction by   
Theseus of the young Helen. [212.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678675&offset=1#212.#212.) Plutarch gives three versions of this myth.

In the first, Helen was abducted by Idas and Lynceus, sons of Aphareus, to   
give her to Theseus. The latter refused to give her up to her brothers, the   
Dioskouroi. The motives for the gift and the refusal are not known. This version   
is found in the context of the struggle between the *Tyndaridai,* Lacedaemonian   
heroes, and the *Apharetidai,* Messenian heroes, particularly in connection with

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| 210. | IG V. 1.252-334, see A.M. Woodward, "Inscriptions," in Dawkins, *Orthia*,  pp. 285-377 (pp. 286ff.); Chrimes, *Sparta*, pp. 86ff. and 247 n. add.; and Brelich,  *Paides,* p. 130. |
| 211. | Paus. 3.16.9f.; the πομπὴ Λυδω̑ν which, according to Plut. *Aristid.* 17.10,  followed the flagellation of the ephebes on the altar of the goddess, cannot be  interpreted as Chrimes, *Sparta*, p. 266, and Page, *Alcman*, p. 72, think, as a  procession of girls: see Diels, *Hermes* 31, p. 361. This does not give us the only  ritual practice for girls in the cult of Orthia. Following the whipping, it is more  likely that the procession represents the stage in which the ephebes, after having  been beaten, were presented to the community; another interpretation, in  relationship to the masks found in the sanctuary of Orthia (see below, pp. 172f.), has  been presented by F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, Roma-Vevey 1985, pp. 85ff. On the  dispute among the inhabitants of the four obai of Sparta, see Brelich, *Guerre*, p. 74 n.  147. |
| 212. | Plut. *Thes.* 31 = Hellan. *FGrHist.* 4 F 168a = 323a F 18; bibliographical  references in Calame, *Thésée*, pp. 262ff. (with n. 180) and 399ff. (on the history of  this episode of Theseus' legend). |

-159-

the abduction of the *Leukippides;* I shall discuss later the cult founded by the   
Spartans for these two heroines.

In the second version, Tyndareus entrusts the girl to Theseus to protect her   
from being abducted by Enarsphoros, one of the sons of Hippocoon. [213.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678676&offset=1#213.#213.)   
Tyndareus, father of the Dioskouroi, in this version is the defender of the   
kidnapped girl rather than the *Apharetidai* of the first version.

The last version of the myth, the best supported according to Plutarch, puts   
the responsibility for the abduction of Helen as she danced in the sanctuary of   
Artemis Orthia squarely on Theseus and his companion Peirithoos. Having left   
Sparta, Theseus consigned Helen to Aphidna until he could marry her. A slightly   
different form of this version was already known to Alcman, in which the story   
ends with the return of Helen to Sparta, saved by the Dioskouroi brothers. [214.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678676&offset=1#214.#214.)

The two latter versions in Plutarch's text emphasize the youthfulness of   
Helen when she was taken away. One tells that when she was entrusted to   
Theseus she was still a child (ἔτι νηπίαν), the other that she was not yet   
pubescent (οὐ καθ' ὥραν, οὔπω γάμων ὥραν ἔχουσαν). [215.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678676&offset=1#215.#215.) As for Theseus, he   
was no longer the young man of the legends underlying the Pyanopsia and the   
Oschophoria, but a mature man of fifty. If one applies these mythical facts to   
the ritual practices in the temple of Orthia, it is evident that, as in the cult of   
Artemis at Brauron, the girls dancing for the goddess were still children. This   
extreme youthfulness contrasts with that of the girls taking part in the cults of   
Artemis Limnatis and Karyatis who, raped or fearing rape, were certainly   
pubescent. In the various versions of the myth of Helen, her abduction is never   
followed by rape.

The few figurative representations of Helen's abduction by Theseus and   
Peirithoos only partly confirm the events in the legend put together from literary   
texts. A red-figure water pitcher and a black-figure cup probably show the chorus

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| 213. | Enarsphoros had a *heroon* in Sparta: Paus. 3.15.2; on the Hippocoontids as  ἀντιμνηστη̑ρες of the Dioskouroi, see sch. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.30.5 (I, p. 305  Staehlin), and Alcm. fr. 1, 1ff. P = 3, 1ff. C: see *Choeurs* II, pp. 37ff., and *Alcman,*  pp. 313ff.; on the struggles between Hippocoon and Tyndareos for the possession of  Sparta, see H.W. Stoll in Roscher, s.v. *Hippokoon* (1). The scene of Helen's  abduction was depicted on the throne of Amyklai: Paus. 3.18.15. |
| 214. | Sch. A Hom. *Il*. 3.542 = Alcm. fr. 21 P = 210 C, see Hyg. *Fab.* 79: *(Theseus  et Pirithous*) *Helenam Tyndarei et Ledae filiam virginem de fano Dianae sacrificantem  rapuerunt*; on the other sources of this version see Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène*, pp. 305ff. |
| 215. | According to Tzetz. ad Lyc. 513 = Hellan. *FGrHist* 4 F 168b = 323a F 19,  Helen was seven years old when Theseus abducted her; she was twelve according to  Apoll. *Epit.* 1.23 (according to Apoll. 3.10.7, she was carried off as soon as she  became distinguished for her beauty: on her age suggested by this, see below pp.  196ff.); on the significance of the very young age of Helen when she was abducted,  see Brulé, *La fille d' Athènes*, pp. 98 and 366f., and Sourvinou-Inwood, *Girls'  Transitions,* pp. 52ff. |

-160-

of young girls from which Helen was removed. [216.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678677&offset=1#216.#216.) We may presume that this   
chorus was dedicated to Artemis Orthia as was the one in the story reported by   
Plutarch. However, in most of these representations Theseus looks like an   
ephebe or a young adult rather than a man of fifty, while Peirithoos always   
wears the beard of a mature man. As for Helen, the images of her never show her   
as the child the literary sources claim she was, but as an adolescent.

A further mythical fact, unfortunately very brief, links the Nymph Taygete   
with the goddess Orthosia, an epiclesis that the inscriptions found on the site of   
the temple of Artemis Orthia in Sparta show to be equivalent to *Orthia*. In his   
account in the *Third Olympian* of the myth about the founding of the Olympic   
Games, Pindar talks of the hind with golden horns that Herakles had to bring   
back from Arcadia to Eurystheus after Taygete had consecrated it to the goddess   
Orthosia. The legend recounts that this consecration took place after Artemis had   
transformed Taygete into a hind to allow her to escape the assaults of Zeus; the   
god however managed to couple with the Nymph and a son was born to her and   
bore the name *Lakedaimon*, supposedly the founder of Sparta. [217.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678677&offset=1#217.#217.) In Pindar's   
text, Orthosia is presented as an autonomous divinity, different from Artemis,   
who intervenes independently in the same context. It is only the scholia on this   
passage that identify her with the divine huntress and particularly with the   
Artemis venerated on Mt. Orthion in Arcadia. Even if the goddess Orthosia   
mentioned by Pindar is Arcadian, the legend of Taygete, the origins and   
meanings of which are distinctly Lacedaemonian, shows that the figure of   
Orthia/Orthosia, like Artemis, is related to the image of the Nymph and to the   
scheme characteristic of the myths of adolescence: the rape followed by the   
death/metamorphosis of the violated virgin.

This myth, which incorporates Orthia into the common ritual image of   
adolescence, should prevent us from interpreting the age difference of the young   
girls in the Spartan cult of Orthia, as seen in the myth of Helen's abduction, and

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| 216. | London BM B 310 (pl. 103, 1 Ghali-Kahil); Florence 82894 (plates 104, 1  and 2 Ghali-Kahil), see also the fr. Sofia (pl. 104, 3 Ghali-Kahil); other iconographic  objects in Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène*, pp. 309ff. and 320, and von Steuben, *op. cit.* p. 54 n.  138, pp. 35 and 115; but the identification of those scenes is far from certain: see  Brommer, *Theseus,* pp. 94f. |
| 217. | Pind. *O*. 3.26ff. with sch. *ad loc*. (I, pp. 121f. Drachmann); other sources for  the myth in O. Höfer in Roscher, s.v. *Taygete.* See also Wide, *Kulte*, p. 127; E.  Krummen, *Pyrsos Hymnon. Festliche Gegenwart und mythisch-rituelle Tradition als  Voraussetzung einer Pindarinterpretation,* Berlin-New York 1990, pp. 247ff.; and  Forbes Irving, *Metamorphoses,* pp. 298ff. The abduction of Taygete by Zeus was  pictured on the throne of Amyklai: Paus. 3.18.10; on the form Ὀρθωσία for Ὀρθία,  see Davison, *Arch.-Pind.,* pp. 171f., and Lipourlis, *EEThess* 10, pp. 366f. According  to Steph. Byz. s.v. Ταΰγετον (p. 607 Meineke), Taygete was supposed to have been  the mother of Eurotas. See Ps. Plut. *Fluv*. 17.1 where Taygete killed herself in shame  after being raped by Zeus and where Eurotas is described as the son of Taygete and  Lakedaimon. On the Arcadian Orthia, see Höfer, *art*. *cit*. n. 202, col. 1210, and W.  Immerwahr, *Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens,* Leipzig 1891, pp. 147f. |

-161-

the adolescents dancing for Limnatis or Karyatis as indicative of a difference in   
the respective functions of these cults. Moreover, concerning the ephebes, if the   
inscriptions found in the sanctuary of the goddess are to be believed, only the   
four last age groups in the *agoge* were represented in the rituals for Orthia; that   
is, ephebes who were between sixteen and nineteen years old. [218.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678678&offset=1#218.#218.) The very   
young age suggested by the myth of Helen's abduction for the girls participating   
in the cult of Orthia consequently does not correspond to that of the boys. It is   
therefore impossible to use the different ritual practices performed by adolescents   
to define, by analogy, the function of the rites performed by the girls at the same   
altar.

Among the various stories attached to the cult of Orthia reported by   
Pausanias, one legend tells that the *xoanon* of the goddess venerated at Sparta   
was brought from Tauris by Orestes and Iphigenia. The statue, stolen by the two   
heroes, was erected at Sparta and not at Brauron as the Athenians claimed. [219.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678678&offset=1#219.#219.)   
Artemis Orthia shares this origin not only with the Artemis at Brauron but also   
with the Artemis at Argos. [220.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678678&offset=1#220.#220.) Because of these origins, the cult of Orthia is   
related to other Hellenic cults of Artemis that include ritual practices performed   
by young girls. However, once again, there is a lack of information to justify a   
complete parallel and to assume with certainty that choruses of young virgins   
were present in the sanctuary near the River Eurotas.

To round out the myths, a final legend reported by Pausanias tells that   
besides the epiclesis of *Orthia*, Artemis was also called *Lygodesma* because her   
*xoanon* was found in a clump of agnus castus trees (*vitex* or *agnus castus*)   
growing near the water. The trunks, explains Pausanias, kept the statue upright   
(ὀρθός), whence the double epiclesis of *Lygodesma* and *Orthia*. [221.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678678&offset=1#221.#221.)

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| 218. | The age classes given by the inscriptions correspond to the μικιζόμενος,  πρόπαις, παι̑ς and μελλείρην given by the sch. to Hdt. and Strab.: see above notes  209 and 210. It seems that, even if these denominations seem to refer to younger age  classes, they lead to the status of ephebes: see Chrimes, *Sparta*, pp. 91ff. |
| 219. | Paus. 3.16.7ff.; in another version of the legend, Astrabakos and Alopekos,  the descendants in the fifth generation of the first king of Sparta, Agis, became  insane when they found the goddess's statue. |
| 220. | On the origins of the *xoanon* of Artemis at Brauron or at Halai, on one of the  ἔσχατα of Attica, see Eur. *IT* 1446ff., Call. *Dian*. 174, Paus. 1.23.7 and 33.1. See  Deubner, *Att*. *Feste*, pp. 208f. (who differentiates the cults of Artemis Tauropolos and  Artemis at Brauron); Brelich, *Paides,* pp. 242ff.; and Brulé, *La fille d'Athènes*, pp.  192ff. On the Taurian origins of Artemis, see Schreiber, *art*. *cit*. n. 20, coll. 586ff.;  H.W. Stoll in Roscher, s.v. *Iphigeneia*, coll. 299ff.; Farnell, *Cults* II, pp. 452ff.; and  Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* 103, pp. 95ff. |
| 221. | Paus. 3.16.11; the agnus castus (the chaste tree) had a thick trunk in which a  *xoanon* could be sculpted as is the case, at Sparta itself, for the *xoanon* of Asclepius  Agnites: Paus. 3.14.7; for the presence of the agnus castus in the sanctuary of the  Nymphs near the Ilissus, see Plat. *Phaedr.* 230b (description of the qualities of this  tree in R. Wagner, *RE* 1 [1894], s.v. *Agnos).* One could conceive that the statue of |

-162-

A similar *aition* explains the presence at Samos of the ancient statue of Hera   
that Admete, the daughter of Eurystheus, had found on the seashore supported by   
agnus castus trees, after the fruitless attempts of the Tyrrhenians to take it to   
Argos; this *aition* also served as a foundation myth for the annual festival of the   
Tonaia during which the statue of the goddess was carried from her temple onto   
the beach where it had been found and where it was purified. [222.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678679&offset=1#222.#222.)

These cult references to the agnus castus offer two different interpretations of   
the epiclesis *Lygodesma*. First, the fact that the *vitex* belongs to the category of   
trees that attach the cult of Artemis Orthia, as also that of Caryatis or Cedreatis   
at Orchomenos, to noncultivated trees. [223.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678679&offset=1#223.#223.) This feature is a common   
characteristic in numerous cults of Artemis. The presence of the *vitex* in the   
Spartan sanctuary is all the more understandable since this tree grows in swampy   
regions; hence its location on the banks of the Eurotas. However, the *aition*   
reported by Pausanias is probably due less to any tree cult or to the wood from   
which the *xoanon* may have been carved than to the original form of the temple   
of Orthia; the construction of this first sanctuary apparently included the   
branches of bushes growing in the swampy area where the goddess was   
worshipped. So the temple of agnus castus would then be analogous to the laurel   
hut which probably protected the statue of Apollo in various locations, according   
to some legends, and traces of which have recently been found in Eretria. [224.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678679&offset=1#224.#224.)

But this conjecture does not help tell us the function of the agnus castus in   
the cult of Orthia. In antiquity the tree was known for its numerous medicinal   
qualities; according to Aelian and others, some of these qualities were related to   
the sexual life of women, [225.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678679&offset=1#225.#225.) associated with the opposing categories of chastity   
and fertility. On one hand, the leaves of the tree were reputed to temper sexual   
desire; thus the couches on which the Athenians who observed sexual continence   
during the Thesmophoria lay were made of agnus castus branches. On the other   
hand, the same agnus castus was known to favor menstruation and lactation.   
Seemingly opposed, these qualities are really not contradictory: the period of   
fecundity in women is incompatible with the development of an excessive

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|  | Artemis Orthia was carved in this wood. It is also possible that the original statue  consisted of a simple bundle of branches of the "chaste tree," as is the case for the  Latin *struppi* placed on the *pulvinar* and venerated as the incarnation of the god thus  represented: on this custom, see C. Boetticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen,* Berlin  1856, pp. 221f. |

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| 222. | See Ath. 15.672de and Paus. 7.4.4 and 8.23.5, with Frazer, *Paus.* III, pp.  343f.; Nilsson, *Gr. Feste,* pp. 46ff.; Blech, *Kranz*, pp. 247ff.; and Pötscher, *Hera*,  pp. 125ff. |
| 223. | On Artemis Cedreatis, see Paus. 8.13.2; on Artemis and the tree, see Nilsson,  *Religion* I, pp. 486f. |
| 224. | See above p. 102 with n. 38. |
| 225. | Ael. *NA* 9.26, Plin. *NH* 24.9.38, Dsc. 1.134 and Gal. 11, pp. 807ff. Kühn. |

-163-

sexuality. [226.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678680&offset=1#226.#226.) Thus the agnus castus can control sexual impulses while stim-   
ulating the powers of bleeding and hence of fecundity in a woman.

The role of this tree in the cult of Hera or in the Thesmophoria, both rituals   
for married women, is clear, but its role is less obvious in the cult of Artemis.   
The only comparison in my documentation brings together the agnus castus and   
the rods used to beat the boys. This gives rise to the traditional interpretation of   
the *Lebensrute*, the rod that activates the forces of growth and fecundity in the   
young initiates. [227.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678680&offset=1#227.#227.) But what is decisive in the whipping of the young boys on   
the altar of Artemis Orthia is the bleeding. By analogy, for the female part of the   
Orthia ritual, the presence of the chaste tree in the foundation myth might be   
explained by the fact that young girls dedicated themselves to the goddess at their   
first menstruation; the specific qualities of the *vitex* would be used to regulate   
their future procreative role as mothers. This is of course pure conjecture,   
supported only by the procreative function that ancient authors, such as Plutarch,   
attribute to the Spartan woman. But it has been proposed recently that the   
ambivalent virtues of the agnus castus could be a symbolized representation of   
the transition of the young girl from the time of menarche to adulthood: from a   
"strangled, nonbleeding *parthenos,"* the girl would become a "released bleeding   
*gyne*." [228.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678680&offset=1#228.#228.)

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| 226. | In his analysis of the role of the agnus castus in the festival of the Tonaia,  Nilsson, *Gr. Feste,* pp. 48f., supposes, in the qualities attributed to it, a diachronic  change of the signified: from a symbol of the sexual instinct and fertility, the agnus  castus would become the sign of continence by the resemblance of its signifier ἄγνος  with the word ἁγνός. It is, however, not to be assumed that the quality of diminishing  sexual desire is only attributed to the tree during the Thesmophoria: compare Plin. *NH*  24.9.38 with 62. See now the interesting analysis of the values of the λύγος pro-  posed in his interpretation of Anacr. fr. 352 P by M. Nafissi, "Anacreonti, i *Tonea* et  la corona di *lygos," PP* 38, 1983, pp. 417-439. Here again, the reduction of an appar-  ent contradiction to a historical explanation misses the specific meaning of the term,  in this case the agnus castus, whose qualities clearly signify in Greece the status of  the married woman: Greek marriage does not only correspond with the satisfaction of  a sexual drive; above all it serves to generate descendants. On the value of the fecundi-  ty of the agnus castus, see Deubner, *Att*. *Feste,* p. 56, who remains no less a victim of  Nilsson's error; on the role of the agnus castus in the Thesmophoria in relation with  other plants, see Detienne, *Adonis,* pp. 153ff., and *op. cit.* n. 140, pp. 213f. Fehrle,  *Keuschheit*, pp. 139ff, has well shown, notably with regard to the Tonaia of Samos,  the double role of purification and fecundation that the agnus castus has in Greek cult.  According to Fehrle, it is the feature of 'fecundity' which, through the medium of the  "*Lebensrute*," would link the agnus castus to the cult of Artemis Orthia; see also  Kerényi, *Zeus*, pp. 127ff.; other speculations in Pötscher, *Hera*, pp. 65ff. and 147ff. |
| 227. | See A. Thomsen, "Orthia," *ARW* 9, 1906, pp. 397-416 (pp. 406ff.), and  Nilsson, *Gr. Feste,* pp. 190ff. On the beneficent power of the agnus castus, see the  custom reported by Plut. *Mor.* 693f, with commentary by Deubner, *Att*. *Feste,* p. 195. |
| 228. | This according to the proposition formulated by King, in *Images,* pp. 122f.;  see also Wide, *Kulte*, p. 114. |

-164-

It remains for me to explain the etymology of the word *Orthia*. The   
numerous attempts of the ancients to explain this word show that the   
interpretation of this cult has always created confusion for its interpreters. For   
the Greeks, Artemis was called *Orthia* at Sparta because she induced safety (ὅτι   
ὀρθοι̑ εἰς σωτηρίαν), because she helped set straight the newborn (ὀρθοι̑ τοὺς   
γεννωμένους), because she restored women who had given birth (ὀρθούσῃ τὰς   
γυναι̑κας καὶ εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐκ τω̑ν τοκετω̑ν ἀγούσῃ), because she re-established   
the city (τη̑ς τὴν πολιτείαν ἀνορθούσης), renewed the lives of human beings   
(ὀρθου̑ν τοὺς βίους τω̑ν ἀνθρώπων), or because she came originally from the   
mountain in Arcadia called *Orthion*. [229.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678681&offset=1#229.#229.)

Modern interpreters have also exercised their wits on the origin of this   
epiclesis. Except for a few attempts to connect the name *Orthia* with phallic   
symbolization, most philologists and historians of religion started with the   
explanations given by the ancients. [230.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678681&offset=1#230.#230.) The most general feature that can be   
abstracted from these etymologies is 'safety': Artemis is the goddess who   
saves. [231.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678681&offset=1#231.#231.) This accords well with her character as punisher then savior. More   
particularly, Artemis appears as the divinity who assures the health of the   
citizens and the community as a whole. This could provide the missing link for   
defining the founding legends and the rites attached to the cult of Orthia as   
indicating tribal initiation. In the initiatory rites and their underlying myths, the   
period of death is followed by a period of reintegration and rebirth, as in all rites   
of passage. In the case of Artemis Orthia, this death phase is represented in myth   
by the slaughter of the inhabitants of the four *obai* of Sparta or the madness of   
Astrabakos and Alopekos, and in ritual by the bloody beating of the ephebes as a   
substitute for the original human sacrifice on the altar of the goddess. The death

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| 229. | Sch. Pind. *O*. 3 30 (I, pp. 121f. Drachmann), sch. Plat. *Leg.* 633b (p. 306  Greene), sch. Lyc. 1331 (II, p. 375 Scheer), *EM* 631.2f.; all the etymologies given  by the scholia of Pindar concern the Arcadian Orthia whom I discussed in connection  with the myth of the Nymph Taygete. |
| 230. | References in Höfer, *art*. *cit*. n. 202, coll. 1212f.; H.J. Rose, "The Cult of  Artemis Orthia," in Dawkins, *Orthia*, pp. 399-407 (pp. 403f.); and Lipourlis,  *EEThess* 10, pp. 368f. Jeanmaire, *Couroi,* pp. 521ff., has linked the idea of erection  suggested by Orthia with the tree cult: he makes Artemis Orthia-Lygodesma  concurrent with Artemis Korythalia whose cult was gradually limited to the newborn.  Chrimes, *Sparta*, p. 258, sees in Artemis Orthia a mountain deity; and Brelich,  *Paides,* pp. 131f., no longer bases his findings on possible etymologies of the term  *Orthia*, but on the votive figurines found in the sanctuary of the goddess: R.M.  Dawkins, "The Terracotta Figurines," in Dawkins, *Orthia*, pp. 145-162 (p. 149), and  "Objects in Carved Ivory and Bone," *ibid.,* pp. 203-248 (pp. 205ff.); and A.J.B.  Wace, "The Lead Figurines," *ibid.,* pp. 249-284 (pp. 259ff. and 283). Brelich  identifies her with the πότνια θηρω̑ν, the mistress of the animals. On the role  attributed to women in the Spartan community, see below pp. 234ff. |
| 231. | On Asclepius Orthios as the god savior, see O. Höfer in Roscher, s.v.  *Orthios;* see also *ibid.,* s.v. *Orthopolis.* |

-165-

of the ephebes, represented by the flagellation, is then the initiatory death of the   
child followed by a rebirth of the young Spartan as citizen. [232.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678682&offset=1#232.#232.)

The majority of scholars relates the etymology of *Orthia* to childbirth. In a   
famous passage on maieutics, Plato states that protection in childbirth is one of   
the basic functions of Artemis who presides over this event, although she herself   
never experienced it (ἄλοχος [*ousa*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg182_1.fpx) τὴν λοχείαν εἴληχε). [233.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678682&offset=1#233.#233.) And Plato adds that   
midwives, who are the lay representatives of Artemis, are themselves women   
who are beyond childbearing age. Wide is therefore probably not wrong in   
relating the function of Artemis Orthia as midwife to that of Iphigenia. [234.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678682&offset=1#234.#234.)

However, there are two texts of Euripides that give an exact explanation of   
Artemis' function in childbirth (Λοχία). In the *Suppliants*, the chorus, made up   
of mothers whose children were killed beneath the walls of Thebes, weep because   
they will no longer be under the protection of Artemis Lochia; they mourn   
because, with the death of the Seven, their posterity has been taken away from   
them. In *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Artemis Lochia is depicted by Iphigenia's   
attendants in a landscape of palm trees, laurels and olive shoots (θαλλόν). [235.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678682&offset=1#235.#235.)   
The complaint of the suppliants and the image of the young branches among   
which Artemis Lochia lives show that this divinity protects childbirth as the   
first act of the process of growth for which she is responsible. The scholia

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| 232. | The interpretation of the flagellation given by Thomsen, *art*. *cit*. n. 227, pp.  407ff. is significant: he rejects the rites of tribal initiation and thus the inter-  pretation of the flagellation as a death rite, substitute or symbol of a real human  sacrifice; however, he admits that the flagellation, perhaps done with agnus castus  branches, was to stimulate growth and good health in adolescents, and it becomes the  symbol of an "Einweihung zum Leben" (p. 409); see for the contrary opinion W.  Burkert, "Demaratos, Astrabakos und Herakles," *MH* 22, 1965, pp. 166-177 (p. 173),  much clearer than A. Seeberg, "Astrabica," *SO* 41, 1966, pp. 48-74; see also Graf,  *op. cit.* n. 211, pp. 83ff., who speaks of a ritual of "Auflösung vor dem Neuanfang." |
| 233. | Plat. *Theaet.* 149d; Socrates insists on the fact that midwives were even more  proud of their ability to bring together couples who would have fine children than of  their efficiency at the birth of a child. The important part of childbirth is thus its  result: ὡς ἀρίστους παι̑δας τίκτειν. |
| 234. | Wide, *Kulte*, p. 114; interpretation rejected by Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 191;  see Ant. Lib. 27.4 where Iphigenia is called Ὀρσιλοχία, she who delivers children;  the term Ἰφιγένεια cannot be interpreted as [*iphi*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg182_2.fpx) γεννα̑σθαι ποιου̑σα; in the compounds  in -γενής, such as αἰθρηγενής, διογενής, εὐγενής, the morpheme -γενής, which goes  back to the root \**gen*-, is always intransitive: see Chantraine, *Dict. étym*., s.v.  γίγνομαι, p. 222 (on the feminine ἰφιγένεια from a masculine \*ἰφιγενής, see  Schwyzer, Gr. Gr. II, p. 34); the goddess born "with power" is also she who then  favors vigorous newborns. On the relatedness of Iphigenia and Artemis, see Paus.  2.35.1, Hsch. s.v. Ἰφιγένεια (I 1122 Latte): ἡ Ἄρτεμις; see Brelich, *Paides,* p. 275;  Lloyd-Jones, *JHS* 103, pp. 95ff.; and Brulé, *La fille d'Athènes*, pp. 186 and 191ff. |
| 235. | Eur. *Suppl.* 955ff., *IT* 1097ff. On the cult of Artemis Lochia and Eileithyia,  see Schreiber, *art*. *cit*. n. 20, col. 571ff.; Brelich, *Paides,* p. 203; and T. Hadzisteliou  Price, *Kourotrophos*. *Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities,* Leiden  1978, pp. 151f. and 157f. |

-166-

specify that Artemis Orthia saves women who have given birth (so that they can   
be pregnant again?) and at the same time "sets straight" the newborn. Similarly,   
modem etymology has shown that the root of the term Orthia could be related to   
several Indo-European verbs meaning 'to make grow.' [236.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678683&offset=1#236.#236.) This is confirmed by a   
passage in the *Hymn to Artemis* by Callimachus who explains that the anger of   
the virgin goddess may cause illness and as a consequence the death of a woman   
in childbirth or, if she escapes that, the birth of a child who does not hold up   
(οὐδὲν ἐπὶ σφυρὸν ὀρθὸν ἀνέστη). [237.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678683&offset=1#237.#237.)

Artemis is thus defined as protecting the newborn and promoting the forces of   
growth contained in childbirth. To this extent she is distinguished from   
Eileithyia and her function as liberator of the pregnant woman. [238.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678683&offset=1#238.#238.) This   
difference between the two deities is expressed in the passage by Diodorus   
Siculus, cited above, who, in describing the functions of the divine children of   
Zeus, attributes to Eileithyia care for women in childbed and to Artemis care of   
the newborn. [239.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678683&offset=1#239.#239.) It is this latter function that lends Artemis her title of   
*kourotrophos.*

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| 236. | See Frisk, *GrEW,* s.v. ὀρθός, P. Kretschmer, "Die vorgriechischen Sprach‐  und Volksschichten," *Glotta* 30, 1943, pp. 84-218 (pp. 155f.), compares *Orthia* with  *Rhetia*, the title of a Venetian goddess (cf. umbr. *rehte* = lat. *recte)* who also had a  preserving function. |
| 237. | Call. *Dian*. 124ff.: for a possible allusion at line 128 to Artemis Orthia, see  Bornmann, *Call*. *Dian*., pp. 64f.; in Aesch. Ag. 135ff., Artemis is angry because the  eagles of Zeus kill a pregnant hare and devour her little ones along with the mother.  From an anthropological point of view, the interpretation of Orthia as one who  "raises" children could be confirmed in the fairly universal rite of "lifting" the  newborn at birth; see N. Belmont, "*Levana*, or how 'to raise' children," *Annales  E*.*S*.*C*. 28, 1973, pp. 77-89. |
| 238. | The archaic figurines of Eileithyia discovered in excavations on the site of  the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia might give reasons for attributing to this goddess the  specific function of midwife: see Dawkins, *art*. *cit*. n. 202, p. 51. It is true that  according to Paus. 3.17.1, Eileithyia had her own sanctuary near that of Orthia: see  Musti and Torelli, *Pausania* III, pp. 227f. One might conjecture that in the archaic  period the two cults were combined. Note that the two tiles with later inscriptions  regarding Eileithyia (*IG* V. 1.867 and 868) were found in Orthia's sanctuary: see W.S.  George and A.M. Woodward, "The Architectural Terracottas," in Dawkins, *Orthia*, pp.  117-162 (p. 143), also the inscription 169.24 (Woodward, *art*. *cit*. n. 210, p. 370).  At any rate one cannot say that the etymology of *Orthia* makes her the goddess of  childbirth as Eileithyia is (proposal by Wide, *Kulte*, pp. 113ff., repeated by Höfer,  *art*. *cit*. n. 203, col. 1213).  On the other hand, with a short remark by Brelich, *Paides*, p. 191 n. 222, as point  of departure, one could interpret the birth mentioned in the scholia to explain the  etymology of *Orthia* as that of the initiate who, dead as an adolescent, is reborn into  adult life. The safety of women giving birth would then simply correspond to the lack  of comprehension of the scholiasts who had taken the word *birth* too literally, as  have modern interpreters. |
| 239. | Diod. Sic. 5.73.4ff.; see above n. 108. |

-167-

The cult of Artemis Orthia thus concerns two moments in the development   
of future citizens, early childhood and adolescence. We lack the information to   
establish whether girls were involved in the rituals marking these two   
periods. [240.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678684&offset=1#240.#240.) The age of Helen, in the story of her abduction by Theseus, suggests   
a third moment, that of prepuberty.

On a diachronic level, the problems of the Spartan cult of Artemis Orthia are   
numerous. Excavations at the temple site offer some help by providing the   
interpreter with a precise historical framework. As I have mentioned, they allow   
us to retrace the history of the sanctuary from the tenth century. Apart from three   
gems, no Mycenaean object was found there, which leads one to think that the   
cult of Orthia was a Dorian import. [241.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678684&offset=1#241.#241.)

If the vases found in the sanctuary indicate a style that attained the heights of   
richness and delicacy towards the beginning of the sixth century (beginning of   
the sixth century also for ivory figures, end of the fifth for lead figures), [242.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678684&offset=1#242.#242.) the   
votive stelai erected on the occasion of the *agon*, placed around the altar of the   
goddess and bearing the names of the different age classes of the Spartan *agoge*,   
are no older than the fourth century and most are from the Roman period. [243.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678684&offset=1#243.#243.)

The thematic consistency of the terra-cotta, ivory, and lead figures portraying   
Orthia as "mistress of the animals" leads to the conclusion that the outstanding   
features of this cult, as I have tried to define it through mostly later sources,   
show the same consistency and also go back to the Archaic period. This   
supposed correspondence between archaeological documents and literary sources   
is confirmed by how the goddess worshipped on the banks of the Eurotas is

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| 240. | Thomson, *Altgr. Gesellschaft* I, pp. 220f., starting from the presence of a  priestess in the flagellation rite of the ephebes, suggests that the cult originally  consisted in an initiation rite for young girls; this thesis is used by Willetts, *Cults,*  p. 185, in analyzing the Cretan cult of Artemis Dictynna. |
| 241. | See the references given above n. 202; add E. Kirsten, "Heiligtum und  Tempel der Artemis Orthia zu Sparta in ihrer ältesten Entwicklung," *BJ* 158, 1958,  pp. 170-176; further bibliography in Davison, *Hermes* 73, p. 454 n. 1. |
| 242. | J.P. Droop, "The Laconian Pottery" in Dawkins, *Orthia*, pp. 52-116 (pp.  80ff.); Dawkins, *art*. *cit*. n. 230, pp. 145ff. and 203ff.; Wace, *art*. *cit*. n. 230, pp.  249ff., with the remarks of Wade-Gery, review of Dawkins, *Orthia*, *JHS* 50, 1930, pp.  146-150; and of R.M. Dawkins (et al.), "A Note on the Excavation of the Sanctuary of  Artemis Orthia," *ibid*., pp. 329-336. See also Boardman, *art*. *cit*. n. 202, which  displaces the date of the end of Laconian II from 600 to about 580 and reduces the  timespan established by his predecessors by a quarter of a century (thus agreeing with  the conclusions of Kirsten, *art*. *cit*. n. 241), and Sourvinou, *art*. *cit.* p. 28 n. 38, pp.  173ff. C.M. Stibbe, *Lakonische Vasenmaler des sechsten Jahrhunderts v*. *Chr.,*  Amsterdam-London 1972, p. 9, arrives at similar conclusions. See also E.L.I. Maran-  gou, *Lakonische Elfenbein- und Beinschnitzerei,* Tübingen 1969, p. 3 and *passim,*  and Pipili, *Iconography,* pp. 41ff. |
| 243. | Woodward, *art*. *cit*. n. 210, p. 296ff.; on a more ancient origin for these  games, see Brelich, *Paides*, pp. 174ff. |

-168-

named: just as only the later literary sources identify Orthia with Artemis, the   
inscriptions found in the sanctuary carry the designation *Artemis Orthia*, in place   
of *Orthia* alone, only from the middle of the first century A.D. [244.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678685&offset=1#244.#244.)

As I said in the introduction, the gloss of a single line in the first fragment of   
Alcman is the basis for the opinion of many scholars that the poem was   
performed in the Orthia rituals. Chronologically, it is possible. And it would be   
strange for Alcman never to have written a composition for a cult that occupied a   
central place in the life of the Spartan community. However, two philological   
points need to be made before introducing the emendation in line 61 of fragment   
1, making this a ritual poem dedicated to Orthia. The emendation requires the   
change from ορθριαι, as given in the papyrus, to ορθιαι proposed by the   
scholion. The objections given by philologists to this emendation are the   
following: the long ι of Ὀρθία does not fit the trochaic meter of the beginning   
of line 61, and linguistically the form ϝορθία only appears in inscriptions from   
the sixth century, whereas inscriptions going back to the seventh century only   
use the form ϝορθασία, which corresponds to the Ὀρθωσία in Pindar's *Third   
Olympian*, or ϝορθαία (/-εία). [245.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678685&offset=1#245.#245.) The question should be addressed in the larger   
framework of the whole fragment. Philologically, the insurmountable   
morphological obstacle raised by the term *Orthia* prevents the insertion of this   
poem in the cult of Artemis Orthia. Central to Archaic Sparta's religious and   
social life as the cult may have been, Alcman's poetic activity, in the present   
state of our documentation, seems paradoxically to have no connection with it.

**3.2.1.4. Artemis Korythalia**

There was another Artemis sanctuary in Sparta, located near a river.   
Athenaeus mentions a temple to Artemis on the banks of the Tiassos, basing his   
information on a work by the geographer Polemon (end of the third century   
B.C.). Here the goddess was honored under the title *Korythalia*. Athenaeus adds   
that the temple was not far from the area reserved for Kleta, allowing a precise   
location to be established. The area was known to Pausanias, who mentions a   
sanctuary dedicated to the Laconian Graces Phaenna and Kleta, the same Graces   
known to Alcman, without citing the temple of Artemis itself. The sanctuary   
was situated at the meeting of the road to Amyklai and a river that Pausanias   
calls *Tiasa* and that surely corresponds to the Tiassos of Athenaeus, and it was   
thus outside the precinct of the town, near a river called in myth the daughter of   
Eurotas. [246.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678685&offset=1#246.#246.) The principal rite celebrated for Korythalia concerned male children

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| 244. | Woodward, *art*. *cit*. n. 210, pp. 308ff., and Pipili, *Iconography,* pp. 42ff. |
| 245. | A.M. Woodward, "Laconia. I. - Inscriptions," ABSA 24, 1920, pp. 88-143  (pp. 116f.), and *art*. *cit*. n. 210, pp. 296ff.; on the problem of the correction of line  61 in fragment 1, see *Choeurs* II, pp. 119f., and *Alcman*, p. 333. |
| 246. | Ath. 4.139ab, the source for which is Polem. Hist. *FHG* fr. 86 (III, p. 142  Müller), Paus. 3.18.6, Alcm. fr. 62 P = 223 C; on the geographical location of the |

-169-

(τὰ ἄρρενα παιδία). They were carried to the sanctuary by their nurses who   
sacrificed piglets to the goddess; the rite was called *Tithenidia*, a name most   
likely formed on τιτθή, 'nurse.' The sacrifice of a piglet was accompanied by a   
ritual meal called κοπίς, accomplished in the same way as banquets of the same   
name organized for the Hyakinthia at Amyklai. [247.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678686&offset=1#247.#247.) The children, therefore, for   
whom the cult was specifically intended, were represented by their nurses.

This strange ritual poses various problems. Let us begin with an analysis of   
the epiclesis of Artemis in this cult. The term *Korythalia* derives from *korythale,*   
a laurel branch used in rituals and defined by the metaphor implied by the term   
and by analogy with the *eiresione,* the Athenian equivalent of the Spartan   
*korythale*. [248.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678686&offset=1#248.#248.) According to the ancients, the *korythale,* the budding branch   
(κόρος, θάλλειν), was carried on becoming an ephebe and on entering marriage,   
because these ceremonies were about the growth of boys and girls (ἡβησάντων   
τω̑ν νέων καὶ θυγατέρων). In accordance with the signified implied by the name,   
it appears then as the symbol of the growth process in children and adolescents,   
and was intended to be stimulated by the ceremonies in which it was carried and   
by the divinity presiding over the rituals. Artemis herself is called *Korythalia*,   
goddess of the flowering of young branches, because she promotes growth in   
babies. This name is not pure metaphor, though: Artemis also promotes the   
growth of noncultivated vegetation itself; as we have previously noted, she is   
concerned as much with the savage vegetable world as with the animal or the   
human. [249.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678686&offset=1#249.#249.) The quality of protector of growth on all levels that the signified   
*Korythalia* attributes to the figure of Artemis is found in Athenian rituals during   
which the *eiresione* was carried. The parallel functions of the *eiresione* or the   
*korythale* and the probable initiatory character of the rites of 6 Mounichion and   
of the Pyanopsia could confirm the interpretation given by the ancients of the

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|  | Tiassos, see Frazer, *Paus.* III, p. 349; on this sanctuary see Ziehen, *RE* 3A, coll.  1464f. |

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| 247. | On the ritual feasts of the Hyakinthia, see below pp. 183f.; although  mentioned in the same passage from Polemon, the κοπίς of the Tithenidia is not  identical to that of the Hyakinthia, and the two rituals were not celebrated at the same  time. In Athenaeus, the expression κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν του̑τον refers to the particular  occasion represented by the Tithenidia. |
| 248. | *EM* 531.53ff., 303.30ff. and 276.26ff., Hsch. s.v. κορυθαλία (K 3688  Latte), Eust. *Od.* 1856.33ff. |
| 249. | Wide, *Kulte*, pp. 123f., Nilsson, *Gr. Feste,* pp. 182ff.; given the homology  of the three levels, the question as to the vegetal meaning or the human meaning of  κόρος is difficult to decide: see Frisk, *GrEW,* s.v. κόρη; if one agrees with Frisk that  the original meaning is 'young man,' the metaphor develops diachronically on two  levels: the primary meaning of 'young man' has led to 'branch' which, associated  with θάλλειν, was reused to refer metaphorically to the young man; on this, see also  above p. 31 n. 48. |

-170-

symbolic value of the *korythale*. [250.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678687&offset=1#250.#250.) Naming the protector goddess of the   
Tithenidia, a festival for babies, as *Korythalia* shows that the rites which fell   
under her jurisdiction covered the whole process of growth from early childhood   
to adulthood.

The participation of dancers, young girls or women, in the cult of Artemis   
Korythalia—the reason for my including this festival in the discussion—is based   
on a single source, namely a gloss of Hesychius. According to this   
lexicographer, these dancers were called κορυθαλίστριαι, the dancers for   
Korythalia. [251.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678687&offset=1#251.#251.) Nilsson has taken another gloss of Hesychius that mentions the   
participation of satyr-like dancers in this same cult and associates with the dance   
of the *korythalistriai* a whole list of descriptions of orgiastic dances by Spartan   
women; [252.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678687&offset=1#252.#252.) he deduces in a rather general way that the cult of Korythalia has the   
bacchic features of "fertility festivals." The evidence is too weak to link these   
sources, which I shall analyze shortly, to the cult of Korythalia alone with any   
certainty.

The only allowable conjecture is that of identifying the *korythalistriai* with   
the nurses celebrating the Tithenidia. It is not impossible that these women,   
besides sacrificing to the goddess, performed orgiastic dances to bring down, by a   
kind of sympathetic ritual, the forces of growth upon the children present and   
perhaps upon those to come. Whatever we may suppose about such "magical"   
practices, it is significant that one of the two nurses of Apollo, according to a   
note in Plutarch, was named *Korythaleia*. [253.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678687&offset=1#253.#253.) The identity of the signifiers lets   
us attribute a function analogous to the nurses taking part in the Tithenidia, to   
the nurse of Apollo and to Artemis Korythalia defined as a nurturing Artemis.   
This confirms the essential function of Artemis Korythalia as kourotrophos. [254.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678687&offset=1#254.#254.)

The presence of nurses, thus of adult women, in the cult of Artemis   
Korythalia can only be justified insofar as these women are the intermediaries   
assuring the growth of young Spartans. Imbued with this function, they   
guarantee that for each child Artemis' role of promoting growth will be   
exercised. Just as Korythaleia was the nurse of Apollo, so they are the

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| 250. | On the 6th of Mounichion and Pyanopsia rituals, see above pp. 126ff. |
| 251. | Hsch. s.v. κορυθαλίστριαι (K 3689 Latte): αἱ χορεύουσαι τῃ̑ Κορυθαλίᾳ  θεᾳ̑; for archaic depictions of orgiastic female dances in relation to the newborn, see  I. Jucker, "Frauenfest in Korinth," *AK* 6, 1963, pp. 47-61. |
| 252. | Hsch. s.v. κυριττοί and κύριθρα (K 4684 and 4678 Latte), with Nilsson, *Gr.  Feste*, pp. 184ff. |
| 253. | Plut. *Mor.* 657e; the text of Eustathius cited above (n. 248) relates the  *korythale* to the *kourotrophia* of Apollo. |
| 254. | On Artemis as kourotrophos in general, see Wide, *Kulte*, p. 124; Schreiber,  *art*. *cit*. n. 20, coll. 569f.; Farnell, *Cults* II, pp. 463f. and above pp. 100f.; on the  relationship of Artemis Korythalia at Sparta with other kourotrophoi, see  Hadzisteliou-Price, *op. cit*. n. 234, pp. 138ff. and 189f. For the diligence of Spartan  nurses and on their fame in antiquity, see Plut. *Lyc*. 16.4f. |

-171-

*Korythaliai* of the future citizens and, supposing that the conjecture proposed   
above holds, their orgiastic dances could stimulate the powers of growth   
possessed by the goddess and transmit those powers to the babies.

It is therefore not possible to interpret the Tithenidia as a simple festival of   
fertility based only on the bacchic flavor of the dances of the *korythalistriai.*   
Such an interpretation would not take into account the particular function of   
these dances in an Artemisian context; it would confuse a whole series of rites   
that have a specific and distinct role by sticking the same "fertility rite" label on   
them all. In the same way as the function of savage nature differs according to   
whether it is the context for Artemis or Dionysus, and in the same way as the   
divine dancers in such a landscape assume the role of Nymphs or of Maenads   
according to the deity they attend upon, so do the ritual dances described as   
bacchic play a different role in an Artemisian or a Dionysiac context.

Dances with an orgiastic character appear in several parts of Greece. [255.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678688&offset=1#255.#255.) Even   
in Sparta, Artemis Korythalia is not the only one to be honored with   
bacchanalian dances. I have mentioned that dances by young Spartan girls at   
Karyai for Artemis Karyatis could have the same character; that, at any rate,   
would explain why they disappeared and were replaced by bucolic songs in the   
fifth century. On the other hand, the existence of an epigram attesting to the   
consecration of tambourines to Artemis Limnatis introduces similar Dionysiac   
connotations. [256.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678688&offset=1#256.#256.) The use of tambourines links the Dionysiac element to the   
ritual character of the dance. Located in the mountains, in the foothills of   
Taygetos, and near a spring, the cult of Artemis Dereatis, known only from a   
brief note of Pausanias, also included dances thought of as indecent by the   
ancients. [257.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678688&offset=1#257.#257.) Finally, such dances were probably not foreign to the sanctuary of   
Artemis Orthia; votive terra-cotta masks, found round the temple, can be linked   
to a gloss of Hesychius which mentions female Laconian masks worn by   
disguised dancers to perform satyr-like dances. Recently these masks,   
representing young unbearded men and hoplites, but also old women and   
caricatured figures, have been interpreted as referring to the ambivalent means   
used in the initiatory education of the young Spartans: the sufferings of the

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| 255. | Orgiastic dances in honor of Artemis for example in Elis (Paus. 6.22.1) and  in Syracuse (Ath. 14.629e); other instances in Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 187; Alcman  himself, fr. 63 P = 94 C, associates the Naiads with the Thyads. |
| 256. | See above p. 146. |
| 257. | Paus. 3.20.7, see Hitzig-Bluemmer, *Paus*. I, p. 844, and Wide, *Kulte*, pp.  117f.; Hsch. s.v. καλαβω̑ται (K 379 Latte): ἐν τῳ̑ τη̑ς Δερεατίδος Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῳ̑  ᾀδόμενοι ὔμνοι, see also s.v. καλαβίς (K 383 Latte); see Eupol. fr. 176 KA (= Ath.  14.630a), Hsch. s.v. καλλιβάντες (K 471 Latte), and Phot. *Lex*. s.v. καλλαβίδες (I,  p. 307 Naber). According to Nilsson, *Gr. Feste,* p. 185, the gloss of Hsch. s.v.  καλαοίδια (K 409 Latte), which gives this name to a Laconian festival honoring  Artemis, is linguistically related to the term καλαβω̑ται; see the objections to this of  Latte, *Salt.,* pp. 23ff., and Ziehen, *RE* 3A, coll. 1464f.; Verg. *Georg.* 2.487f. himself  sees in the Nymph Taygete a Bacchant. |

-172-

athletic and military trials, the fear provoked by satyr-like and grotesque   
figures. [258.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678689&offset=1#258.#258.) These masks recall in any case the wooden masks worn by the   
κυριττοί to celebrate Artemis Korythalia.

It therefore seems possible to find traces of orgiastic elements in each of the   
principal Laconian cults of Artemis. However, Artemis is not a Laconian   
substitute for Dionysus, since the latter had a right to the city in Sparta, as I   
shall explain. [259.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678689&offset=1#259.#259.) It is only possible to understand the presence of dances of a   
satyr-like nature in the Artemis cult if they are viewed as a kind of transitory   
negation of the order of civilization with an initiatory function. The growth of   
children, as of vegetation and animals, has to be nourished from birth to   
adulthood by ever new forces acting upon the untamed part of the young   
"sprouts," and since Artemis is concerned with the whole process of growth, it is   
normal that the ritual practices inviting such reversals of the order of adult   
civilization, "Dionysiac" or not, should be part of her cult.

To summarize: above and beyond the differences in function as described, the   
orgiastic dances performed by the emulators of Nymphs and Maenads have one   
thing in common, independent of their part in the cults of Dionysus or Artemis,   
namely that they always take place in natural surroundings. In both Artemisian   
and Dionysiac rites, this contact with uncultivated nature represents a break with   
the ordered world of the city and an immersion in a world where all cultural   
values are inverted or confused. This break is significant in all rites of passage,   
of which it is the second phase; it is the period of segregation from a world   
organized by men, and a return to chaos. The recurrence in Artemisian rites of   
ritual elements such as orgiastic dances, a mythical chorus of young girls   
incarnating life in the forest and mountain, nature in its wild state, all these   
elements suggest that these rites are rites of passage. But then the appearance of

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| 258. | See G. Dickins, "The Masks," in Dawkins, *Orthia*, pp. 163-186, with the  remarks of E. Kunze, review of Dawkins, *Orthia*, *Gnomon* 9, 1933, pp. 1-14 (pp.  10f.), and the interpretation now proposed by Vernant, *Métis* 2, pp. 279ff.; see also  J.B. Carter, "The Masks of Orthia," *AJA* 91, 1987, pp. 355-383, and Parker in  *Sparta*, pp. 151f. For speculations on the relationship of these terra-cotta masks with  the *Partheneia* of Alcman, see J.B. Carter, "Masks and Poetry in Early Sparta," in R.  Hägg, N. Marinatos, and G.C. Nordquist (eds.), *Early Greek Cult Practice,* Stockholm  1988, pp. 89-98. The oldest of these masks represent old women and are from the end  of the seventh century (beginning of the seventh according to Kunze). The remarks of  Hesychius may concern the archaic period: see s.v. βρυδαλίχα, βρυλλιχισταί, and  possibly βυλλίχαι (B 1234, 1245 and 1309 Latte), also Poll. 4.104. See Nilsson, Gr.  *Feste,* pp. 186f.; Latte, *Salt.,* pp. 8f.; and Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*, pp. 163ff.  Wide, *Kulte*, pp. 115f. and 279f., tries to prove a Dionysiac element in the founding  myth of the cult of Artemis Orthia, seeing in Astrabakos, one of the two heroes who  found the statue of the goddess on the banks of the Eurotas (see above n. 231), a  hypostasis of Dionysus. |
| 259. | The grotesque dances present in different cults of Artemis at Sparta have been  related to the satyr-dances by F. Stoessl, *Die Vorgeschichte des griechischen  Theaters,* Darmstadt 1987, pp. 60ff.; on Dionysus at Sparta, see below pp. 185ff. |

-173-

these elements in a particular cult, that of Artemis, specifies their significance.   
They are not just any rites of passage: they belong to the sub-class of adolescent   
rites, rites of tribal initiation. Included in the ritual practices for Artemis,   
orgiastic dances, besides activating the powers of nature, also indicate the break   
with the cultural order implied by the transition of the protégés of the goddess   
from one state to another. [260.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678690&offset=1#260.#260.)

**3.2.2. Apollo: The Hyakinthia**

Philostratos, by attributing to the Hyakinthia the same importance that the   
Isthmian Games had for the Corinthians and the Pythian Games for the people of   
Delphi, indicates the central position that this festival occupies in the cult   
calendar of Sparta. As confirmation, we recall that during this festival the   
Lacedaemonians were accustomed to observe a period of respite, and in 479 for   
example they refused to help the Athenians, who were being hard pressed by the   
Persians, before the Hyakinthia were at an end. [261.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678690&offset=1#261.#261.)

Athenaeus gives a detailed description of the ritual practices for this festival,   
taken from two works of the second century B.C., the *Laconica* by the historian   
Polycrates and the work by the geographer Polemon dedicated to the *Ceremonial   
Chariot mentioned by Xenophon*. [262.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678690&offset=1#262.#262.) As Nilsson showed, and more recently   
Brelich, the contrast between the practices as described in the two sources used   
by Athenaeus is only superficial. [263.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678690&offset=1#263.#263.)

The festival, which lasted for three days, included a ritual phase of mourning   
followed by a feast of rejoicing. The first day supposedly took the form of a   
funerary ritual honoring the memory of the hero Hyakinthos. On that day, no   
bread was eaten, there were no wreaths for the banquet, and no paean was sung in   
honor of Apollo. [264.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678690&offset=1#264.#264.) The day of fasting was followed by public festivities on a   
grand scale which Polycrates describes as a sort of many-colored spectacle (θέα   
ποικίλη); all the various members of the city took part. On this day there were   
musical and dance performances in which all the young people of the town   
participated. The children (παι̑δες) played the lyre, they sang songs accompanied

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| 260. | It is with a similar term, "Auflösung," that Burkert, *Homo Necans,* pp. 190f.,  interprets the use of masks representing old women in the cult of Artemis Orthia,  comparing it to other similar customs. See also Jeanmaire, *Couroi,* pp. 520f.; Graf,  *op. cit*. n. 210, pp. 89f.; and, without taking into account the arguments of his  predecessors, Vernant, *Métis* 2, pp. 283ff. |
| 261. | Philostr. *VS* 2.12.3; Hdt. 9.7.1 and 11.1; see also Thuc. 5.23.4. Other  references in Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, p. 130. Theodor. *Graec. affect*. 8.28 Raeder says that  the Spartans thought of it as a great public festival (δημοθοινία). |
| 262. | Ath. 4.138eff. = Polycr. *FGrHist* 588 F 1 and Polem. Hist. *FHG* fr. 86 (III, p.  142 Müller); critique of these sources in Bölte, *RhM* 78, pp. 132ff. |
| 263. | Brelich, *Paides*, pp. 143ff.; Nilsson, *Gr. Feste,* pp. 132ff. See also Rohde,  *Psyche,* p. 116 n. 2; Famell, *Cults* IV, pp. 264ff.; Mellink, *Hyakinthos,* pp. 29ff. |
| 264. | Εἰς τὸν θεόν (Ath. 4.139d): Apollo is certainly meant, not Hyakinthos; see  Ath. 4.138f: παρὰ τὸν θεόν (near the temple of the god), and 139e: τὸν θεὸν ᾅδουσιν. |

-174-

on the *aulos*, one of which—perhaps the paean not sung on the first day—was   
dedicated to Apollo; [265.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678691&offset=1#265.#265.) others, on horseback, appeared in the theater. The   
ephebes (νεανίσκοι) were divided into numerous choruses and sang local poems   
(τω̑ν ἐπιχωρίων τινὰ ποιημάτων ᾄδουσιν: here we find the feature 'geographical   
belonging'); they were joined by dancers who performed traditional dances   
(κίνησιν ἀρχαϊκήν) to the sound of the pipe and the singers' voices.

Young girls were not forgotten. The songs and dances of the boys seem to   
have taken place in one spot, in a theater of which Polycrates does not give us   
the exact location; the girls, however, were the central attraction of the   
procession organized at this time in which the whole city took part, according to   
Polycrates. Of the girls (παρθένοι), some took part in the parade (πομπεύουσι)   
on special chariots with particularly rich decoration, others were on chariots used   
in races. A gloss that probably crept into Athenaeus' text explains that the   
decorated chariots had the form of a wooden arch. Plutarch goes further and   
describes them as being shaped like griffons and stags—he-goats. The word   
κάνναθρον describing the special chariots derives from κάννα 'reed,' and it is   
legitimate to conclude with the ancient lexicographers that the frame was   
constructed by interlacing reeds and by moulding them to the shape of an   
unusual animal. Doubtless such a chariot was for the most prominent of the   
adolescents in town, since Xenophon tells how the daughter of Agesilas, king of   
Sparta, went to Amyklai, in other words to the Hyakinthia, on a *kannathron.* He   
describes the vehicle as πολιτικόν, showing the civic value of these   
constructions used solely for rituals. [266.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678691&offset=1#266.#266.)

The mention of this procession and the existence of a road called *Road of   
Hyakinthos* confirm that the festival took place at a distance from Sparta, at   
Amyklai, in the precincts of the sanctuary of Amyklaian Apollo. According to   
Pausanias, Hyakinthos was buried in a tomb that formed the pedestal of the   
monumental statue of Apollo. [267.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678691&offset=1#267.#267.) The procession must have brought all the   
participants in the festival in a line stretching from Sparta to Amyklai.

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| 265. | On the paean sung during the Hyakinthia: Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.11, and Ages. 2.17,  on this last passage, see above p. 45 n. 110. |
| 266. | Xen. *Ages.* 8.7, Plut. Ages. 19.5f.; see Hsch. s.v. κάνναι and κάνναθρα (K  676 and 675 Latte); note that in this gloss the use of the *kannathron* is associated  with a festival in honor of Helen (see below n. 329), *EM* 489.5ff., sch. BT Hom. *Il*.  24.190 and Eust. *Il*. 1344.44; on the formation of the term κάνναθρον, see  Chantraine, *Dict*. *étym*., s.v. κάννα. It will be recalled that Polemon had written a  whole treatise on the question of the *"kannathron* mentioned by Xenophon": Ath.  4.138e. This work probably referred to the passage in Ages. 8.7. On these carts, see  Bölte, RhM 78, pp. 137f., and Mellink, *Hyakinthos,* pp. 16f. |
| 267. | Paus. 3.1.3 and 3.19.3; on the Hyakinthos Way, see Ath. 4.173f. For a  reconstruction of the throne of Amyklai, see E. Buschor, "Vom Amyklaion  (Übersicht)," *MDAI(A)* 52, 1927, pp. 1-23 (p. 19); R. Martin, "Le trône  d'Amyclées," RA 1976, pp. 205-218; and Pipili, *Iconography,* pp. 81f. On its  religious significance, see F. Prontera, "Il trono di Apollo in Amide: appunti per la  topografia e la storia religiosa di Sparta arcaica," *AFLFP* 4, 1980/81, pp. 217-230. |

-175-

On the same day, or more probably on the third day of the festival, there was   
a grand sacrifice followed by a ritual meal called κοπίς, like the one in the   
Tithenidia. [268.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678692&offset=1#268.#268.) The most important citizens invited all those belonging to their   
household and those in their service. According to Polycrates, the town was quite   
empty on this occasion, since no one wanted to miss the sacrifice. So all   
segments of Spartan society were concerned with the festival of the Hyakinthia.

In the Hyakinthia young girls were not limited to the procession to the   
sanctuary of Apollo and Hyakinthos. When the chorus in Euripides' *Helen*   
imagines the heroine returning to her native town, it describes her meeting with   
the *Leukippides* on the banks of the Eurotas or in front of the temple of Pallas,   
and her part in the festivites (κώμοις) celebrated during the joyful nocturnal feasts   
for Hyakinthos. A passage of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, to which I shall return   
concerning Helen, confirms the presence of young Lacedaemonian girls in the   
sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai. [269.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678692&offset=1#269.#269.) Euripides' use of the term κω̑μος confers on   
the nocturnal dances of the Lacedaemonian girls Dionysiac connotations.

Some sources of rather eccentric origin agree with the indications given by   
the chorus in *Helen* suggesting the existence in the Hyakinthia of a ritual   
particularly reserved for girls and women. The first source is St. Jerome, which   
is significant, even if substantially wrong. From the festival of Karyai he   
transfers to the Hyakinthia the abduction by Aristomenes of the young Spartan   
virgins during the Third Messenian War *(rapuit de choris ludentium virginum   
quindecim*). [270.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678692&offset=1#270.#270.) Like Euripides, St. Jerome speaks of a night-time ritual and   
choruses of girls. This geographical displacement is only possible because St.   
Jerome knew that there were choruses of adolescent girls also at the Hyakinthia.   
Further, two later decrees (second century A.D.) found on the site of the cult of   
Amyklaian Apollo concern the nomination of a woman as ἀρχηίς and θεωρός   
for the festival of the Hyakinthia; the woman chosen for the position was elected   
on the basis of her discretion, dignity, and all the other qualities required of a   
woman of standing (σωφροσύνης τε καὶ σεμνότητος καὶ τη̑ς ἄλλης πάσης   
ἀρετη̑ς τη̑ς ἐν γυναιξὶν ἕνεκα). [271.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678692&offset=1#271.#271.) The terms describing her function include   
leading the procession and directing the festival as a whole (ἀγών).

In addition, a passage from Plutarch, in which he does not refer explicitly to   
the Hyakinthia but may well mean this festival, since he speaks of a festival

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| 268. | See Bölte, *RhM* 78, pp. 138ff., for the division of the ritual practices among  the three days of the festival as described by Polemon and Polycrates. He corrects the  θέαν in the final note of Polycrates' description (Ath. 4.139f.) to θοίνην: the  Hyakinthia would then not end with the spectacle of the adolescents but with the great  banquet. Bölte's suggestion has not been taken up by Mellink, *Hyakinthos,* pp. 12f.;  on the κοπίς, see below n. 293. |
| 269. | Eur. *Hel.* 1465ff.; on the meaning of this passage, see R. Kannicht,  *Euripides Helena* II, Heidelberg 1969, pp. 383ff.; Aristoph. *Lys.* 1296ff. |
| 270. | Hier. *Jov.* 1.41 (XXIII, p. 284 Migne). |
| 271. | *IG* V 1.586 and 587; see Mellink, *Hyakinthos,* pp. 22ff. |

-176-

involving the entire population (πάνδημον ἐορτήν), shows women celebrating a   
festival at the same time as adolescent girls, people of the household, and the   
newborn. This festival ended with a nocturnal rite performed near the sanctuary   
of Apollo in a big banquet tent (ἐν ἀνδρω̑νι διεπαννύχιζον, τὸ μυστήριον   
ἐπετέλουν). [272.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678693&offset=1#272.#272.) This rite might represent the counterpart of the great sacrificial   
feast celebrated by men at the Hyakinthia with their kin and servants. In   
describing the Spartan sanctuary of the *Leukippides*, Pausanias suggests that the   
women of the town wove a tunic for Amyklaian Apollo every year. This sacred   
practice took place in a special room which must have been in or near the   
sanctuary of Hilaeira and Phoibe, and which was called Χιτών. [273.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678693&offset=1#273.#273.) This   
contribution to the festival of Apollo by women gives us to understand that they   
also had their part in the ritual practices performed then.

Two archaeological documents support this. First, numerous terra-cotta   
female figurines found on the site of Apollo's sanctuary at Amyklai, some of   
which go back to the Mycenaean period and, second, a stele dating from the third   
century B.C. and found on the same site. [274.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678693&offset=1#274.#274.) This stele has carved on it a   
sacrifice scene and a choral scene representing five figures among whom we can   
identify a dancing woman, a second female figure playing the pipe, and a third   
holding a plectrum. The part played by the Spartan girls at the Hyakinthia was   
therefore not limited to the procession on the *kannathra*. It also included choral   
dancing. [275.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678693&offset=1#275.#275.)

This rough sketch of ritual practices culled from heterogeneous sources has   
not yet given us an idea of the cultic and social function of this festival. The   
only characteristic not seen in other festivals I have discussed is the involvement   
of all sectors of the civic body, from children to adults of both sexes. To begin   
to understand such a complex ritual, one must first ask to which divine being   
this festival was dedicated. Heretofore the problem has generally been dealt with   
historically. The formation in -νθ- in the term Ὑάκινθος has been taken as   
proof that the hero represents a pre-Hellenic deity, celebrated from the time of the

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| 272. | Plut. *Mor.* 775de. See Wide, *Kulte*, p. 288 n. 1; Nilsson, *Gr. Feste,* p. 137 n.  3; and Mellink, *Hyakinthos,* p. 21 n. 1. |
| 273. | Paus. 3.16.2; according to Mellink, *Hyakinthos,* p. 17, this *peplos* would  have been transported to Amyklai during the procession of the Spartan girls on the  *kannathra*. On the political, if not matrimonial, function of the weaving of this  *peplos,* see Scheid and Svenbro, *op. cit*. n. 78, pp. 19ff. and 61ff. |
| 274. | W. von Massow, "Vom Amyklaion (Einzelfunde)," *MDAI(A)* 52, 1927, pp.  33-64 (pp. 39ff.), with Buschor, *art*. *cit*. n. 267, p. 11; B. Schröder, "Archaische  Skulpturen aus Lakonien," *MDAI(A)* 29, 1904, pp. 21-49 (pp. 24ff.). See also the  very mutilated inscription published by C.N. Edmonson, "A Graffito from Amyklai,"  *Hesperia* 28, 1959, pp. 162-164. |
| 275. | Mellink, *Hyakinthos,* pp. 20 and 43f., on the basis of an interpretation by  Schröder, sees in this scene a specific dance called *kalathiskos,* associated with the  Artemis cult which also would have a place in the precincts of Amyklai: see Call. *Aet*.  III, fr. 75.24 Pf. and Paus. 3.18.9. |

-177-

Minoan founding of the town and gradually displaced by Apollo with the spread   
of the Greek pantheon. [276.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678694&offset=1#276.#276.) Without wishing to enlarge on conjectures about the   
history of the Hyakinthia, I will simply say that in the Archaic and Classical   
periods pertinent to my thesis the two supernatural beings cohabited at Amyklai,   
also in the physical meaning of the word, since the tomb of Hyakinthos was in   
the pedestal of the monumental statue of Apollo, as has been pointed out. This   
statue, says Pausanias, was not the work of Bathycles, who had constructed in   
the mid sixth century the famous throne of Amyklai; rather, it was an Archaic   
work with a rough form reminiscent of the protogeometric *xoana*. [277.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678694&offset=1#277.#277.) It is thus   
certain that from the beginning of the Archaic period the cults of the two   
supernatural beings were associated without their being identified with each   
other. [278.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678694&offset=1#278.#278.)

Independent of the dual presence of the god and of the hero, two elements   
offer historical perspectives showing the antiquity and civic importance of the   
festival. According to Aristotle, the armor of Timomakhos, hero of the capture   
of Amyklai by the Spartans, was regularly put on view during the Hyakinthia.   
The definitive conquest of Amyklai, a town which had succeeded in maintaining   
its independence in spite of the Dorian invasion of the Laconian plain, has been   
placed in the middle of the eighth century. [279.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678694&offset=1#279.#279.) The presentation of the armor is a   
sign of the civic and political value placed on this Amyklaian cult, and   
excavations show that it existed before the Spartan "conquest." The original   
meaning of the cult was certainly modified when it was absorbed into the   
Spartan cults. [280.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678694&offset=1#280.#280.)

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| 276. | See among others Farnell, *Cults* IV, pp. 126ff.; S. Eitrem, *RE* 9 (1916), s.v.  Ὑάκινθος (2), coll. 7f.; C. Picard, "Amyclæ et les Hyacinthes," *L'Acropole* 4, 1929,  pp. 206-222 (pp. 210ff.); M.P. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion,* Lund  1950, pp. 470f. and 556ff. Mellink, *Hyakinthos,* pp. 139ff., credits the Achaeans  with introducing Apollo into Amyklai; excellent remarks on this by Brelich, *Paides,*  pp. 177ff. On the pre-Hellenic character of linguistic forms in -νθ-, see P.  Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache,* Göttingen 1896,  pp. 402f. |
| 277. | Paus. 3.19.2; see Musti and Torelli, *Pausania* III, pp. 245ff. |
| 278. | This was the case in the time of Agesilas: see Paus. 3.10.1, see also Macr.  Sat. 1.18.2. The Hyakinthia were celebrated in honor of Apollo. |
| 279. | Sch. Pind. *I*. 7.12 (III, p. 263s. Drachmann) = Arist. *Resp*. *Lac.* fr. 532 Rose.  On the "conquest" and integration of Amyklai by the Spartans, see Kiechle,  *Lakonien,* pp. 55ff.; Huxley, *Sparta*, pp. 22f.; and Cartledge, *Sparta*, pp. 80ff. and  106ff. The traditional genealogy makes Hyakinthos a son of Amyklas who is himself  said to be the son of Lakedaimon and Sparte: Apoll. 3.10.3; the Amyklaian  genealogy has thus been linked with the Spartan genealogy, showing the dependence  of Hyakinthos (and of his cult) on the Lacedaemonian state. |
| 280. | On the archaeological history of the Amyklaion, see Buschor, *art*. *cit*. n.  267, pp. 3ff.; H. Waterhouse and R. Hope Simpson, "Prehistoric Laconia: Part I,"  *ABSA* 55, 1960, pp. 67-107 (pp. 74ff.); W. Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans and  Their Successors,* Oxford 1964, pp. 42 and 88ff.; and Cartledge, *Sparta*, pp. 81ff. |

-178-

The process of absorption was very rapid, as is proved by a second historical   
event that linked the founding of the Lacedaemonian colony of Tarentum to the   
flight of the Parthenians after a failed attack at the Hyakinthia. The colonization   
of Tarentum by the sons of Spartan women who had not taken part in the First   
Messenian War has been dated fairly exactly: the ancients assigned this event to   
the year 706. [281.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678695&offset=1#281.#281.) In less than fifty years the Hyakinthia had become the civic   
festival described in later accounts. In fact, according to the legend narrated by   
Strabo, those involved in the Parthenian plot chose to revolt during the   
Hyakinthia because the whole population (οἱ του̑ δήμου) was present at that   
moment.

The Hyakinthia as a Spartan festival was established permanently by the end   
of the eighth century. Of the two deities it celebrated, each had his own cult. The   
first day of the festival, austere and funerary, was dedicated to Hyakinthos, the   
second and third to Apollo, with the musical and sacrificial festivities already   
mentioned. This division is emphasized by Pausanias, who explains that before   
making the sacrifice (θυσία: sacrifice to an immortal) to Apollo, a sacrifice   
(ἐναγίζουσι: sacrifice to a mortal hero) was made to Hyakinthos within the   
tomb itself. [282.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678695&offset=1#282.#282.)

The separation of the two supernatural beings, one a god, the other a hero, is   
also present in the myths associated with the Hyakinthia, each having his own   
character and function.

One of the scenes on the tomb of Hyakinthos represents Demeter, Kore and   
Hephaistos, the Moirai and the Seasons, along with Aphrodite, Athena, and   
Artemis leading the hero and his sister Polyboia, depicted as a young virgin (ἔτι   
παρθένον), up to the sky. [283.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678695&offset=1#283.#283.) This relief probably dates from approximately the   
same period as the statue of Apollo, the pedestal of which was the tomb of   
Hyakinthos. It is at least not earlier than the middle of the sixth century when   
Bathycles constructed and sculpted the throne that served as support for the   
statue. This ascension scene of Hyakinthos and of his sister Polyboia to   
Olympus represents the final event in the legendary history of the two heroes.   
The most ancient form of the myth is given in a brief allusion in Euripides'

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| 281. | Strab. 6.3.2 = Antioch. Syr. *FGrHist*. 555 F 13. On the Parthenians, see M.  Schaefer, *RE* 18 (1949), s.v. *Partheniai*, coll. 1884ff.; M. Corsano, "Sparte et  Tarente: le mythe de fondation d'une colonie," *RHR* 196, 1979, pp. 113-140; and  Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir,* pp. 278ff. On the colonization of Tarentum, see TJ.  Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks,* Oxford 1948, pp. 29ff.; Kiechle, *Lakonien,* pp.  176ff.; and I. Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece,* Leiden 1987,  pp. 47ff. and 216ff. |
| 282. | Paus. 3.19.3; ἐναγίζω as opposed to θύω to describe the sacrifice offered to a  hero (deceased) in contrast to the sacrifice offered to a god (immortal): see Hdt. 2.44,  and Burkert, *Religion,* pp. 299 and 307ff.; Rohde, Psyche, p. 115 n. 3, is wrong to  think that the *before* in Pausanias' text has a chronological meaning. |
| 283. | Paus. 3.19.4, with the useful commentary of Musti and Torelli, *Pausania* III,  pp. 246f. |

-179-

*Helen* and tells how Apollo accidentally killed Hyakinthos in competing with   
him at throwing the discus. [284.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678696&offset=1#284.#284.) Some sources, all from the Hellenistic period,   
add that Hyakinthos was the beloved of Apollo. [285.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678696&offset=1#285.#285.) Most interpreters of the   
Hyakinthia see in this later addition of the love of the god for the hero a proof of   
the gradual absorption of the originally independent cult of Hyakinthos into that   
of Apollo. By turning the hero from an adult deity into a young effeminate   
lover, the myth of Hyakinthos would have been made banal and reduced to a   
sheer motif of Alexandrian literariness. [286.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678696&offset=1#286.#286.) True, Pausanias in describing the   
reliefs on the tomb says that Hyakinthos wore a beard, whereas later, Nicias, a   
sculptor at the end of the fourth century, depicted him in the flower of   
adolescence looking like Apollo's Ganymede. [287.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678696&offset=1#287.#287.) But it is generally overlooked   
that Pausanias also notes that Polyboia on the relief looks like an adolescent,   
and so it is likely either that Hyakinthos is wearing not his full adult beard, but   
his first youthful beard, as a young man about to become adult, or that he is   
taken to the sky as an adult. The myth thus seems to show Hyakinthos and   
Polyboia as adolescent heroes already during the Archaic period. [288.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678696&offset=1#288.#288.)

The existence at Knidos of an Artemis Hyakinthotrophos is an additional   
indication of the image of childhood and adolescence the hero must have

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| 284. | Eur. *Hel.* 1471ff.; for the iconographical representation of the young  Hyakinthos, see Pettersson, *Apollo at Sparta*, pp. 30ff. |
| 285. | Apoll. 1.3.3 and 3.10.3; other sources in Eitrem, *art*. *cit*. n. 276, col. 9f.,  and Sergent, *Homosexualité*, pp. 102ff. In one of the versions of the legend,  Hyakinthos is even credited with being the initiator of male homosexuality.  Pausanias, 3.19.5, is somewhat skeptical about the episodes of the accidental death  of Hyakinthos and his metamorphosis into a flower. |
| 286. | See Rohde, *Psyche,* pp. 114ff., and Nilsson, *Gr. Feste,* pp. 130f. |
| 287. | Paus. 3.19.4, see Hitzig-Bluemmer, *Paus.* I, p. 833; for an image of  Hyakinthos as adolescent dating from about 500, see Mellink, *Hyakinthos,* pp. 168f. |
| 288. | On this subject, see Brelich, *Paides,* p. 148 n. 110, and Sergent, *Homo-  sexualité*, p. 106f.; see also L. Piccirilli, "Ricerche sul culto di Hyakinthos," *SCO* 16,  1967, pp. 99-116. Outside Laconia, Hyakinthos ended by being identified with  Apollo: on the cult of Apollo Hyakinthos at Tarentum, see Pol. 8.28.2f., and G.  Gianelli, *Culti e miti della Magna Grecia*, Firenze 21963, pp. 27ff. Polyboia was also  identified with Artemis or Kore: see Hsch. s.v. Πολύβοια (Π 2825 Schmidt). If they  cannot be identified with the gods of adolescence, Hyakinthos and Polyboia were  certainly adolescent heroes: see Jeanmaire, *Couroi,* pp. 529f. On the other hand, one  should be skeptical about the etymology proposed by K. Brugmann and B. Delbrück,  *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* I, Berlin‐  Leipzig 21930, p. 261, who give the term ὑάκινθος the meaning of 'young  adolescent' (etymology and meaning accepted by Farnell, *Cults* IV, p. 126).  Conversely, the ancients attributed to the hyacinth plant qualities related to ado-  lescence : it was supposed to retard the onset of puberty: Dsc. 4.63, Plin. *NH*  21.26.97. On the youth of Hyakinthos, see Nic. *Ther.* 905: πρωθήβην Ὑάκινθον,  and the complementary information given by Forbes-Irving, *Metamorphoses,* pp.  133ff. and 280ff. |

-180-

embodied. [289.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678697&offset=1#289.#289.) On the other hand, the daughters (παι̑δας) of Erechtheus, whom   
the Athenians sacrificed in order to rid their city of famine and plague sent by   
Zeus, were called *Hyakinthides.* A later version of the myth probably took the   
term literally and turned the daughters of Erechtheus into the daughters of   
Hyakinthos, displacing the latter, one knows not why, from Sparta to Athens.   
This designation, however, probably referred to a function of the girls in an   
adolescent ritual. The ritual character of the denomination *Hyakinthides* is all the   
more probable in that in Euripides' *Erechtheus,* Athena declares that she will   
give to the sacrificed virgins the name of Ὑακινθίδες θεαί and that the   
Athenians will honor them every year with sacrifices and choral dances performed   
by young girls (παρθένων [χορεύ]μασιν). The name *Orthaia* assigned to one of   
them possibly means that they represented hypostases of Artemis in the same   
way as Oupis and Hekaerge, the young Hyperboreans worshipped at Delos. [290.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678697&offset=1#290.#290.)

In spite of the ambiguities, the various elements surrounding the figure of the   
Amyklaian hero sketch out a myth and a cult of adolescence. One cannot deny *a   
priori* that Hyakinthos was honored in the beginning as an adult. But the scene   
on his tomb and the text of Euripides' *Helen* persuade me to believe that since   
the eighth century at any rate, as the Hyakinthia developed as a Spartan rather   
than a local festival, Hyakinthos is represented with adolescent features.

However, the funerary aspects of the cult caused Rohde to classify the cult   
with other rituals for chthonic divinities. Following him, Nilsson emphasizes   
the joyful character of the second day of the festival and sees a cult invoking the   
forces of vegetation. He makes it a spring festival, the Spartan equivalent of the   
Athenian Thargelia. Brelich, struck by the contrast between the mourning of the   
first day and the joy of the second, stresses the structural aspect of the contrast   
and sees it as the sign of transition from one order to another, thus making the   
Hyakinthia an initiation rite and a feast of renewal. And Brulé, comparing the

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| 289. | *SGDI* 3501, 3502 and 3512; see Nilsson, Gr. *Feste*, pp. 140 n. 4 and 241,  and L. Robert, *Hellenica* VII, Paris 1949, pp. 114ff. Wide, *Kulte*, p. 95, on the basis  of a gloss of Hesychius, s.v. κουρίδιον (K 3853 Latte), juxtaposes the Apollo  τετράχειρ honored in Sparta with the Apollo celebrated at the Hyakinthia. However,  contrary to Wide's idea, the gloss emphasizes the relation of the Amyklaian Apollo  with the Parthenians rather than his adolescent character. |
| 290. | Dem. 60.27, Eur. *Erechth*., fr. 65.73ff. Austin; see *Sud*. s.v. Παρθένοι (Π  668 Adler). According to Apoll. 3.15.8, the adolescents sacrificed by the Athenians  were the daughters of Hyakinthos himself. See also Diod. Sic. 17.15.2, Harp. s.v.  Ὑακινθίδες (p. 295, 11f. Dindorf); Steph. Byz. s.v. Λουσία (p. 419 Meineke); and  Hyg. Fab. 238.2. This more recent version of the myth of Hyakinthos has been used  by historicists, cited above n. 276, to confirm their thesis of a Hyakinthos  worshipped at Amyklai as an adult hero. Mellink, *Hyakinthos* pp. 56ff., rightly  prefers to see in the *Hyakinthides* the Ὑακινθοτρόφοι. On the *Hyakinthides,* see  Herzog-Hauser, *art*. *cit.* p. 26 n. 28, coll. 1905ff., and Brulé, *La fille d'Athènes*, pp.  31f. and 203f.; see also Sissa and Detienne, *op. cit.* p. 133 n. 128, pp. 242ff. |

-181-

Lacedaemonian festival with the Great Panathenaia at Athens, sees in both of   
them festivals of renovation of the whole civic community. [291.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678698&offset=1#291.#291.)

This contrast between the funerary sacrifice to Hyakinthos and the joyful   
rituals offered to Apollo is surely central to any interpretation of the festival of   
the Hyakinthia. Viewed as the necessary succession of two ritual phases in the   
same festival, it seems to translate a sort of passage from death to life. If one   
accepts Brelich's initiatory interpretation, which seems to explain the presence of   
Apollo, the Hyakinthia could be the final ceremony of a process of tribal   
initiation. From the annihilation of the old order, from death and mourning, we   
pass to a new life marked by the joy of resurrection. This process is dramatized   
in the myth of Hyakinthos: the youth, killed by Apollo, the god of adolescence,   
in a competition of discus throwing, consequently in an adolescent exercise, is   
carried off to the sky where he takes on the new status of hero. After a short   
period of death, he is reborn and begins a new life with his sister Polyboia. The   
Hyakinthia may have been the annual ritual repetition of this mythological   
drama, which provided the festival's significance.

There are many rites in the Hyakinthia which could be seen as a celebration   
of the end of initiation for young citizens in Sparta. It has been said that the   
paean to Apollo could be sung before or after a trial representing some sort of   
danger, as a hymn of propitiation or gratitude. It would then take its place after a   
successful outcome of the trial. In addition, the children with their musical and   
choral performances would prove to the assembled city what they had learned   
during the period of initiation. The local and traditional character of the songs   
and dances stood in direct relation with the past of the city that the children thus   
revitalized at each festival. These features of 'spectacle' and 'public' also define   
the children riding on horseback through the theater and the girls in procession   
riding on the *kannathra*. In spite of the conjectural character of these suggestions,   
I would not be surprised if the spectacle mentioned by Polycrates as a high point   
in the second day of festivities was actually a presentation to the townspeople of   
the new boy and girl initiates. As Hyakinthos and Polyboia, the young   
Lacedaemonians were born again on the second day to a new life, for which they   
expressed their thanks to Apollo. Their imminent integration into the adult   
community was of interest to one and all, hence, as Polycrates says, the town   
emptied itself entirely on the occasion of the spectacle.

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| 291. | Rohde, *Psyche,* pp. 115ff.; Nilsson. Gr. Feste, p. 140; Brelich, *Paides,* pp.  143ff.; and P. Brulé, "Fêtes grecques: périodicité et initiations. Hyakinthies et  Panathénées," in A. Moreau (ed.), *L'initiation* I. *Les rites d'adolescence et les  mystères*, Montpellier 1992, pp. 19-38. See also Jeanmaire, Couroi, pp. 529ff., and  the recent speculations of B. Sergent, "Svantovit et l'Apollon d'Amyklai," *RHR* 211,  1994, pp. 15-58. One should notice that the Hyakinthia were probably celebrated  during the summer: see below, n. 293. On the contrary, Pettersson, *Apollo at Sparta*,  pp. 25ff. and 75ff., sees in the Hyakinthia, with their dual structure, a rite of passage  marking the departure from "the mundane life" and the beginning of the liminal  period. |

-182-

A comparison of the food eaten in the ritual banquets during the Hyakinthia   
and the Athenian Pyanopsia offers a striking parallel for the interpretation I have   
just put forward. Polemon says that, in additon to the goats sacrificed to Apollo,   
the Spartan citizens at Amyklai ate special bread resembling a cake made of oil   
and honey known as ἐγκρίς, pieces of cheese, sausage, and blood sausage, dried   
fruits including figs, beans, and green beans, and some sources add black broth   
(ζωμός). [292.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678699&offset=1#292.#292.) In the Pyanopsia, one of the central rites consisted in eating a sweet   
porridge made of grains and vegetables. Also, the *eiresione* carried on this   
occasion in honor of the god Apollo was decorated with figs, bread rolls, cakes,   
and little jars containing honey, oil, and wine. [293.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678699&offset=1#293.#293.) Certainly, in and of itself,   
this food has no meaning; however, appearing simultaneously in the same meal   
and in the context of an Apollonian ritual, they are charged with significance. In   
the Pyanopsia festival, itself named for a soup of grains and vegetables eaten on   
this occasion, the food symbolized the *panspermia* at the end of the harvest in   
October. Although there is no text to support it, one could be tempted to   
attribute to the food eaten on the second day of the Hyakinthia an analogous   
significance, in which case the κοπίς of the Hyakinthia, because of the   
consumption of the fruits of the earth produced during the summer, would mark   
the end of the harvest season. [294.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678699&offset=1#294.#294.)

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| 292. | Ath. 4.139a. Athenaeus, 4.140ab, cites two other fragments listing the  dishes eaten at the κοπίς of the Hyakinthia. One of them, due to Epilycos, fr. 4 KA,  links the feast to the ritual for Amyklaian Apollo explicitly and speaks of barley  cakes, wheat loaves, and a sweetened broth. The other, by Molpis, *FGrHist.* 590 F 1,  tells of barley bread, wheat bread, meat, raw vegetables, broth, figs, dried fruits, and  hare. The broth listed by both is perhaps the same as the bean or barley soup men-  tioned by Alcman, fr. 96 P = 130 C, when he uses the term, πυάνιον πολτόν, that gave  its name to the ritual of the Athenian Pyanopsia. See P. Von der Mühll, "Kultische  und andere Mahlzeiten bei Alcman," *ASTP* 47, 1951, pp. 208-214 (pp. 212f.);  Calame, *Alcman*, pp. 533ff.; and Nafissi, *Kosmos*, pp. 214ff. The parallel I propose  here between Lacedaemonian Hyakinthia and Athenian Pyanopsia was previously  suggested by Jeanmaire, Couroi, p. 528; see also Nilsson, *Gr. Feste,* p. 135. On the  general significance of those ritual banquets, see L. Gernet, "Frairies antiques," *REA*  51, 1928, pp. 313-59 (reprinted in *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique*, Paris 1968,  pp. 21-61). |
| 293. | Plut. *Thes.* 22.5f.; Eust. *Il*. 1283.6ff.; *EM* 303.18ff.; Harp. s.v. Πυανόψια  (pp. 265, 2ff. Dindorf); *Sud*. s.v. πυανεψιω̑νος (Π 3104 Adler); Phot. *Lex*. s.v.  Πυανόψια (II, p. 120 Naber). See also Ath. 14.648b = Sosib. *FGrHist.* 595 F 12 and  Hsch. s.v. πυσάνια (Π 4478 Schmidt): see now Calame, *Thésée*, pp. 291ff., and  above p. 126 with n. 110. The comparison and distinction between the "κοπίς" of the  Hyakinthia and the meal of the Pyanopsia has been carried further by L. Bruit, "The  Meal at the Hyacinthia: Ritual consumption and offering," in O. Murray (ed.),  *Sympotica. A Symposium on the* Symposion, Oxford 1990, pp. 162-174. |
| 294. | Unfortunately there is nothing in any of the documents for the Hyakinthia  period to confirm this interpretation. It has not yet even been possible to settle on  where the month Hecatombeus, the month of the Hyakinthia, falls in the Spartan |

-183-

The analogy between the Hyakinthia and the Pyanopsia is not limited to   
food, which is significant on one level, nor to agricultural topics. I have   
indicated that the Pyanopsia could have been interpreted as a final rite in the   
initiation process of adolescents insofar as it is linked to the myth of Theseus'   
return from Crete with his young companions. This would explain why the rite   
has been perceived since antiquity as an act of thanksgiving to Apollo for having   
protected Theseus and his companions who had escaped from the Cretan   
labyrinth. [295.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678700&offset=1#295.#295.) This interpretation of the Pyanopsia would correspond to the   
initiatory value I gave to the presentation of the adolescents to the townspeople,   
and to the transition from a period concerned with death to a state of renewed life   
found in both the myth of Hyakinthos and the two contrasting phases of the   
Spartan Hyakinthia. [296.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678700&offset=1#296.#296.)

Once more, the post-war publications of papyri shed new light on the poet   
Alcman and give us reasons, although slight and subject to discussion, to   
connect his name with the festival of the Hyakinthia. The same fragment of an   
*hypomnema*, containing several lines of the poem in which the *choregos*   
Agesidamos and the chorus of *Dymainai* appear, reproduces a few supplementary   
lines, in support of a discussion of the poet's Lydian origins, where the words   
*Amyklai*, *near the Eurotas and Atarnides* can be read. These lines begin with the   
feminine ἄκουσα, and it is very probable that the poem was sung by a chorus of   
young girls; the chorus might have been situated at Amyklai and might be   
describing its own activity there, or it might be describing another female chorus   
singing at Amyklai (ἄκουσα τα̑ν ἀηδ[όνων). [297.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678700&offset=1#297.#297.) Whether this fragment is by

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|  | calendar, as Hesychius says, s.v. Ἑκατομβεύς (E 1272 Latte); see also *IG* V. 1,  511.2. A month called *Hyakinthios* occurs in the Laconian inscription *IG* V. 1, 18B.  8, and the appearance of this month in other Greek calendars at the height of summer  has led most scholars to think that the Hyakinthia took place in July. See recently  Robertson, *Festivals,* p. 153 n. 17. On the various opinions, see E.F. Bischoff, RE 9  (1916), s.v. *Hyakinthios* (2), and the exhaustive discussion by Mellink, *Hyakinthos,*  pp. 25ff. Nilsson alone, *Gr. Feste,* pp. 134f., has adopted a different method of  dating, but an unconvincing one: given the season in which the harvest was eaten  fresh during the Hyakinthia, he deduces that the festival took place during the  Athenian month Thargelion (24 April-24 May) and that it therefore had the character  of fertility rituals at the start of the harvest; it would then correspond more or less to  the Athenian Thargelia. |

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| 295. | Plut. *Thes.* 22.4; Eust. *Il*. 1283.17ff.; see above pp. 126f. |
| 296. | In my recent research in *Thésée*, pp. 432ff., I expressed some doubts about a  unilateral initiatory interpretation of the Pyanopsia. |
| 297. | Alcm. fr. 10 (*a*) P = test. 5 C = P. Oxy. 2506, fr. 1 (c). In his comments in the  edition of the *P. Oxy.* vol. 29, p. 31, Page is inclined to attribute the quotation not to  Alcman (ουσαν and που are not used by the poet), but to Aeschylus, whose name may  be written at the head of the column. In the edition of the *PMG,* on the other hand,  Page extracts from the quotations fragments of phraseology containing non-dialectal |

-184-

Alcman or not—the attribution of the poem depends on how one interprets the   
first words of the commentary—the commentator certainly used these lines as   
proof of the compatibility of Alcman's foreign origins and his activity as   
chorus-master of the girls and boys (διδάσκαλος τω̑ν θυγατέρων καὶ ἐφή[βω]ν)   
of Sparta, preparing civic choruses (πατρίο[ις] χοροι̑ς). One can deduce that the   
fragment gave the example of a poem in which Alcman describes himself or is   
described as a foreigner, and is linked to a chorus engaged in a typical Spartan   
festival. In the *hypomnema* the festival is called the Hyakinthia; as regards   
Alcman's name, I suggest it can be seen in the Ἀταρνίδα in line 15. [298.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678701&offset=1#298.#298.)   
Foreign poet, but one involved in the civic and religious life of Sparta, Alcman   
seems to have been active in both the festivals of Artemis Karyatis and the   
Hyakinthia. I shall return to the pedagogical role the poet seems to have played   
for the chorus, according to the papyrus commentary.

**3.2.3. Leukippides and Dionysiades**

Although no female chorus is involved in the cult honoring the *Leukippides*,   
the association of the eleven *Dionysiades* with the two sisters in the cult of   
Dionysus Kolonatas offers an invitation to clear up the problems arising from   
the myths and the cult associated with the ambiguous figures of these twin cult   
figures—ambiguous because both myth and cult place these two and their   
priestesses among the young girls and among the married women.

First, the cult: the *Leukippides,* Hilaeira and Phoibe, had a temple in the   
precincts of Sparta, in a quarter situated, according to Pausanias, near the   
Limnaion. The priestesses of this cult, also called *Leukippides* and probably also   
numbering two, are young girls, παρθένοι. The figure of Leda should, in a way,   
be associated with this cult, or her daughter Helen, since on view in the temple   
of the twins was the egg brought forth by the heroine. [299.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678701&offset=1#299.#299.)   
In addition, the priestesses of the *Leukippides* were associated with the cult of   
Dionysus and the group of eleven servants of this cult, called the *Dionysiades.*   
The Spartan Dionysus had his principal sanctuary in the center of the town, not

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|  | words and includes them in the commentary; in the apparatus, he expresses  skepticism as to the attribution of the remaining lines to Alcman. |

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| 298. | An [Ἀ|ταρνίδες reappears in the sch. B, fr. 6, col. II. 9f. ad Alcm. fr. 1 P = 3  C, but the context is not clear (on this see Lobel, *P. Oxy.* vol. 24, p. 38). Hdt. 1.160,  6.28, 7.42, 8.106, and Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.11, give the name *Atarneus* to the region of the  Aeolid across from Lesbos. This region is connected with either Mysia or Lydia. It is  not improbable that Alcman the Lydian was also called the *Atarnida*. On the problem  of the origin of the poet, see Calame, *Alcman*, pp. xivff. |
| 299. | Paus. 3.16.1, see Plut. *Mor.* 302d. |

-185-

far from the temples of Apollo Karneios and Athena and Zeus Amboulioi, on the   
site called *Kolona* (the hill), which gave the god his epiclesis *Kolonatas*. [300.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678702&offset=1#300.#300.)

It is difficult to determine what the cult of the *Leukippides* Hilaeira and   
Phoibe consisted of. The only indication of a ritual practice is given by the   
chorus in Euripides' *Helen*, quoted with regard to the festival of the Hyakinthia.   
Here the chorus evokes the meeting of Helen with the *Leukippides* on her return   
to Sparta. They describe the meeting as taking place either among the choruses   
on the banks of the Eurotas, or in front of the temple of Athena, or during the   
nocturnal festivities of the Hyakinthia. Leaving aside the festival at Amyklai,   
the two other places have been respectively identified with the Dromos, the ritual   
function of which I discuss below, and the temple of Athena Khalkioikos, which   
was the main cult site for the goddess with the blue-green eyes at Sparta. [301.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678702&offset=1#301.#301.) The   
scene evoked by the chorus takes place in mythical time, and it is probable that   
the *Leukippides* celebrated in song are the cult figures themselves and not their   
priestesses. The evocation of the *Leukippides* on the Dromos at any rate   
confirms the connection with the cult of Helen, hinted at by Leda's egg laid on   
the roof of the temple.

We are better informed about the Spartan cult of Dionysus. According to   
Pausanias, this cult served as a framework for two different practices: on the one   
hand, a double sacrifice made by the *Dionysiades* and the *Leukippides* to the   
anonymous hero who introduced Dionysus into the city and to Dionysus   
himself, and on the other, a footrace (δρόμου ἀγω̑να) in which the eleven   
*Dionysiades* competed.

There have been numerous conjectures as to the identity of the pre-Dionysiac   
hero honored on the hill of Kolona at the same time as Dionysus. In line with   
the different suggestions as to the father of the *Leukippides,* the names of   
Phoibos, Leukippos, and Helios have been put forward, [302.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678702&offset=1#302.#302.) but the oldest   
version of the myth of the *Leukippides,* reported in the *Cypria*, makes these   
adolescents the daughters of Apollo. This is the version we could use in order to

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| 300. | Paus. 3.13.6f., see Ath. 13.574d = Polem. Hist. *FHG* fr. 18 (III, p. 121  Müller). This detail that the temple of Dionysus was built on a hill does not agree  with Strab. 8.5.1, who mentions a temple of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις. On this see Wide,  *Kulte*, pp. 161f.; Ziehen, RE 3A, coll. 1475f.; and in particular Musti and Torelli,  *Pausania* III, pp. 208f. |
| 301. | Eur. *Hel.* 1465ff. (the text mentions simply the temple of Pallas, but Athena  Khalkioikos was twice mentioned at the beginning of the tragedy, lines 227 and  245), see Kannicht, *op. cit*. n. 269, pp. 381f. On the cult of Athena Khalkioikos, see  Ziehen, *RE* 3A, col. 1455. On Helen's part in this cult, see below pp. 192f. |
| 302. | See Wide, *Kulte*, pp. 160f., and E. Kuhnert in Roscher, s.v. *Leukippiden*,  col. 1992. The latter author offers the idea, already presented to explain the  simultaneous presence at Amyklai of Hyakinthos and Apollo, of Dionysus' gradually  substituting for a more ancient sun hero. |

-186-

identify the hero honored at Kolona. It is quite probable that he assumed an   
Apollonian character. [303.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678703&offset=1#303.#303.)

As for the footrace, it could be compared with two others. First, two glosses   
of Hesychius speak of a race run by young Spartan girls (παρθένοι); one of   
them explicitly names them *Dionysiades,* adding that the race took place during   
the Dionysia. [304.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678703&offset=1#304.#304.) Second, we have seen that at Olympia the college of sixteen   
women of Elis had to organize, among other things, a race for separate age   
groups of girls which took place during the Heraia. [305.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678703&offset=1#305.#305.) This race, run by girls,   
as was that of the *Dionysiades,* took place in the context of a cult for an adult   
god. It probably had the same function of adolescent initiation into adult life and   
into marriage as the rite of the chorus of Physkoa, also organized by the college   
of sixteen Eleans and performing at Elis, on the occasion of the Thyia dedicated   
to Dionysus. The race of the Spartan *Dionysiades* might represent the ritual and   
the civilized counterpart of a mythical and bacchic race such as that of the   
*Proitides* or that of the *Minyades.* I have already discussed the transition of   
adolescence to the state of married woman embodied by these two myths of free‐   
form races in the mountains which can be complementary to rituals celebrated by   
girls and women for Dionysus inside the civic space. [306.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678703&offset=1#306.#306.)

The presence of the *Leukippides,* the priestesses of the two adolescent   
divinities Hilaeira and Phoibe, in the cult of Dionysus, the god of adult women,   
is somewhat contradictory. The same contrast between adolescence and adulthood   
is found in the legends associated with the mythical figures of the *Leukippides.*   
Described by Euripides and Pausanias as young girls (κόραι, παρθένοι), the   
*Leukippides* were venerated near Argos as mothers (μητέρες) at the same time as   
the Dioskouroi whose wives they were. [307.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678703&offset=1#307.#307.) The apparently contradictory   
semantic features of the Argive cult of the *Leukippides* send us back to the very   
large and complex myth surrounding the two divinities in Lacedaemonia, in   
which they appear both as adolescents and as married women.

In discussing the myth of Helen's abduction, I mentioned the differing   
versions of the *Leukippides* myth which are connected with the events of their

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| 303. | Paus. 3.16.1 = *Cypr.* fr. 11 Bernabé. The double set of parents of the  *Leukippides* is not surprising: human parents are often doubled by divine ones. The  Dioskouroi are themselves the sons of both Tyndareus and Zeus; on this see Brelich,  *Eroi,* p. 297. |
| 304. | Hsch. s.v. Διονυσιάδες (Δ 1888 Latte): ἐν Σπάρτῃ παρθένοι, αἱ ἐν τοι̑ς Διο‐  νυσίοις δρόμον ἀγωνιζόμεναι, and s.v. ἐν Δριώνας (E 2823 Latte): δρόμος παρθένων  ἐν Λακεδαίμονι; the lemma of this last gloss has been compared to the Driodones,  divinities of which we know only that they were worshipped at Sparta: see Hsch. s.v.  Δριωδόνες (Δ 2391 Latte), and Ziehen, *RE* 3A, coll. 1479f.; see also below n. 328. |
| 305. | See above p. 114. |
| 306. | See Burkert, *Homo Necans*, pp. 192ff., and above pp. 134ff. |
| 307. | Paus. 3.16.1, Eur. *Hel.* 1466; Paus. 2.22.5: on this Argive sanctuary of the  Dioskouroi and of Hilaeira and Phoibe, see D. Musti and M. Torelli, *Pausania* II,  Milano 1986, p. 286. |

-187-

abduction by the *Tyndaridai* and their marriage with these figures. [308.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678704&offset=1#308.#308.) The oldest   
version of the legend has been reconstructed and corresponds to the version partly   
present in the *Cypria* and in Pindar, and it is found narrated in Lycophron. In this   
version, the *Apharetidai* laugh at the Dioskouroi during a banquet given by the   
latter on Paris' journey to Sparta, because they carried off the daughters of   
Leukippos (of Apollo in the version of the *Cypria*) and married them without   
giving their father a gift (τω̑ν κορω̑ν ἁρπαγεισω̑ν ἄνευ ἕδνων). Cut to the quick,   
the Dioskouroi steal cattle from the sons of Aphareus for a gift. Then comes the   
famous fight between the *Tyndaridai* and the *Apharetidai*, related by Pindar in the   
*Tenth Nemean*. In the most recent form of the myth, the *Leukippides,* promised   
to the sons of Aphareus, were on the contrary abducted by the *Tyndaridai,* who   
had been invited to the wedding banquet of the Messenian "men" and the Spartan   
"women." A lesser known version has the Dioskouroi abduct the *Leukippides* in   
order to marry them (ἁρπάσαντες ἔγημαν) and father two children.

The event common to these different versions is that the abduction of the   
*Leukippides* results in their marriage to the Dioskouroi. The abduction does not   
have the fatal consequences present in the myths associated with the festivals of   
Artemis Limnatis or Karyatis. Abduction here is not equivalent to rape, nor does   
it mean the death of the young girls, but a regular union with the heroes who   
protected the city. The connection between this and the celebrated Spartan   
custom of the fiancé abducting his future wife before marrying her is evident. [309.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678704&offset=1#309.#309.)   
For once the myth seems to be the direct reflection of the institutional reality.   
But the significance of the myth as regards marriage goes beyond this immediate   
connection with the social referent.

Among the figurative representations of the mythical episodes of the   
*Leukippides* mentioned by Pausanias, the scene of their abduction seems to have   
drawn as much attention as their marriage with the sons of Tyndareus. [310.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678704&offset=1#310.#310.) It is   
surely not by chance that in Sparta the two scenes of the abduction of the   
*Leukippides* given by Pausanias were to be found on the bronze parts of the   
temple of Athena Khalkioikos and on the famous throne of Apollo at Amyklai   
in the sanctuary where the Hyakinthia were celebrated. These two sanctuaries   
were associated with female adolescence. Furthermore, two abduction scenes, one

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| 308. | Lyc. *Alex.* 546ff. with sch. *ibid.* 547 (II, pp. 194f. Scheer), see *Cypr.* p. 40  Bernabé, Pind. *N.* 10.60ff.; Theocr. 22.137ff., sch. Pind. *N.* 10.60 (III, pp. 178f.  Drachmann), Apoll. 3.10.3 and 3.11.2, see Kuhnert, *art*. *cit*. n. 302, coll. 1988ff.,  and U. von Wilamowitz, *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker,* Berlin  1906, p. 188 n. 1. Note that the *Leukippides* had a sister, Arsinoe, who was loved by  Apollo and conceived Asclepius by him according to a Messenian legend: see Hes. fr.  50 MW and Apoll. 3.10.3. On the *Apharetidai* as Messenian heroes, see W. Drexler in  Roscher, s.v. *Idas* (1), col. 97ff. |
| 309. | Xen. *Resp. Lac.* 1.6, Plut. *Lyc*. 15.4f. |
| 310. | Paus. 3.17.3, 3.18.11, 4.31.9 (ἁρπαγή), 1.18.1 (γάμον), see 2.22.5  *(Leukippides* as μητέρες in comparison with the Dioskouroi and their children; see  above n. 307). |

-188-

on a krater dating from around 440, and one on a hydria of Meidias from around   
410, are a significant addition to the literary evidence of this myth. [311.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678705&offset=1#311.#311.)

It is difficult to identify all the characters on the krater. The center of the   
frieze has three young girls who could represent a chorus or a group of two   
surrounding the third daughter of Leukippos, Arsinoe. From this point, two   
quadrigae move away, each carrying one of the *Tyndaridai* and one of the   
*Leukippides.* A woman waving farewell and a seated man could be the parents of   
the *Leukippides,* while a person standing behind one of the quadrigae and holding   
laurel branches is certainly Apollo. The other quadriga is accompanied by a   
woman with the same coiffure as the woman identified as the mother of the   
*Leukippides.* Is this Artemis, complementing the figure of Apollo on the other   
side of the scene, or an adult divinity? The interpreter can only conjecture. The   
Dioskouroi are represented as young men with their first beard and are also   
crowned with laurel. There is no hint of violence in the scene, and the abduction   
seems to be completely accepted by the characters present.

In the scene painted by Meidias, however, the abduction takes place under the   
eyes of Aphrodite, of Peitho, of Agave, and of Zeus, who are gathered round an   
altar. The two quadrigae of the Dioskouroi are placed above the deities on each   
side of a statue of an unidentifiable goddess. If Zeus and Aphrodite watch the   
scene unmoved, Peitho flees the abduction, which symbolizes the opposite of   
what she stands for: convincing the loved one to accept her lover's seductive   
advances. In spite of uncertainty about some of the identities in these scenes, the   
presence of Apollo in one of the friezes and that of Zeus and Aphrodite in the   
other shows that the abduction of the *Leukippides* on a religious level oscillates   
between the domain of adolescence and the semantic values of the adult world.

This oscillation may be explained by the fact that the myth seizes the   
moment when a young girl, taken from her parents and her circle of friends,   
submits to becoming an adult through marriage. [312.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678705&offset=1#312.#312.) Incorporated in a succession

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| 311. | Lisboa Gulb. 682, see E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Hope Vases,* Cambridge 1923,  pp. 65ff., with pll. 17f., and M.H. da Rocha Pereira, "Notícia acerca de vasos griegos  existentes em Portugal, II," *Humanitas* 11-12, 1959-60, pp. 11-32 (pp. 29ff. with  pll. 24ff.). If the band holding back the hair of the two female figures represented here  were only worn by unmarried girls in the classical period, as M. Bieber states in  *Entwicklungsgeschichte der griechischen Tracht,* Berlin 1967, p. 34, neither of these  figures can be the mother of the *Leukippides;* London BM E 224, *CV* 3.1 C, pl. 91f.:  on this vase the *Leukippides* are named Eriphyle and Elera. For other depictions of the  abduction of the *Leukippides:* F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage,*  Marburg/Lahn 21960, p. 360, and A. Hermary, *LIMC* III, s.v. *Dioskouroi,* pp. 583ff.;  interpretation in Wide, *Kulte*, pp. 328ff. Peitho is generally opposed to violence and  consequently to abduction: see P. Weizsäcker in Roscher, s.v. *Peitho,* col. 1805 with  pl. 6, and V. Pirenne-Delforge, "Le culte de la persuasion: Peithô en Grèce ancienne,"  *RHR* 208, 1991, pp. 395-413. |
| 312. | Hyg. *Fab.* 80.1 relates that at the moment of their abduction, while still  promised to the *Apharetidai,* Phoibe and Hilaeira, *formissimae virgines*, are |

-189-

of narrative elements of differing semantic value, the abduction of the   
*Leukippides* no longer signifies the entrance into the period of adolescence, as in   
the myths behind the cults of Artemis Limnatis or Karyatis, but rather the exit.   
It is not marked negatively as a sign of death, an initiatory death, but positively   
as the sign of accession to a new life.

After this, it is easier to see what place the two heroines play in the cult of   
Dionysus Kolonatas. On the point of becoming adult, they have the right to be   
initiated into the mysteries of Dionysus. If we accept the suggestion that the   
hero they honor before sacrificing to Dionysus is a hypostasis of Apollo, if not   
Apollo himself, one could even propose that the Apollonian pre-sacrifice was the   
last honor given to adolescence before passing to the adult cult of Dionysus.   
Morphologically, the structure of the ritual of the cult would be identical to that   
of the Hyakinthia, in which the sacrifice to Hyakinthos represented the moment   
of annihilation before recognition by Apollo and the civic community of a   
completed adolescence. But, semantically, the cult appears in a different light;   
the myth behind it suggests that it was addressed to young girls ready to marry,   
or to young wives who had just been carried off. In relation to the Hyakinthia it   
stands at a later point in the development of women: if the Hyakinthia marked   
the end of adolescence and the completion of tribal initiation, the cult of   
Dionysus Kolonatas could represent one of the rituals marking the entrance of   
young initiates to the condition of adult women and their full acceptance of this   
condition.

We should note that a lyric fragment attributed to Bacchylides and entitled   
*The Leukippides* shows women, probably the *Leukippides* themselves, forming   
a chorus in honor of Aphrodite. [313.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678706&offset=1#313.#313.) The total lack of context prevents us from   
knowing whether this is a mythical scene *(Leukippides* as heroines) or a ritual   
*(Leukippides* as priestesses). The only parallel pertinent to the relationship   
between Aphrodite and the *Leukippides* is the abduction of the latter, in which   
Aphrodite appears at the side of Zeus. The devotion of the *Leukippides* to the   
goddess of sexual maturity is an additional sign of their ambiguous position   
between adolescence and adulthood. This recalls the importance assumed by   
Ariadne-Aphrodite in the story of Theseus, with its initiatory flavor.

The link established between certain cults and Alcman's work applies to the   
*Leukippides.* In a very brief fragment of the *hypomnema* mentioned above, some   
lines representing the end of the commentary of a poem contain the name of

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|  | respectively priestesses of Minerva and Diana. On the relationship of the  *Leukippides* with marriage, see now M.L. Napolitano, "Donne spartane e  τεκνοποιία," AION 7, 1985, pp. 28-42. |

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| 313. | Bacch. fr. dub. 61 M; on the meaning of τελλόμεναι, see above p. 41 n. 91.  On the cult of Aphrodite in Sparta, see Wide, *Kulte*, pp. 136ff.; the brevity of the  fragment makes it impossible to compare the Leukippides' actions and one of the five  Aphrodite cults in Sparta. |

-190-

Phoibe and perhaps also that of Apollo. [314.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678707&offset=1#314.#314.) It is of course impossible to know   
whether this allusion refers to the myth of the *Leukippides* or to their cult.

Like the *Leukippides*, white mares, the *Tyndaridai,* white stallions, are both   
adolescent and mature men, the incarnation of youth, but a youth already   
adult. [315.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678707&offset=1#315.#315.) Protectors of the town of Sparta, warriors who gave martial songs to   
the Laconian warriors, they appear under the same epiclesis in the cult of Zeus   
and Athena Amboulioi; significantly, however, they are not associated either   
with Artemis or with Apollo. [316.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678707&offset=1#316.#316.) Therefore they belong to the realm of adult   
citizens, soldier citizens. Their adulthood appears again in their relationship to   
marriage.

A mythical tradition going back to Alcman portrays them as excellent horse‐   
tamers, [317.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678707&offset=1#317.#317.) and this must surely be taken at its word, given the numerous   
illustrations of the twin heroes on horseback. There is also a metaphorical   
meaning: the Dioskouroi taming the mare-*Leukippides*. By marrying them, they   
turn the young girls into tamed women, in other words adult women. This idea   
of marriage as taming is apparent in a whole series of metaphors incorporating   
the image of the mare, contrasting the unmarried girl and the young wife. I shall   
return to this in the following chapter. For now it suffices to say that in   
accordance with the illustration on the Lisbon krater where the Dioskouroi have   
light beards, they represent young recently married men. Young soldiers and   
young husbands, they are the model of the Spartan ephebe who has just become   
a citizen, just as the *Leukippides* stand for the young initiate taking on the status   
of the adult married woman.

**3.2.4. Helen**

In Sparta, Helen has the same ambiguous quality of both adolescence and   
adulthood as do the *Leukippides.* The story of Helen's abduction by Theseus   
from the temple of Artemis Orthia shows us the child or adolescent girl, while

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| 314. | Alcm. fr. 8 P = 20 C = P. Oxy. 2389, fr. 4, col. II, see also frr. 5.1 (*a*) and (*c*)  P = 79 C = P. Oxy. 2390, fr. 1, col. I (*a*) and (*c*), with the commentary of Garvie, *CQ*  59, p. 185, and of Calame, *Alcman*, pp. 383ff. |
| 315. | Hsch. s.v. πωλία (Π 4496 Schmidt); the Dioskouroi as λευκόπωλοι or  λεύκιπποι· Pind. P. 1.66, Eur. *Hel.* 638, *Ant.* fr. 223 Suppl. C 55 Nauck, Hsch. s.v.  Διόσκουροι (Δ 1929 Latte); on the relation between the *Leukippides* and the λευκαὶ  κόραι of Delphi, see Usener, *art*. *cit*. p. 23 n. 17, pp. 325f. |
| 316. | Plut. Mus. 26, Ath. 4.184f = Epich. fr. 88 Kaibel, Plat. Leg. 796b; Paus.  3.13.6f., and Wide, *Kulte*, pp. 304ff. An agonistic inscription dedicated to Artemis  Orthia and dating from the time of Marcus Aurelius mentions a priestess common to  both the *Tyndaridai* and the *Leukippides:* IG V. 1.305.5. Farnell, *Hero Cults,* p. 230,  goes as far as presuming the institution and regular ritual celebration of a ἱερὸς γάμος  between the *Leukippides* and the Dioskouroi. |
| 317. | Alcm. fr. 2 (I) P = 2 C, see Hom. *Il*. 3.237 and *Od.* 11.300, also *Cypr.* fr.  15.6 Bernabé; see also Hes. frr. 198.8 and 199.1 MW. |

-191-

the legend of her abduction by Paris reveals the adult woman, wife of the king of   
Sparta. This ambivalence is reflected in the religious realm; at her first   
abduction, she was serving Artemis, at her second, she is under the control of   
Aphrodite and of Peitho. There is of course no way to justify historically the   
seeming contradiction between these two myths, [318.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678708&offset=1#318.#318.) which has more to do with   
the double aspect of this figure central to Lacedaemonian legendary tradition.

The famous Laconian evocation at the end of the *Lysistrata* depicts the dances   
of young Spartan girls (κόραι) who, like mares (πω̑λοι) and Bacchants, toss their   
hair and disport themselves along the banks of the Eurotas. Under the aegis of   
Amyklaian Apollo, Athena Khalkioikos and the *Tyndaridai,* these dances are led   
by Helen, the daughter of Leda (Λήδας παι̑ς), the divine and resplendent *choregos*   
(ἁγνὰ χοραγὸς εύπρεπής), whose role has been previously analyzed.

This description is similar to the one given by the chorus in Euripides' *Helen*   
of the return of the heroine to Sparta. The dances of young girls (κόρας) in   
which Helen, exiled in Egypt, would have taken part, took place, as we have   
mentioned with reference to the *Leukippides,* near the Eurotas, where they are   
associated precisely with those twin goddesses, in front of the temple of Athena   
Khalkioikos or during the Hyakinthia, which is in the precinct of the sanctuary   
of Amyklaian Apollo. Thus Apollo, Athena, and the Dioskouroil*Leukippides* are   
the divinities associated in two great classical texts with the choral dances in   
which Helen participates. [319.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678708&offset=1#319.#319.)

These two literary descriptions cannot be used to reconstitute a cult of Helen,   
but they contain several points in common with the picture that the twelve   
chorus-members singing the *Epithalamium of Helen* by Theocritus make of their   
activity as girls among other adolescents. [320.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678708&offset=1#320.#320.) The chorus imagines the young   
Lacedaemonians gamboling on the banks of the Eurotas and forming a troop   
(νεολαία) of four-times-sixty adolescents, all of the same age. There are no   
dances in this passage, only a footrace (δρόμος). Among these girls Helen   
occupies a privileged position: she spins and weaves better than the others and   
can celebrate Artemis and Athena on the lyre better than anyone else. However,   
adds the chorus that sings her praises, Helen is now the young wife of Menelaus.   
At this point in the text there is a significant break (marked by the passage from

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| 318. | As Ghali-Kahil tries to do, *Hélène*, pp. 312 and 329. For the collected  literary and illustrative sources on Helen's abduction by Paris, see her exhaustive  study and now her article in *LIMC* IV, s.v. *Helene,* pp. 498ff. and 515ff. (for the  abduction by Theseus, see pp. 507ff.); see also R. Engelmann in Roscher, s.v. *Helena*  II, coll. 1932ff. and 1956ff. |
| 319. | Aristoph. *Lys*. 1296ff., Eur. *Hel.* 1465ff., see above pp. 176 and 186; it will  be remembered that the two illustrations of the abduction of the *Leukippides* cited by  Pausanias were on the walls of the temple of Athena Khalkioikos and on the  Amyklaian tomb. It would thus seem that the rites and myths attached to the names of  Athena Khalkioikos, Amyklaian Apollo, the *Leukippides,* and Helen form a coherent  cult. |
| 320. | Theocr. 18.22ff., see above pp. 42f. On the fictive aspect of this  matrimonial song, cf. Gow, *Theocr*. II, pp. 348f. |

-192-

she to *you,* then by the μέν ... δέ of lines 38ff.): the chorus evokes the past, then   
moves on to the present. As a young wife, Helen no longer joins in the   
activities of adolescence and has withdrawn from the group of which she was the   
erstwhile jewel. This is the reason why, as the movement of Theocritus' text   
clearly shows, as soon as the new status of married woman embraced by the   
heroine is mentioned, the chorus of young girls express their intention of   
honoring her memory for the first time in a cult. On the very spot of their   
former races, adolescent girls will celebrate Helen by dedicating to her a lotus   
wreath and pouring a libation of oil on the roots of the plane-tree which will   
henceforth be the heroine's tree and will mark the site of her cult.

Thus, at the moment when Helen's adolescence is a thing of the past and she   
has become an adult woman, a mythical value is given to her activity as an   
adolescent and it becomes a sort of *aition* giving rise to the ritual destined to   
perpetuate her memory. I shall now investigate whether there is a similarity   
between the information Theocritus gives about the cult and what we know from   
other sources. But before studying the rites of this cult, I want first to establish   
its locality.

Pausanias gives us some ideas as to where the Spartan cult of Helen took   
place. South of the town was the Dromos where Spartan young men (νέοι)   
trained for races; it was under the protection of the Dioskouroi. The Dromos was   
next to the place known as the *Platanistas,* so called for the plane-trees planted   
there. The water surrounding this place, says Pausanias, gave it the aspect of an   
island, and here the ritual fights of ephebes, instituted by Lykourgos, were held.   
Before a fight began, the ephebes sacrificed in a neighboring sanctuary called   
*Phoibaion* and ended the rituals in the Platanistas. Still according to Pausanias,   
the sanctuary of Helen was near the Platanistas beside the tomb of Alcman, and   
we shall see that the rituals practiced by the *neoi* and the adolescents that   
provided the framework for the sanctuary are not unimportant when it comes to   
determining the function of Helen's cult. [321.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678709&offset=1#321.#321.)

However, Helen as cult object was also present on the opposite bank of the   
Eurotas at Therapnai in the precinct of Menelaus where she had been buried   
along with her husband. [322.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678709&offset=1#322.#322.) These seemingly disparate elements can be organized   
into a geographical whole. The Dromos was probably on the southeast side of

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| 321. | Paus. 3.14.6ff. and 3.15.3. On the uncertain archaeological situation of the  Dromos and of the Platanistas, see Musti and Torelli, *Pausania* III, pp. 214f. and  217f. For the Phoibaion, see Hitzig-Bluemmer, *Paus*. I, pp. 789f., and below n. 327.  Arrigoni, in *Le Donne in Grecia*, pp. 74ff. and 86, distinguishes two *Dromoi,* one of  which would be reserved for women, but see the testimony of Eur. *Andr.* 595ff.! |
| 322. | Paus. 3.19.9f. and 3.20.2. On the cults rendered in the Archaic period to  Homeric heroes on old Mycenaean sites, see C. Bérard, "Récupérer la mort du prince:  héroïsation et formation de la cité," and A. Snodgrass, "Les origines du culte des  héros dans la Grèce antique," in G. Gnoli and J.-P. Vernant, *La mort*, *les morts dans  les sociétés anciennes*, Paris-Cambridge 1982, pp. 89-106 and 107-120. |

-193-

the city towards the plain of the Eurotas, maybe near the spot where the   
Magoula empties into the river. This could coincide with the description of the   
Platanistas as a place surrounded by water and would also be consistent with the   
situation of Therapnai on the hills facing the depression at the southeast of   
Sparta on the opposite bank of the Eurotas. [323.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678710&offset=1#323.#323.) It seems then that Helen had two   
cult sites in Lacedaemonia—one near the Platanistas, the other in the Menelaion   
in Therapnai. I shall now examine the meanings of these cults and their rituals.

The cult site of the "Helen of the Plane-Tree," for which Theocritus gives the   
*aition*, can with certainty be identified with the sanctuary of Helen seen by   
Pausanias in the vicinity of the Platanistas. [324.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678710&offset=1#324.#324.) The geographical proximity of   
the sanctuary and the island in the Eurotas or in the Magoula also has an   
obvious linguistic correspondence: *Helen of the Plane-Tree* belongs to the *Plat-   
anistas* (plane-trees).

Theocritus' text is a particularly valuable source for the ritual. We have seen   
that the heroine, to whom the youthful Lacedaemonians render homage by   
hanging a wreath on the plane-tree dedicated to her, is not the wife Menelaus   
carried off but the adolescent who shone among the four-times-sixty girls   
running along the banks of the Eurotas. This race, symbolized in the figure of   
Helen as a young girl, becomes the mythical model of similar races; and these   
*agones*, repeating the one in which the heroine excelled, assume a ritual function   
by recalling Helen and her original race. Since Theocritus locates this race on the   
banks of the Eurotas and at the same time situates the cult rendered to Helen in   
the very same place, its status as mythical paradigm and its ritual function are   
assured (lines 22f. and 39). The race probably took place in the Dromos, very   
near Helen's sanctuary, and it was certainly part of the ritual, along with other   
practices described by Theocritus, associated with Helen's cult. [325.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678710&offset=1#325.#325.)

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| 323. | For the location of the Menelaion at Therapnai, see Hitzig-Bluemmer, Paus.  I, pp. 837f., also F. Bölte, RE 5 A (1934), s.v. *Therapnai,* col. 2353, H.W. Catling,  "New Excavations at the Menelaion, Sparta," in U. Jantzen (ed.), *Neue Forschungen  in griechischen Heiligtümern*, Tübingen 1976, pp. 77-91, and Musti and Torelli,  *Pausania* III, pp. 249f. and 253, with complementary information on recent  excavations made at Therapnai. On the proximity of the Phoibaion and Therapnai see  also Hdt. 6.61. |
| 324. | On the cult of Helen in the Platanistas, see Nilsson, *Gr. Feste,* pp. 426f.,  Ziehen, *RE* 3 A, coll. 1481ff., and Gow, *Theocr*. II, pp. 358f. Paus. 3.19.9f. cites the  founding legend of a Rhodian cult of Helen Dendritis. On the probable iconographic  representations of Helen between the Dioskouroi in the form of a tree, see F.  Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, Paris 1935, pp. 90 and 149. |
| 325. | According to a system of aetiological etymology current in the Hellenistic  period, Theocritus explains the name *Dromos* without directly referring to it. The rit-  ual practices around Helen's plane-tree certainly are not connected with her marriage,  as Kaibel, *Hermes* 27, pp. 255f., and Merkelbach, *Philologus* 101, p. 20, think, but  with her situation before marriage. The *lotus* wreath hanging on the plane-tree was  picked on the spot where the girls raced and it is certainly in memory (μεμναμέναι, l. |

-194-

The older authorities, Aristophanes and Euripides, associate Helen not with a   
race but with adolescent dances which also took place near the Eurotas. Such a   
contradiction between Athenian classical authors on one side and Theocritus the   
Alexandrian poet on the other can be explained in two ways. First, historically,   
one can imagine that Aristophanes' and Euripides' descriptions refer back to an   
ancient period in which the lifestyle of Spartan adolescent girls and women was   
not yet modelled on that of men. Theocritus emphasizes that Helen's com-   
panions anoint themselves before the race like men (line 23), and Pausanias   
mentions the detail that the races they trained for took place in the Dromos.   
Gymnastic exercises of a masculine order would have been substituted for the   
original choral dances among these girls. [326.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678711&offset=1#326.#326.) The other explanation is synchronic   
and admits the coexistence of dances and the race. The information we have is   
too meager to allow a definite decision. A solution will be suggested in the   
following chapter.

It is, however, certain that the Helen venerated in the cult of the Platanistas is   
still a young girl, although one who is about to marry. She thus stands in the   
same relation to adolescence as do the *Leukippides*. [327.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678711&offset=1#327.#327.) And it is with these   
heroines that Euripides associates Helen in the description of the dances on the   
banks of the Eurotas. Aristophanes compares the girls for whom Helen is the   
*choregos* to mares [*hate*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg211_1.fpx) πω̑λοι ταὶ κόραι, line 1309). As I have remarked and as   
we shall see later, the image of the mare being mastered illustrates the relation of   
feminine adolescence to marriage which, conceived as taming, ends adolescence   
and subdues the woman.

Aristophanes also compares these young girls dancing with Helen to   
Bacchants. This is not an identification, nor is it sufficient to turn the cult of   
Helen of the Plane-Tree into a Dionysiac cult or to liken the race talked of by   
Theocritus to the race of the *Dionysiades;* as I have already said, this race, like   
that organized at Olympia by the college of the sixteen women of Elis, probably   
had a prematrimonial character. [328.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678711&offset=1#328.#328.) On the other hand, the association of Helen   
with Amyklaian Apollo and Athena Khalkioikos in Aristophanes and Euripides   
is significant. To the extent that the Hyakinthia can be interpreted as a festival of

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|  | 41) of this race that Helen's companions dedicate the wreath. Moreover, at Elis, the  plane-tree was explicitly associated with the Dromos where the young athletes exer-  cised before taking part in the Olympic Games: Paus. 6.23.1. On the other hand, at  Kaphyai in Arcadia, a revered plane-tree near a spring was called *Menelais*, from the  name of the king of Sparta: Paus. 8.23.4f. |

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| 326. | See below pp. 237ff., and *Choeurs* II, p. 122. |
| 327. | It is apparently not possible to see a precinct consecrated to Phoibe in the  Phoibaion near the Dromos, see Ziehen, *RE* 3 A, coll. 1484f. and 1508, and above n.  321. |
| 328. | See above p. 187; the gloss of Hsch. s.v. ἐν Δριώνας (E 2823 Latte) might  possibly refer to the race presided over by Helen (see above n. 304). Along these  lines Meineke suggested correcting the lemma of this gloss to ἐν δενδρω̑νας. |

-195-

the end of initiation, [329.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678712&offset=1#329.#329.) the presence of Helen in this festival would make her a   
girl newly initiated but ready for marriage. Finally, the association with Athena   
Khalkioikos, to the extent that her cult can be defined in the absence of   
information, links the figure of Helen to the civic qualities of the virgin goddess   
enthroned on the acropolis. Athena is a young girl, but warrior and protector of   
the city, in other words a girl who, as Helen, has passed through adolescence and   
has been admitted to the body of citizens.

The association of Helen with her brothers the Dioskouroi, the preeminent   
protectors of the town of Sparta, suggests analogies that might confirm this   
interpretation. However, the fact that the girls led by Helen played in the   
Dromos on the spot reserved for the races of the *neoi*, where the Dioskouroi,   
mythical models for young citizens, also probably ran, according to   
Aristophanes, could constitute another hint: the girls emulating Helen would   
have similar qualities to the *neoi*, the young, newly initiated citizens not yet   
completely integrated into the adult order. [330.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678712&offset=1#330.#330.)

Carried over the Eurotas to the hills of Therapnai and combined with the cult   
of Menelaus, Helen's cult changes its character. [331.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678712&offset=1#331.#331.) There she is no longer a   
young girl, but a married woman; her cult is not that of a hero now, but of a   
goddess. There is only one reference to this cult in an anecdote of Herodotus   
concerning Ariston the king of Sparta. [332.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678712&offset=1#332.#332.) The temple of Helen at Therapnai,

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| 329. | See above p. 184. We have seen (above n. 266) that the gloss of Hesychius  s.v. κάνναθρα (K 675 Latte) referred to a festival for Helen and not to the Hyakinthia.  Might this common use of the ritual chariot be a link between these two festivals? Or  is this an error of the lexicographer? |
| 330. | On the merits of entering adulthood implied by participation in the rite of  the footrace, see Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir,* pp. 166ff. L.L. Clader, *Helen. The  Evolution from Divine to Heroic in Greek Epic Tradition,* Leiden 1976, pp. 63ff., has  tried to draw the etymology of the name Ἑλένη back to a root \**wel*- meaning 'shoot,'  'sprig'; see now Austin, *Helen,* pp. 86ff., on Helen as heroine or goddess. |
| 331. | Menelaus and Helen together in a cult in Therapnai: Isocr. 10.63. Other  sources in Wide, *Kulte*, pp. 340ff.; on Helen's cult in Therapnai see Ziehen, *RE* 3 A,  coll. 1481ff., Bölte, *art*, *cit*. n. 323, coll. 2357ff., and Clader, *op. cit.* n. 330, pp.  69f. Brelich, *Paides,* pp. 162ff., confuses the two Spartan cults of Helen and gives an  unacceptable account of them. |
| 332. | Hdt. 6.61f.; see now Austin, *Helen,* pp. 32ff. Ariston reigned in Sparta  towards the middle of the sixth century. This date gives some indication of the age of  the cult at Therapnai. Hsch. s.v. Ἑλένεια (E 1992 Latte) mentions a Laconian feast of  Helen: it could as well be a ritual held at Therapnai as the Platanistas ritual; see also  Hsch. s.v. Θεραπνατίδεια (Θ 335 Latte): ἑορτὴ παρὰ Λάκωσι. Bölte, *art*. *cit.* n. 323,  coll. 2358f., presumes with justification that this feast was celebrated in honor of  Θεραπνα̑τις, the goddess of Therapnai, in other words Helen.  Note that the legend associated with the sanctuary of Eileithyia at Argos attributes  to Helen the founding of this temple: Paus. 2.22.6. The legend tells that, after being  freed by the Dioskouroi, Helen, pregnant by Theseus, gave birth to Iphigenia, whom  she left at Argos with Clytemnestra. The birth was supposed to have taken place |

-196-

easily identified in the text of Herodotus since the author locates it specifically   
above the Phoibaion, is associated with the history of the most beautiful woman   
in Sparta (γυνὴ καλλίστη). This woman, married, since she is the wife of a   
friend of Ariston, and desired by the king, did not always have outstanding   
beauty. According to Herodotus she was the ugliest of the children in the city.   
However, her nurse took pity on her ugliness and presented her each day at the   
temple of Helen. One fine day, Helen, in woman's guise (γυναι̑κα), came to the   
nurse and carressed the head of the child who, from that moment on, was   
transformed. In this way, says Herodotus, the child reached marriageable age (ἐς   
γάμου ὥρην ἀπικομένην) and married the friend of Ariston. Subsequently,   
Ariston stole her from her husband, just as Helen was taken from Menelaus by   
Paris.

In this story, Helen appears as the goddess who conferred beauty on female   
children. Beauty is not conferred for itself, but for the purpose of attracting a   
husband. Thus Helen made children into what she herself was, the most beautiful   
of women and the most beautiful of wives. [333.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678713&offset=1#333.#333.) In the traditional system of   
education of Athenian girls, as described by Aristophanes, beauty was the

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|  | before her marriage to Menelaus. The association of Helen with the Argive Eileithyia  confirms the significance of her control over the life of the adult woman.  This Argive legend goes back to Stesichoros (fr. 191 P) and contradicts the  absence of rape in the Laconian versions of the episode of Helen's abduction by  Theseus, reported by Plutarch: see above pp. 159ff. See also Diod. Sic. 4.63, who  says that Helen was returned to her brothers a virgin, other sources of this myth in  Engelmann, *art*. *cit*. n. 318, col. 1935. However, the Argive version states that  Theseus was considered to be the legitimate father of Iphigeneia (sources in H.W.  Stoll in Roscher, s.v. *Iphigenia*, coll. 301f.). This probably hints at a marriage  between Theseus and Helen, a marriage confirmed by the lines in Stesichorus (fr. 223  P) which describe the daughters of Tyndareus as δι- and τρίγαμοι, and the lines in  Pindar (fr. 243 M) summarized by Pausanias (1.41.5) in which the poet shows that the  aim of Theseus in abducting Helen was to become the brother-in-law of the  Dioskouroi. The legend associated with the sanctuary of Aphrodite Nymphia  supposedly founded by Theseus on the road to Troizen on the occasion of his wedding  with Helen (Paus. 2.32.7) is clearly witness to this. The tradition of the rape is,  however, also represented: see EGud. 285.45ff. Sturz = Euph. fr. 90 Powell.  Moreover, the Argive sanctuary dedicated to Eileithyia by Helen was beside that of  the Dioskouroi. There the heroes were represented with their children and the  *Leukippides,* their wives: Paus. 2.22.5, cf. Musti and Torelli, *op. cit.* n. 307, pp.  286f. |

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| 333. | On the legendary beauty of Helen, see Engelmann, *art*. *cit.* n. 318, coll.  1953f. On its illusions, see N. Loraux, *Les expériences de Tirésias*. *Le féminin et  l'homme grec,* Paris 1989, pp. 232ff. For an association of Helen as goddess with the  sunlight (on a comparative basis), see M.L. West, *Immortal Helen,* London 1975, pp.  5ff. |

-197-

supreme quality characterizing the complete young woman. [334.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678714&offset=1#334.#334.) The meaning   
here is the same: the change from ugliness to beauty is a metaphor for the   
change from the state of sexual neutrality to becoming the object of male desire.   
As Pausanias says, in relating the same anecdote as Herodotus, the ugliest girl   
(παρθένον αἰσχίστην) becomes the most beautiful woman (γυναικω̑ν τὸ [*eidos*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg214_1.fpx)  
καλλίστην). [335.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678714&offset=1#335.#335.)

The Helen of Therapnai thus becomes not so much the simple model of a   
married woman like Hera, but the woman whose beauty equals that of Aphrodite,   
who, as seductress and instigator of adult sexual desire, also intervenes in matters   
of marriage. Thus in all melic poetry and particularly in that of Sappho, Helen is   
the incarnation of seductive beauty. But such beauty cannot be understood as the   
irresistible power of love that belongs to Aphrodite. [336.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678714&offset=1#336.#336.)

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| 334. | See above pp. 28f.; see also the passage of Apollodorus cited above (3.10.7,  see above n. 215) in which the expression γενομένην κάλλει διαπρεπη̑ signifies the  moment in which Helen becomes desirable in the eyes of Theseus. The acquisition of  beauty is the sign of entering puberty and the nubile state. |
| 335. | Paus. 3.7.7. |
| 336. | Sapph. frr. 16 and 23.5 V, other references in Ghali-Kahil, *Hélène*, pp. 36ff.;  see also Eur. *Hec*. 635f. (καλλίστη). On the link connecting beauty with Helen and  Aphrodite, see Gentili, *Poesia e pubblico,* pp. 123ff., and Austin, *Helen,* pp. 51ff.;  for Farnell, *Cults* II, p. 675, Helen is one of the numerous hypostases of Aphrodite.  In Homer *Od.* 4.121f., Helen is compared with Artemis. This dual association with  Aphrodite on the one hand and Artemis on the other is a perfect explanation for the  dual nature of Helen venerated as girl and woman. E.A.S. Butterworth, *Some Traces of  the Pre-Olympian World in Greek Literature and Myth,* Berlin 1966, pp. 179ff.,  argues that Artemis and Aphrodite were both included in the figure of Helen; but he  has tried with absurd associative arguments to reduce this contradiction by explaining  it historically as the "defection of 'Aphrodite' ... from the celestial cult" (p. 186).  In the passage by Hyg. *Fab.* 80.1 (see above n. 312), the *Leukippides* are carried  off by the Dioskouroi just when they appear to be the most beautiful of young girls  and capable of arousing burning desire in the heroes. As for Helen, the quality of  beauty that arouses masculine desire is present at the time the girl is ready to marry.  In Arcadia, an Artemis Kalliste was, it is true, venerated; Paus. 8.35.8. But her cult  probably resulted from syncretism with the one associated with Kallisto. The myth  tells how the Nymph, hunting companion of Artemis, had been raped by Zeus, con-  ceived a child, and was transformed into a bear: see I. McPhee, *LIMC* V, s.v. *Kallisto*,  pp. 940ff., and Forbes-Irving, *Metamorphoses,* pp. 67ff., 72ff., and 202ff. Kallisto,  like Helen, changes from παρθένος to pregnant adult woman: see Dowden, *Death and  the Maiden,* pp. 182ff. The debate between W. Sale, "Callisto and the Virginity of  Artemis," *RhM* 108, 1965, pp. 11-35, and G. Maggiulli, "Artemide—Callisto,"  *Mythos. Scripta in honorem Marii Untersteiner,* Genova 1970, pp. 179-185, con-  cerning the contradiction between the traditional virginity of Artemis and the rape of  her hypostasis Kallisto makes no sense: we have seen that in Greece the subject of  rape of a virgin was an integral part of the mythical image of female adolescence: see  Brelich, *Paides*, p. 263 n. 69; P. Borgeaud, *Recherches sur le dieu Pan*, Roma-Genève  1979, pp. 51ff.; and below p. 253 n. 164. In the literature, the epithet καλλίστη can |

-198-

It is within this religious context, I think, that one should interpret the   
beauty contests for women, held especially on Lesbos. [337.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678715&offset=1#337.#337.) The reason they were   
not for adolescents but for adult women, and on Lesbos took place under the   
auspices of Hera, is that acquiring the feature 'beauty' marked the end of puberty   
and a readiness for marriage. It is therefore probable that the women who   
competed were under the spell of Aphrodite and ready to embrace adult status   
through marriage. Similarly, one can understand the presence of a (possible)   
representation of Helen as the *choregos* of a chorus of young girls on the   
metopes of Hera's temple at Paestum. [338.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678715&offset=1#338.#338.) The figure of the young *choregos*   
stands between the adolescence of the chorus and the adulthood of Hera.

However, one is justified in wondering if there is not a contradiction between   
the idea of 'beauty' attached to the woman ready for marriage and my statements   
concerning the role of the *choregos,* whose qualities as leader of a chorus of   
young girls also included the same feature. [339.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678715&offset=1#339.#339.) Rather than a contradiction, I see   
here a new characteristic that can be attributed to the *choregos*, namely, that this   
young girl with the feature 'beauty' stands apart from the rest of the chorus and   
is at the point of being integrated into adult society through marriage. It is   
certainly not by chance that Helen appears as the incarnation of the *choregos* in   
the texts I have cited. In the same way, Antheia and Nausicaa, marked by the   
feature 'beauty' in their roles as *choregos,* are girls for whom marriage is   
imminent.

I have said that in the myth of Helen's abduction by Theseus, the *Tyndaridai*   
are the saviors of the heroine. This association of the two brothers with their sis-   
ter reappears on the level of cult, since the Dioskouroi, present everywhere in   
Sparta, were honored especially in places near where Helen was honored; for ex-   
ample on the Dromos, where the twin gods, worshipped as "starters," probably   
presided over the races of the *neoi*, or at the Phoibaion not far from Therapnai,   
where the Dioskouroi had a temple in the enclosure of which the ephebes made   
sacrifice, as I have mentioned, before going to contend at the Platanistas. [340.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678715&offset=1#340.#340.)

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|  | refer to Aphrodite (Eur. *Hel*. 1348f., *IA* 553, *Phaeth.* 232, Theocr. 3.46) or to Artemis  (Eur. *Hipp.* 66 and 70f., with the commentary by Barrett, *op. cit*. n. 51, p. 170); it is  also used for Hebe (Pind. *N*. 10.18) or for Eirene (Eur. *Or.* 1682f.). |

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| 337. | See above pp. 122f. E. Ziebarth, *Aus dem griechischen Schulwesen. Eudamos  von Milet und Verwandtes*, Leipzig-Berlin 21914, p. 144, makes a similar as-  sumption when he thinks that these beauty competitions were the final examination  in schools for girls. |
| 338. | See above p. 69f. |
| 339. | See above pp. 42f. and 72. |
| 340. | Paus. 3.14.7, 3.20.2 and 3.14.9, see Hdt. 6.61. On the Spartan cults of the  Dioskouroi, see Wide, *Kulte*, pp. 304ff., and Furtwängler, *art*. *cit*. n. 316, col. 1164f.  In the iconography, the triad formed by the Dioskouroi and Helen has been studied by  Chapouthier, *op. cit*. n. 324; for the latter, the image of the triad has its origin in  Helen's cult at Sparta (pp. 143ff.). Like Helen, the Dioskouroi were supposed to have |

-199-

According to a fragmentary commentary on a poem by Alcman, the Dioskouroi   
were even honored at the same time as Menelaus and Helen at Therapnai; how-   
ever, this cultic association seems to have happened only in the Archaic period,   
since only Alcman and Pindar mention it. [341.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678716&offset=1#341.#341.) For an unknown reason, the cult   
of the *Tyndaridai* was moved in order to be situated near the Phoibaion and on   
the Dromos. Whatever the reason, the presence of the Dioskouroi at the races of   
young citizens and at the fights of the ephebes is not surprising, since in Sparta   
as in the rest of Greece the twin heroes were regarded as models for the young   
warrior and for the young champion in sports. The inventors of military music,   
the Dioskouroi administered, according to Pindar, all the games organized in   
Sparta εὐρύχορος. [342.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678716&offset=1#342.#342.) Although this cannot serve as proof, one could say that   
just as the double cult of Helen was addressed to young girls and at the same   
time to married women or to women about to marry, the Dioskouroi presided   
over contests intended for adolescents as well as for men who, as young soldiers   
and as young citizens, had just ceased to be ephebes. The sons and daughter of   
Tyndareus all seem to promise a transition whose masculine aspect expresses it-   
self in the accession to citizenship and to the status of soldier, and whose femi-   
nine counterpart is embodied in the acquisition of full sexual maturity which,   
denoted by the quality of beauty, has its corollary in the status of wife and of   
mother according to the usual Greek gender distinctions.

The excavations undertaken at the beginning of the century at the site of   
Therapnai permit us to reconstruct the large outlines of the history of the   
Menelaion. [343.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678716&offset=1#343.#343.) This site, like that of Amyklai and unlike that of Artemis   
Orthia, was already inhabited during the Mycenaean period. It was probably used,   
already in that period, as a setting for a sanctuary. The number of ex-voto,   
particularly lead figurines, found in the sanctuary and going back to Laconian I

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|  | lived near the Eurotas: Theogn. 1087f., Aristoph. *Lys.* 1301f. (on this last passage  see above p. 193). |

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| 341. | Alcm. fr. 7.6ff. P = 19 C, see sch. Eur. *Tr.* 210 (II, p. 353 Schwartz); Pind. *P.*  11.61ff. and *I*. 1.31 with sch. *ad loc*. (III, p. 204 Drachmann), see Bölte, *art*. *cit*. n.  323, coll. 2359ff. and 2365. Helen was also associated with the Theoxenia held for  the Dioskouroi by the Spartans: see Eur. *Hel.* 1667ff. and Pind. *O*. 3.1, with Ziehen,  RE 3 A, col. 1477, Kannicht, *op. cit*. n. 269, p. 432f., and Austin, *Helen,* pp. 185ff. |
| 342. | Pind. *N*. 10.52, other references above n. 317. |
| 343. | A.J.B. Wace (*et al*.), "The Menelaion," ABSA 15, 1908, pp. 108-157 with  pl. V, see Bölte, *art*. *cit*. n. 323, coll. 2355ff., who tries to retrace a very conjectural  cult history of the sanctuary (coll. 2363ff.), and Kiechle, *Lakonien*, pp. 7ff. H.  Waterhouse and R. Hope Simpson, "Prehistoric Laconia: Part I," *ABSA* 55, 1960, pp.  67-107 (p. 72), and "Part II," *ABSA* 56, 1961, pp. 114-175 (p. 174), show that there  is an interruption of activity on the site between Late Helladic III B-C and Laconian I.  For a more general history of the cult, see J.H. Croon, "Artemis Orthia en Elena,"  *Hermeneus* 39, 1967/68, pp. 128-134; see also the complementary references given  above n. 323. |

-200-

and II attests to the remarkable development of the cults of Helen and Menelaus   
that had to have happened during the seventh century, that is to say during the   
period when Alcman lived. This Archaic flourishing of the sanctuary at   
Therapnai is all the more significant in that these lead figurines are identical in   
form and content to the ex-voto figurines found on the site of the sanctuary of   
Artemis Orthia. As for Orthia, the large majority of these figurines represents   
either armed men with the round hoplite shield, or women dressed in long   
*chitons,* winged or carrying wreaths in their hands. [344.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678717&offset=1#344.#344.)

The identity of the ex-voto figurines offered to both the deities poses the   
problem of the relations between the two cults. It is impossible to assume that   
the cult of Artemis Orthia was specifically Spartan, imported by the Dorians and   
little by little replacing the one of Helen in the Menelaion. The number of ex‐   
voto figurines found on the sites of the two cults is witness to their coexistence   
and their parallel vitality during the whole of the Archaic period. By substituting   
a structural explanation for the historical one, we could infer that the rituals for   
Helen in the Platanistas and at Therapnai extended the process of training the   
adolescents begun at the altar of Orthia. However, this continuity can only be   
seen through the rites of passage of youths: the cult of Helen showed itself to be   
essentially for women, while the cult of Orthia is difficult to define as a ritual   
probably for young girls. The only clue to the transition from the female cult of   
Orthia to that of Helen is furnished by Helen herself who was dancing in the   
sanctuary of Artemis when Theseus carried her off. [345.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678717&offset=1#345.#345.) It is true that her young   
age offers chronological continuity, with adolescence in the cult at the   
Platanistas and adulthood at Therapnai, but the clue is too tenuous for certainty.   
Once again, our lack of information stymies us.

The new papyrus fragments of Alcman show us the poet being active at the   
Spartan festivals, including the cult of Helen at Therapnai. The fragment of a   
*hypomnema* already mentioned comments on a poem in which Menelaus, Helen,   
and the Dioskouroi were honored on the site of Therapnai. Another fragment   
from an indirect source speaks of the "holy sanctuary of well-fortified   
Therapnai." [346.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678717&offset=1#346.#346.) This description was handed down by grammarians and quoted at   
the same time as the beginning of a song which perhaps belonged to the same   
poem and in which the chorus, or the poet, asks the Muse to sing (ἄρχε) for the   
maidens (παρσένοις) a new song. Here the feature 'to begin,' characteristic of the

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| 344. | See Wace, *art*. *cit*. n. 343, pp. 127ff. G. Karo, "Archäologische Mitteilungen  aus Griechenland," ARW 16, 1913, pp. 253-292 (pp. 264ff.), sees depictions of  Helen in the terra-cotta statuettes of a woman on horseback. This type of ex-voto  should be considered with skepticism. I note, however, without being able to infer  from it the existence of choral performances for the cult of Therapnai, that one of the  figurines represents a woman holding a lyre; Wace, *art*. *cit.* n. 343, p. 130 with pl.  VII, 20. |
| 345. | See above pp. 159f. |
| 346. | Alcm. fr. 7 P = 19 C (see Cuartero, *CFC* 4, pp. 390ff., and above n. 341) with  Harpocr. s.v. Θεράπναι (p. 151, 13 Dindorf) and *Sud*. s.v. Θεράπναι (Θ 231 Adler),  and Alcm. fr. 14 (*b*) and (*a*) P = 5 and 4 C, see Calame, *Alcman*, pp. 352ff. |

-201-

role of the Muses, is apparent. However, the connection between the two   
quotations is based only on their mention in the same context and on their   
corresponding metrical structure, so the interpreter has no authority to conclude,   
in spite of the temptation, the presence in the Menelaion of a chorus of maidens   
singing a partheneion composed by Alcman.

**3.2.5. The Lacedaemonian cycle of initiation**

In this overview of Spartan rituals in which choruses of young girls play a   
role, most of the ritual practices I have examined are part of a formative process   
in the transition of future members of the city from childhood to adulthood. I   
have used the universal form of tribal initiation rites as a comparison with   
Laconian rituals, and some readers may consider this a mechanical application. Is   
this not a trick of interpretation? Is this procedure not basically a reductive   
analysis?

Since the rituals chosen depended on the presence of choral dances performed   
by girls or women, and since it was established that choral activity was   
essentially adolescent, it is natural that our attention has been focused on   
festivals preparing for or consecrating the transition of adolescents to maturity.   
There are, however, two great Spartan festivals which I have had to omit in order   
to remain faithful to the criteria chosen at the beginning (presence of choral   
dances by young girls), namely the Karneia and the Gymnopaidiai.

Here again, the omission is not haphazard. The Karneia, celebrated at the end   
of our August, was dedicated to Apollo Karneios. The rites lasted for nine days.   
We know at least three of them: a footrace for boys (νέοι) called σταφυλο‐   
δρόμοι, the *grape-harvest runners;* a ritual feast celebrated by adults (ἄνδρες)   
representing phratries divided into groups of nine in nine tents and acting as a   
μίμημα, an imitation, of the military *agoge*; musical competitions, the first   
winner of which was Terpander, and gymnastics competitions. [347.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678718&offset=1#347.#347.) This festival   
was organized by young, not yet married citizens (ἄγαμοι). It was thus aimed at   
young men who had completed the different stages of the *agoge* and were due to   
be integrated into adult life by performing military service. The fact that Apollo   
Karneios had a sanctuary in the same place as Artemis Hegemone, near the

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| 347. | An. Gr. I, pp. 305, 25ff. Bekker, Ath. 4.141ef and 14.635e = Hellan.  *FGrHist*. 4 F 85a (cf. Terp. test. 1 Gostoli) and Sosib. *FGrHist*. 595 F 3, *IG* V. 1.222;  other sources in Wide, *Kulte*, pp. 63ff., and Burkert, Religion, pp. 354ff. See also  Krummen, *op. cit*. n. 217, pp. 108ff. Interpretive essays by Wide, *Kulte*, pp. 73ff.  ("Weinlese- und Sühnefest"); Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 118ff. (probably like the  Thargelia, "ein agrarisches Fest und ein Sühnfest"); Ziehen, RE 3A, coll. 1458 and  1513 ("Ernte- und Sühnefest"); Jeanmaire, *Couroi,* pp. 524ff. (the *Karneatai* form an  association of boys "entre le passage par les rites de l'adolescence et la période du  mariage"); and Brelich, *Paides,* pp. 148ff. and 179ff. ("festa di rinnovamento,  dell'immissione dei nuovi iniziati nella società," "conclusione dell'*agoge*"). See also  Bölte, *RhM* 78, pp. 141ff., and Pettersson, *Apollo at Sparta*, pp. 57ff. and 73ff.  ("rite of aggregation"). |

-202-

Dromos, in the neighborhood of the temple of the Dioskouroi and the Graces, is   
significant: the Dromos, we should remember, was used as a running track for   
the *neoi,* the young adults. [348.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678719&offset=1#348.#348.) The Karneia concerned young soldiers. Where the   
Hyakinthia mark the end of initiation with the presenting of the new initiates to   
the city, the Karneia, as Brelich points out, represent the integration of initiates   
to the adult life of the soldier and citizen. Girls probably have no place here. [349.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678719&offset=1#349.#349.)

As for the Gymnopaidiai, the answer is less clear. According to the different   
sources we have, the choral performances in them were by ephebes (ἔφηβοι),   
children/adolescents and adults (παι̑δες, ἄνδρες), children/adolescents, adults and   
old men (παι̑δες, ἀκμάζοντες, γέροντες). [350.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678719&offset=1#350.#350.) The evidence for the participation   
of children and adults [351.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678719&offset=1#351.#351.) is given by the Laconian historian Sosibios, who is   
probably more trustworthy than the numerous later sources who see in the   
Gymnopaidiai a ritual only for children and adolescents. Their interpretation,   
which tends to be etymological, may have been influenced by the name of the   
ritual. In honor of Apollo, the choruses performed songs composed by the great   
poets of Archaic Sparta such as Thaletas, Alcman or Dionysodotos. Their dances   
took place on the agora, in the area called the *Choros*, the *Dance Area*, opposite   
the statues of Pythian Apollo, Artemis, and Leto.

These choral performances certainly had a military significance, since a   
tradition began after the battle of Thyrea in 544 of singing paeans in honor of   
the fallen warriors. Brelich has pointed out the ritual element taken on by the   
constant struggle of the Spartans against the Argives for the possession of the   
frontier territory of Thyreatis. [352.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678719&offset=1#352.#352.) The connection of the Gymnopaidiai with a

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| 348. | Hsch. s.v. Καρνεα̑ται (Κ 838 Latte), Paus. 3.14.6. On the problem of the  location of the principal sanctuary of Apollo Karneios at Sparta, see Ziehen, *RE* 3A,  col. 1458, and Musti and Torelli, *Pausania* III, pp. 216f. At Thera, a Laconian colony,  the temple of Apollo Karneios stood beside the gymnasium. This cult was related to  that of Hera Dromaia: see Brelich, *Paides*, p. 183 with n. 207, and Calame, *I Greci e  l'eros*, pp. 78ff. with n. 31. On the meaning of Karneios, see now I. Malkin, *Myth  and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 149ff. |
| 349. | The presence of a girl at the Karneia of Sparta would be founded on the unique  testimonium of a krater from south Italy representing a boy and a girl dancing (?)  around a pillar designated as *Karneios*: see Burkert, *Religion,* p. 355 with n. 6. The  foundation myth of the Karneia at Cyrene as recounted by Call. *Ap*. 80ff. could imply  the participation of young girls. |
| 350. | Paus. 3.11.9, Ath. 15.678b = Sosib. *FGrHist.* 595 F 5 (see Plat. *Leg.* 667cd)  with commentary by Jacoby, *FGrHist.* IIIB, p. 646, Plut. *Lyc*. 21.3 and *Mor.* 238ab,  quoting *carm*. *pop.* fr. 870 P. See Nilsson, Gr. *Feste,* pp. 140ff.; Bölte, *RhM* 78, pp.  124ff.; Jeanmaire, *Couroi,* pp. 531ff.; Den Boer, *Lac. Studies*, pp. 221ff.; Michell,  *Sparta*, pp. 186f.; Brelich, *Paides,* pp. 139ff. and 187ff.; and the new detailed  discussion of this puzzling evidence by Robertson, *Festivals,* pp. 147ff. |
| 351. | And old men, according to the correction of the text of Ath. 15.678c  suggested by Kaibel in the apparatus of his edition. On the presence of a chorus of  adults in the Gymnopaidiai, see Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.16. |
| 352. | *Sud*. s.v. Γυμνοπαιδεία (Γ 486 Adler), *An*. *Gr.* I, p. 32, 18ff. Bekker;  probably also after Thermopylai: *EM* 243.3ff. (Θυρέαν corr. Ruhnken). See Brelich, |

-203-

war that was ritual and traditional rather than fortuitous suggests that this   
festival had its origins in the military training of citizen-soldiers. On the other   
hand, the analogy of this festival with the Arcadian Apodeixeis and the   
Endymatia of Argos, during which young citizens discarded their adolescent   
clothes to put on the costume of an adult, might suggest integration into the   
soldier's life of the recently inducted ephebes, a function similar to that of the   
Karneia. [353.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678720&offset=1#353.#353.) Whatever role this ritual played, the elements I have mentioned have   
nothing to do with female adolescence. The presence of adult men, let alone old   
men, makes this a festival that goes far beyond the integration of future soldiers   
into adult life, and probably Apollo's presence there has more to do with his   
propitiatory function before a military campaign than with his role as protector   
of children and adolescents.

Other rites are only partially known, although they may have been important   
in ancient Sparta, for example the sacrifice offered by the king to Zeus Agetor   
before the departure of a military expedition, rites of a political character in   
honor of Athena Khalkioikos, or the festival celebrated for Poseidon at Cape   
Tainaros. [354.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678720&offset=1#354.#354.) It is clear that Lacedaemonian religion was not focused entirely on   
the process of adolescent initiation. Nevertheless, those rites certainly impressed   
the ancients by their strangeness and resulted in a relative unevenness in our   
information about Laconian festivals.

An attempt to organize the rites examined here into a cult calendar leads to a   
relatively coherent pattern, but because of the often hypothetical interpretations I   
have given of these festivals, my synthesis can only be conjectural.

The reconstruction of rites marking the initiation cycle for Spartan girls   
begins with a large question mark. It would be tempting to place the start of the   
cycle in the rites dedicated to Artemis Orthia, and most of the evidence about this   
cult, generally spotty and contradictory as it is, indeed points in the direction of   
prepuberty; however, it is impossible to be more specific.

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|  | *Guerre,* pp. 22ff. and 30ff. (see above p. 105), and *Paides*, pp. 189f.; also Parker, in  *Sparta*, pp. 149f. The Gymnopaidiai are connected at different historical moments  with the struggle for the Thyreatis: see Wade-Gery, *art*. *cit*. p. 63 n. 164, pp. 79ff.  The report that Tyrtaeus, according to Poll 4.107 = Tyrt. test. 15 Prato, had been the  initiator of the τριχορία at Sparta, in other words of the division of choruses into  three age groups, probably refers to the organization of the Gymnopaidiai and  corroborates its military character. |

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| 353. | Plut. *Mus.* 9, see Latte, *Salt.,* pp. 77f.; Jeanmaire, *Couroi,* pp. 441ff.;  Brelich, *Paides,* pp. 186f.; and Parker, in *Sparta*, pp. 149f. Other parallels in Vidal‐  Naquet, *Le chasseur noir,* pp. 167f.; see now Pettersson, *Apollo at Sparta*, pp. 42ff.  and 73ff., who sees in the Gymnopaidiai the "rite of liminality" following the  separation during the Hyakinthia and the aggregation at the Karneia. |
| 354. | Xen. *Resp. Lac.* 13.2f., see Wide, *Kulte*, pp. 13f., Ziehen, *RE* 3A, col. 1487;  Pol. 4.35, see Wide, *Kulte*, p. 49, and Nilsson, *Gr. Feste*, pp. 90f.; Hsch. s.v.  Ταιναρίας (T 33 Schmidt), Paus. 3.12.5, etc., see Nilsson, Gr. *Feste*, pp. 67ff. |

-204-

On the other hand, the two parallel cults of Artemis Limnatis and Artemis   
Karyatis very probably mark the beginning of puberty for young adolescents. By   
being situated on the confines of Spartan territory, these sanctuaries were all   
designed for the period of separation seen in all tribal initiation rites. The myths   
associated with these rites confirm this hypothesis to the extent that, with the   
refusal of adult sexuality and the onset of the moment of annihilation and death,   
they mark the separation of pubescent girls from childhood and their entry into a   
period of chaos and denial of both the old order and the new order of adulthood.

The rituals of the Hyakinthia, in contrast, mark the presentation to the   
citizens of the boys and girls who are the principal element, probably signifying   
the end of seclusion and tribal initiation. At any rate, this process seems to   
follow the sequence 'mourning—joy' which constitutes the structure of the   
festival. The completed process of initiation must be filled out with rites   
consecrating the integration of the initiates into the adult world. This is the role   
played by the cults of the *Leukippides* and Helen. It is significant that in   
Aristophanes, as in Euripides, these heroines are associated with Apollo   
Amyklaian, deity of adolescence, and with Athena Khalkioikos and the   
*Tyndaridai,* who embody the qualities of young citizens. Also, by their contact   
with the rites of Dionysus and their acquisition of the quality of beauty, a sign   
of the physical maturity characteristic of the cults of the *Leukippides* and Helen,   
young girls enter into possession of the features connected in Greece with the   
gender representation of the adult woman. These two cults thus stand at the axis   
between the end of initiation and the entry into the world of adults.

With the Tithenidia, the cycle, as it were, closes, since some of the girls,   
now adult, reappear as nurses of the newly born, future citizens. The closing of   
the cycle would be perfect if the nurses then brought their baby girls into the   
sanctuary of Artemis Korythalia; however there is no mention of this.

But the picture still lacks the ritual celebration of the moment of marriage.   
Under this aspect, the festivals celebrated in honor of the *Leukippides* and Helen   
play only a partial role for girls, in comparison with the boys' establishment as   
soldiers in the Karneia and perhaps the Gymnopaidiai. For girls, marriage seems   
to correspond exactly to boys' military service for the city. [355.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678721&offset=1#355.#355.)

The presence to the north of the Spartan Acropolis of an ancient *xoanon* of   
Aphrodite-Hera, to which mothers made sacrifice when their daughters married,   
attests to the existence in Sparta of cult rites linked to the marriage cere-   
mony. [356.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678721&offset=1#356.#356.) It is tempting to bring this information together with the fragment of   
Alcman in which a girl or young woman offers a deity, identified from another   
text as a probable Hera, a wreath of ἑλίχρυσος and κύπειρος. [357.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678721&offset=1#357.#357.) For the mo-   
ment, it will suffice to remark that this rite has not been analyzed yet, for the

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| 355. | On this subject see Vernant, *art*. *cit*. p. 27 n. 33, pp. 14ff. |
| 356. | Paus. 3.13.9; see Musti and Torelli, *Pausania* III, pp. 209f. |
| 357. | Alcm. fr. 60 P = 126 C, see Ath. 15.680f and 678a, Hsch. s.v. πυλεω̑ν(α) (Π  4353 Schmidt), with Wide, *Kulte*, pp. 27ff., Ziehen, RE 3A, coll. 1473f., and  *Choeurs* II, pp. 107f. and 127. |

-205-

reason that none of the sources associates it with choral dances. Nevertheless, it   
is the sign of the existence of ritual practices performed in relationship to the   
marriage ceremony, which, in ancient Greece, as now, had a private and above all   
occasional character preventing it from being included in a calendar of rituals. In   
Sparta, the secret abduction of the young bride withdrew the ceremony from the   
eyes of the public, where it generally resided in Greece.

My brief attempt at a synthesis shows the possibility, at least hypothetical,   
of reconstructing an initiation cycle for the future brides of the citizens. I shall   
now analyze its institutional forms and examine the education that adolescent   
girls received in Sparta.

-206-

**4. THE FUNCTION OF THE LYRIC CHORUS**

The analysis of the female lyric chorus as to internal structure and connec-   
tions to ritual and cult has shown it to play a frequent role in paying homage to   
deities. But above all it seems to have provided a vehicle for the intervention of   
gods into the human sphere, in conformity with the attributions of the divinity   
in question. The myths, and sometimes certain rituals, have helped explain the   
semantic configuration of cults that include choral dances by women. These cults   
are seen as marking the essential stages of the physiological, social, and in-   
stitutional development of the woman from birth to adulthood via marriage.   
There exists, it goes without saying, a close relationship between the semantic   
configuration of the cults and the attributes and functions of the intervening   
divinity.

The lyric chorus is thus the line of communication between the deity and its   
followers, and therefore the status of the chorus members, either adolescents,   
marriageable women, or young wives, and so on, corresponds in most cases to   
the sphere of influence of the divinity and thus to the characteristics of the   
divinity itself. The choral performance in its cultic aspect allows the divinity to   
influence those who celebrate it, and it is thus within the chorus that help for the   
observant is realized during transitions through moments of crisis. Through   
choral performance, the rhythm of different stages in the development of the   
social life and the gender role of women is validated on the religious level.

This analysis, however, of the insertion of the choral performance into a   
series of cults only permits us to describe the religious aspects of the lyric   
chorus. The conception of a choral practice not finding its conclusion in cult,   
but whose function is fundamentally cultic and social, causes two problems for   
the interpreter: first, the extra-cultic content of choral practice must be studied.   
So far we have discussed certain rituals and myths of tribal initiation. It is now   
necessary to examine whether the secular function of the lyric chorus corresponds   
to what the ritual and especially the myth indicate, and the modalities and the   
substance of this function must be examined. On the other hand, the cultic   
aspect of choral interpretation and, in particular, the parallel existence of   
professional choruses such as that of the *Deliades,* and of obviously occasional   
choruses, pose the problem of the institutional character of the lyric chorus. If   
the role of the chorus is found to extend beyond the confines of the cult, the   
social and perhaps juridical foundations for this must be studied. The following   
paragraphs will attempt to answer these two questions, starting with the second.

-207-

**4.1. The chorus as institution**

**4.1.1. Hellenistic associations**

Before examining the meager evidence on the social status of the Archaic   
chorus, it may be helpful to glance at the choral associations which flourished   
during the Hellenistic period. [1.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678724&offset=1#1.#1.) From a methodological point of view, this   
displacement in time is justified by the abundance of documentation for this   
period, particularly inscriptions. It seems to me that even if the Hellenistic   
associations underwent profound modifications, it is still possible to see in the   
organization of these later associations the reflexes of structures in place in the   
Archaic period. However, I shall take into account the fact that the Hellenistic   
associations acquired a marked private character, in contrast to the Archaic ones,   
and owed their success to the weakening of public life and official cult, whereas   
Archaic society revolved around these two points. [2.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678724&offset=1#2.#2.)

Since a profound change in the signified of these associations occurs between   
the Classical and Archaic periods and the Hellenistic period, it seems wise to   
follow on the level of the signifier their names and the elements composing   
them. A study of the signifier allows a comparative analysis of the morphology   
of these societies, independent of their function and of their significance in   
historically different social contexts.

The commonest terms in inscriptions for Greek phratries are θίασος, "guild,"   
ἔρανος, the feast "of mutual aid," and ὀργεω̑νες, the delegates of a corporation.   
None of these words corresponds exactly to what we know of the lyric chorus.   
On the other hand, the signifiers for the elements of internal organization of   
Hellenistic associations are familiar to us; for instance at Pergamon, the βου‐   
κόλοι, the followers of Dionysus, formed a *thiasos* and had at their head two   
ὑμνοδιδάσκαλοι, two song masters and a *choregos.* In the same town, the con-   
tribution to be payed for participation in the rites organized by the ὑμνῳδοί, the   
"hymn singers," was called χορει̑ον, the choral tribute. A *choregos,* called re-   
spectively χοροστατω̑ν or χορηγήσας, was also at the head of the society of the   
*hymnôidoi* of Nicopolis and of the κορδακισταί, the *"cordax* dancers" of   
Amorgos. This position was also designated by the term, already mentioned, of   
προστάτης. [3.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678724&offset=1#3.#3.) The members of the phratries were often designated with nouns   
ending in -φορος or by terms such as ἑται̑ρος, the companion, and ἀδελφός, the

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| 1. | P. Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs. Thiases, éranes*,  *orgéons*, Paris 1873, pp. 5f., E. Ziebarth, *Das griechische Vereinswesen,* Leipzig  1896, pp. 191ff. |
| 2. | Poland, *Vereinswesens,* pp. 8ff. and 514ff., E. Ziebarth, "Soziale und religiöse  Gemeinschaftsbildung im alten Griechenland," *WJA* 1, 1946, pp. 327-340; see also  now P. Schmitt-Pantel, *La cité au banquet*. *Histoire des repas publics dans les cités  grecques,* Paris 1992. |
| 3. | See Ziebarth, *op. cit.* n. 1, pp. 50, 92 and 149, and Poland, *Vereinswesen,* p.  398. |

-208-

brother. [4.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678725&offset=1#4.#4.) Borrowings of terms connected with the Archaic chorus are numerous,   
and the Hellenistic corporations seem to have continued some of the structures of   
the chorus, but put them to a different use. The semantic features of 'compan-   
ionship,' 'leading,' and 'institution (of the chorus)' found in these terms can be   
taken in their real sense, but those of 'song' and 'dance' do not refer to the   
activity of Hellenistic phratries and have only a metaphorical meaning.

Poland notes that women play only a minor role in these associations. If the   
mixed associations are excluded, those for women only had a cult function and   
were essentially colleges of priestesses. [5.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678725&offset=1#5.#5.) Here again, we see the outlines of the   
lyric chorus in both origin and function. The professional choruses attached to a   
particular cult, such as the chorus of the *Deliades,* must have mediated between   
the Archaic choral mode and the Hellenistic confraternity. Thus in the case of   
associations for women, the analogy with Archaic choruses is not only formal,   
but it is also functional.

These structural resemblances between Archaic choruses and Hellenistic   
associations suggest that the juridical foundation for the latter shares some   
analogy with the former. I would now like to examine the merits of this   
supposition.

One of the terms used in discussing the Hellenistic confraternity is θίασος. In   
the Classical period, it did not have the significance it had later. It refers to a   
troupe or gathering of people dancing and singing, generally in a cult context and   
particularly in Dionysiac rituals. If the bacchic meaning of the word is foremost,   
it is not the only one. The *thiasos* can also be made up of Centaurs or persons   
compared with the Muses. [6.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678725&offset=1#6.#6.) But the oldest use of the word is found in Alcman,   
where it appears beside θοίνη, the banquet, referring to the meetings of the   
famous Spartan *sussitia*. [7.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678725&offset=1#7.#7.) This brief fragment is quoted by Ephoros, himself   
cited by Strabo. It is taken from an invitation to intone and sing the paean   
(παια̑να κατάρχην) to be performed on this occasion.

The established, political character of the Lacedaemonian *sussitia* suggests   
that the association referred to as *thiasos* has a similar legal base. [8.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678725&offset=1#8.#8.) The   
widespread use of this word in connection with Hellenistic associations would   
then be an example of the movement of a word with a precise meaning in the   
Archaic period from the public to the private domain. The modified application

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| 4. | Poland, *Vereinswesen,* pp. 43 and 54. |
| 5. | *Ibid.,* pp. 289ff.; for a women's association whose activity can be related to a  gymnasium, see *ibid.,* p. 97 n. 2. |
| 6. | Hdt. 4.79, Aristoph. *Ran.* 156; Eur. *IA* 1059; Aristoph. *Thesm.* 41. |
| 7. | Alcm. fr. 98 P = 129 C quoted by Strab. 10.4.18 = Eph. *FGrHist*. 70 F 149.10;  see Von der Mühll, *art*. *cit*. p. 183 n. 292, p. 211, and Calame, *Alcman*, pp. 531ff. |
| 8. | See Arist. *Pol.* 1272a 3 and Plut. *Lyc*. 12 with, among others, Chrimes, *Sparta*,  pp. 231ff.; Michell, *Sparta*, pp. 281ff.; Oliva, *Sparta*, pp. 29ff.; Nafissi, *Kosmos*,  pp. 173ff. (especially pp. 206ff.); and Schmitt-Pantel, *op. cit*. n. 2, pp. 59ff. and  234ff. |

-209-

of the word would have as a complement the continuity of the formal structures   
of the institution so designated, an assembly of table companions linked by   
common interests. In addition, the song sung during the *sussitia* indicates the   
choral connotations which the term *thiasos* also has in the Classical period,   
particularly in Euripides where the words χορός and θίασος are practically   
synonymous. [9.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678726&offset=1#9.#9.) I have analyzed above the passage of *Iphigenia in Tauris* in which   
the chorus of Iphigenia's attendants yearn to take their places again in the   
choruses where they danced as young girls. These lines recall the term χοροι̑ς by   
means of the expression ἡλίκων θιάσους, thus making the terms not just   
synonyms but also giving *thiasos* the choral feature 'contemporary.' [10.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678726&offset=1#10.#10.) The   
similarity between the *thiasos* and the chorus leads to an examination of   
Sappho's much disputed group on Lesbos.

**4.1.2. The "circle" of Sappho**

With the model of the Hellenistic confraternities and cult groups in mind,   
many modem scholars have decided that Sappho had a *thiasos* on Lesbos in the   
institutional sense of the term. Indications of this are very tenuous, and the word   
is never used in connection with Sappho; so it seems more prudent to speak   
with Merkelbach of the *Kreis* or Lesbian "circle" of Sappho, or in an even more   
neutral mode, of her group. [11.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678726&offset=1#11.#11.) Nevertheless, it is possible to see through these   
indications together with some fragments of the poet herself what an association   
of women at the end of the seventh century could be. The evidence also points to   
other groups of the same type, of interest as points of comparison with the   
Spartan system.

The most significant fragment speaks of a μοισοπόλων οἰκία, a house of   
women dedicated to the Muses. The term μουσοπόλος could have the   
institutional meaning here that it certainly has in a Boeotian inscription dating   
perhaps from the second century B.C., in which the actors in a theatrical troupe   
are described. [12.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678726&offset=1#12.#12.)

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| 10. | Eur. *IT* 1143ff., see above p. 33. The similarity between χορός and θίασος is  underscored in the following entries in Hesychius: θίασος, θιάσαι, θιασω̑ται,  ἐξεθίαζε, and ἐπεθείαζεν (επεθιαζεν cod.) (Θ 573, 570, 575, E 3640, 4309 Latte). |
| 11. | See Merkelbach, *Philologus* 101, p. 4 with n. 1, who summarizes the argu-  ments of his predecessors, as also West, *Maia* 22, pp. 324ff.; Lasserre, *Sappho*, pp.  114ff.; and F. De Martino, "Appunti sulla scrittura al femminile nel mondo antico,"  in De Martino, *Rose di Pieria*, pp. 17-77 (pp. 32ff.). |
| 12. | Sapph. fr. 150 V; *IG* VII. 2484; see Poland, *op. cit*. n. 2, pp. 206f., and  Lanata, *QUCC* 2, p. 67; in Sappho's fragment, οἰκίᾳ, metrically awkward, is a gloss  that has slipped into the line in the place of a probable δόμῳ. For other indications  which could refer to the existence of the *thiasos* of Sappho, see M. Treu, *RE Suppl*.  11, s.v. *Sappho,* coll. 1228 and 1325f., and "Neues über Sappho und Alkaios *(P. Ox.*  2506)," *QUCC* 2, 1966, pp. 9-36 (pp. 10ff.). |
| 9. | Eur. *Bacch*. 680 and 379. |

-210-

Sappho's "house" or group, like most of the choruses studied here, was   
composed of young girls, and apart from the *Epithalamia* themselves which she   
probably composed for wedding ceremonies, her poems speak of mostly   
παρθένοι, κόραι, or παι̑δες. [13.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678727&offset=1#13.#13.) Indirect testimony defines the bonds linking the   
girls with the poet with the terms ἑται̑ραι (φίλαι) and μαθήτριαι. [14.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678727&offset=1#14.#14.) The first   
term contains the feature 'companionship' and is used not only by the indirect   
tradition, but also by Sappho herself when she speaks of her own compan-   
ions. [15.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678727&offset=1#15.#15.) Athenaeus cites the fragment in which the term appears and explains that   
the meaning as used by Sappho is different from the more common one of   
'hetaira.' In Sappho's meaning, it is employed when women or girls talk of their   
most intimate friends (συνήθεις καὶ φίλας). Semantic ambiguities of this type   
have probably led to the tradition that makes of Sappho a πόρνη γυνή, a woman   
of doubtful morals. [16.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678727&offset=1#16.#16.) The second term and its implications will be examined in   
the following paragraphs, emphasizing the pedagogical element in these bonds of   
friendship and companionship.

There is a probable hint of the institutional basis for these relationships in a   
line from the celebrated *Ode to Aphrodite.* The use in the same context of the   
terms ἀδικει̑ν, to commit an injustice, and φιλότης, friendship based on mutual   
confidence, indicates that the rupture by one of the members of Sappho's circle   
of the bonds of loving friendship was felt as a juridical violation of the rules.   
The wrong committed on the person of Sappho at the emotional level was made   
worse by the injustice committed with regard to the institutional foundation of   
their relationship. To betray Sappho was not only to betray the intimate and   
reciprocal relationship of φιλία that the poetess was setting up with the girls of   
her group, but it meant also to break the bonds sanctioned by a contract. [17.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678727&offset=1#17.#17.)

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| 13. | Παρθένος· Sapph. frr. 17.14, 27.10, 30.2, 153 V, etc.; κόρη: frr. 140 (a) V;  παι̑ς: frr. 49.2 (Atthis), 58.11 V, etc.; see now the detailed study of Lardinois, *TAPhA*  124, pp. 65ff. The term γυνή is used only in frr. 44.15, and 31 (description of the  wedding of Hektor and Andromache) and 96.6f. V (poem addressed to a young Lydian  girl who is no longer in Sappho's circle). |
| 14. | *Sud.* s.v. Σαπφώ (Σ 107 Adler) = test. 253 V (see Ael. *VH* 12.19 = test. 256 V). |
| 15. | Sapph. fr. 160.1 V = Ath. 13.571cd; see fr. 142 and 126 V with Lanata, *QUCC*  2, pp. 66f. The use of this term has led some interpreters to compare Sappho's group  with the political *hetaireia* Alcaeus was creating at the same time at Mytilene: J.  Trumpf, "Über das Trinken in der Poesie des Alkaios," *ZPE* 12, 1973, pp. 139-160,  and Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets,* p. 209. This hypothesis has now been put forward  by Parker, *TAPhA* 123, pp. 341ff.; but Sappho's dancing companions are not  represented as revellers at the banquet! |
| 16. | Sapph. test. 261 and 262 V; on this tradition, see below pp. 249ff. |
| 17. | Sapph. fr. 1.18 V, see A. Rivier, "Observations sur Sappho, I. 19 sq.," *REG*  80, 1967, pp. 84-92 (reprinted in *Etudes de littérature grecque,* Geneva 1975, pp.  235-242), A. Giacomelli, "The Justice of Aphrodite in Sappho Fr. 1," *TAPhA* 110,  1980, pp. 135-146, and Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets,* pp. 254ff.; the bonds of  friendship within the Sapphic group were combined with homoerotic relationships:  see below pp. 249f., and now Calame, *I Greci e l'eros*, pp. 17ff. and 72f. |

-211-

This evidence, to which can be added the choreographic and musical activity   
indicated in most of Sappho's fragments, shows structures in the Lesbos circle   
analogous to those characteristic of the female lyric chorus: young girls, bound   
to the one who leads them by ties expressed in the term ἑταίρα, perform dances   
and songs together. This situation is described in an epigram of the *Palatine   
Anthology,* in which young Lesbians, under the leadership of Sappho, form a   
chorus in honor of Hera. [18.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678728&offset=1#18.#18.) Philostratos also sees a choral image of this type   
when a picture of young girls (κόραι) singing round the statue of Aphrodite   
recalls for him the figure of Sappho. [19.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678728&offset=1#19.#19.) These girls, Philostratos explains, are led   
(ἄγει) by a *choregos* (designated as διδάσκαλος), still young, who beats the   
rhythm while the adolescents (παι̑δες) sing the praises of the goddess. By   
marking the beat, the *choregos* indicates to the young girls the right moment for   
beginning the song. It is unnecessary to point out the typically choral semantic   
features of 'leading' and 'beginning' in this scene described by Philostratos.

Sappho was not the only woman in Lesbos at the end of the seventh century   
to possess a circle of young girls. She had two rivals in the persons of Andro-   
meda and Gorgo. [20.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678728&offset=1#20.#20.) A fragment of commentary on papyrus tells us that the same   
relations existed between Gorgo and her companions as between Sappho and her   
pupils. [21.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678728&offset=1#21.#21.) These relations are referred to by the term σύζυξ, which means,   
literally, the one who finds himself or herself under the same yoke. The use of   
this term by the tragedians to refer to the spouse in a matrimonial context has   
been cited as proof of marriage-like bonds between the members of the circle and   
its leader. [22.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678728&offset=1#22.#22.) The plurality of these bonds within a circle, and the frequent use of   
the term σύζυγος as a synonym for ἑται̑ρος, the companion, suggest that this   
denomination is the expression of the bond of 'companionship' which, inde-   
pendent of any matrimonial meaning, unites the members with the *choregos* in

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| 18. | *AP* 9.189, see above p. 65; the word χορός appears only once, it is true, in the  fragments we have of Sappho: fr. 70.10 V. It is clear that the classical distinction  between monodic poetry and choral poetry, which places Sappho's compositions  under the category of monodies, does not correspond to reality. On this subject see  above p. 65 n. 171, and, for Sappho specifically, Lardinois, *TAPhA* 124, p. 73f., and  "Who Sang Sappho's Songs?" in E. Greene, *Re-Reading Sappho: A Collection of  Critical Essays,* forthcoming. See also E. Greene, "Apostrophe and Women's Erotics  in the Poetry of Sappho," *TAPhA* 124, 1994, pp. 41-56. |
| 19. | Philostr. *Im*. 2.1.1ff. = Sapph. test. 217 V. |
| 20. | Max. Tyr. 18.9 = Sapph. test. 219 V, see frr. 57, 131, 133 and 144 V. Page,  *Sappho,* pp. 133ff., recognizes the existence of rivals and friends of Sappho, but  denies that their relations were other than personal, thus also denying any official or  professional reasons for these bonds. On another rival circle, see perhaps fr. 71 V. |
| 21. | Sapph. fr. 213 V. |
| 22. | Gentili, *Poesia e pubblico,* pp. 106f., and, by the same author, "Il 'letto  insaziato' di Medea," *SCO* 21, 1972, pp. 60-72 (p. 65 n. 18). To the parallels cited  by Gentili can be added the existence of a Hera Syzygia: see Stob. 2.7.3a; on this  subject see Page, *Sappho*, p. 144 n. 1, and West, *Maia* 22, p. 320. |

-212-

Gorgo's group as in the lyric chorus. [23.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678729&offset=1#23.#23.) I shall address later the possible sexual   
form of these relations.

A late testimonium from Philostratos, probably not very reliable, reports that   
a certain Damophyle of Pamphylia had composed for young girls (παρθένους)   
love poems (ἐρωτικά) and also hymns to Artemis Pergaia. [24.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678729&offset=1#24.#24.) Even if Damophyle   
is difficult to situate historically, it is interesting to note that, again according to   
Philostratos, this unknown poet passed as a pupil of Sappho, on whose musical   
activity she modelled herself. Consequently the mention is an indirect witness of   
Sappho's activity, and it is significant that the author used the word *disciple*   
(ὁμιλήτρια) for the girls who sang the compositions of Damophyle. The term is   
similar to μαθήτρια used in the *Suda* to denote the companions and pupils of   
Sappho. [25.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678729&offset=1#25.#25.)

My list would not be complete without Telesilla, the Argive poet of the   
beginning of the fifth century. One of her poems is addressed to young girls

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| 23. | The commentary attributed to Gorgo two σύζυγες, namely Gongyla and  Pleistodice (probably the girl called by Sappho Archeanassa; see Treu, *Sappho,* p.  165). Gongyla is herself named in the *Suda* s.v. Σαπφώ (Σ 107 Adler = Sapph. test  253 V) as one of the pupils of Sappho; see Sapph. fr. 95.4 and possibly fr. 22.10 V.  As for Archeanassa, she reappears in a fragment of Sappho unfortunately very mu-  tilated : fr. 103 Ca. 4 V. It is thus possible that, like Atthis (see below p. 232),  Pleistodike and Gongyla had left Sappho's confraternity for the rival circle of Gorgo.  On the use of σύζυγος, see Eur. *IT* 250 (Orestes σύζυγος of Pylades), *Tr*. 1001 (Pollux  σύζυγος of Castor); see *HF* 673ff. (συζυγία of the Muses and the Graces), Aristoph.  *Plut*. 945. |
| 24. | Philostr. *VA* 1.30 = Sapph. test. 223 V, see Treu, *Sappho*, p. 237. |
| 25. | It seems to have been a late tradition that made the poet Erinna a companion  (ἑταίρα) of Sappho, see *Sud.* s.v. Ἤριννα (H 521 Adler) = Sapph. test. 257 V (see  also Eust. *Il*. 326.46ff.): O. Crusius, *RE* 6 (1909), s.v. *Erinna*, J.V. Donado,  "Cronologia de Erinna," *Emerita* 41, 1973, pp. 349-376, and J. Rauk, "Erinna's  *Distaff and* Sappho Fr. 94," *GRBS* 30, 1989, pp. 101-116. See also *AP* 9.190 =  Sapph. test. 56 Gall., with *AP* 9.26 = Sapph. test. 52 Gall., which names nine  poetesses, the earthly incarnation of the nine Muses. Among them is another so‐  called companion of Sappho, Nossis *(AP* 7.718 = Sapph. test. 51 Gall.; she was  actually an Alexandrian poet: see P. Maas, *RE* 17 [1936], s.v. *Nossis,* M.B. Skinner,  "Sapphic Nossis," *Arethusa* 22, 1989, pp. 5-18, and O. Specchia, "Nosside," *Rudiae*  5, 1993, pp. 5-53), and also Telesilla. A women's *thiasos* serving Artemis at Cyzicus  is mentioned in the *Suda* s.v. Δόλων (Δ 1345 Adler) = Ael. fr. 46 Hercher. On the  mention of a relationship of 'companionship' in an epigram about Erinna, see AP  7.710.7f. = Erinna fr. 5.7f. D (συνεταιρίς); the companion of Erinna to whom this  funeral epigram is dedicated was a newly married young woman. She had probably left  Erinna's circle to be married before death struck; see again *AP* 7.712 = Erinna fr. 4 D  also fr. 1B. 47ff. D. See also J.M. Snyder, *The Woman and the Lyre. Women Writers  in Classical Greece and Rome,* Carbondale-Edwardsville 1989, pp. 86ff., and E.  Cavallini, "Due poetesse greche, " in De Martino, *Rose di Pieria*, pp. 97-135. |

-213-

(κόραι) and tells the story of Artemis fleeing from Alpheios. [26.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678730&offset=1#26.#26.) The adolescent   
connotations of this myth could point to the fragment as an extract from a   
*partheneion*, but no source explicitly says that Telesilla was the leader of a group   
of girls.

So several women poets, particularly in eastern Greece, attracted to their   
groups girls who were both their pupils and their companions. Under their   
direction these adolescents were musically active, often in a cult context, thus   
making their association into something very similar, if not identical, to the   
lyric chorus.

**4.1.3. The Spartan agele**

In Sparta itself, a line by Pindar, quoted by Athenaeus, gives us some   
indication, by comparison with the Laconian associations of ephebes, of the   
existence of a secular function and of a civic and institutional status for Spartan   
girls' choruses. [27.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678730&offset=1#27.#27.) This fragment, which speaks simply of a troupe (ἀγέλα) of   
Laconian girls (παρθένων), is quoted in a passage in which Athenaeus attempts   
to define the poetic form of the *hyporchema*. He explains that it is a dance by   
men or women, with the chorus-members singing at the same time. The context   
leaves no doubt that Pindar's verse refers, by means of the term *agele*, to a   
performance of a women's chorus.

In Sparta, the term *agele* had precise institutional meaning. It designated the   
groups in which the male children were organized from seven years upwards.   
Even if Plutarch, who is the principal source on this subject, does not exactly   
say so, it is possible to imagine that the groups forming the various *agelai*   
respected the division into age classes that we spoke of with regard to the rites   
practiced at the altar of Artemis Orthia; between 14 and 19 years old, adolescents   
in each category were referred to by a different generic name. The child probably   
stayed with the same *agele* until he was an adult. In fact, this division of youth   
based on age was active in Sparta for the whole period of childhood and   
adolescence until 19 years when the adolescent became an *iren* and left his *agele*.   
The *agelai* of the older boys were under the charge of an *iren.* The members of

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| 26. | Teles. fr. 717 P; see also fr. 720 P; R. Herzog, "Auf den Spuren der Telesilla,"  *Philologus* 91, 1912, pp. 1-21, thinks that the poet headed a *thiasos* dedicated to  Apollo, but see P. Maas, *RE* 5 A (1934), s.v. *Telesilla*, and Snyder, *op. cit*. n. 25, pp.  59ff. |
| 27. | Pind. fr. 112 M, quoted by Ath. 14.631c; see also fr. 70 b. 22 M. Pindar uses  in another case the term ἀγέλα to refer to the fifty young *hetairai* (φορβάδων κορα̑ν  ἀγέλαν) who, like a herd of mares, joined in the sacrifice that Xenophon of Corinth  made to Aphrodite after a victory at Olympia: Pind. fr. 122 M quoted by Ath. 13.573f.  The context of this fragment is naturally choral, but it is not sung by the young  women described in this σκόλιον: see my comments in "Entre rapports de parenté et  relations civiques: Aphrodite l'hétaïre au banquet politique des *hetairoi,"* in F.  Thelamon (ed.), *Aux sources de la Puissance: Sociabilité et Parenté*, Rouen 1989, pp.  101-111. |

-214-

the *agele* were bound to a youth, older than they, who acted as their leader,   
giving a relational structure, analogous to that of the lyric chorus, between the   
chorus-members and the *choregos*. [28.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678731&offset=1#28.#28.)

The youth at the head of an *agele* was called ἀγελάρχης, or βουαγόρ, a more   
specifically Laconian term. This word means literally the one who heads the   
βου̑α, a Laconian term itself synonymous with ἀγέλα. [29.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678731&offset=1#29.#29.) This evidence, based   
on two glosses of Hesychius, has for us a double significance: linguistically, the   
names are metaphorical, drawn from the world of domestic animals, and   
historically, their use is confirmed by inscriptions discovered in the sanctuary of   
Artemis Orthia.

Derived from ἄγειν, the term ἀγέλη offers the same connotations of leading   
as suggested by my analysis of the word χοραγός; defining its signified as a   
'group that is by nature to be led,' this term is mainly used for a drove of oxen   
or a herd of horses. As Chantraine has pointed out, the word ἀγέλη can be related   
morphologically and etymologically to ἀγωγή, which signifies the act of leading   
a horse by hand, and to the technical word ἀγωγεύς, the leading rein. [30.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678731&offset=1#30.#30.) The   
domestication of the horse seems then to have been used in turn as a metaphor   
for the education of children and adolescents. We know that in Sparta itself the   
education process of the ephebes was called ἀγωγή, "leading." In the Laws Plato   
compares the young Spartans (νέους) to colts (πώλους φορβάδας) collected into   
a flock (ἐν ἀγέλῃ), and thus clearly links the education of youth with the image   
of the domestication of animals which it is possible to tame; while emphasizing   
the Lacedaemonian character of this type of collective pedagogy, he contrasts it   
with the Athenian concept of individual education. [31.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678731&offset=1#31.#31.) This analogy between a   
group of adolescents and domestic animals is doubtless the origin of the term   
βου̑α, a probable derivative of βου̑ς, the ox. The term βουαγόρ repeats

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| 28. | Plut. *Lyc*. 16.7ff.: on the age classes in the cult of Artemis Orthia, see above  pp. 156ff. with the references given in nn. 208 and 209; see also Vidal-Naquet, *Le  chasseur noir*, pp. 204ff., and Vernant, *Métis* 2, pp. 279ff. Plut. *Lyc*. 16.13 cites, at  the same time as the *agele*, the subdivision of the ἴλη; according to Xen. Resp. Lac.  2.11, the *ile* was headed by an *iren*. Given this structure, it is probable that the *agele*  and the *ile* were names for the same unit and had no hierarchical relationship as some  historians have suggested: see Jeanmaire, *Couroi,* p. 504, and Michell, *Sparta*, p.  168, who reconstructs a three-step hierarchy going from the *ile,* the smallest unit, to  the *agele*, the largest unit, by way of the *boua*, an intermediary unit. Michell lists  other views on this subject; I would add to this list the discussion by Nilsson, *Klio*  12, pp. 312ff., and by Den Boer, *Lac*. *Studies,* pp. 248ff. |
| 29. | Hsch. s.v. βουαγόρ and βου̑α (B 867 and 865 Latte), see E. Szanto, RE 3  (1899), s.v. Βοαγός. |
| 30. | Chantraine, *op. cit*. p. 44 n. 108, p. 32, and *Dict. étym*., s.v. ἀγέλη. The term  ἀγελάρχης is used to refer to the herdsman of a drove of oxen; see *Sud.* s.v. ἀγελάρχης  (A 183 Adler). |
| 31. | Plat. *Leg.* 666e; for the use of φορβάς, see Pind. fr. 122.19 M (quoted above n.  27); significantly, the sch. A. R. 2.88 (p. 131 Wendel) give ἀγελάς as a synonym for  φορβάς. |

-215-

etymologically the action of leading that is implied semantically in the   
derivation of the element -αγόρ (-αγός in Attic) from the verb ἄγειν. [32.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678732&offset=1#32.#32.)

Inscriptions from the Roman period discovered in the precinct of Orthia   
confirm the fact that the *bouagos* was older than the members of the *agele* or of   
the *boua* that he commanded; on the other hand, they attest to the fact that the   
*agelai* were made up of adolescents in the same age class. The *agele* consequently   
presents the feature 'contemporary' like the lyric chorus. [33.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678732&offset=1#33.#33.)

But the *agele* is not exclusively a Laconian association. The Cretans,   
according to Ephoros, had an education system similar to the Spartan *agoge* and   
also divided their adolescents into different *agelai*. These bands of youths were led   
(συνάγουσιν) by the most visible and most influential ephebes; they practiced   
military confrontations to the sound of the pipe and lyre. The musical element   
seems to have played an important part for these youths who were trained in an   
armed dance, first performed by the Couretes. [34.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678732&offset=1#34.#34.) The oath sworn by the ephebes   
of Dreros in an inscription gives proof of the educational function of the *agele*.   
In fact it seems to be the very institution which enabled adolescents to take on   
the status of adult and citizen. [35.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678732&offset=1#35.#35.) Two funerary epigrams show the presence of   
similar associations on the coast of Ionia. [36.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678732&offset=1#36.#36.)

Along with the feature 'contemporary,' the *agele*, like the lyric chorus,   
contains the semantic feature 'companionship.' At least that is what one can   
deduce from a gloss by Hesychius which explains that the word κάσιος referred   
in Sparta to the brothers and cousins (ἀδελφοί τε καὶ ἀνεψιοί) belonging to the   
same *agele*. As for instance in Homeric society, the terms ἀδελφός and ἀνεψιός   
do not necessarily refer just to family relations in the strict sense of the word,   
but also to relationships formed within the *agele*. [37.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678732&offset=1#37.#37.) Another gloss of Hesychius   
defines the term κάσις, normally meaning 'brother,' by ἡλικιώτης, 'companion   
of the same age,' and in so doing places the semantic features 'contemporary' and   
'companionship' outside blood relationships, thus confirming the hypothesis of

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| 32. | Chantraine, *Dict*. *étym*., s.v. βου̑α. |
| 33. | On this see the analysis of Chrimes, *Sparta*, pp. 95ff. and 442ff. Note that the  *thiasos*/chorus of the Maenads in Euripides' *Bacchae* is also called ἀγέλα (1. 1022). |
| 34. | Strab. 10.4.16 and 20 = Eph. *FGrHist*. 70 F 149.16 and 20, and Hsch. s.v.  ἀγελάους and ἀπάγελος (A 432 and 5702 Latte). See C.A. Forbes, *Greek Physical  Education,* New York-London 1929, pp. 44ff.; Jeanmaire, *Couroi,* pp. 425ff.;  Chrimes, *Sparta*, pp. 219ff.; R.F. Willetts, *Aristocratic Society in Ancient Crete,*  London 1955, pp. 12ff.; and now Lonsdale, *Ritual Play,* pp. 162ff. and 229ff. |
| 35. | *SGDI* 4952; see Willetts, *Cults,* pp. 200f. |
| 36. | G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, Berlin 1878, Nos. 223.8 (νέων ἀ[γ]έ[λ]ας,  Miletus) and 239.2 (ἀιθέων ἥλικος ἐξ ἀγέλας, Smyrna). See also Poland,  *Vereinswesen,* pp. 90 n. tt and 92 n. \*\*\*, who cites two inscriptions, one from  Akalissos, the other from Crete, in which appear the terms ἀγελαρχία and ἀγελα̑ται:  see as well Straton, *Epigr.* 51.2 (III, p. 80 Jacobs). |
| 37. | Hsch. s.v. κάσιοι (K 971 Latte); see Poland, *Vereinswesen,* p. 54; Forbes, *op.  cit*. n. 34, pp. 37f.; and Benveniste, *Institutions* I, pp. 220f. |

-216-

the classificatory and symbolic value of those family relationships. [38.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678733&offset=1#38.#38.) And the   
inscriptions of the Roman period quoted with regard to the *bouagos* also confirm   
this, in spite of their late date. There are indeed many inscriptions dedicated to   
Orthia in which the winner of the competition at the altar of the goddess is called   
κάσεν, followed by the indication of the age class to which he belonged. Found   
only in Laconia in this form, the term κάσεν goes back in its morphology to   
the words κάσις and κάσιος, glossed by Hesychius. Parallel to κάσεν is   
συνέφηβος, literally meaning the ephebe companion. A gloss in Photius shows   
that this term, as does κάσεν, presents the feature 'contemporary.' [39.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678733&offset=1#39.#39.)

In these inscriptions, the *synepheboi* and, to a lesser extent the *kasioi*, take   
the name of the *bouagos* to whom they belonged; this bond was certainly part of   
the structure of the *agele*. Whether or not one agrees with Chrimes who sees the   
*kasioi* as ephebes adopted into the *agele*, and the *synepheboi* on a higher social   
level, [40.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678733&offset=1#40.#40.) it is clear that in the inscriptions the kasen and the *synephebos* are not   
defined in relation to the other members of the association, as the meaning of the   
terms might suggest, but in relation to a *patronomos* or a *bouagos,* in other   
words in relation to an adult who occupies a responsible place in the *agele*,   
probably in a position of leadership. [41.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678733&offset=1#41.#41.)

It is therefore probable that in the same way as in the chorus the ties of com-   
panionship linking the chorus-members were defined by their common bond   
with the *choregos,* the family relationships between members of the *agele* were   
essentially a bond subordinating them to a leader. The terms for these relation-   
ships probably had only a metaphorical and then symbolic value: the "brothers"   
and the "cousins" in the same *agele* were fellow members only insofar as they   
belonged to the same "fathers" in the same association. Without forgetting that   
the inscription presenting these terms reflects a situation in the Roman period,   
the quality of *kasen,* as that of *synephebos,* was a title retained on leaving the   
*agele* and one which could ease access to the magistracy.

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| 38. | Hsch. s.v. κάσις (K 966 Latte); cf. Eur. *Hec*. 361 and 428. |
| 39. | All the epigraphic material can be found in Chrimes, *Sparta*, pp. 97ff., 221ff.  and 442ff.; Photius, *Lex*. s.v. συνέφηβος (II, p. 186 Naber), adds that in Sparta the  ephebes were called σιδεύνης, a term that is attested only in this gloss. |
| 40. | The idea of adoption leads Chrimes, *Sparta*, pp. 100ff., to contradictions I  would like to point out briefly: 1. if κάσεν is a boy who enters an *agele* after being  adopted by a member of a privileged family, the term used should not be *brother,* but  rather *son;* 2. Chrimes is obliged to admit the existence of unadopted *kasioi* (pp. 114  and 456); 3. the classical use of the term κάσις/-ιος does not refer to adoption (see  *LSJ*); 4. the term συνέφηβος is neither used for nor means adoption (in spite of her  statement on p. 112). At any rate, it is not clear that this supposed system of  adoption can be considered part of the system of "protégés" that existed in Sparta at  the time of Xenophon: see Toynbee, *Problems,* pp. 343ff.; on this see also F.R.  Wüst, "Laconica," *Klio* 37, 1959, pp. 53-62 (pp. 60ff.), and D. Lotze, "Μόθακες,"  *Historia* 11, 1962, pp. 427-435. |
| 41. | On the position and function of the πατρονόμος in Sparta, see Plut. *Mor.* 795f.  and Paus. 2.9.1. |

-217-

Two Homeric expressions help to prove that these relationships under certain   
conditions could include much wider connections defined by the bonds of   
companionship. They suggest that a group of table companions, with a family   
Kore, could add members not belonging to the family. This would demonstrate   
the pertinence of the definitions given by Hesychius not only for the Roman   
period, but equally for the Archaic period. By connecting the term ἔται, the   
companions, with κασίγνητοι, which was then supplanted by ἀδελφοί, the   
brothers, or with ἀνεψιοί, the cousins, Homeric poetry shows the existence of a   
group of companions surrounding the heroes consisting of near relations as well   
as table companions, a group with a wider base than that of relatives alone. [42.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678734&offset=1#42.#42.)   
Integrated into the group, the brothers or cousins of the Homeric heroes are also   
his companions. This is an explanation for the technical term κάσεν, along with   
ἀδελφοί and ἀνεψιοί used by Hesychius to define *kasioi,* bridging the semantic   
feature 'family relation' and 'companionship.' We have seen earlier, in the study   
of the internal structure of the chorus, that these two features were often   
complementary. [43.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678734&offset=1#43.#43.) Since they do not exclude each other, we can suppose that the   
metaphorical use of terms of family relationships for the companionship   
structure of the *agele* was based on actual family relations, as in the Homeric   
group of table companions. Thus the literal meaning of κάσεν is not   
incompatible with what συνέφηβος stands for.

Even if there is a lack of literary evidence, inscriptions attest to the   
institutional character of the structures of the Spartan *agele*.

The gloss by Hesychius on the *kasioi* returns us to my initial subject,   
women's associations. The lexicographer adds to his explanation the fact that   
among the Laconians the glossed term was also used for women. But Hesychius'   
glosses are brief and it is not possible to apply to the female *agele*, even if its   
existence is confirmed, the same information in inscriptions concerning the   
structure of the *agele* for ephebes.

On the other hand, there is no reason to doubt that the connotations implied   
in the use of the term ἀγέλα were also realized when the group consisted of   
girls. So it seems highly likely that the Spartans enrolled their adolescent girls   
in groups with internal structures defined by the features of 'contemporary' and

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| 42. | Hom. *Il*. 6.239, 16.456 = 674, *Od.* 15.273, *Il*. 9.464, see Chantraine, *Dict.  étym*., s.v. ἔτης and ἑται̑ρος; Jeanmaire, *Couroi,* pp. 106f.; A. Andrewes, "Phratries  in Homer," *Hermes* 89, 1961, pp. 129-140; and "Philochoros on Phratries," *JHS* 81,  1961, pp. 1-15; also Griffiths, *QUCC* 14, p. 29; J.-L. Perpillou, "Frères de sang ou  frères de culte?," *SMEA* 25, 1984, pp. 205-220; and N. Loraux, "La politique des  frères," in Thelamon, *op. cit*. n. 27, pp. 21-36. Ἔτης does not connote a family  relation, but it is semantically near, if not a synonym of ἑται̑ρος: see Hsch. s.v. ἔται  (E 6479 Latte) and *EM* 386.45ff., as also G. Glotz, *La solidarité de la famille dans le  droit criminel en Grèce*, Paris 1904, pp. 85ff. |
| 43. | See above pp. 30ff. |

-218-

'companionship.' The institutional character of the male *agelai* was doubtless   
also true for these groups of adolescent girls.

The description in the *Epithalamium for Helen* by Theocritus of the troupe   
composed of four-times-sixty girls competing in races on the banks of the   
Eurotas, like the boys, might refer to a form of *agele* for adolescent girls. If the   
word νεολαία used by Theocritus in his description normally refers   
etymologically to the entire youth of a city, here it is limited to a single age   
group, since the girls of the troupe are said to be συνομάλικες, all of the same   
age. [44.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678735&offset=1#44.#44.) One might conjecture that in Sparta each adolescent age group was   
divided into four *agelai* of sixty members each. But that is pure supposition, and   
the only factor in its favor is that 240 girls by age group would give the number   
of female citizens, if the body of such citizens was made up of around thirty age   
groups from 20 to 55 years, corresponding more or less to the canonical number   
of 9000 citizens in Sparta given by Plutarch. [45.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678735&offset=1#45.#45.) It is unfortunate that the little   
information we have about the women's *agele* can only lead to conjecture.

**4.1.4. The Spartan girls' choruses**

Beyond the semantic identity between the *agele* and the lyric chorus, there is   
no concrete evidence upon which to base a comparison of the two types of   
association. The new papyri commenting on poems by Alcman supply some   
information on the political structures of the women's chorus.

One of these, a fragment of a *hypomnema*, associates a chorus of *Dymainai,*   
mentioned in connection with rites for Artemis Karyatis, with another chorus of   
girls called *Pitanatides*. [46.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678735&offset=1#46.#46.) Pitane was one of the four *obai,* one of the four   
villages that formed the first city of Sparta before Amyklai joined it, according   
to Pausanias. Dyme, according to a gloss by Hesychius, represented a *phyle*, a   
tribe, and a locality in Sparta. This refers both to the triple tribal structure of the   
Dorians consisting of *Dymanes, Hylleis* and *Pamphyloi,* and to a geographic

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| 44. | Theocr. 18.24, see sch. *ad*. *loc*. (p. 332 Wendel), and above p. 27. On the  meaning of νεολαία, see Aesch. *Suppl*. 688, *Pers.* 670, and Frisk, *GrEW,* s.v.  νεολα̟a, with D.J. Georgacas, "A Contribution to Greek World History, Derivation  and Etymology," *Glotta* 36, 1958, pp. 161-193 (pp. 172f.). |
| 45. | Plut. *Lyc*. 8.5f.; on the number of Spartan citizens, see Chrimes, *Sparta*, pp.  348ff. It is, however, not possible to compare, as K. Kuiper attempts, "De Theocriti  carmine XVIII," *Mnemosyne* 49, 1921, pp. 223-242 (pp. 231ff.), the four groups  with the Spartan obai. There were probably five *obai* in the archaic period: see below  n. 48. |
| 46. | P. Oxy. 2389, fr. 35 = Alcm. fr. 11 P = 24 C; see above p. 155. According to  Barrett's reconstruction, *Gnomon* 33, p. 687, the commentator says that the girls of  Dyme often went to Pitane to dance with the *Pitanatides*: see Calame, *Alcman*, pp.  387ff. K. Latte, review of Fränkel, *Dichtung*, GGA 207, 1953, pp. 30-42 (p. 36),  reprinted in *Kleine Schriften*, Munich 1968, pp. 713-726 (p. 720), had already noted  that the so-called *thiasos* of Sappho and the girls' choruses in Alcman and Pindar had  the same ritual function. |

-219-

location, perhaps a village. Hesychius defines *Pitane* also as a *phyle,* referring to   
a tribe and a place. [47.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678736&offset=1#47.#47.) One might conjecture therefore that the choruses of Spartan   
adolescent girls were formed according to the villages or districts of the city, and   
that this pattern corresponded to a tribal structure.

But if the fact that Dyme did not belong to the five villages of Sparta, and   
that Pitane is not in the canon of the three Dorian tribes, offers serious obstacles   
to an isomorphic assimilation between the geographic and tribal structures of   
Archaic Sparta, the fact that the text of the *Rhetra* of Lykourgos, as transmitted   
to us by Plutarch, clearly distinguishes between citizens of the *obai* and their   
division into *phylai,* prevents such a simplistic interpretation. And modern   
historians have not yet been able to establish whether the ancient tripartite tribal   
structure, imported by the Dorians, was retained in Sparta parallel with a   
political and spatial division by villages, or whether the two structures were   
integrated with each other. [48.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678736&offset=1#48.#48.) I must add that a second fragment of commentary   
on an Alcman poem might confirm the tribe and village arrangement that   
Hesychius attributes to Dyme; but since the fragment has many gaps and can   
only be understood conjecturally, its interpretation depends on the hypothetical   
developments just mentioned. [49.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678736&offset=1#49.#49.)

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| 47. | Paus. 3.16.9; Hsch. s.v. Δύμη (Δ 2484 Latte), Steph. Byz. s.v. Δυμα̑νες (p.  240 Meineke) and Hsch. s.v. Πιτανάτης στρατός (n 2382 Schmidt). But Toynbee,  *Problems,* pp. 263ff., notes that there is a slippage of meaning between *obe* and  *phyle* and that the latter may also mean, at a later time, the geographical division rep-  resented by the *obe*. |
| 48. | Plut. *Lyc*. 6.2. On the problem of the *obai,* see V. Ehrenberg, *RE* 17 (1936),  s.v. obai, coll. 1694ff.; Michell, *Sparta*, pp. 97ff.; and more recently Huxley, *Sparta*,  pp. 24 and 39; M.A. Levi, "Studi Spartani (II: Phylai e Obai)," *RIL* 96, 1962, pp.  500-512 (reprinted in *Quattro studi spartani e altri scritti di storia greca*, Milano‐  Varese 1967, pp. 28-50); Kiechle, *Lakonien,* pp. 119ff., whose reconstructive  presuppositions should be avoided (see on this subject Oliva, *Sparta*, pp. 84ff.), and  Forrest, *Sparta*, pp. 42ff., who takes into account P. Oxy. 2389, fr. 35, and supposes  that the chorus mentioned by Alcman's commentator was a chorus made up of  members of the tribe of *Dymanes* from the village of Pitane; thus the division of  citizens by tribe may have been integrated with that of the *obai* (numbering nine),  and each *obe* may have been inhabited by members of the three big Dorian tribes. The  best summary of the problem is given by Toynbee, *Problems,* pp. 260ff.; see also  Cartledge, *Sparta*, pp. 106ff. |
| 49. | P. Oxy. 2390, fr. 2, col. II. 22ff. = Alcm. fr. 5.2, col. I. 22ff. P = 81 C, see  Harvey, *JHS* 87, pp. 69ff., who reconstructs at line 24 φυλ[ικὸς δὲ χο]ρός (ἐστι)  Δύμα[ς. ]τρα Δύμα[ινα; an objection to this would be that there is no evidence for the  term φυλικός in Greek and that in the commentator's text one would expect the form  Δύμης rather than a Dorian Δύμας; see also Toynbee, *Problems,* p. 265 n. 3. I do not  think it is possible for reasons of dialect to keep at line 25 the conjectured πά]τρα  Δυμα[ proposed by Lobel, *P. Oxy.* vol. 24, p. 55, and reprinted by Page, *CR* 73, p.  20, who reconstructs τη̑ς τ[ω̑ν Πιτα]ν(α)τίδων φυλ[η̑ς· ὁ δὲ χ]ορός (ἐστι) Δύμα[ιναι,  [*hon*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg236_1.fpx) πά]τρα Δυμα̑[νες. The most likely conjecture is Barrett's, *Gnomon* 33, p. 689 n.  3, which proposes φύλ[ης δ(ὲ) ὁ χ]ορός (ἐστι) Δυμα[ίνης or Δυμά[νιδος, but this of |

-220-

This same fragment of commentary has given us scraps of the exegesis of   
another Alcman poem which connects the Spartan women's chorus directly with   
the royal dynasties of the town instead of with its political structures. [50.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678737&offset=1#50.#50.) Without   
entering into the complex problems of interpretation of this fragment, I would   
note that the girl described here, called *Timasimbrota*, whom Alcman qualifies as   
*the best of children* (παι[δω̑ν] ἀρίσταν), is probably the daughter of King   
Eurykrates of the Agiad dynasty. Further, she, or her brother, was compared by   
the commentator, if not by Alcman himself, with the son of Leotychides I of the   
Eurypontid dynasty. [51.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678737&offset=1#51.#51.) Was Timasimbrota a *choregos?* Her elevated social   
position suggests it, as this role often went with a noble position.

However it may be, the interest in these fragments comes mainly from the   
clues they give as to the social connections of the girls' choruses for which   
Alcman wrote. The existence of choruses of *Dymainai* and *Pitanatides* shows   
that these adolescent choruses were closely connected with the political structures   
of the city in Archaic Sparta, and confirms that the girls were daughters of   
citizens and of Spartans in the strict sense of the word. Moreover, the royal   
blood of Timasimbrota shows that the sons and daughters of the two dynasties   
reigning over Archaic Sparta were not excluded from these choral performances.   
This connection of the Spartan chorus with the political civic life was in   
combination with its religious and ritual character. The presence of women's   
choruses in several official cults of the city, and their integration into the   
political organization of the State, eliminates all doubt as to their institutional   
character. It remains to examine the function of these choral associations in   
relation to the official religious and political system of the city.

**4.2. The pedagogical function of the lyric chorus**

In the chapter on the role of the *choregos* I said that, of the three definitions   
of the term χορηγός given by Hesychius, the first has to do with the pedagogical   
function of the chorus leader. [52.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678737&offset=1#52.#52.) This function of διδάσκαλος, master of the   
lyric chorus, is clearly different from the functions we find in the performance of   
the dithyramb, where we have a chorus master (χοροδιδάσκαλος) and a chorus   
leader (κορυφαι̑ος), two distinct individuals, the financing of the chorus being

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|  | course gives no further clue as to the existence of a village called Δύμη. On this  fragment see above pp. 155f. |

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| 50. | P. Oxy. 2390, fr. 2, col. II. 13ff. = Alcm. fr. 5.2, col. I. 13ff. P = 80 C. |
| 51. | See Lobel, *P. Oxy.* vol. 29, p. 54; Page, *CR* 73, p. 19; Barrett, *Gnomon* 33,  p. 688f.; Harvey, *JHS* 87, pp. 63ff.; West, *CQ* 59, pp. 188ff.; Treu, *RE Suppl*. 11,  col. 22ff.; Cuartero, *BIEH* 6, pp. 13ff.; Calame, *Alcman*, pp. 435ff.; J. Schneider, "La  chronologie d'Alcman," *REG* 98, 1985, pp. 1-64; and now M.L. West, "Alcman and  the Spartan Royalty," *ZPE* 91, 1992, pp. 1-7. On the position of Timasimbrota, see  *Choeurs* II, p. 96 n. 91. |
| 52. | See above p. 43. |

-221-

taken care of by a third person called the *choregos.* In the lyric chorus on the   
other hand, a single person is responsible for the preparation of the chorus   
members and also for the direction of the performance. In defining the *choregos,*   
the feature 'to teach' must be added to those of 'to organize,' 'to conduct,' and 'to   
begin.'

**4.2.1. The lyric chorus as a place for education**

For the Archaic period there is a good deal of evidence to suggest that the   
instruction given to chorus members was more than just preparation for a   
performance. The form and content of this instruction seem to have been those   
of a true education, with the aim of making the chorus participants not only   
good dancers and singers, but also accomplished men and women. Leading to   
this conclusion, a passage of Pollux explains that, especially among the   
Dorians, school was often called *choros* (χορός) and the school master was called   
*choregos.* To support his explanation, he quotes two passages of Epicharmos in   
which the term χορηγει̑ον, an obvious derivative of χορηγός, is used in the   
sense of 'school.' [53.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678738&offset=1#53.#53.)

This image of the chorus as the specific place for the instruction of   
adolescents underlies the whole Platonic concept of pedagogy as it is set out in   
the *Laws.* The aim of education is the acquisition, by future citizens, of ἀρετή,   
of the virtue that comes from a just balance between reason and emotions, in   
other words knowledge of the beautiful and the ugly. [54.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678738&offset=1#54.#54.) For Plato, choral   
education (χορεία) represented the best means of attaining this, because the   
elements of performance—music, song, and dance (μέλος, ᾠδή, ὄρχησις)—   
furnished a young man with a model of beauty and the pleasure (χαίρειν)   
wherewith to assimilate it. These choral models became a tradition the canons of   
which were fixed by law. But above all, the exterior beauty of these paradigms   
corresponded to the beauty of the content for which they were the vehicle: the   
only choral forms beautiful enough and worthy of serving the education of youth   
were those that dealt with the actions of virtuous men. [55.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678738&offset=1#55.#55.) The choral models had   
the same status as any work of art, and it was by *mimesis,* imitation, itself   
based on pleasure, that adolescents succeeded in acquiring the qualities that made   
them, in their turn, into virtuous men. [56.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678738&offset=1#56.#56.) For Plato, to be ἀχόρευτος, literally   
"without chorus," meant to be ἀπαίδευτος, without education. [57.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678738&offset=1#57.#57.)

As is often the case with Plato, this theory of education goes beyond the   
abstraction of the philosophical concept to embrace concrete reality, in which it   
has its origin. Thus the model of choral models, as it appears in the *Laws* as

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| 53. | Poll. 9.14 = Epich. frr. 13 and 104 Kaibel. |
| 54. | Plat. *Leg.* 653aff. and 673a. |
| 55. | *Ibid*. 654e, 657ab, 659dff., 655aff.; see also *Prot*. 325cff, with the comments  of Nagy, *Pindar's Homer,* pp. 408ff. |
| 56. | *Ibid.* 655d, 795e, 814eff.; see Mullen, *Choreia*, pp. 46ff. and 70ff. |
| 57. | *Ibid*. 654a. |

-222-

well as in Greek tradition generally, is the chorus of Apollo and the Muses; as I   
have mentioned, these gods played, for Plato, the role of *choregoi*. [58.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678739&offset=1#58.#58.) This   
connection of the philosophical theory with the religious representation   
underlying Greek reality justifies my mention of Plato's treatise, and it is all the   
more valuable that this idea of the educational value of the chorus, like most of   
the theories developed in the *Laws,* is mainly based on a specifically Cretan and   
Lacedaemonian reality. [59.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678739&offset=1#59.#59.)

For Plato, the basic education of the virtuous citizen concerned both the   
development of his soul, through music, and of his body, through gymnas-   
tics. [60.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678739&offset=1#60.#60.) Gymnastics is therefore complementary to education that is based on the   
activity in a chorus, particularly through the motions of rhythmical movement   
and rhythmical ordering. If this Platonic model was inspired by Cretan and   
Laconian reality, then there ought to have been an educational system of this   
sort forming young Cretans and Spartans into accomplished citizens.

But before examining the situation in Laconia, I have to say that the system   
of education essentially through musical and choral teaching was not the   
exclusive domain of Crete and Sparta. Without fully confronting a widely   
debated subject, I should like to recall first the dispute between the old and new   
forms of education, echoed by Aristophanes in Athens. The old Athenian   
educational system is described in the *Clouds* as the teaching of traditional   
songs. [61.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678739&offset=1#61.#61.) A passage in the *Frogs* explains that the well-born, wise, just, and   
virtuous citizens are those who have been raised in the palaestra and in the   
choruses, in the bosom of music. [62.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678739&offset=1#62.#62.) In Athens of the fifth century, this type of   
musical instruction came into conflict with the new teaching of the Sophists.

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| 58. | *Ibid*. 653dff. and 665a, see above p. 52. |
| 59. | See *ibid.* 660b and 673b; the division into three choruses of children, youths,  and old men proposed by Plato in this text (664bff.) is a characteristic reflection of a  Spartan custom which decreed that at official festivals three choruses belonging to  these three age groups should sing the traditional songs: Plut. *Lyc*. 21.3, *Mor.* 238ab  and 544e, and Poll. 4.107, who makes Tyrtaeus responsible for the origin of this  τριχορία (test. 15 Prato). According to Ath. 15.678c (= Sosib. *FGrHist.* 595 F 5), the  τριχορία was obligatory at the Gymnopaidiai (see above p. 203). On the images of  Spartan institutions in the *Laws,* see Ollier, *Mirage* I, pp. 276ff.; Chrimes, *Sparta*,  pp. 124ff.; E. Koller, "Musse und musische Paideia," *MH* 13, 1956, pp. 1-37 and 94‐  124 (especially pp. 12ff.); Tigerstedt, *Sparta* I, pp. 267ff.; and Rawson, *Tradition,*  pp. 65ff. |
| 60. | Plat. *Leg.* 672eff. and 795dff.; all this has now been repeated and developed  by Lonsdale, *Ritual Play,* pp. 29ff. and 45ff. |
| 61. | Aristoph. *Nub*. 964ff., see also 1054ff.; see K.J. Dover, *Aristophanes*.  Clouds, Oxford 1968, pp. LVIIIff. |
| 62. | Aristoph. *Ran*. 727ff., see also 1054ff.; other parallels in Koller, *Musik,* pp.  86ff.; see Marrou, *Education*, pp. 80ff., and W.D. Anderson, *Ethos and Education in  Greek Music,* Cambridge Mass. 21968, pp. 21ff. On the activity of the Athenian  Damon as defender of traditional musical education in the first half of the fifth |

-223-

According to Polybius, children in Arcadia too were taught to sing the   
traditional hymns of the city (κατὰ τὰ πάτρια) from an early age. [63.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678740&offset=1#63.#63.) This type of   
instruction, involving the celebration in song of local (ἐπιχωρίους) heroes and   
gods, had a religious and established (κατὰ νόμους) dimension. Every year,   
children and youths appeared in public festivals, performed choral dances   
(χορεύουσι) and competed in various sports (ἀγω̑νας). They thus showed the   
public the results of an education system that had recourse to choral and   
gymnastic exercises, as Plato proposed.

And finally, according to two lines attributed to Socrates, the best soldiers are   
those who show the most enthusiasm when performing choral dances in honor   
of the gods. Athenaeus modifies this quotation when he uses it to show the   
instructional value of war dances as the best means of inspiring soldiers with a   
sense of order and discipline by means of *mimesis.* The author thus recognizes   
the outstanding formative value of the choral dance. [64.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678740&offset=1#64.#64.)

It seems that in most regions of Greece musical and choral activity had a   
pedagogical value, and, far from making a spatial distinction, with Sparta and   
Crete being the only custodians of such a system, we may see here a temporal   
distinction particularly in the Archaic period. In any case, Archaic Greek culture   
can be defined as a "song culture." [65.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678740&offset=1#65.#65.)

In clarifying such evidence, Koller finds in the dithyrambic chorus the origin   
of the expression ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, cyclical education; later, after a similar   
displacement of the signified starting with the same signifier, this will come to   
mean the combination or "circle" of subjects and sciences forming the system of   
knowledge offered in higher education. I think it is allowable to go further and   
say that the feature 'circular,' which as we have seen is a characteristic of the   
chorus, can be found in the signified ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία. [66.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678740&offset=1#66.#66.) The didactic function   
of the Archaic lyric chorus would be replaced at the beginning of the Classical   
period by the particular choral form of the dithyramb. In any case, it is

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|  | century, see Lasserre, *Mus.,* pp. 53ff. On poetry as the principal vehicle for Greek  education, see F.A.G. Beck, *Greek Education*, *450-350 B.C.,* London 1964, pp.  313ff., and Nagy, *Pindar's Homer,* pp. 409ff. |

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| 63. | Pol. 4.20.4ff. Notice that, at Teos, for example, the musical education of  girls, while there was also a school system, was bound up in choral performances  given at certain festivals: see Ziebarth, *op. cit*. p. 199 n. 337, pp. 39 and 58. |
| 64. | Ath. 14.628ef = Socr. fr. 3 West. On the didactic value of archaic poetry in  general, see in particular Gentili, *Introduzione*, pp. 92ff., and Gianotti, in *Lo spazio  letterario*, pp. 151ff. |
| 65. | According to the definition given by Herington, *Poetry,* pp. 3ff.; see also  Nagy, Pindar's Homer, pp. 37ff. |
| 66. | H. Koller, "Ἐγκύκλιος Παιδεία," *Glotta* 34, 1955, pp. 174-189, and *Musik,*  pp. 91ff.: on the dithyrambic chorus as origin of "cyclical education," see Tzetz.  *Hist.* 11.520. On the semantic feature 'circularity' as being a characteristic of the  Archaic chorus, see above pp. 34ff. |

-224-

significant that an academic system of education should have received a name   
that connects it with the choral convention.

After this detour by way of Classical Athens, I return to the beginning of the   
Archaic period and, travelling along the same path followed in the previous part   
of this chapter, investigate whether the pedagogical aspect of the chorus just   
discussed is confirmed by the evidence available on women's associations in   
Lesbos and Sparta.

In Sappho's group, there is no doubt about the didactic relationship between   
the poet and her companions. For instance, speaking of the famous fragment in   
which Sappho tells the recipient of the poem that she will disappear and leave no   
trace in the memory of men if she has not taken part in the "roses of Pieria," in   
other words in the musical activity of Sappho's circle, Plutarch says that the   
woman addressed was among those who were ἄμουσαι and ἀμαθει̑ς, strangers to   
music and ignorant. It is not only significant that it is Plutarch, with his great   
interest in pedagogy, who quotes this fragment and who sees that Sappho's circle   
offered a form of instruction and education by frequenting the Muses. But it also   
has to be pointed out that inside Sappho's group, the memorial function   
generally attributed to poetry in Archaic Greece, takes on a specific role: it is   
only through poetry itself that the beauty acquired through musical activity will   
gain a kind of afterlife, and that the educated girl will keep it, despite the ravages   
of time, in the memory of the persons performing the poem that praises her. [67.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678741&offset=1#67.#67.)

Other fragments attributed to the Lesbian poet refer to this pedagogical aspect   
by characterizing young girls who were not in her circle but in a rival group or   
were about to join into her circle as ignorant and ungraceful. [68.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678741&offset=1#68.#68.) As I already had   
the opportunity to mention, the biography in the *Suda* itself names three   
μαθήτριαι, three pupils of Sappho, and in the description of the painting in   
which Philostratos sees the image of Sappho's chorus, the *choregos* who   
conducts the young girls as they sing for Aphrodite is called διδάσκαλος, the   
master-teacher. This relationship between master and pupil is analogous to that   
between the *choregos* and the chorus-members, according to the lexicographers.   
Finally, a new fragment of a commentary on Sappho's poems clearly describes   
the poet in her role as educator (παιδεύουσα). The commentator adds that this   
education was not only for girls of good family (τὰς ἀρίστας) in Lesbos, but   
also those who came from Ionia. [69.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678741&offset=1#69.#69.)

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| 67. | Sapph. fr. 55 V, see Plut. *Mor*. 646ef and Stob. 3.4.12 (πρὸς ἀπαίδευτον  γυναι̑κα). On this subject see B. Snell, "Zur Soziologie des archaischen Griechen-  tums. Der Einzelne und die Gruppe," *Gymnasium* 65, 1958, pp. 48-58. On the  memorial function of Sappho's poems, see Gentili, *Poesia e pubblico,* pp. 116ff.,  and Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets,* pp. 277ff. |
| 68. | Sapph. frr. 49, 130.3f. and 57 V; see Bowra, *Lyric Poetry,* pp. 193f. |
| 69. | *Sud*. s.v. Σαπφώ (Σ 107 Adler) = Sapph. test. 253 V; see frr. 16, 15, 95.4 V,  and above p. 213; Philostr. *Im*. 2.1.1f. = Sapph. test. 217 V: see above p. 212; P.  Colon. 5860 a, b = Sapph. fr. S 261A P; see M. Gronewald, "Fragmente aus einem |

-225-

I do not need to spend much time on the pedagogical aspect of the men's   
*agele* in Crete and Lacedaemonia. The custom of dividing future citizens into age   
groups and classes appropriate for the educational system of the *agoge* has been   
recognized since antiquity.

In Sparta, instruction was carried out in the *agele* of adolescents by two   
people, first, an *iren*, a young man of twenty who had finished his *agoge* and   
who was director of the *agele*, elected to the position, according to Plutarch, by   
the members of the *agele* themselves. Second, a παιδονόμος, a magistrate   
instructor, chosen from among the best citizens, who was responsible for the   
smooth working of the *agele*. [70.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678742&offset=1#70.#70.) In addition to these well-defined functions, the   
body of adult citizens exercised a sort of general control over the behavior of the   
children and the ephebes. It is probable that the role of the *bouagos*, so often   
mentioned in inscriptions found near the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, cor-   
responded to that of the *iren*. There was thus a three-layered hierarchy for the   
education of the *agele*: the Spartan ephebes were under the authority of an *iren*,   
subject to the advice of a *paidonomos* and under the control of the citizens in   
general. There is no doubt that the instruction received in the *agele* was mainly   
musical and gymnastic. Athenaeus, quoting a fragment of Pratinas, states that   
the Lacedaemonians had an excellent musical education, and Plutarch confirms it   
in showing that the essence of Spartan education was instruction in poetry and   
music. [71.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678742&offset=1#71.#71.)

If this triple hierarchy in the direction of the Spartan *agele* for men cannot be   
paralleled for the women's *agele* for lack of documentation, however, we can   
assume that the organization of the direction of women's choruses for which   
Alcman wrote had a similar structure: the conducting of the chorus-members,   
done by the choregos as previously defined, was combined with the pedagogical   
function of forming the chorus-members, taken over by the poet himself. The   
fragment of *hypomnema* analyzed with regard to the Hyakinthia presents the poet   
as the διδάσκαλος, master of the boys and girls training in the civic choruses   
(πατρίο[ις| χοροι̑ς). [72.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678742&offset=1#72.#72.) I have pointed out that Alcman's commentator used this   
example of the part the poet played in relation to the cultural patrimony of the   
city to show the possibility of a foreigner's assuming a political function in the   
city of Sparta. He adds that in his time—the papyrus dates from the second

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|  | Sappho-Kommentar: Pap. Colon. inv. 5860," ZPE 14, 1974, pp. 114-118. A series  of late representations shows a woman educating one or more girls in dancing and  music: see the catalogue offered by F.A.G. Beck, *Album of Greek Education,* Sydney  1975, pp. 55ff. with pll. 374ff. |

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| 70. | Xen. *Resp*. *Lac.* 2.10, Plut. *Lyc*. 17.1ff. |
| 71. | Ath. 14.632f = Prat. fr. 709 P = 4 Sn., Plut. *Lyc*. 21.1ff. On the complemen-  tarity of music and gymnastics in Spartan education, see Xen. *Resp. Lac.* 4.1. On the  role of music in Sparta, see above p. 141, and Chrimes, *Sparta*, p. 119ff. For musical  education in Crete, see Strab. 10.4.20 = Eph. *FGrHist.* 70 F 149.20. |
| 72. | P. Oxy. 2506, fr. 1 (c). 30ff. = Alcm. fr. 10 (*a*). 30ff. P = test. 5.30ff. C, see  above pp. 184f. |

-226-

century A.D., but the *hypomnema* itself is certainly much older—the custom   
among the Lacedaemonians was to entrust the direction of their choruses to   
foreigners. In another, very sparse, fragment of a commentary on Alcman, the   
word παιδεία, education, appears. [73.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678743&offset=1#73.#73.) The use of this word with regard to Alcman   
is probably a way of confirming that his compositions were inserted into a   
pedagogical system.

In Archaic Sparta, it was thus the poet who instructed the chorus participants.   
Traces of the role of the poet as director and instructor of the chorus can be found   
in some fragments of indirect tradition. Two fragments, of which one is   
definitely sung by a chorus of girls (ὅσσαι δὲ παι̑δες ἁμέων ἐντί), are in praise   
of the person accompanying them with his music, in one case a piper, in the   
other a lyre-player. [74.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678743&offset=1#74.#74.) The fragments are extremely short, and it is not possible   
to confirm without doubt that this musical accompaniment, with the direction of   
the chorus as part of it, was performed by the poet himself. However, the well‐   
known fragment in which the person reciting addresses the young girls   
(παρσενικαί) of the chorus (and expresses regret that he cannot be carried by   
them in the manner of halcyons) most probably refers to the poet's situation. [75.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678743&offset=1#75.#75.)   
Alcman, feeling the burden of age, can no longer follow the girls in their dances,   
although in younger days he would have given them the rhythm while dancing   
along with them. The commentary of a final fragment shows Alcman   
introducing (εἰσάγων) the girls (παρθένους) who speak the verses quoted by the   
author of the scholion. [76.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678743&offset=1#76.#76.) There is no doubt that the use of this compound of   
ἄγω refers to the role of conductor, and consequently of instructor, that Alcman   
played with regard to the young women of his choruses.

This double position as director and instructor could also have suited a well‐   
known poet such as Archilochus; on one hand, the poet of Paros congratulates   
himself on knowing how to intone (for a chorus: ἐξάρξαι) the dithyramb   
addressed to Dionysus and, on the other, the inscription of Mnesiepes features   
him as a teacher on his island. This epigraphical biography tells us that the poet   
invented a poem in honor of Dionysus, taught it to a group of his fellow‐   
citizens, and sang it with them. [77.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678743&offset=1#77.#77.) All the lyric poets before Pindar seem to have

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| 73. | P. Oxy. 2802.15 = Alcm. fr. S 5.15 P = test. 13.15 C, with commentary by E.  Lobel, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri,* vol. 37, London 1971, pp. 1ff.; W. Luppe, review  of Lobel, *P. Oxy.* vol. 37, *Gnomon* 45, 1973, pp. 321-330 (p. 322), sees in this  fragment a commentary on Aristophanes. In that case, the poems by Alcman would  form part of an "alterwürdiges Bildungsgut," valid for Athenians at the time of  Aristophanes. |
| 74. | Alcm. fr. 37(b) and 38 P = 138 and 137 C; see Calame, *Alcman,* pp. 544ff. |
| 75. | Alcm. fr. 26 P = 90 C; see Calame, *Alcman*, pp. 472ff. |
| 76. | Alcm. fr. 81 P = 150 C. |
| 77. | Arch. test. 4, E 1 col. III. 19ff. Tarditi and fr. 120 W; see Zimmermann,  *Dithyrambos,* pp. 20ff. It must be added that one is never sure that the poetical *I* refers  directly to the biographical person of the poet: see also W. Rösler, "Persona reale o  persona poetica? L'interpretazione dell' 'io' nella lirica greca arcaica," *QUCC* 48, |

-227-

personally functioned as organizers and directors of the chorus for which they   
wrote their songs. And when Pindar was personally unable to teach the chorus   
the song he had composed for a particular ceremony, he entrusted the task to the   
Muse symbolically, and to a local teacher practically. [78.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678744&offset=1#78.#78.) The custom of the poet   
himself training the chorus continued until the first tragedians: Thespis, Pratinas   
and Phrynichos were all still involved in teaching their dancers themselves. [79.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678744&offset=1#79.#79.)

While adding the feature 'instructing' to the characteristics of the lyric chorus,   
I have also introduced a new figure, namely the poet. But since the poet's   
function goes beyond that of instructing the chorus-members, his addition also   
widens the semantic field defining chorality by joining to it the feature 'to   
compose (the song).' The semantic system that includes all the characteristics of   
the relations between poet, *choregos,* and chorus-members now includes the five   
features of 'to compose,' 'to organize,' 'to instruct,' 'to begin' and 'to   
conduct.' [80.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678744&offset=1#80.#80.) One can rightly ask whether the activity of the *choregos* does not   
often duplicate that of the poet where the latter four features are concerned; both   
seem to instruct and to conduct the chorus.

For Lesbos, there is a rather simple answer to the question. It is one and the   
same person, Sappho, who directs the chorus for which she composes the songs.   
Both poet and director of the circle, Sappho generally assumes the five functions   
defined above. The *Palatine Anthology* as a testimony for choral performance in   
the sanctuary of Hera is convincing in this respect: Sappho is both poet and   
*choregos.*

Where Alcman and Pindar are concerned, the matter is more complicated   
because the possible ways of dividing the functions just mentioned between poet   
and choregos are increased. In fragment 1 of Alcman, the girl who is the

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|  | 1985, pp. 131-144, and S.R. Slings, "The I in personal archaic lyric: an intro-  duction," in Slings, *The poet's I,* pp. 1-30. |

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| 78. | Pind. N. 3.1ff. and *O*. 6.87ff. with sch. *ad loc*. (I, pp. 186ff. Drachmann); in  most cases, Pindar was not personally involved in organizing the chorus which was  to sing his epinicians: see Fränkel, *Dichtung,* pp. 490f. and 587f., and Herington,  *Poetry,* pp. 26ff. The problem of the reference of the *I* in Pindar's epinicians to the  poet or to the chorus has recently been the object of a long polemic: see the media-  tory position of J.M. Bremer, "Pindar's Paradoxical ἐγώ and a Recent Controversy  About the Performance of His Epinicia," in Slings, *The Poet's I*, pp. 41-58. See also  Gentili, *A&A* 36, pp. 13ff.; A.P. Burnett, "Performing Pindar's Odes," *CPh* 84, 1989,  pp. 283-294; K.A. Morgan, "Pindar the Professional and the Rhetoric of the  ΚΩΜΟΣ," *CPh* 88, 1993, pp. 1-15; and G.B. D'Alessio, "First-Person Problems in  Pindar," *BICIS* 39, 1994, pp. 117-139. |
| 79. | Ath. 1.22a, see Pickard-Cambridge, *Festivals,* p. 90, and F. Lasserre, "La  condition du poète dans la Grèce antique," *EL* 2.5, 1962, pp. 3-28 (p. 15); other  references on poets as διδάσκαλοι in Herington, *Poetry,* pp. 87ff. and 183ff. |
| 80. | See above pp. 48ff. |

-228-

choregos is definitely a different person from the poet. As we have seen, in   
Pindar's *Daphnephorikon,* the *choregos* can be identified with the child   
*daphnephoros* who leads the procession; he is probably seconded by his nearest   
relative, but also by the girl who is the first in the chorus. This girl's   
instruction as a chorus-member or as the chorus leader was assumed not by the   
poet but by Andaisistrota; mentioned towards the end of the poem, the woman   
trained (ἐπάσκησε) the young girl. [81.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678745&offset=1#81.#81.) Thus the poet seems to disappear behind   
the child *daphnephoros,* the girl, and Andaisistrota; he seems to abandon his   
double function as chorus leader and as chorus instructor to them.

As for the system of the chorus, we face a multitude of functions that can be   
performed in various combinations by various people. If the feature 'to compose'   
is always associated with the poet, the others can belong to one or more different   
people. Here again, I must emphasize the flexibility of the chorus and its form   
which varies according to the occasion and the number of individuals involved.   
The type of song being sung also has an influence on how it looks. Whether the   
chorus sang anonymous traditional songs or whether it performed compositions   
by ancient authors, as was the case in the Gymnopaidiai, it is clear that the   
instruction fell to the lot of the *choregos* or to a third person replacing the   
poet. [82.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678745&offset=1#82.#82.)

To return to Sparta of the seventh century and to girls' choruses, it seems   
possible to imagine a similar educational hierarchy for them as for the direction   
structures in the *agele* of boys. If one subtracts the undocumented public control,   
the poet would be in the same position *vis-à-vis* the chorus of adolescents as the   
*paidonomos* instructing the *agele*, and the *choregos* in the position of the *iren*   
directing it. The poet, as *paidonomos*, is an adult. If the *iren* was slightly older   
than the adolescents of the *agele*, the *choregos* seems to have been more or less   
the same age as the chorus-members. This is so at any rate for Agesidamos, the   
illustrious *choregos* contemporary with the girls, perhaps the *Dymainai,* who   
praise him in the fragment of Alcman analyzed above. [83.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678745&offset=1#83.#83.) On the other hand   
Helen, *choregos* of the choruses and troupes of young women on the banks of   
the Eurotas, occupies a position which, although having the feature 'con-   
temporary,' is not completely equal. [84.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678745&offset=1#84.#84.) From the moment she leads her com-   
panions, she is ready to cross the threshold into adulthood; her position is thus   
similar to the *iren*, or at least to a *melliren*. The mythical image of Helen is   
important, since she truly reflects the nature of the relations of *choregos* and

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| 81. | See above pp. 61f.; in *The Craft of Poetic Speech,* pp. 30ff., I tried to show,  through an analysis of the enunciation of Alcman's *Partheneia*, what the position of  the poet is in his own compositions in relation to the Muses who inspire them, to the  city which commissions them, to the chorus which performs them, and finally to  their audience. |
| 82. | Ath. 15.678bc = Sosib. *FGrHist.* 595 F 5. |
| 83. | Alcm. fr. 10 (*b*). 8ff. P = 82a and b C; see above pp. 58ff. |
| 84. | Aristoph. *Lys.* 1314f. and Theocr. 18.22ff., see above p. 192. |

-229-

chorus-members, a relationship of equality with the features 'contemporary' and   
'companionship,' but a relationship also of superiority where the role of director   
is concerned because, in contrast to the chorus-members, she has already   
completed the cycle of initiation needed to become an adult. The same ambiguity   
of equality with their peers and authority over them can be seen in Apollo and   
Theseus in their role as mythical *choregoi.*

If poet and *choregos* shared the instruction of the chorus-members in the same   
way as the *paidonomos* and the *iren* of the *agele*, the direction of the chorus,   
characterized by 'to begin' and 'to conduct,' also seems to be common ground.   
Fragments in which Alcman seems to speak in his own name, such as the one   
where he compares himself to a halcyon, could lead us to think that the poet had   
a specific task in directing the chorus, for instance by intoning a *prooimion* to   
give the note to the chorus-members. [85.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678746&offset=1#85.#85.) He might be compared to Apollo   
playing the musical prelude on his lyre. It is not impossible that the fragment in   
which the chorus invokes the Muse and begs her to intone a new song reflects   
such a prelude. [86.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678746&offset=1#86.#86.) The representative of the Muse in the *hic et nunc* of the   
musical performance would be the poet, whose task it would be to begin the   
song which the chorus-members would then take up. The poet's function would   
be 'to begin' while the *choregos* would be responsible for the 'conducting.' The   
direction of the chorus by Apollo alone, with the lyric prelude followed by   
musical accompaniment, would then be shared in Sparta between poet and   
*choregos.*

However, the poet retains a specific function marked with the feature 'to   
compose.' In this function, his role is the intermediary between the community   
and the chorus-members to whom he transmits the cultural patrimony, of which   
he is the traditional repository in Greece. "Master of truth," the archaic Greek   
poet is indeed the person who retains and transmits through his σοφία the   
system of ethical values and the mythology on which the coherence of the   
community depends. [87.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678746&offset=1#87.#87.) The poet is thus the perfect instructor, since he can   
communicate through his musical skill and his songs the knowledge necessary   
to maintain the social system. And the public functions as an authority of   
control over the female chorus when it can assure itself during public festivals   
such as the Hyakinthia that the young girls have assimilated the myths and   
values that build their social existence.

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| 85. | Alcm. fr. 26 P = 90 C; see above pp. 49ff.; for the question of the reference of  the poetical *I*, see the indications given above n. 77. |
| 86. | Alcm. fr. 14 (*a*) P = 4 C; see also fr. 27 P = 84 C; on the use of the verb ἄρχειν  in these fragments, see Calame, *Alcman*, pp. 352 and 471. |
| 87. | See, although too aesthetical, H. Maehler, *Die Auffassung des Dichterberufs  im frühen Griechentum bis zur Zeit Pindars,* Göttingen 1963, pp. 69ff. and 81ff., and  M. Detienne, *Les maitres de vérité dans la Grèce archaïque*, Paris 1967, pp. 18ff., with  the nuances on pp. 72ff.; on the "authority" of the poet, see Nagy, *Pindar's Homer,*  pp. 373ff. |

-230-

Whether the poet or the *choregos* is at the head, the chorus is the place of   
instruction. This is confirmed in a passage of Pollux who, as a lexicographer,   
cites one after the other the terms μαθηταί, pupils, ἀγελαι̑οι, members of an   
*agele*, ἑται̑ροι, companions, χορευταί, chorus members, along with the nouns   
and verbs formed from them and from which they are formed. [88.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678747&offset=1#88.#88.) I shall now   
examine more closely the elements of this choral education.

**4.2.2. The instruction given in the chorus**

If music seems to be the essence of the education Spartan girls received in the   
chorus, we must remember that neither music nor dance were ends in themselves   
in Greece; they are the means of communicating by performance and assimilat-   
ing by *mimesis* a precise set of contents. By reciting the poems composed by   
their masters the poets, the chorus-members learn and internalize a series of   
myths and rules of behavior represented by the material taught—all the more   
since Archaic choral poetry has to be understood as a performative art, as a set of   
poems representing cult acts in precise ritual contexts. But examining the con-   
tent of the musical instruction in a cultic context of performance leads to the   
question of its function, of its pragmatics: what was the aim of the instruction   
received in the chorus of young girls? For what would this instruction prepare   
the chorus members?

To take again the example of Sappho's group, we may agree with numerous   
interpreters of this poetry that most descriptions of the poet and her advice bear   
on the themes of feminine grace and beauty. The life of Sappho's companions   
unfolded almost completely under the sign of Aphrodite, in an atmosphere and in   
a setting of myth represented on the mythical level by the famous gardens of the   
goddess. [89.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678747&offset=1#89.#89.) From a pedagogical point of view, Sappho's circle looks like a sort   
of school for femininity destined to make the young pupils into accomplished   
women: through the performance of song, music, and cultic acts, they had   
lessons in comportment and elegance, reflected in the many descriptions of   
feminine adornment and attitudes in the fragments that we have by Sappho. [90.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678747&offset=1#90.#90.)

So Atthis, according to the *Suda* one of Sappho's three dearest companions,   
was a very young and graceless child (σμίκρα πάις κἄχαρις) before joining the   
group; two sources that cite this fragment specify that *graceless* in this context

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| 88. | Poll. 4.43ff., cf. 9.143f. |
| 89. | Sapph. fr. 2 V, see Schadewaldt, *Sappho,* pp. 25ff.; Merkelbach, *Philologus*  101, pp. 25ff.; Lanata, *QUCC* 2, pp. 68ff.; Gentili, *Poesia e pubblico,* pp. 115ff.; E.  Barilier, "La figure d'Aphrodite dans quelques fragments de Sappho," *EL* 3.5, 1972,  pp. 20-61; Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets,* pp. 217ff.; and, specifically for the  signification of the gardens, Calame, *I Greci e l'eros*, pp. 132ff. |
| 90. | Sapph. frr. 22.9ff., 81.4ff., 94.12ff. V, etc. |

-231-

meant a girl not yet old enough to be married, not yet nubile. [91.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678748&offset=1#91.#91.) Physical grace   
thus became the mark of nubility; by being in Sappho's chorus the young girl   
acquires the grace that will make her a beautiful woman, which in turn clears the   
way for marriage. Consequently, possessing *charis* signifies gaining the status of   
adult and the possibility of being a wife, in the same way as 'beauty' made the   
young followers of the cult of Helen at Therapnai into women ready to marry.

And when Andromeda, Sappho's rival, tries to take away young Atthis, the   
poet attacks her cruelly by describing her dressed as a peasant, a rustic   
(ἀγροΐωτις). [92.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678748&offset=1#92.#92.) If 'rustic' means simply an exterior lack of elegance, it   
nevertheless has an impact on the status of the woman described in this way.   
The status conferred on a girl by Sappho's education is therefore distinguished   
from the state of ignorance and unsociability of the child without instruction or   
of the protégée of one of Sappho's rivals, in the same way as culture differs from   
nature. The education received in Sappho's circle moves the young girl from the   
unsociability and lack of culture of early adolescence protected by Artemis to the   
condition of the educated woman capable of inspiring the love embodied by   
Aphrodite; it leads her from a state of savagery to civilization. If the companion   
of Atthis is described by Sappho when she returns to Lydia after her time in the   
group, as shining among the women (γυναίκεσσιν: no longer among the girls!)   
of her region like the moon among the stars, it is because the education she has   
undergone in Lesbos has given her divine beauty—and that through the songs   
and dances (μόλπαι) which charmed Atthis herself. The reference to Aphrodite,   
guessed at in the final mutilated verses of the poem, as well as the comparison   
with the moon with its connotations of bodily fluids and ripeness, suggest that   
the girl is now an accomplished woman, probably married. [93.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678748&offset=1#93.#93.)

The education of Sappho in her group prepared young girls to be adult, mar-   
ried women by teaching feminine charm and beauty. The poet's connections with   
marriage are confirmed by the numerous fragments of epithalamia or hymenaioi   
in the papyri, or by a poem such as the one describing the wedding of Hektor and   
Andromache, which some interpreters would like to be itself an epithalamium. [94.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678748&offset=1#94.#94.)   
This is apparent again in a passage of Himerius, who paraphrases a poem very   
certainly by Sappho and shows the poet herself preparing a nuptial chamber for

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| 91. | Sapph. fr. 49 V, see Plut. *Mor*. 751d (τὴν οὔπω γάμων ἔχουσαν ὥραν) and sch.  Pind. *P.* 2.42 (II, p. 44 Drachmann). |
| 92. | Sapph. fr. 57 V, see fr. 131 V as well as fr. 81 V. |
| 93. | Sapph. 96 V, to be compared with fr. 55 V (see above p. 225 n. 67), where the  girl who has not partaken of the roses of Pieria, in other words Sappho's education,  will die unknown and undistinguished (ἀφάνης). On the connotations of the moon in  this poem, see Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets,* pp. 304ff. |
| 94. | Sapph. frr. 104-117 V. On the epithalamia of Sappho see Page, *Sappho,* pp.  72ff. and 112ff; Lasserre, *Sappho,* pp. 17ff.; and above p. 84 n. 229. See fr. 44 V,  with the interpretations given also by W. Rösler, "Ein Gedicht und sein Publikum.  Überlegungen zu Sappho Fr. 44 Lobel-Page," *Hermes* 103, 1975, pp. 275-285, and  summarized by Lasserre, *Sappho*, pp. 83ff. |

-232-

the newly married couple. [95.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678749&offset=1#95.#95.) Young girls are arranged there—probably girls from   
Sappho's circle who form a chorus to celebrate the couple—and a statue of   
Aphrodite is brought along together with figures representing the Graces and a   
chorus of *Erotes*. The preparation of the nuptial chamber was preceded in   
Himerius' description by a celebration of rites in honor of Aphrodite (τὰ   
Ἀφροδίτης ὄργια, ἀγω̑νας) during which Sappho herself sang to the sound of   
the lyre. Even if we cannot know exactly what these rites were before the   
marriage ceremony, constant reference to the goddess of love shows that the   
ceremony was under the same sign as the values taught by the poet. Thus the   
acquisition of these same abilities by Sappho's pupils found its justification in   
the context of marriage. The education they received aimed at developing in   
adolescents all the qualities required in women, specifically, in young wives. It   
concerned those aspects of marriage under Aphrodite's protection, namely   
sensuality and sexuality rather than conjugal fidelity and a wife's tasks, which   
were under the domain of Hera and Demeter.

However, this education was not addressed to the same public as in the case   
of the Spartan system of education. Sappho's circle welcomed young adolescents   
from different parts of Ionia, particularly Lydia, so its character was not strictly   
Lesbian; the education the girls received, in competition with rival groups such   
as that of Andromeda, was probably not obligatory. Sappho and her chorus‐   
members may have taken part in the official religious life of the island, but her   
instructional activity seems not to have been included in the education system   
legally subject to the political community of Lesbos. Nevertheless, it would be   
misleading to compare Sappho's group to a real school, not to speak of a   
"Mädchenpensionat" or a "finishing school." Sappho herself is certainly not to   
be considered as a "schoolmistress." [96.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678749&offset=1#96.#96.) If she gave through the performance of   
song and cult acts an education to the girls of her group, this education had an   
initiatory form and content: it was entirely ritualized. Moreover, Sappho made   
accomplished women out of her "pupils," but she did not have to make them   
perfect citizens. She had to initiate them, with the help of Aphrodite, into their   
gender role as wives of aristocratic families.

It was quite different in Sparta. I do not need to insist on the political ends of   
the education of youths: the ancients who studied the Spartan system agree that   
it made the best citizens, in other words the best soldiers in the particular case of

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| 95. | Himer. *Or.* 9.4 = Sapph. test. 194 V. On this subject see J.D. Meerwaldt,  "Epithalamica I: De Himerio Sapphus imitatore," *Mnemosyne* 4.7, 1954, pp. 19-38. |
| 96. | Through the notions of *Kreis* or *thiasos,* the characterization of Sappho's  group as a "Mädchenpensionat" by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, in *Die  Griechische und Lateinische Literatur und Sprache,* Leipzig-Berlin 31912, p. 41, had a  long life outlined by Lasserre, *Sappho,* pp. 112ff., and by Parker, *TAPhA* 123, pp.  313ff. (with the justified criticisms of Lardinois, *TAPhA* 124, pp. 57ff.); see also,  recently, Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets,* pp. 21 1ff., and Cantarella, *Secondo natura,*  pp. 107ff. See P. Colon. 5860 a, b = Sapph. fr. S 261A P; see above p. 255. |

-233-

Sparta. [97.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678750&offset=1#97.#97.) The *agoge* was a State organization; all members of the community   
had to submit in order to obtain the rights of the city on becoming a soldier. The   
physical exercises gave them the agility to be soldiers, the musical part of the   
education taught them the myths establishing the history and the institutions of   
their city. Scattered among the praises of the heroes and their great deeds were   
ethical precepts concerning endurance and courage that gave those heroes their   
value as models. [98.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678750&offset=1#98.#98.) And finally the mimetic value of the dances accompanying   
the songs gave the citizen-soldiers a sense of order, discipline, and harmony.

But how about the girls? What were they taught in Sparta of the seventh   
century during the choral dances at the festivals described above? If their   
instruction aimed at making adult women of adolescent girls, what was the   
status of the adult free woman for which the girls were prepared? What was the   
social role to which they were destined? The questions raised here are related to   
the difficult problem of the social education which leads to a precise gender   
role—a gender understood as a set of social conventions and social relations   
which gives to the adult woman a precise status and a definite representation in   
the social system, making of the sex difference a social category, particularly in   
contrast with the social roles assumed by the men. In light of this point of view,   
our sources offer an image of the Lacedaemonian woman which has often   
undergone a process of idealization or denigration, in the same way as the whole   
of Spartan history; but there are some points, outside the deformations and the   
historical changes, that have won general acceptance.

To begin with marriage, it was common in classical Sparta for the man to   
abduct his wife; generally the husband spent very little time with his wife and   
saw her only at night. Without relating the moral and emotional consequences   
that Plutarch, our principal source for this subject, draws from these customs,   
we can note that Spartan girls could not marry until they had become adult and   
physically ready for marriage. [99.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678750&offset=1#99.#99.) This rule had its *raison d'être* in the fact that, in   
the gender representation of the Classical period, marriage in Sparta was for the   
production of fine, healthy children. Once married, Spartan women enjoyed what   
seemed to foreigners—mainly Athenians of the fourth century B.C.—to be great   
sexual freedom. [100.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678750&offset=1#100.#100.) It actually originated in the ease with which people could

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| 100. | Plat. *Leg.* 637c and 780e, Arist. *Pol.* 1269b 12ff., and *Rhet.* 1361a 9ff. See  Plut. *Lyc*. 14.2 and *Num.* 25.5 as also Hsch. s.v. Λακωνικὸν τρόπον (A 226 Latte);  this idea of too great a sexual freedom for the women comes from the critical attitude |
| 97. | Xen. *Resp. Lac.* 3.1ff., Plut. *Lyc*. 16.8ff. and *Mor*. 237a, see Michell, *Sparta*,  pp. 165ff.; Marrou, *Education,* pp. 55ff.; and Vernant, *Métis* 2, pp. 272ff. |
| 98. | See Plat. *Hp. ma*. 285bff., Plut. *Lyc*. 21.1ff. The fragments of poems by  Tyrtaeus are a good example of the educational value of poetry at Sparta; see Jaeger,  *Paideia* I, pp. 120ff., and Prato, *Tirteo,* pp. 5ff. |
| 99. | Xen. *Resp*. *Lac*. 1.6, Plut. *Lyc*. 15.4ff., *Num*. 26.1, see Plat. *Leg*. 833d:  marriage took place then between 18 and 20 years; on this see Den Boer, *Lac. Studies,*  pp. 277ff. On the meaning of the ritual abduction of the wife, see A. Paradiso,  "Osservazioni sulla cerimonia nuziale spartana," *QS* 12, 1987, pp. 137-153; Cart-  ledge, *CQ* 75, pp. 94ff. and 100ff.; and Pirenne-Delforge, *Aphrodite,* pp. 200ff. |

-234-

change partners in ancient Sparta; but this mobility had a precise end in view   
that removed any sense of moral dissoluteness from it. People remarried or   
allowed their spouse to have a lover in the hopes of having a more robust   
child. [101.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678751&offset=1#101.#101.) The marriage system was subject to the need for stronger and more   
valuable future citizens.

Besides procreation and the care of the child, it is difficult to imagine what   
else the wives of these warriors did. On one hand, still in the classical period, the   
traditional female activities of the Athenian gynaeceum, such as spinning and   
weaving, were forbidden. [102.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678751&offset=1#102.#102.) On the other, the education of the child was   
assumed by the mother until the child was seven years old, and then he or she   
was removed and submitted to the educational system of the *agoge*. Moreover,   
the rite of the Tithenidia suggests that Spartan women were helped in the early   
care of children by nurses. [103.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678751&offset=1#103.#103.) Even if Plutarch refutes criticism by the ancients   
reproaching Spartan women for their influence over their husbands and public   
affairs, the education they received probably gave them a certain knowledge about   
public life and an independence that in other Hellenic cities was the sole   
privilege of men. [104.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678751&offset=1#104.#104.)

The education of girls, as in the case of boys, consisted in musical and gym-   
nastic practice. [105.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678751&offset=1#105.#105.) Although the gymnasium activities for girls are attested in   
many other Greek *poleis,* this exercising of young Spartan girls in the stadium   
impressed the ancients, and Aristophanes made a good joke of it for his audience

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|  | of Plato and Aristotle towards the Spartan constitution: see Nilsson, *Klio* 12, pp.  327ff.; Tigerstedt, *Sparta* I, pp. 272 and 293; and Toynbee, *Problems,* pp. 356ff.,  who rightly opposes this negative view of the Spartan woman with the more  favorable image in Plutarch's *Lives of Agis and Cleomenes,* which originates with  the historian Phylarchos (but on the idealization of Sparta in this work see Ollier,  *Mirage* II, pp. 195ff.). |

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| 101. | Xen. *Resp. Lac.* 1.7ff., Plut. *Lyc.* 15.12ff., see 14.8, *Mor*. 227e and Pol.  12.6b. 8. See J. Redfield, "The Women of Sparta," *CJ* 73, 1978, pp. 148-161,  Cartledge, *CQ* 75, pp. 93ff., and M.H. Dettenhofer, "Die Frauen von Sparta.  Oekonomische Kompetenz und politische Relevanz," in M.H. Dettenhofer (ed.),  *Reine Männersache? Frauen in Männerdomänen der Antiken Welt,* Köln-Weimar‐  Wien 1994, pp. 15-40, who speaks of a "relative Gleichbehandlung": this is valid  only for the classical period. |
| 102. | Plat. *Leg.* 806a, Xen. *Resp*. *Lac.* 1.3, Plut. *Mor*. 241d (weaving is bad for  conceiving a fine child), Prop. 3.14.27ff.; but it was Spartan women who wove the  *chiton* for Apollo at Amyklai: Paus. 3.16.2 (see above p. 176); see also Theocr.  18.33f.; see Michell, *Sparta*, pp. 197f. |
| 103. | See above pp. 170f., and again Plut. *Lyc.* 16.4f. |
| 104. | Plut. *Lyc*. 14.2 and *Num*. 25.9; on this subject see Roussel, *Sparte*, pp.  50ff.; Ollier, *Mirage* I, p. 34; and Toynbee, *Problems,* pp. 361ff. |
| 105. | Plat. *Leg.* 806a, cf. 804de, 813e and *Resp*. 452aff. |

-235-

in classical Athens. [106.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678752&offset=1#106.#106.) Since the fifth century, most observers saw it as a   
physical preparation for engendering strong and virtuous warriors. [107.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678752&offset=1#107.#107.) It is only   
the later sources, particularly in Rome, who saw it as military preparation,   
making Spartan women into women soldiers, like their husbands. [108.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678752&offset=1#108.#108.) Here we   
have again an idealization of Spartan customs: the analogy between the type of   
education received by boys and that received by adolescent girls has led some   
authors to attribute them an identical function, and to confuse the gender   
specificity in the distinctive social role they were prepared to assume.

In reality, the physical exercises for girls had a specific form. Even if   
Plutarch counts among them wrestling, throwing the discus and the javelin, and   
even if other sources speak generically of exercises in the gymnasium, it was the   
footrace that was the central element of their development, an exercise not   
exclusively Lacedaemonian since it is also attested in the women's rites of the   
Heraia at Olympia. [109.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678752&offset=1#109.#109.) However, these exercises were only for girls; when they   
became adults, Spartan women gave them up, as Plato notes when he reproaches   
the Lacedaemonian constitution for legislating only half of women's lives,   
leaving them alone as soon as they became adult and married. He himself   
suggests that the gymnastic instruction should be prolonged to its logical end,   
military service! Plato's conclusion leads to the negation of any gender   
distinction in the function of gymnastics for girls and boys. [110.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678752&offset=1#110.#110.)

As in other Greek cities, adolescent races in Sparta had a precise cult and   
religious basis. Whether in the cult of Dionysus or Helen at the Platanistas, they   
seem to have been part of the initiation rites for girls becoming women. This is   
affirmed to a certain extent in the *Lysistrata* when the beauty of Lampito from   
Lacedaemonia, with her fine skin and the firmness of her breasts, is attributed to   
practicing gymnastics and the race. This quality of 'beauty' was already attributed   
to the women of Sparta in the *Odyssey*. [111.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678752&offset=1#111.#111.) As we have seen, it symbolizes   
possession of the virtues of the consummate young and free woman, ready for   
marriage. So the qualities acquired by physical exercise are thus the same ones   
acquired through the initiation process in the religious domain. And that this   
statement is equally relevant for the Archaic period is shown by the *Partheneia* of   
Alcman. While the chorus-members of fragment 1 are singing this very poem,   
their *choregos* is engaged with Agido in a footrace in which both the young

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| 106. | Aristoph. *Lys.* 79ff.; see Eur. *Andr*. 595ff.; see also Cartledge, *CQ* 75, pp.  90ff.; on the gymnastic education given to girls in cities other than Sparta, see  Arrigoni, in *Le donne*, pp. 95ff. |
| 107. | Crit. 88 B 32 DK, Xen. *Resp*. *Lac*. 1.3, Plut. *Lyc*. 14.3, *Num.* 26.1, Philostr.  Gym. 27. |
| 108. | Cic. *Tusc*. 2.15.36, Prop. 3.14.1ff. |
| 109. | In addition to the sources cited in n. 107, see Theocr. 18.22f. with sch. *ad  loc*. (p. 332 Wendel), and Plat. *Leg.* 806a and 833d. |
| 110. | Plat. *Resp*. 452a and *Leg.* 806aff. |
| 111. | Aristoph. *Lys.* 79ff. and 1308ff.; Hom. *Od.* 13.412 (Σπάρτην καλλιγύ‐  ναικα). Further references on this topic are to be found in the commentary of J.  Henderson, *Aristophanes*' Lysistrata, Oxford 1987, pp. 77f. and 221. |

-236-

women are compared to fillies. This footrace is a part of the cultic ritual that the   
chorus singing Alcman's poem is performing. [112.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678753&offset=1#112.#112.)

In addition, where ritual is concerned, acquisition of 'beauty' through   
gymnastics was to end in the procreation of fine children in the cultural and   
social system of Sparta. This, at any rate, is the lesson learned from Herodotus'   
anecdote about Helen's cult at Therapnai. If Ariston, the king of Sparta, wanted   
to marry his friend's wife, the very ugly girl whom Helen made the most   
beautiful woman in Sparta, it was because none of his other wives had given   
him a child. And indeed, this woman of outstanding beauty gave the king the   
son he wanted, even if born before the usual time. Similarly, the chorus that   
sings the *Epithalamium for Helen* by Theocritus sees in the procreation of   
beautiful children the principal function of the illustrious heroine after her   
marriage. [113.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678753&offset=1#113.#113.) Feminine 'beauty' is thus subordinate to procreation, and   
consequently also the whole educational process that is supposed to acquire it.   
This fact agrees with the interpretation of most ancient authors concerning the   
practice of gymnastics by young Lacedaemonian girls.

Although, therefore, the content of the gymnastic instruction given the girls   
and the ephebes was almost identical, its aim was different: the boys will   
become good soldiers, the girls, mothers of good soldiers. The educational   
system for girls cannot be thought of as a simple reflection of the male   
*agoge*. [114.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678753&offset=1#114.#114.) From a historical point of view, the fact that Ibycus already described   
Spartan girls in a state of semi-nudity on account of their gymnastics training is   
a *terminus post quem* as regards the antiquity of this custom and the rep-   
resentations of it. This qualification of the Spartan girls as "showing their   
thighs" (φαινομηρίδες) indicates that, for their runs, they were wearing the short   
σχιστὸς χιτωνίσκος, the tunic open at the side called as well χιτὼν παρθενικός,   
the tunic for the virgins. [115.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678753&offset=1#115.#115.) It is no longer permissible to say that this image of   
the Spartan girl was a result of the militarization of the Spartan state in the   
Classical period.

But development of the physique, the importance of which was exaggerated   
by the ancients, struck as they were by this unusual custom, was only one facet   
of education in Sparta. Like the boys, girls were given a solid grounding in   
music and dancing in addition to gymnastics. Because this was common to all   
Greek cities, the ancients often omitted it, but Plutarch, drawing on Plato, says

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| 112. | Alcm. fr. 1, 58f. P = 3.58f. C; see the detailed commentary in *Choeurs* II, pp.  70ff. and 124ff. |
| 113. | Hdt. 6.61ff.; see above pp. 196ff. Theocr. 18.21. |
| 114. | As Brelich thinks, *Paides*, p. 160; see also Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir*, p.  205. |
| 115. | Ibyc. fr. 339 P; see Poll. 2.187 and 7.55; this semi-nudity impressed the  ancients: see Soph. fr. 872 Radt, quoted by Plut. *Lyc*. *et Num. comp*. 3.5, Eur. *Andr*.  597, Plut. *Num*. 25.5ff., and *Lyc*. 14.4, Prop. 3.14.4, etc.; see Arrigoni, in *Le donne*,  pp. 71f. with pl. 6. |

-237-

that the legendary Lykourgos did not forget to accustom the girls to sing and   
dance at certain festivals. [116.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678754&offset=1#116.#116.) It will suffice to recall the analyses of the second   
part of the previous chapter in order to give names to these festivals and to   
realize the important part young girls played, with their songs and choral dances,   
in the principal cults for adolescents in the city. To the traditional question about   
the choral and gymnastic practices associated with the cult of Helen at the   
Platanistas, it can be answered synchronically rather than resorting to a   
hypothetical historical substitution: choral performances and races coexisted and   
formed the basis of the education of the young Spartan girl.

We have very little information as to the musical content of this education.   
Only Alcman's fragments 1 and 3 might give us some indication on this   
subject. Without anticipating the interpretation of these poems given in another   
volume, the myth of the Hippocoontids which opens fragment 1 and the gnome   
taken from it give an idea of the instruction dispensed through the performance   
of choral songs. Adolescent girls probably assimilated, like the ephebes, the   
mythical and ethical patrimony of their city in this way. According to Plutarch,   
they were likewise made aware of the great deeds of their compatriots in these   
songs. [117.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678754&offset=1#117.#117.) While preparing themselves through gymnastic training for   
motherhood, they seem to have been associated through music with the myths   
and the value system underlying the life of the city. In this, their education   
differs in part from that received in Sappho's circle. But, on the other hand, the   
austere and military character associated by the ancients with Spartan education   
does not correspond to the cultural reality of seventh century Sparta. In the   
Archaic period, the quality of 'beauty' connoted charm and elegance in Sparta, as   
on Lesbos.

**4.2.3. The metaphorical representation of education and marriage**

The Greeks, and particularly the Lacedaemonians, developed a whole series of   
metaphors that reflected their vision of reality and certain myths connected with   
the education of adolescent girls. The central image is of education as taming,   
with the girl being compared to a mare that must be broken in. I have mentioned   
this combination of myth and metaphor with regard to the story of the *Leukip-   
pides*: [118.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678754&offset=1#118.#118.) the *Tyndaridai,* famed horsemen, appeared at their marriage as the   
horse-tamers of the white mares that were the twin sisters.

First, as pure metaphor, a passage by the comic writer Epicrates represents   
very clearly the Hellenic conception of the situation of the adolescent girl. In   
order to pass herself off as a young virgin, the go-between whom Epicrates

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| 116. | Plut. *Lyc*. 14.4, see also Plat. *Resp.* 452a and *Leg.* 806a. |
| 117. | Plut. *Lyc*. 14.5f.; for the signification of the myth of the Hippocoontids in  Alcm. fr. 1 and for its relevance to a chorus formed by young girls, see *Choeurs* II, pp.  52ff. and 59ff., with *Alcman*, pp. 313ff.; see also Pavese, *Il grande Partenio*, pp.  15ff. |
| 118. | See above p. 317. |

-238-

features in this fragment imitates the attitudes of a young heifer (δάμαλις), of a   
*parthenos*, of a young untamed mare (πω̑λος ἀδμής); to complete the illusion   
he/she invokes Kore and Artemis. [119.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678755&offset=1#119.#119.) The metaphor of girl as filly, particularly   
in use among Greek poets, was generally in association with the wildness of   
youth or the wildness inspired by the Dionysiac *mania*, a wildness that had to be   
controlled. [120.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678755&offset=1#120.#120.) This image was strong enough to allow the metaphorical use of a   
technical term such as πωλοδαμνει̑ν, to tame colts; it is used particularly by   
Plutarch and Lucian in a pedagogical context to express the need to educate   
youth. [121.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678755&offset=1#121.#121.)

This vision of female education as taming is semantically related to the   
element of meaning in words in ἀγ-, analyzed earlier, and to metaphors borrowed   
from the domestication of animals and used by the ancients to describe the   
functions and institutions of the educational system of males. This is   
particularly true in Sparta where, we recall, the technical term *agele* originates in   
the taming of young horses. [122.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678755&offset=1#122.#122.)

In a female context, the metaphor of domestication refers both to a girl's   
education and to her marriage. Homer has an example of this where the idea of   
taming is still related to the violation of a virgin on her wedding night. [123.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678755&offset=1#123.#123.) This   
metaphor extends to many images centering on the yoke: the young wife is a

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| 119. | Epicr. fr. 8 KA; in the term δάμαλις can be seen δαμα- with its meaning of  'to tame': see Chantraine, *Dict*. *étym*. s.v. δάμνημι; δάμαλις usually means a young  animal still to be tamed; another metaphorical use of the word to refer to an adoles-  cent girl: AP 5.292.10. |
| 120. | The girl as filly: Anacr. fr. 417.1 P, Eur. *Hec.* 142, *Andr*. 621, *Hipp.* 546,  etc; see also Alcm. fr. 172 P = 299 C, with, however, the remarks of N.A. Livadaras,  "Zu Alcmans Fr. 172 (Page)," *RhM* 115, 1972, pp. 197-199, who sees in this  fragment a gloss on Eur. *Hipp.* 230f.: see also the comparison of Agido and  Hagesichora with fillies in Alcm. fr. 1.58ff., with my comment in *Choeurs* II, pp.  67ff., and Pavese, *Il grange Partenio*, pp. 66ff. In a bacchic context, see Eur. *Bacch*.  166 and 1056 and *Hel.* 544 (δρομαία πω̑λος), with the parallels quoted by Kannicht,  *op. cit*. p. 176 n. 269, p. 154; see Hsch. s.v. πω̑λος (Π 4500 Schmidt): ...πώλους τοὺς  νέους καὶ τάς νέας, καὶ παρθένους. The image of the girl as untamed animal is found  already in Homer: *Od.* 6.109 and 228, see *H. Ven*. 82. The comparison of the young  girl with a fawn has the same meaning: see particularly Anacr. fr. 408 P and Bacch.  13.84ff., with the other passages quoted by R.G.M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, *A  Commentary on Horace* Odes, Book I, Oxford 1970, pp. 273ff. (commenting on Hor.  *Carm.* 1.23.1). |
| 121. | Plut. *Mor.* 13f., Luc. *Am.* 45. The same idea is also present in the stories of  pursuit and capture of young girls: see Sourvinou-Inwood, *Greek Culture,* pp. 65ff. |
| 122. | See above p. 215. |
| 123. | Hom. *Il*. 18.432; see also 3.301, and *Od.* 3.269; when a poet says a girl is  not tamed (ἀδμής, ἄδμητος), he means she is not married: *H. Ven*. 133, Aesch. *Suppl*.  149, Soph. *OC* 1056, etc.; Artemis, Athena, and Atalanta are untamed virgins: Soph.  *El.* 1239, *Aj.* 450, and *OC* 1321; for the process of taming Atalanta, see Theogn.  1283ff., with my comments in *I Greci e l'eros*, pp. 17f.; other examples are given by  Forbes-Irving, *Metamorphoses,* pp. 64ff. |

-239-

young animal who submits to the yoke, a yoke imposed on her by her husband   
when he encloses her in the bonds of marriage. [124.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678756&offset=1#124.#124.) This association of marriage   
with the image of the yoke probably shares a common origin with the metaphor   
in the amorous sphere of Eros as tamer. In this erotic context, the beloved is   
depicted as a colt that the lover must tame before submitting him to his   
love. [125.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678756&offset=1#125.#125.) The nuptial song sung by the chorus of *parthenoi* in the *Phaethon* of   
Euripides shows the relationship between the two metaphors, matrimonial and   
erotic, insofar as we see Aphrodite in person, the mistress of Eros, who during   
the wedding ceremony chokes Hymenaeus, her young husband (τῳ̑ νεόζυγι σῳ̑   
πώλῳ). [126.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678756&offset=1#126.#126.) It is probably desire, the imperious power of Eros, that is the   
choking force of the husband to which the young girl must bend when she   
submits to the yoke of marriage. It is also because the marriage yoke is imposed   
by Eros that this image goes beyond matrimony to reappear as in Theocritus in   
the expression of homoerotic love between the *erastes* and his *eromenos.*   
Similarly, in Sappho's circle, the term σύζυγος, joined under the same yoke,   
was applied not only to the marriage bonds of man and woman, but also to a   
homoerotic relationship between a lover and her beloved. [127.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678756&offset=1#127.#127.)

Two metaphorical veins seem to have developed from one core—the one   
symbolizing the pedagogical formation of youngsters for their harmonious   
integration into adult society, the other signifying submission to the forces of   
sexuality, particularly at marriage, symbolized by the yoke. In this group of   
images centering on the domestication of animals, marriage has an ambiguous   
position: it marks the transition from adolescence to adulthood, signifying on   
one hand a rupture with the influence of Artemis, under which the uncontrolled   
forces of adolescence are first domesticated, and imposing on the other hand a   
new period of training for submission to the coercive forces of Eros and   
Aphrodite. Thus marriage withdraws the adult young man and woman from the   
subjugation of Artemis, only to impose on them a new yoke, that of Eros.

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| 124. | Eur. *Med*. 673 and 80; see Aesch. *Pers.* 542, *Choeph.* 599, and A.R. 4, 1191;  σύζυγος in the sense of 'woman,' 'wife' in Eur. *Alc*. 314 and 342; see also *ibid.* 921.  Hera (συ)ζυγία presides over marriage: A.R. 4.96, Him. Or. 9.266; see also the  example given by Seaford, *JHS* 108, pp. 122f. For the development of the image of  taming in tragedy in relationship with the violence imposed by marriage, see N.  Loraux, *Façons tragiques de tuer une femme,* Paris 1985, pp. 65ff., with further  references. |
| 125. | Eros or amorous desire as tamers: Hom. *Il*. 14.199 and 316f., Hes. *Th.*  120ff., Arch. fr. 196 West, Sapph. fr. 102.2 LP, Theogn. 1350, etc. The beloved  compared to a colt to be tamed: Anacr. fr. 417 P, Theogn. 1249ff.; see also Anacr. fr.  346.1, 8ff. P, with commentary by B. Gentili, *Anacreonte. Introduzione, testo  critico, traduzione, studio sui frammenti papiracei,* Roma 1958, p. 186. |
| 126. | Eur. *Phaeth*. 227ff., see Diggle, *op. cit*. p. 85 n. 230, pp. 150ff.; for the  power of Eros as a strangling power, see Zeitlin, in *Rape,* pp. 143ff. See also R.  Seaford, "The Tragic Wedding," *JHS* 107, 1987, pp. 106-130. |
| 127. | Theocr. 12.15; on σύζυγος in the Sapphic context see above p. 212. |

-240-

This is the ambiguity and the conflict between two different areas of domesti-   
cation that the legend of Hippolytus in Euripides' version illustrates. At the   
outset, Hippolytus is presented as a perfect young man. Son of an Amazon, he   
lives the adolescent life of Artemis, dedicated to the hunt and to horsemanship in   
which he excels. [128.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678757&offset=1#128.#128.) In this respect he resembles the Dioskouroi. Hippolytus is   
a domesticated young man, a horse-trainer himself, ready to assume the status of   
an adult and of adult sexuality. But it is exactly on this point that he refuses to   
abandon the sphere of Artemis. Since he is an adolescent who has submitted to   
Artemis and is σώφρων, prudent, he has no intention of allowing himself to be   
dominated by the forces of love imposed by Aphrodite, whether it is time or no.   
Judged by the system of values associated with this goddess, Hippolytus, like   
Iole who refused the advances of Herakles, is a colt without a yoke insofar as he   
is assimilated to a young girl (πω̑λον ἄζυγα). [129.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678757&offset=1#129.#129.) His refusal leads to his death   
and it is his harness, the incarnation of Artemisian breaking in, that is the cause:   
the harness of the Enetian mares (συζυγίαν πώλων Ἐνετα̑ν), symbol of   
Hippolytus' skill with horses and consequently his accomplishment in ado-   
lescence, disappears by the will of the Graces "who put to the yoke" (συζύγιαι   
Χάριτες), symbol of the sexual union promoted by Aphrodite and refused by the   
hero. [130.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678757&offset=1#130.#130.) After having submitted to Artemis of his own free will, Hippolytus is

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| 128. | Eur. *Hipp.* 110ff., cf. 307ff. and 581; in this context, horse-breaking is  under the jurisdiction of Artemis: see 228ff. and on this subject G. Devereux, "The  Enetian Horses of Hippolytos (Euripides, *Hippolytus,* 231, 1131)," AC 33, 1964,  pp. 375-383. |
| 129. | Eur. *Hipp.* 545ff.; cf. 1425ff.: in the *aition* which puts an end to the tragedy,  Hippolytos will be the addressee of the ritual consecration of hair by young girls  (κόραι ἄζυγες) before their marriage: see W.S. Barrett, *Euripides. Hippolytos,* Oxford  1964, pp. 263f. and 412ff. For the final domination of Aphrodite over Hippolytos,  see F. Zeitlin, "The Power of Aphrodite: Eros and the Boundaries of Self in Euripides'  *Hippolytos*," in P. Burian (ed.), *Directions in Euripidean Criticism,* Durham N.C.  1985, pp. 52-111, and S. Des Bouvrie, *Women in Greek Tragedy,* Oslo-Oxford 1990,  pp. 240ff. |
| 130. | Eur. *Hipp.* 1131ff., 1210ff., and 1389; on the pun of the 'domestication' of  Hippolytus, see C.P. Segal, "The Tragedy of the *Hippolytos:* The Waters of Ocean and  the Untouched Meadow," *HSCPh* 70, 1965, pp. 117-169; also K.J. Reckford,  "Phaethon, Hippolytus, Aphrodite," *TAPhA* 103, 1972, pp. 405-432 (pp. 419f.),  who however does not see the religious opposition between the yoke of Artemis and  that of Cypris; also J.M. Bremer, "The Meadow of Love and Two Passages in  Euripides' *Hippolytus," Mnemosyne* IV. 28, 1975, pp. 268-280; the name  Ἱππόλυτος is itself perhaps indicative of the hero's fate: see Segal, *art*. *cit.,* p. 166 n.  48. The myth of Hippolyte the queen of the Amazons is parallel to the legend of  Euripides' hero: Hippolyte, also a horse-tamer and a fine horsewoman, is finally  tamed by Heracles who takes her belt and thus removes her symbol of virginity; see  A. Klügmann in Roscher, s.v. *Hippolyte* (1). See also the myth of the Amazon  Melanippe: H.W. Stoll in Roscher s.v. *Melanippe* (2). |

-241-

forced to submit to Aphrodite; but his resistance to this second taming brings   
his demise.

The use of metaphors taken from the domestication of animals, in part for the   
education of adolescents and in part for the achievement by marriage of adult   
sexuality, appears in other myths in which characters often have names formed   
on ἵππος, the horse. For instance the myth of the *Proitides*. As has been said   
the young girls' recovery after the madness sent by Hera marked their passage   
from adolescence to adulthood. It is doubtless not a coincidence that two of the   
girls were called *Lysippe* and *Hipponoe;* Hesiod describes Bias, the hero who   
brought them back from the mountain with Melampous, as *tamer of horses*   
(ἱππόδαμος), and Artemis of Lousoi, to whom girls dedicate choruses in   
gratitude for their recovery, has the epiclesis Ἡμερασία, *she who soothes,* or   
Ἥμερα, the *Domesticated,* the *Civilized*. [131.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678758&offset=1#131.#131.) Moreover, in the version that   
Bacchylides gives of this myth, the daughters of Proitos are described as untamed   
adolescents (Προίτου ἄδματοι θύγατρες), but Hera, by making them go mad,   
succeeds in imposing a yoke (φρένας ζεύξασα) on the young girls who,   
refusing the goddess's own cult, prove themselves to be refractory toward   
marriage. [132.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678758&offset=1#132.#132.) However, this submission of the *Proitides* to Hera is only possible   
through the intervention of Artemis. This goddess, contrary to what happens in   
Euripides' *Hippolytus,* contributes to the integration of the adolescent into adult   
sexuality. The yoke imposed by Hera follows the domestication bestowed by   
Artemis; thus the virgin goddess merits her epiclesis *Domesticating* or   
*Domesticated.*

The same equestrian connotations of domestication constitute one of the   
essential symbolic levels of the myth of the love affairs and marriage of Pelops   
and Hippodameia. Everything happens as if each sequence of this legend, whose   
meaning is perfectly explicit at the level of the human actors who enact it, were   
repeating itself in a purely equestrian world.

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|  | On the Χάριτες συζύγιαι, see E.W. Buschala, "Συζύγιαι Χάριτες, *Hippolytus*  1147," *TAPhA* 100, 1969, pp. 23-29; the sch. Eur. *Hipp.* 1147 (II, p. 123 Schwartz)  explain: αἱ συζευγνυ̑σαι, ὅ ἐστι γαμήλιοι. |

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| 131. | On the names of the *Proitides,* see Serv. *ad* Verg. *Buc*. 6.48 (III 2, p. 117  Thilo-Hagen); on Bias, Hes. fr. 37.13 MW, and above p. 118 n. 88; on Artemis  Hemerasia and Hemera at Lousoi, see Paus. 8.18.8, and Call. *Dian.* 235f. (see also  Bacch. 11.39), with pp. 118ff. above. Two of the *Minyades* whose fate, I have  emphasized, is parallel to that of the *Proitides,* are called *Leucippe* and *Arsippe:* Ael.  *VH* 3.42, Ant. Lib. 10.1; for the same representation at Brauron, see C. Sourvinou‐  Inwood, "Lire l'*arkteia*—lire les images, les textes, l'animalité," *DHA* 16, 1990, pp.  45-60. |
| 132. | Bacch. 11.84 and 45f.; without doubt it is equally significant in this context  that Proitos offers Artemis, in order to convince her to intervene with Hera, cows that  have not yet been yoked (ἄζυγας, 1.105). On these metaphors, see now Seaford, *JHS*  108, pp. 120ff. |

-242-

The father of Hippodameia, Oinomaos, in order to prevent an oracle from   
being fulfilled which had promised his death at the hand of his future son-in-law,   
or, according to other texts, because he was in love with his own daughter, had   
established an equestrian competition for the suitors of the heroine. This   
competition amounted to a pursuit race in quadrigae: the suitor racing to obtain   
Hippodameia's hand had to reach the Isthmus of Corinth, leaving from Elis,   
before being overtaken by Oinomaos who hurled himself in pursuit. To avoid   
having to give his daughter in marriage, Oinomaos made her mount the   
quadrigae of her suitors, whom she would distract, thus allowing her father to   
overtake and kill them. Pelops was the first, thanks to the winged mares that his   
protector and lover Poseidon had given him, and with the aid of a trick, to   
succeed in outdistancing Oinomaos and in riding from Elis to the Isthmus   
without being caught; thus he was able to marry Hippodameia. [133.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678759&offset=1#133.#133.) Oinomaos,   
the king of Elis, was reputed to be a great horse connoisseur. Pelops himself   
was a highly distinguished horseman who was competent to drive the horses of   
his teacher Poseidon. [134.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678759&offset=1#134.#134.) The goal set on the Isthmus for the race corresponded   
exactly with an altar of Poseidon, protector of the cavalry. These are therefore the   
two horsemen who enter into competition, the one to defend, the other to lead   
away and tame through marriage the young mare that is Hippodameia.

But the process of the myth's equestrian symbolism is developed further to   
the extent that this legend, as Devereux has shown, can be related to the Elean   
custom of forbidding the breeding of mules in the region and, consequently, of   
sending mares outside the frontiers of Elis when they needed to be mated with   
donkeys. [135.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678759&offset=1#135.#135.) Although it is unclear whether Pelops, by virtue of his mythical   
Asiatic origins, being foreign to Greece and Elis, can be equated with a   
"donkey," it is certain that from a structural point of view the interdiction of   
mule-breeding corresponds term for term to the myth of the eternal postponing   
by Oinomaos of his daughter's marriage and to its final celebration beyond the

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| 133. | Pind. *O*. 1.67ff., Apoll. *Epit*. 2.4ff., Diod. Sic. 4.73.1ff, etc.; other sources  in P. Weizsäcker in Roscher, s.v. *Oinomaos* (1); particularly the story as it is told by  Pindar can be considered as a rewriting of the *aition* of the Olympic Games: see Nagy,  *Pindar's Homer,* pp. 119f. and 126ff. For the homoerotic relationship of Poseidon  with Pelops, see Sergent, *Homosexualité*, pp. 75ff. |
| 134. | Plut. *Mor.* 303b, Him. *Or.* 9.6, sch. Pind. *O*. 1.86b (I, p. 47 Drachmann),  sch. Lyc. *Alex.* 157 (II, pp. 72ff. Scheer). I note that the mares of the team of  Hippodameia's first suitor, Marmax, had the significant names of *Parthenia* and  *Eripha*: Paus. 6.21.7. |
| 135. | Hdt. 4.30, Plut. *Mor.* 303b, Paus. 5.5.2, Ael. *NA* 5.8; cf. G. Devereux, "The  Abduction of Hippodameia as 'aition' of a Greek Animal Husbandry Rite," *SMSR* 36,  1965, pp. 3-25. I disagree with the author of this article in his interpretation of this  practice as "pastoral ritual" and of the myth as *aition* of this rite. Devereux forgets  that the marriage of Hippodameia serves as *aition* for the Heraia of Olympia that the  sixteen women of Elis organize (cf. above pp. 114f.) and that Pelops' victory over  Oinomaos represents the model for equestrian victories in the Olympic Games (cf.  Pind. *O*. 1.90ff., and above n. 133). |

-243-

boundaries of Elis, on the Isthmus. Metaphorically, Pelops thus fulfills, in spite   
of everything, the function of the donkey that is mated outside Elis with the   
young Elean mare withdrawn from the authority of her father the king. The   
equestrian doubling of the tale of the struggle undertaken for the hand of   
Hippodameia is no longer only symbolic, it seems to be accomplished in the   
reality of the custom, if not of the rite.

Several points should still be developed concerning this story. I note, first of   
all, that the marriage of Hippodameia was recalled every five years in a festival   
which, celebrated in honor of Hera, actualizes the matrimonial connotations that   
I have already demonstrated; [136.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678760&offset=1#136.#136.) that the race instituted by Oinomaos in fact   
reproduces the model of an abduction analogous to that undergone by the   
*Leukippides*; [137.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678760&offset=1#137.#137.) that, among the children born from the union of Hippodameia   
and Pelops, a few of the heroes turn out to be founders of cities in the   
Peloponnese, so that this union signifies the establishment of a new dynasty   
after Pelops himself had obtained sovereignty on the Pisatis instead of   
Oinomaos; [138.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678760&offset=1#138.#138.) and that, finally, like Hippolytus who is opposed to the   
constraining force of Aphrodite, Oinomaos dies on his chariot, victim of his   
horses.

But whatever the extensions of this legend, essentially it shows that the   
charioteer Pelops finishes by taming the mare Hippodameia in abducting her   
from the authority of the other distinguished charioteer, her father, and subjecting   
her to the yoke of marriage. From the education of the young girl, the equestrian   
representation has moved us to the moment of her wedding. The metaphor there-   
fore unites two connected processes: it shows that one opens into the other.   
Indeed, the whole educational process of the Hellenic girl, especially under its   
gender aspect, tends toward marriage.

**4.3. Homoerotic relationships in the lyric chorus**

Several sources suggest the presence of homoerotic relationships between the   
chorus-members, or certain chorus-members, and the *choregos*. There has been a   
lively debate over this among philologists, particularly in the case of Sappho's   
group. Certainly the 'companionship' in the boys' or girls' chorus was colored   
with homoerotic overtones, as can clearly be seen both in Sappho's poems and   
Alcman's fragments 1 and 3. Are these feelings just platonic "Schwärmerei"   
which emerge naturally among a group of adolescents of the same sex and same   
age, or can they be said to be actual relationships which take on a traditional and   
institutional character like the association within which they take place? I have   
thought it best to study this problem in the context of the social institutions in

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| 136. | See above pp. 115f. |
| 137. | See above pp. 187ff.; this interpretation of the race toward the Isthmus has  been proposed by Weizsäcker, *art*. *cit.* n. 133, col. 769f. |
| 138. | Such as Atreus, Thyestes, Pittheus, etc.; cf. Pind. *O*. 1.88f. with sch. *ad loc*.  (I, pp. 47f., Drachmann). |

-244-

which it appears, rather than in isolation. I shall therefore begin the discussion   
with a brief glance at the role of so-called "male homosexuality" in Sparta, a   
well-documented and commentated subject, before examining the problem as it   
appears on Lesbos in Sappho's circle, then in Sparta again in Alcman's choruses   
of young girls.

**4.3.1. "Male homosexuality" in Sparta and its function**

In a well-known passage in his *Life of Lykourgos,* Plutarch recounts that   
when they reached the age of twelve, in other words at the time of their entry   
into the pedagogical system, the ephebes were associated with lovers chosen   
from the best of the young men (νέοι). This custom is confirmed in an anecdote   
by the same author that tells how the king of Sparta, Agesilas, while an   
adolescent in an *agele*, also had a lover, and by Xenophon who ascribes to   
Lykourgos the rules for love relationships between adolescents and adults. [139.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678761&offset=1#139.#139.)   
Even if the latter author sees these relations as purely platonic, Plutarch and   
Xenophon both speak of Spartan "pederasty" as an institution within the   
educational system of the *agoge*, with a specific pedagogical function: πρὸς   
παιδείαν, for the education, says Xenophon about what he calls τωμ̑ν παιδικω̑ν   
ἔρωτες, the erotic desires for the boys. [140.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678761&offset=1#140.#140.)

The same educational value can also be seen in the pederastic system in   
Crete. In Crete, according to Ephorus, the contact between adult lover and young   
beloved was limited to two months. [141.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678761&offset=1#141.#141.) All the modalities of these homoerotic   
relationships, abduction of the beloved, gifts given to him, final sacrifice, and so   
on, were fixed by law (νόμιμον, κατὰ τὸν νόμον) and consequently take on the   
character of an institution. In addition, the progress of these contacts is   
comparable in form and content to a tribal initiation rite: having abducted the   
ephebe (separation from the old order), the lover takes him into the forest where   
together with companions of the ephebe they go hunting (period of segregation   
and marginality). After two months, they return to the town, the lover gives the   
youth the gift of an ox, a cup, and above all his martial armor (moment of   
reintegration and acceptance into the new adult order). These two months of

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| 139. | Plut. *Lyc.* 17.1, *Ages.* 2.1, *Lys.* 22.6 (see also Plut. *Agis* 24.2 and 58.14),  Xen. *Resp*. *Lac.* 2.12ff.; see Hsch. s.v. Λακωνικὸν τρόπον and λακωνίζειν (A 226 and  224 Latte) = Aristoph. fr. 358 KA; these two glosses make pederasty a typically  Laconian trait, proving that in Sparta these types of relations were not platonic: on  this subject see W. Kroll, *RE* 11 (1921), s.v. *Knabenliebe*, coll. 899f., and P.  Cartledge, "The Politics of Spartan Pederasty," *PCPhS* 207, 1981, pp. 17-36. |
| 140. | See Plut. *Lyc*. 18.9 and *Ages.* 20.9; also Xen. *Symp*. 8.35, along with  Brelich, *Paides,* pp. 120f. On Xenophon's idealizing attitude toward Spartan  pederasty, see Tigerstedt, *Sparta* I, p. 164; on Plutarch's attitude in general, see  Ollier, *Mirage* II, pp. 209ff. |
| 141. | Strab. 10.4.21 = Eph. *FGrHist.* 70 F 149.21: see Jeanmaire, *Couroi,* pp.  450ff.; Chrimes, *Sparta*, pp. 224ff.; Brelich, *Paides,* pp. 198f.; and Sergent, *Homo-  sexualité*, pp. 38ff. |

-245-

segregation outside the town end for the ephebe upon his being sworn in as a   
warrior. There are ritual practices that sanction this, such as the sacrifice of the   
ox to Zeus and the celebration of a great feast. Youths who have undergone this   
initiation are showered with particular honors, such as the most prominent   
places in the choruses, and in the gymnasium (here we see the two contexts   
essential to Archaic education); they receive, marked by the wearing of a special   
garment, the distinctive title of κλεινοί, the *distinguished*. [142.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678762&offset=1#142.#142.) The ethical values   
which determine the choice of the *kleinoi* are eminently pedagogical: Ephorus   
emphasizes that it is less beauty than the qualities of courage and decency that   
are the criteria for this choice.

In Crete, as in Sparta, pederastic relationships were an integral part of the   
system of adolescent education and in fact had an institutional character. They   
existed between an ephebe and an older man who was already integrated into the   
adult society of the city, and they were didactic in function, the beloved modeling   
himself on his lover and assimilating the virtues of the perfect citizen by   
imitation. [143.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678762&offset=1#143.#143.)

In a still famous article, Bethe emphasizes the pedagogical and institutional   
values of homoerotic relationships among the Dorians. Some of the rela-   
tionships between adolescents and adults were sanctioned by religious rites. [144.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678762&offset=1#144.#144.)   
The consecration of their institutional character is therefore not only political but   
cultic as well.

In Thebes, for instance, lovers and their beloved exchanged oaths of fidelity in   
a holy place where stood the tomb of the hero Iolaos. [145.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678762&offset=1#145.#145.) Iolaos was himself an

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| 142. | See Ath. 11.782c and Hsch. s.v. κλεινοί (K 2902 Latte). Pederasty was  supposed to have originated in Crete: Ath. 13.602f = Timae. *FGrHist.* 566 F 144; see  also Plat. *Leg.* 836bc and Arist. *Pol*. 1272a 23ff., with the different legends analyzed  by Sergent, *Homosexualité*, pp. 227ff. |
| 143. | This is the function of homoerotic relationships in general in Greece; the  theory behind it is found in Plato's *Symposium* (see particularly 211 bc): see Marrou,  *Education,* pp. 65ff., and Tigerstedt, *Sparta* I, pp. 75 and 269, with the nuances I tried  to introduce in *I Greci e l'eros*, pp. 143ff. Homoeroticism was the basis of aristocratic  educational relationships in the Archaic period: see the elegiac verses attributed to  Theognis and sung during the *symposia* before they were hidden in the second book  of the *Theognidea*. See Jaeger, *Paideia* I, pp. 236ff., and J.N. Bremmer, "Adolescents,  *Symposion*, and Pederasty," in O. Murray (ed.), *Sympotica*. *A Symposium on the*  Symposion, Oxford 1990, pp. 135-148. |
| 144. | E. Bethe, "Die dorische Knabenliebe. Ihre Ethik und ihre Idee," *RhM* 62,  1907, pp. 438-475; see now the comprehensive study of J. Bremmer, "An Enigmatic  Indo-European Rite: Pederasty," *Arethusa* 13, 1980, pp. 279-298. |
| 145. | Plut. *Mor.* 761de and *Pel.* 18.5 = Arist. fr. 97 Rose; see W. Kroll, *RE* 9  (1916), s.v. *Iolaos* (1), and Sergent, *Homosexualité*, pp. 171ff.; other references in  Calame, *I Greci e l'eros*, p. 185 n. 25. A similar rite is perhaps the reason for the  kissing competition in which adolescents at Megara took part to celebrate Diokles,  another mythical figure embodying male homoeroticism: Theocr. 12.27ff. Games |

-246-

*eromenos,* the beloved of Herakles, whom he followed and helped in more than   
one of his labors. The *heroon* of Iolaos stood beside the gymnasium or a stadium   
where gymnastic games were held called *Iolaeia*, the games of Iolaos. [146.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678763&offset=1#146.#146.) These   
games may have had a direct connection with the religious consecration of   
homoerotic relations that took place in the nearby *heroon*. The eminently   
adolescent activity of gymnastics was thus a framework in which pederasty had   
its place. This same ritual consecration of homoerotic relationships occurs in   
Crete in the sacrifice that the young man offers to Zeus after returning from the   
hunt with his lover, and the Theban custom where the *erastes* gives his   
*eromenos* military equipment when he was enrolled in the army also recalls a   
Cretan custom. The practice of gymnastics and the homoerotic relations had as   
their goal the integration of the young beloved into the community of the adult   
warriors, and were thus the means for the ephebe to change from adolescent to   
adult, as Plutarch himself recognizes (εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγραφόμενον). [147.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678763&offset=1#147.#147.)

In Thera we find similar customs on inscriptions dating in part from the   
seventh century, showing the actual consummation of certain pederastic   
relationships rather than merely their ritual consecration. [148.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678763&offset=1#148.#148.) These pederastic   
acclamations were all found near the temple of Apollo Karneios on a site that   
was later included in the area occupied by the gymnasium. The names of the   
young *eromenoi* in the inscriptions are generally accompanied by a reference to   
their virtues or their skill as athletes or dancers, thus again associating them   
with the educational system for adolescents involving gymnastics and choral   
practice. The nearness of the site to the sanctuary and the gymnasium could   
confirm the ritual aspect of the consecration of homoerotic relationships at   
Thera, as in Thebes, as well as the association with gymnastic games which   
proved the endurance and courage of the initiate.

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|  | were also held in his honor: see sch. Aristoph. *Ach.* 774; also Gow, *Theocr.* II, p.  226. |

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| 146. | Paus. 9.23.1, see Hitzig-Bluemmer, *Paus*. III, p. 457. |
| 147. | Plut. *Mor.* 761b; on these customs, see in general, Dover, *Homosexuality*,  pp. 180ff.; according to Dover, "Greek Homosexuality and Initiation," in the *The  Greeks and Their Legacy,* Oxford 1988, pp. 115-134, "the didactic relationship  between *erastes* and *eromenos* was superimposed on the erotic, not vice versa." |
| 148. | *IG* XII 3.536-601 and 1410-1439, see Bethe, *art*. *cit.* n. 144, pp. 449ff.;  Jeanmaire, *Couroi,* pp. 456ff., Brelich, *Paides*, pp. 183ff. Inscriptions of the same  type have now been found at Thasos and at Nemea: see Calame, *I Greci e l'eros*, pp.  78ff. This evidence of consummation of homoerotic relationships among the Greeks  avoids the necessity of reexamining the thesis defended by Bethe, *ibid.,* pp. 460ff.:  on this subject see Devereux, *SO* 42, p. 80; with regard to the typically Laconian ex-  pressions εἰσπνει̑ν and εἰσπνήλας, see Theocr. 12.12ff., Call. *Aet.* III, fr. 68 Pf., Plut.  *Agis* 24.2, Ael. *VH* 3.12, *EGen.* s.v. εἰσπνήλης. Recognizing their ritual aspect on  an interesting comparative basis, H. Patzer, *Die griechische Knabenliebe*, Wiesbaden  1982, pp. 67ff., denies them any sexual realization; see also the comparative par-  allels quoted by Sergent, *Homosexualité*, pp. 54ff. |

-247-

It is on purpose that I have avoided using the term *homosexuality* up to now.   
The concept implied by its use does not correspond to relationships which played   
an educational and thus a transitional role for adolescents becoming adult men.   
From a pathological point of view, it occupied a very different place in Greek   
society from the one it occupies in ours; its psychological and sociological im-   
plications were profoundly different. Pederasty was not only integrated into the   
social structure as a form of education: ritually and emotionally it marked merely   
one step in the beloved's passage to the "heterosexuality" of the adult, married   
citizen. Reserving for the sexual satisfaction of the relationship between a man   
and a boy the so-called "intercrural position," the pre-classical iconography   
shows that in its erotic realization, this relation was also ritualized. If adults in   
Greece had homoerotic relations, it was only with adolescents with the objective   
of educating them: homoeroticism always held in view the aim of producing   
future citizens. On the contrary, temporary or not, the homoerotic relationship   
between two adult citizens or between a free man and a male prostitute was either   
morally condemned or ridiculed. In Aristophanes' comedy, to be called a "wide   
anus" and to be treated as a passive homosexual is one of the worst insults. [149.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678764&offset=1#149.#149.)   
Devereux's perceptive theory is that Greek pederasty was actually only pseudo‐   
homosexual in that it simply used, for social and cultural ends, a universal   
psychological tendency of the adolescent to lack, temporarily, sexual differ‐   
entiation. [150.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678764&offset=1#150.#150.) The analyst's explanation of the adult lover as a father substitute,   
since in Greece the father's role as educator was minimal, takes account of the   
psychological mechanism underlying the pedagogical objective of pederasty   
among the Greeks. Whatever we may think of this psychoanalytical explanation,   
it is true that the ritual homoerotic relationship between a man and a boy in

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| 149. | In Athens, pederasty, like gymnastics, was only for free men, which shows  its social role: see Sol. fr. 16 GP and frr. 74a-e Ruschenbusch with Aeschin. *Tim.*  138f. It was, after all, accepted and recommended among the aristocracy as  pedagogical reinforcement. On the positions of Aristophanes and Plato, see K.J.  Dover, "Eros and Nomos," *BICS* 11, 1964, pp. 31-42. For the moral condemnation of  adult homosexuality and for its use in Attic comedy, see particularly Dover,  *Homosexuality,* pp. 135ff. and 153ff. (pp. 91ff. for the iconography of "intercrural  intercourse"), J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse. Obscene Language in Attic Comedy,*  Oxford-London 21991, pp. 204ff., and J.J. Winkler, "Laying Down the Law: The  Oversight of Men's Sexual Behavior in Classical Athens," in Halperin, Winkler, and  Zeitlin, *Before Sexuality,* pp. 171-209, with the further references I give in *I Greci e  l'eros*, pp. 102ff. For the iconography, see C. Reinsberg, *Ehe, Hetärentum und  Knabenliebe im antiken Griechenland,* München 1989, pp. 174ff. |
| 150. | Devereux, SO 42, pp. 70ff.; for our benefit, D.M. Halperin, *One Hundred  Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love,* New York-London 1990,  pp. 15ff., has now shown that the concepts of "homosexuality" and "hetero-  sexuality" are not Greek categories; see also F. Zeitlin, "Introduction," in Halperin,  Winkler, and Zeitlin, *Before Sexuality,* pp. 3-20, and Patzer, *op. cit.* n. 148, pp.  43ff. |

-248-

Archaic and Classical Greece is always an asymmetrical one: if the man tries to   
introduce the adolescent to a relation of φιλία, of reciprocal esteem and   
confidence, he is alone to feel for his *eromenos* a real erotic and sexual desire. It   
is why I prefer to refer to the educational and initiatory relationship as one of   
"homophily." [151.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678765&offset=1#151.#151.) To go back, from the institutions, to the representations of   
homophily in the myths, the version of the marriage of Pelops and Hippo-   
dameia, as told by Himerius in his *Epithalamium for Severus,* faithfully retraces   
this passage of a homosexual relation to heterosexuality. [152.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678765&offset=1#152.#152.) Poseidon instructs   
his beloved Pelops in the equestrian arts, and then organizes the wedding   
ceremony of his lover and Hippodameia himself; he sings the nuptial song for   
them. Pelops' and Poseidon's homophily has nothing morbid or perverted about   
it; it is an integral part of the pedagogical relations between master and protégé.   
The same can be said of Akontios. In the story mentioned above, the hero, while   
still an adolescent, is the object of interest of several lovers (Callimachus uses   
the technical term εἰσπνήλης). This does not prevent him from falling in love   
shortly afterwards with Kydippe and marrying her. Callimachus specifies that   
these homosexual relationships of Akontios before marriage were associated with   
the school and the gymnasium. [153.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678765&offset=1#153.#153.)

**4.3.2. Sappho's group**

The homoerotic feelings expressed in Sappho's poems have been the object   
of much debate, which I shall not repeat here. From antiquity on they have been   
falsified by moralizing derived from different social attitudes that were more or   
less critical towards male and female "homosexuality" and imposed various   
aesthetic visions on Sappho's poetry. [154.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678765&offset=1#154.#154.) It is difficult to deny, however, that

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| 151. | See Calame, *I Greci e l'eros*, pp. 68ff. The initiatory and ritual value of the  homoerotic practices of the Greeks has been completely overlooked by M. Foucault,  *Histoire de la sexualité*, 2. *L'usage des plaisirs*, Paris 1984, pp. 237ff. |
| 152. | Him. *Or.* 9.6. In the traditional version of the myth as told by Pind. *O*.  1.67ff., Poseidon also helps to make the marriage possible by giving the hero he  loves the chariot that allows him to take part in the race imposed by the girl's father  (on this see above pp. 242ff.). On the homosexual relations between Poseidon and  Pelops, see Pind. *O*. 1.25, with O. Höfer in Roscher, s.v. *Pelops,* col. 1871. |
| 153. | Call. *Aet*. III, frr. 68 and 69 Pf., with commentary by Pfeiffer *ad loc*.; see  above p. 112. |
| 154. | Page, *Sappho,* pp. 143ff., expresses a certain skepticism because of the  lacunae in our documentation concerning the reality of "Sapphic love." See also  Lasserre, *Serta Turyniana*, pp. 20ff., and *Sappho*, pp. 209ff. For Marrou, *Education,*  p. 72; Schadewaldt, *Sappho*, pp. 98ff.; Merkelbach, *Philologus* 101, p. 7 (in spite of  p. 3 n. 2?); G. Jachmann, "Sappho und Catull," *RhM* 107, 1964, pp. 1-33 (p. 3);  Gentili, *Poesia e pubblico*, pp. 117ff.; Lanata, *QUCC* 2, p. 64; West, *Maia* 22, pp.  320ff.; or with hesitation, Dover, *Homosexuality,* pp. 173ff., the reality of Sapphic  eros is beyond doubt. For a history of the image of Sappho's sexuality, see Lardinois, |

-249-

the fragments evoking the power of Eros, to mention only those, refer to a real   
love that was physically consummated. [155.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678766&offset=1#155.#155.)

It should be noted that the semantic features 'companionship,' 'education,'   
and 'homophily' are all found among the basic elements that make up Sappho's   
circle. [156.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678766&offset=1#156.#156.) The instruction leading to marriage given by Sappho has as its   
corollary the homoerotic relations between mistress and pupils. In comparison   
with the male educational system, Sappho's circle, however, offers a new   
problem in that these homoerotic bonds are not between an older individual and a   
younger one, but specifically between a woman and her group of young girls.   
And yet, if Sappho sometimes addresses all her companions (ἐταίραις ταὶς   
ἔμαις), the relationships as expressed in her poems are nevertheless all   
individual. Sappho's love pangs expressed in several of her poems are provoked   
by the absence of a single companion, whether Atthis, Anaktoria, or Gongyla;   
and Sappho asks Aphrodite for a single young girl to entrust her *philotes* to. [157.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678766&offset=1#157.#157.)   
There seems to be a contradiction between these singular love protestations and   
the collective character of the education given to the girls in Sappho's circle. We   
must presume that only some of the girls had a homoerotic relationship with the   
poetess, while the other adolescents only participated by reciting the passionate   
poems addressed to the young beloved. It was probably the same in Gorgo's   
circle, in which the homoerotic bond defined by the term σύζυξ existed,   
possibly successively, between Gorgo and two girls, Gongyla and Pleisto-   
dike. [158.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678766&offset=1#158.#158.)

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|  | in Bremmer, *From Sappho,* pp. 21ff., and A. Paradiso, "Saffo, la poetessa," in N.  Loraux (ed.), *Grecia al femminile*, Roma-Bari 1993, pp. 39-72. |

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| 155. | Sapph. frr. 47, 130, 48 and 49 V, see also 1.19, 16.4 and 94.21ff. V. For the  erotic meaning of the expression ἐξίης πόθο[ν in this last poem, see particularly  Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets,* p. 298, who points out as well the sexual meaning of  the "sleep" in fr. 2.8 V (pp. 270ff.). |
| 156. | The bonds between ἑται̑ραι were placed under the sign of Aphrodite: Sapph.  frr. 142, 160 and 126 V with Ath. 13.571cd. The connection between education,  homophily, and the ties that bind companions is found in a gloss of Pollux (4.43ff.)  which makes the terms ἀγελαι̑οι, μαθηταί, ἑται̑ροι, χορευταί and συνερασταί  synonymous. See Lardinois *TAPhA* 124, pp. 58ff., against the arguments of Parker  *TAPhA* 123, pp. 341ff., who makes the ἑται̑ραι of Sappho the participants in a  sympotic *hetaireia*. |
| 157. | Sapph. frr. 160, 49, 131, 16.15, 95.4, and 1.18ff. V; see Max. Tyr. 18.9 =  test. 219 V. It is significant that in Sappho's life in the *Suda* s.v. Σαπφώ (E 107  Adler) = test. 253 V, Atthis is described as one of the ἑται̑ραι φίλαι, the dear  companions, while Anaktoria and Gongyla are called μαθήτριαι, pupils. Sappho's  poems themselves show that the pupils are also her loved ones: see Marrou,  *Education,* pp. 70ff.; J. Danielewicz, "Experience in its Artistic Aspect in Sappho's  Subjective Lyrics," *Eos* 58, 1969/70, pp. 163-169, also sees a "didactic purpose" in  Sappho's love for the girls in her circle; see as well Cantarella, *Secondo natura,* pp.  108ff. |
| 158. | Sapph. fr. 213 V; see above pp. 212f. and n. 23. |

-250-

The Cretan customs for the boys offer a striking parallel, since the *eromenos*   
is not alone when he goes away from the city with his *erastes* but he is generally   
accompanied by his friends who take part in the rite of abducting the adolescent,   
go hunting, then celebrate the final banquet at the conclusion of their expedition   
into the wilderness with the lover and his beloved. These same friends share the   
expense of the gifts given to the *eromenos* at the end of the initiation and join   
with him in the sacrifice of the ox to Zeus. [159.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678767&offset=1#159.#159.) These friends of the *eromenos*   
have not had sexual contact with an *erastes,* but have followed the same itinerary   
of initiation as their companion. Their participation in the sacrifice to Zeus   
certainly shows that they too have taken the step that leads to adulthood.

The reality of Sappho's homoerotic feelings and their expression in her love   
for a young girl explain how a scholar like Devereux can see in the famous   
fragment 31 Voigt the symptoms of an authentic crisis of "homosexual" anxi-   
ety. [160.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678767&offset=1#160.#160.) He recognizes that the clinical expression of homosexuality is not ex-   
clusive of its sociological aspect. With Sappho, it is true that we seem to have a   
case in which homoerotic love has been so internalized that it "short-circuits"   
any heterosexual feeling. Hence our own awareness when reading the poems of   
an internal vibration that goes beyond the expression in traditional forms of a   
homoeroticism entirely conforming to its educational function. This supposed   
extra dimension does not, however, contradict in any way the institutional reality   
of the circle and the pedagogical role of the relations within it: for Sappho, the   
ritual and initiatory "pseudo-homosexuality" could simply become an example of   
what we call homosexuality. Its educational and social function stays the same;   
its expression in poetry is inspired by a sensibility that finds no balance in a het-   
erosexual life. And even this conclusion could be modified, since Sappho, as she   
herself says, had a daughter and, unless her marriage with Kerkylas and her love   
for Phaon were merely the fantasies of the ancient biographers, she must have   
crossed the threshold of adult life marked throughout Greece by marriage. [161.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678767&offset=1#161.#161.)

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| 159. | Strab. 10.4.21 = Eph. *FGrHist*. 70 F 149.21; see above pp. 245f. |
| 160. | G. Devereux, "The Nature of Sappho's Seizure in Fr. 31 LP as Evidence of her  Inversion," *CQ* 64, 1970, pp. 17-31. Sappho's anxiety attack is not due to a sudden  awareness of a socially sanctioned homosexuality, as F. Manieri supposes, "Saffo:  appunti di metodologia generale per un approccio psichiatrico," *QUCC* 14, 1972, pp.  44-64, who anyhow is wrong to attribute to Devereux such an interpretation of fr. 31  V and who gives no solution to the problem posed by the particular content of this  fragment. Sappho's crisis was probably provoked by seeing her masculine rival for  whom she cannot be a substitute for the girl (cf. Devereux, *art*. *cit*., p. 22). G.A.  Privitera, "Ambiguità antitesi analogia nel fr. 31 LP di Saffo," *QUCC* 8, 1969, pp.  37-80 (republished in *La rete di Aphrodite,* Palermo 1974, pp. 85-129), is right in  saying that Sappho's symptoms are the sign of her fear when she realizes her love is  hopeless and will never be returned; see also Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets,* pp. 229ff.,  and V. Di Benedetto, "Intorno al linguaggio erotico di Saffo," *Hermes* 113, 1985, pp.  145-156. |
| 161. | Sapph. frr. 98b and 132 V, see P. Oxy. 1800, fr. 1.14 = test. 252 V, *Sud*. s.v.  Σαπφώ (Σ 107 Adler) = test. 253 V, see also test. 219 V. On the legend of the loves of |

-251-

I would like to take as proof of the educational and social role of homophily   
the fact that an adolescent's time in the poet's circle was one step in a process.   
Most of the fragments of any length that have come down to us contain the   
memories of girls who returned to their native lands, most often Asia Minor, or   
left Sappho for a rival school. [162.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678768&offset=1#162.#162.) As I have said, education in Sappho's circle   
consisted of preparation for marriage through a series of rites, dances, and songs   
mainly dedicated to Aphrodite. This particular concern not only with Eros, but   
above all with Aphrodite in Sappho's poems could be considered as their gender   
specificity. But, independently of any gender distinction, it is also probable that   
some of these rites, as for the boys at Thebes and perhaps at Thera too,   
consecrated the homoerotic bonds between lover and beloved by means of a   
sexual initiation appropriate for adolescents with the objective of teaching the   
girl the values of adult heterosexuality. The temporary and unreliable character of   
these bonds may provoke in a homosexually oriented person states of anxiety   
and depression like those that can probably be traced in almost all Sappho's   
poems of remembering. This would explain the peculiar and personal feminine   
tone often felt in the modem readings of Sappho's poetry.

**4.3.3. Female homophily in the myths**

There are far fewer stories about female homoeroticism than about male   
pederasty. However, hints of a mythological transposition of relations of this   
kind can be found in the legend of Leukippos. [163.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678768&offset=1#163.#163.) This young hero, son of   
Oinomaos, fell in love with Daphne and, in order to overcome the young   
virgin's fear of men, he disguised himself as a girl (παρθένος) and mingled with   
the Nymph's companions when they went hunting. In this guise he managed to   
forge with Daphne an "unshakeable friendship" (φιλίαν ἰσχυράν) and to express   
as a girl the strength of his love for her.

A similar theme can be found in one version of the myth of Kallisto, the   
hunting companion of Artemis; to seduce her, Zeus took the form of a goddess,

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|  | Sappho and Phaon, see test. 211 V, and G. Nagy, *Greek Mythology and Poetics,*  Ithaca-London, 1990, pp. 223ff. For the controversy on the nature of Sappho's ho-  moerotic feelings, see J.P. Hallett, "Sappho and Her Social Context: Sense and  Sensuality," *Signs* 4, 1979, pp. 447-464 ("public, rather than personal, state-  ments"), and E. Stigers, "Romantic Sensuality, Poetic Sense: A Response to Hallett  on Sappho," *ibid.,* pp. 465-471 ("a specifically feminine form of sensibility"); see  also J.J. Winkler, "Gardens of Nymphs: Public and Private in Sappho's Lyrics," in  Foley, *Reflections,* pp. 63-90. |

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| 162. | Sapph. frr. 16.15f., 94.2ff., 96 and 131 V; see West, *Maia* 22, pp. 318ff. On  the gender identification of Sappho's poems, see M.B. Skinner, "Aphrodite  Garlanded: *Erôs* and Poetic Creativity in Sappho and Nossis," in De Martino, *Rose di  Pieria*, pp. 77-96; see further below n. 177. |
| 163. | For the sources of this myth, see above p. 147 n. 165. |

-252-

raped her, and impregnated her. [164.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678769&offset=1#164.#164.) It is thus by means of a homoerotic bond that   
Kallisto is initiated into heterosexuality and becomes an adult woman. But as   
can be seen in these stories containing the abduction and rape of a Nymph, the   
forcible break with the life of the young girl has a disastrous outcome—Artemis   
avenges herself for this unfaithfulness, kills her companion, and transforms her   
into a bear. The myth turns its back on reality, which it never faithfully reflects;   
to analyze the reasons for this would go beyond the limits of this study.

What is important here is that Artemis, like Sappho, seems to be attached to   
a particular Nymph, chosen among those who are attendant on her. As   
Callimachus informs us, the "love" (φίλαο) of Artemis touches certain Nymphs   
who are then called *companions* (ἑταίρας). They are Britomartis (φίλαο), who   
escaped from Minos by throwing herself into the sea, Cyrene (ἑταρίσσαο), the   
wild young virgin (παρθένος ἀγροτέρα) of Pindar, Prokris (ὁμοθήρην) and   
beautiful Antikleia (φιλη̑σαι), both hunters, and finally Atalanta (ᾔνησας), the   
blond girl who fled into the mountains, as described by Theognis, to avoid   
marriage and the gifts of Aphrodite. [165.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678769&offset=1#165.#165.)

Thus mythic thought, in the transpositions that it works out, allows a   
representation of female homophily to appear similar to that underlying the   
bonds of 'companionship' in Sappho's group. [166.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678769&offset=1#166.#166.)

**4.3.4. Female homoeroticism in Sparta**

Besides the two poems by Alcman which are the subject of another inquiry,   
the evidence of homoerotic practices among Spartan women cannot be doubted,   
however small in amount. [167.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678769&offset=1#167.#167.) In Plutarch's discussion of the educational role of   
homosexuality for men in Sparta, he states that it had become so much a custom

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| 164. | Hyg. *Astr*. 2.1 = Amphis fr. 46 KA. Hesiod's version (Hes. fr. 163 MW) does  not mention the disguise of Zeus; other sources in Franz, *art*. *cit*., p. 198 n. 336. The  different versions of Kallisto's story have been studied by A. Henrichs, "Three  Approaches to Greek Mythography," in J. Bremmer, *Interpretations of Greek  Mythology,* London-Sydney 1987, pp. 242-277 (with the skepticism expressed at n.  82); the other references given at n. 336. We have seen above that Kallisto, later  celebrated under the title *Artemis Kalliste*, is situated exactly between adolescence and  adulthood; her name denotes the physical maturity of the end of adolescence. |
| 165. | Call. *Dian*. 184ff., Pind. P. 9.6 and 17ff., Theogn. 1290ff.; on Atalanta, see  above p. 101 with n. 32. |
| 166. | On a probable scene of female homoeroticism, see the Attic *kylix* in  Tarquinia Mus. Arch. with the commentary by J. Boardman and E. La Rocca, *Eros in  Grecia*, Milan 1975, pp. 110ff. (pl. p. 111); see also the archaic cup from Thera  quoted by Dover, *Homosexuality,* pp. 93ff. and 173 (with pl. CE 34), and the  documents quoted by M.F. Kilmer, *Greek Erotica on Attic Red-Figure Vases,* London  1993, pp. 26ff. (with pll. R 73, R 152, and R 207). |
| 167. | For the homoerotic feelings that the girls singing poems 1 and 3 of Alcman  express for their *choregos,* see *Choeurs* II, pp. 86ff. |

-253-

that women (γυναι̑κας) too had relations with girls (παρθένων ἐρα̑ν). [168.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678770&offset=1#168.#168.) The   
women involved in this were well-to-do women (καλὰς καὶ ἀγαθάς), he reports,   
and by insisting on this he confirms that, as for men, homophily served as a   
way of transmitting the virtues of an older woman to an adolescent. He adds that   
these relations were not darkened by amorous rivalry, which suggests that they   
had the same temporary, instructional value as the "pseudo-homosexuality"   
defined by Devereux; having only a social function, they probably did not have   
the dramatic dimension found in Sappho's case. [169.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678770&offset=1#169.#169.)

Athenaeus begins his long discussion of homoeroticism with a quotation   
from Archytas, the musicologist friend of Plato, stating that Alcman was the   
principal poet in Greece to "conduct" songs of an erotic nature (τω̑ν ἐρωτικω̑ν   
μελω̑ν ἡγεμόνα). [170.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678770&offset=1#170.#170.) Although the discussion continues with a description of the   
*Paidika* of Stesichorus and the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles centered on   
plots about homophily, Athenaeus, following Archytas, interprets the two   
fragments by Alcman quoted in support of his thesis as proof of the love the   
poet felt for women and particularly for a certain Megalostrata. [171.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678770&offset=1#171.#171.) We are   
probably face to face here with a reconstruction of the biography of a poet based   
on an isolated fragment, as was commonly done in antiquity. There is a strong   
possibility that Megalostrata, described in the second fragment as the happiest of   
girls (παρσένων), far from being Alcman's lover, was one of the adolescent   
actors of a *Partheneion,* probably the *choregos;* in the same way, the person who   
says *I*, and who is struck by the force of Eros in the first fragment, is probably a   
girl and not the poet. [172.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678770&offset=1#172.#172.)

The most striking confirmation of female homophily in Sparta found in   
Alcman's poems is in a gloss that shows the poet using a precise term, almost a   
technical term, to name the young female *eromenai* for whom he composed,   
namely the word ἀι̑τις. [173.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678770&offset=1#173.#173.) This term is taken from male homoerotic vocabulary.

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| 168. | Plut. *Lyc*. 18.9. |
| 169. | Moreover, Athenaeus, 13.602de, quoting the philosopher of the Academy  Hagnon, says that in Sparta, custom (νόμος) demanded that "girls before their  marriage have to be treated like παιδικά (like the *eromenoi)."* The verb ὁμιλει̑ν used  by Athenaeus has no subject, but the context, with the quotation of fr. 16 GP of  Solon, shows that here the practice of intercrural intercourse, as prescribed for the  sexual relationship between *erastes* and *eromenos,* is alluded to. Thus the subject of  the verb should be rather male than female. Contrary to what is stated by Devereux,  SO 42, pp. 83f., and Parker, *TAPhA* 123, p. 327 n. 38, anal intercourse is here  excluded; see Brelich, *Paides*, p. 158 n. 138. |
| 170. | Ath. 13.600f. = Chamael. fr. 25 Wehrli; see Archyt. fr. 47 B 6 DK. |
| 171. | Alcm. frr. 59 (*a*) and (*b*) P = 148 and 149 C. |
| 172. | This is the position taken by Garzya, *Alcm*., pp. 149ff.; see also Diels,  *Hermes* 31, p. 352 n. 1, and E. Degani and G. Burzacchini, *Lirici greci,* Firenze 1977,  pp. 291f.; see *Choeurs* II, pp. 93f., and *Alcman*, pp. 558ff. and 561ff. See as well  Alcm. fr. 58 P = 147 C. |
| 173. | Alcm. fr. 34 P = 183 C. The term ἀΐτας, the *eromenos,* is the Thessalian  counterpart of the Laconian εἰσπνήλας, the *erastes;* see Theocr. 12.13, and above n. |

-254-

But although it seems that relations between adult women and girls in Sparta, as   
in Lesbos, introduced the latter to adulthood sanctioned by marriage and to the   
transition to heterosexuality, there is nothing to confirm that they had the same   
sort of educational value in that city as elsewhere. A reply to this question can   
only be given by an analysis of Alcman's fragments 1 and 3.

The problem that must now be resolved is the one, posed in the introduction   
to this work, of the incompatibility between amorous feelings that our modem   
sensibility sees as essentially individual and their collective expression by a   
chorus or in the context of a "circle."

**4.3.5. The lyric I/we: Individuality and collectivity**

Research into the identity of the one who says *I* in choral lyric compositions   
has led to two results: first, the person is generally not the same as the poet who   
composed the song, but rather the chorus that performs the song; this is true   
above all of the poems performed for a public ritual, such as the paean or the   
threnody. [174.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678771&offset=1#174.#174.) Even if the lyric *I* is often grammatically in the singular, it   
generally refers to the ensemble of chorus-members who perform the poem.   
Those two facts have been quite often overlooked in the recent controversy on   
the empirical and biographical reality of the person assuming the linguistic   
forms of the *I* in Archaic lyric poetry. The pragmatic character of these ritual   
poems excludes the entire fictionality of a purely poetic construction, while the   
reference to a group distinct from the "author" indicates that the experiences   
expressed may be generic ones. [175.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678771&offset=1#175.#175.)

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|  | 148. On the meaning of the word see among others *EGud.* 57.19ff. De Stefani and  Hdn. *Orth*. s.v. ἀΐτιας (II, p. 471 Lentz); Hsch. s.v. ἀΐτας (A 2162 Latte) glosses this  term significantly by ἑται̑ρος, the companion. See C. Gallavotti, "Alcmane,  Teocrito, e un' iscrizione laconica," *QUCC* 27, 1978, pp. 183-194, with my reply in  *Alcman*, pp. 597f. |

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| 174. | W. Kranz, "SPHRAGIS," *RhM* 104, 1961, pp. 3-46 and 97-124 (pp. 29ff.);  M.R. Lefkowitz, "ΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΓΩ, The First Person in Pindar," *HSCPh* 67, 1963, pp.  177-253 (p. 194; contribution reprinted with other articles on the same subject in  *First-Person Fictions: Pindar's Poetic I*, Oxford 1991, pp. 1-71); M. Kaimio, *The  Chorus of Greek Drama within the Light of the Person and Number Used,* Helsinki‐  Helsingfors 1970, pp. 29ff.; and Calame, *The Craft,* pp. 5ff. Even in monodic poetry,  the person who says *I* can be in the feminine even if it is a male poet who composed  the song: see Alc. fr. 10 V or Anacr. fr. 385 P. On the problem of the reality or the  fictionality of the Greek lyric *I*, see the references given above nn. 77 and 78. For the  authority of the lyric *I*, see Nagy, *Pindar's Homer,* pp. 369ff. and 377f. |
| 175. | For example in Alcm. fr. 81 P = 150 C, all the young girls in the chorus say  αἰ γὰρ ἐμὸς πόσις εἴη; for the alternation of the forms of singular and plural in fr. 1,  see *Choeurs* II, pp. 45f. with n. 8. The opposite can also happen, since Sappho  speaks of herself in the plural: see e.g. fr. 121 V. |

-255-

It is thus possible for girls to express to another girl or woman what we   
would think of as individual feelings in verses composed by a third person. This   
is the case with Alcman's poems. Two important facets of Archaic lyric poetry   
make this happen; on the one hand, the formulaic nature of its language, also   
used in expressing love, on the other, the oral mode of communication which   
allows the one who listens to the song to merge the composer of the poem with   
its performer. [176.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678772&offset=1#176.#176.) By using formulas understood by a whole group, perhaps by   
an entire culture, the poet can express a collective meaning, and can put in the   
mouths of young women the expression of feelings foreign to himself but   
experienced by those professing them and with an impact on the listening   
audience.

Conversely, the ability of Archaic lyric poetry to express the individual   
collectively explains how a poem by Sappho can express a personal experience   
true only for herself and one of her companions but can be accepted, recited, and   
even reperformed by all the girls in her circle as both a lived and paradigmatic   
experience. Moreover the language used by Sappho can communicate   
collectively and can evoke a common system of representations, so that all the   
pupils of the group can have the impression of being participants in the   
propaedeutic homoerotic bonds actually experienced by only one of them.

The conventional, formulaic character of the language infuses with life the   
poem performed by the group, rather than emptying it of meaning. If it seems to   
readers of Pindar or Ibycus that the homoerotic feelings expressed are a   
convention for praising the merits of a young man, they may nevertheless have   
originated in real feelings or in a real experience, feelings and experience which   
can be repeated through the reperformance of the poem. Moreover, it is   
surprising to notice that, although the education received by the boys and the   
girls through the choral performances is differentiated and prepares them for   
different gender roles, nevertheless the language used to express the homoerotic   
relationships underlying this ritual formation is basically the same. This kind of   
reciprocity between the linguistic practice of boys and girls, as well as between   
what an adult can express to an adolescent (Sappho) or a group of girls to an

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| 176. | On this subject see Plat. *Resp.* 397aff., with commentary by E.A. Havelock,  *Preface to Plato,* Cambridge, Mass. 1963, pp. 21ff., and Pavese, *Tradizioni,* p. 213.  On the formulaic expression of love in lyric poetry, see Alcm. fr. 59 (*a*) P = 148 C  (Ἔρως με [*deute*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg272_1.fpx)... κατείβων ... καρδίαν ἰαίνει), Ibyc. fr. 287 P (Ἔρος [*aute*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg272_2.fpx) με ... ἐς  ἄπειρα δίκτυα Κύπριδος ἐσβάλλει), Anacr. frr. 358 P [(*deute*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg272_3.fpx) με ... Ἔρως ...  συμπαίζειν προκαλει̑ται) and 413 P [*(deute*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg272_4.fpx) *m’* Ἔρως ἔκοψεν), Sapph. fr. 130 V  (Ἔρος [*deute*](http://www.questia.com/ib844054pg272_5.fpx) μ' ... δόνει): see Lanata, *QUCC*, pp. 65ff., and A. Carson, *Eros the  Bittersweet. An Essay,* Princeton 1986, pp. 117ff. On the formulaic language in  general of Archaic lyric poetry, see Gentili, *Introduzione*, pp. 69ff. Fränkel,  *Dichtung*, p. 587, without mentioning formulaic language, has nevertheless seen that  the feelings expressed by the lyric *I* are often not personal, but have a paradigmatic  value for those listening. |

-256-

older one (Alcman), is probably typical of a ritual poetry with an educational   
purpose. [177.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678773&offset=1#177.#177.)

It is also significant that in Alcman's poems, as in Sappho's, where the poet   
addresses a young woman on behalf of the whole group, [178.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678773&offset=1#178.#178.) the feelings   
expressed are those of vertical relationships; in other words, relations which   
unite either the entire chorus with a girl of a higher rank or, conversely, an older   
girl with the entire chorus. This is so for the *Epithalamium for Helen* of   
Theocritus, in which the twelve girls in the chorus together sing the praises of   
the young heroine, their *choregos,* or in the *Partheneia* of Pindar, where the   
young women collectively express their admiration for their *choregos* and for the   
woman who educated her. In this context a distinction between private and public   
in conjunction with a gender distinction between women and men cannot be   
relevant: in both cases the choral *I* is communal and has thereby a ritual   
value. [179.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678773&offset=1#179.#179.)

It is true that there is no trace of homoerotic feeling in these last two poems.   
But I hope to have shown that the homoeroticism of Spartan adolescents and of   
Sappho repeat the schema of a larger structure, a structure I have defined as   
elementary to the construction of the chorus. This structure has a hierarchical   
character and unites each chorus-member to the *choregos,* thus assuring the   
cohesion of the chorus. As part of this structure, homoerotic feelings are   
established between a person in a higher position and the collective chorus‐   
members who are all equal. In this way, the individuals of the chorus can each   
express their own feelings for the woman who directs the chorus, and, vice versa,   
the woman can express her love for all the members through her love for one of   
them. The existence of this hierarchical and asymmetrical relationship between

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| 177. | For Pindar's poems, see P. Von der Mühll, "Weitere pindarische Notizen,"  *MH* 21, 1964, pp. 168-172, and Lasserre, *Serta Turyniana*, pp. 17ff.; the frr. 286 and  287 P of Ibycus prove that for this poet amorous feelings were not only a conven-  tional way of expressing admiration, as in fr. 282 P, but were probably also a per-  sonal experience. On attempts at a definition of Sappho's poetry from the point of  view of gender, see the contributions of Hallett and Stigers quoted above n. 161, and  E. Stigers, "Sappho's Private World," in Foley, *Reflections,* pp. 219-245, with the  review by M.B. Skinner, "Woman and Language in Archaic Greece, or, Why Is  Sappho a Woman?," in N.S. Rabinowitz and A. Richlin (eds.), *Feminist Theory and  the Classics,* New York-London 1993, pp. 125-144. See also the complicated argu-  ment of J.J. Winkler, "Double Consciousness in Sappho's Lyrics," in *The  Constraints of Desire. The Anthropology of Sex and Gender,* New York 1990, pp.  162-187; see also above n. 162. |
| 178. | Sometimes Sappho seems to address all the companions in her circle: see fr.  160 V; see J.M. Snyder, "Public Occasion and Private Passion in the Lyrics of  Sappho of Lesbos," in S.B. Pomeroy (ed.), *Women's History and Ancient History,*  Chapel Hill, N.C. 1991, pp. 1-19. |
| 179. | Theocr. 18.25ff.; see Aristoph. *Lys*. 1308ff., and above pp. 192ff.; Pind. fr.  94b. 67ff. M; see also above p. 62; for Sappho's *I*, see Lardinois, *art*. *cit*. n. 18,  forthcoming. |

-257-

an individual and a group in the expression of homoerotic feelings accounts for   
the alternation of lyric *I/we* and explains how those same feelings can serve as a   
pedagogical foundation. Greek homoerotic bonds are regularly based on the   
relationship of master to pupil.

**4.4. The female lyric chorus and tribal initiation**

In the introduction I outlined the structure of the tribal initiation process, and   
I added general evidence for the various semantic values that would emerge from   
its three essential moments. Having arrived at the end of the long road that ran   
from the morphology of the Archaic chorus, by way of an analysis of the rituals   
embedded in it, to a study of its social function and its institutional nature, I   
shall now summarize the results and examine their coherence by comparing them   
with the institution of tribal initiation. In almost all societies that have no   
education system like that in the West, such an institution appears to be a   
system aimed at integrating adolescents into the community of adults. If all the   
aspects I have noted of the lyric chorus combine to form a similar system, I   
shall have proved the complementarity and internal coherence of the various   
hypotheses that I have put forward.

In the course of analyzing Hellenic chorality, or "song culture," several signs   
appearing in myth, ritual, or institutions in general offered characteristic features   
of tribal initiation. Conversely, the general form and content of the latter have   
helped to identify and interpret a myth, a ritual, or an aspect of an institution   
whose meaning was not obvious. It is now necessary to examine whether these   
disparate elements can be integrated into a complete, autonomous system, as in   
the case of peoples observed by anthropologists. This comparison will not   
overstep the bounds imposed on this study; it will consequently concern   
principally the women's choruses as we see them in Sparta. Choral performances   
in other Greek cities will be used only in cases where the material has served to   
enrich the analysis of Lacedaemonian facts.

The analysis of the morphology of the lyric chorus has shown that the choral   
group was generally composed of fewer than twenty chorus-members, mostly   
young women, whose cohesion was guaranteed by the fact that they were bound   
together by age similarity, by ties of 'companionship,' and because they often   
had a collective appellation. These features are also present among adolescents   
undergoing initiation; the collective character of the rites contributes to their   
feeling of belonging to the same group. These bonds are often so strong that   
they continue after initiation during the period before marriage and the girl's   
transition to the adult role of procreator. [180.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678774&offset=1#180.#180.) The bonds of camaraderie and   
equality among initiates, moreover, can be consecrated institutionally in tribal

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| 180. | Eliade, *Naissances*, p. 93, Brelich, *Paides*, p. 108 n. 153, and B.B. LeVine,  "The Initiation of Girls," chapter taken from "Nyansogo: A Gusii Community in  Kenya," in B.B. Whiting (ed.), *Six Cultures,* New York-London 1963, pp. 183-194,  reprinted in Popp, *Initiation,* pp. 45-59 (pp. 57f.). |

-258-

societies in the form of family relationships that did not necessarily exist before   
the formation of the group being initiated. [181.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678775&offset=1#181.#181.) It should be recalled that the   
feature 'family/geographical belonging' was one of the characteristics of the   
Greek girls' chorus. A contemporary anthropologist has termed this fundamental   
element of internal cohesion *communitas*. [182.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678775&offset=1#182.#182.) It accounts for the fact that for a   
certain time the initiates go through a period of chaos and have no distinct social   
role, finding themselves thus united in the same precarious conditions. When the   
initiation process is made hierarchical in several steps, the age classes corre-   
sponding to each stage form as many groups of this kind. Attested particularly   
well for boys, these age groups also exist in certain tribal societies for girls;   
traces are found in Greece, and if not in Sparta, at least in Athens and perhaps in   
Olympia. [183.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678775&offset=1#183.#183.)

But equality among members did not prevent the existence of hierarchies   
within the choral association. In Greece, adolescent girls were first of all bound   
to a girl who was more beautiful and somewhat more mature, and who was the   
director of the choral group while also serving as a model of behavior for the   
other young women. The *choregos* was often helped in her role as conductor of   
the group by an older person, generally the composer of the songs performed by   
the chorus. This hierarchy is found in more or less the same form among   
initiation groups of tribal societies. The initiation itself is assumed by older   
people, generally of the same sex as the initiates. [184.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678775&offset=1#184.#184.)

It is more difficult to recognize in ethnographic reports the position corre-   
sponding to the poet in Greece as regards female tribal initiation. In his/her work   
of forming and directing the chorus-members, the *choregos* (male or female) in   
Greece, and particularly in Sparta, is often assisted by the poet, who composes   
the music and the words of the songs sung by the chorus. The Hellenic poet ful-   
fills an intermediary function between the society and the girls in the chorus; it   
is he/she who facilitates the communication of the cultural patrimony from civic   
community to initiates by means of his/her songs and dances. However, in a trib-   
al population these songs are entirely dependent on an oral tradition, and it is un-   
derstandable that the figure of the poet is not to be found, as in Archaic Greece.   
In addition, if the involvement of a man in female initiation apparently has no   
parallel in tribal societies, it is often a man, however, who is responsible for the

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| 181. | On this subject see Brelich, *Paides,* pp. 102f. with nn. 143 and 144. |
| 182. | Turner, *Ritual Process,* pp. 95ff. |
| 183. | On this problem in general, see Brelich, *Paides,* pp. 40f.; for age groups  among women, see S. Dreyfus, *Les Kayapo du Nord*, Paris-La Haye 1963, pp. 71ff.,  and Paulme, *op. cit*. p. 13 n. 32, pp. 136ff. and 166ff. |
| 184. | Eliade, *Naissances,* p. 93, Brelich, *Paides,* p. 109 n. 155. Among the Bemba  of the former Northern Rhodesia, the mistress of the initiation ceremony for girls  possesses a particular status in the community and becomes the protector of the  initiates: see A.I. Richards, *Chisungu*. *A Girls' Initiation Ceremony Among the  Bemba of Northern Rhodesia*, London 1956, pp. 57 and 131f. |

-259-

financing and the organizing of the rites. [185.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678776&offset=1#185.#185.) Possibly part of that responsibility   
also fell to the Greek poet, on the occasions when he/she set up the chorus.

Concerning the ritual practices of the initiation process, I stated in the chapter   
on Lacedaemonian rituals that it was possible, based on the reconstruction of   
what we know of Spartan rites for girls, to hypothesize a cycle in which each   
step in the initiation process is represented: from the rites of separation from   
childhood and the initiation death represented in the festivals of Artemis   
Limnatis and Karyatis, to the Hyakinthia, the great feast of the presentation of   
the new initiates, to the rituals associated with the cults of the *Leukippides* and   
Helen that mark the forming of the adult woman, to the final ceremony of   
marriage and the ritual of Aphrodite-Hera which seems to be connected with it.   
This reconstruction of the rites that take the young girl from adolescence to   
being a full member of the city conforms both to the morphology and to the   
semantic values present in tribal initiation and integration rites into adulthood.

Given the generally secret character of initiation practices for young girls   
during the segregation period, the Hellenist is at more of a disadvantage than the   
ethnologist when it comes to examining them. All we have are some general   
features symbolic of the marginal phase, among which are the acts of violence,   
as seen in the myths, committed on adolescent girls; these acts symbolize the   
reversal of social behavior marking this period. On the other hand, one of the   
most significant features in Greece of the passage from childhood to adulthood is   
homoeroticism. Signs of this kind of asymmetrical sexual relationship between   
adults and boys are generally visible in male initiation practices, but it seems   
they were not absent from the initiation of adolescent girls in certain tribes   
where homoerotic practices seem to have been used to imitate adult heterosexual   
relations within a group composed only of women. [186.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678776&offset=1#186.#186.)

However, for Greece, as for tribal societies, we have far more explicit and far   
more detailed evidence for the ritual practices in the public ceremonies associated   
with the presentation of new initiates to the community and the reception feasts   
that led to the marriage ceremony. In tribal societies, the moment of official,   
public presentation of neo-initiates is especially important for girls. The song,   
dance, and music that characterize this moment are exactly those that constitute

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| 185. | Richards, *op. cit.* n. 184, p. 56; for the "authorship" of the poet in Greece,  see Nagy, *Pindar's Homer,* pp. 369ff. and 397ff. |
| 186. | Male homoerotic practices in Brelich, *Paides,* p. 84 n. 100, enumerating  their various functions, and in D.J. West, *Homosexuality,* Harmondsworth 31968,  pp. 19f.; see also G.H. Herdt (ed.), *Ritualized Homosexuality in Melanesia*, Berkeley  1984; for adolescent girls see LeVine, *art*. *cit*. n. 180, p. 52. B. Bettelheim,  *Symbolic Wounds. Puberty Rites and the Envious Male,* New York 21962, pp. 138ff.,  gives a psychoanalytic interpretation of the sexual ambivalence of initiates as  regards the practices of circumcision and excision; see also the French translation of  the work (Paris 21971) with the remarks of A. Green (pp. 213ff.) and particularly J.  Pouillon (pp. 235ff.), who shows the impact and the cultural rather than psychic  values of the practice of circumcision/excision. |

-260-

the principal activity of the Greek chorus, [187.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678777&offset=1#187.#187.) which, so to speak, crystallizes in   
itself the official part of the ritual practices performed by the group of initiates.   
Here we should include all the information we possess about the dances   
performed by the chorus of Theseus at Delos, at the Oschophoria, those   
performed by the *Proitides* in honor of Artemis at Lousoi, those by young   
Athenian girls at the Panathenaia, and so on. In Sparta itself, the richness of   
female adolescent practices evinced in the framework of the festival of the   
Hyakinthia, and the importance of the involvement of the members of the   
community as spectators, give us an idea of what the final festival of the   
initiation process was like in Greece. Even if Greek choruses were not limited to   
this type of ceremony, it is not improbable that they had their origin there.

To turn now to the functional aspect of female initiation rites, it is easy to   
recognize, from the fragments of choral lyrics left to us, some elements of the   
education given girls during their initiation. The recitation of mythical legends   
was an introduction to the mythological and religious patrimony upon which the   
city's institutions were founded. The importance of the gnomic element in these   
poems corresponded to the requirement to transmit the norms of behavior that   
kept the body politic together. Information about the occasions for performing   
songs provides a sort of commentary on the ritual practices of the young chorus‐   
members, and the frequent expressions of amorous feelings in these poems   
confirm the role of female tribal initiation in the instruction in sexuality. [188.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678777&offset=1#188.#188.)

Anthropologists have also noted that during the ceremony presenting neo‐   
initiates to the community and the subsequent rites, those girls in search of a   
husband take particular care of their appearance. From this point of view, the   
public forum played a central role in the system of distribution and exchange of

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| 187. | Eliade, *Naissances,* pp. 95ff.; semantically, it is possible that the term χορός  originally meant the 'group of initiates,' gradually reduced to the 'group of chorus  members' with exclusively musical connotations to the extent that this public ac-  tivity lost its initiation meaning and became important at the expense of the secret  practices. On the use of dance and music in the education and socialization of ado-  lescents, see M. Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa. A Study of Adolescence and Sex in  Primitive Societies,* Harmondsworth 21943, pp. 92ff.; and A. Strathern, "'A line of  boys': Melpa dance as a symbol of maturation," in P. Spencer (ed.), *Society and the*  Dance. *The Social Anthropology of Process and Performance,* Cambridge 1985, pp.  119-139. |
| 188. | On these different propaedeutic functions of tribal initiation, see above pp.  13ff. Richards, *op. cit.* n. 184, pp. 125ff., emphasizes that, during initiation among  the Bemba, girls receive less instruction in practical things than an idea of the social  responsibility and duty implied by the practical activities of the adult woman. This  education also allows the girls to absorb the legal and ethical aspects of their future  status; see also Turner, *Ritual Process,* pp. 106ff. For Archaic Greece, all these  elements of choral education are discussed at length in the detailed analysis of  Alcman's fragments 1 and 3 that I present in *Choeurs* II, pp. 52ff., 59ff., 86ff., and  97ff. |

-261-

new women, placed at the disposal of the adult social body by initiation. [189.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678778&offset=1#189.#189.)   
Here one should recall that one of the basic characteristics of the young Greek   
woman in the final stage of her initiation is 'beauty.' This feature crystallized   
the meanings of the pre-marriage rituals, such as the festivals of Helen in Sparta   
and the beauty contests on Lesbos; it also stood for all the preparation for   
marriage taking place in the Sapphic circle. Its function is the same in tribal   
societies.

This suggests that in Greece tribal initiation was not immediately followed   
by the marriage ceremony. Particularly in Sparta, the two cults of Helen show   
that marriage was probably thought of as a second transition after the initiation   
itself. There was a pause between the end of initiation and acceptance into the   
adult community signified by the wedding. It all happened as though the   
moment of ending the initiation was different from the moment of being   
integrated into the new order. This was probably meant as a time for finding a   
future husband and for preparing the girls, through rites such as those for the   
*Leukippides* and Helen, to abandon Artemis and Apollo, the gods of adolescence,   
and enter the domain of Dionysus, Aphrodite, and Hera. This intervening period   
is present in several tribal societies.

The ritual activity of the lyric chorus of adolescent girls as considered in its   
morphology and function is consequently comparable to the institution of tribal   
initiation. Its physiological, religious, political, and social implications   
constituted a system that touched all aspects of society and was an integral part   
of the whole social web. By sanctioning a physiological process, choral practice   
assumed a similar role of admitting new members into society, and consequently   
of perpetually renewing and maintaining that society with its different gender   
roles and status. That is why in Spartan tribal societies the female initiation   
process is entirely oriented towards procreation. [190.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678778&offset=1#190.#190.) From both points of view,   
we are faced with a coherent system on which depended the survival and the   
perpetuation of the society promoting it.

The comparison I have just made between Spartan institutions and a tribal   
society institution raises the problem of the nature of the social structures of   
Archaic Sparta. The educational aspect of tribal initiation contrasts with the   
system of education through school attendance as we know it in modern societies   
and as it already existed in the Athens of the fifth century, as we know from   
Aristophanes' polemic against the "new education." It is therefore dependent on a   
certain type of society in which the specialization of labor and the differentiation   
of social roles are reduced; its members live in a system of relationships all the

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| 189. | See LeVine, *art*. *cit*. n. 180, p. 57. |
| 190. | On the function of female tribal initiation as an instrument for maintaining  the solidarity of the family while that of men assured the solidarity of the community,  see Young, *Initiation Ceremonies,* pp. 109ff. |

-262-

more coherent because less numerous. [191.](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?action=getPage&docId=102678779&offset=1#191.#191.) The analogies made synchronically   
between Spartan initiation and the model of institutions in tribal communities   
return us to the historical problem of the existence, at least in the Sparta of   
Alcman, of social structures forming a system that could be compared to the   
system of tribal societies. I have tried to offer such a study in a historical   
dimension with the commentary on Alcman's fragments 1 and 3 presented in   
*Choeurs* II.

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| 191. | Within the category of tribal societies one must distinguish, independently  of any historical order in their succession, different social systems based on the  means of production essential to the economy: hunting, gathering, nomadism,  agriculture, etc. But the initiation process defined by Van Gennep and repeated by his  successors seems to be common to all tribal societies, independent of their economic  structure. |

-263-

**5. CONCLUSION**

After defining the essential semantic features of the participants in choral   
performances by women, an examination of their morphology clarified the   
relations that unite the members of this type of lyric group. The hierarchical   
relations uniting each of the chorus-members to the *choregos* (male or female) is   
doubled in the ties of equality that link these same chorus-members. These   
relationships were realized in the activity of the chorus, an activity mainly   
musical, and they were therefore defined in musical terms. To direct the chorus   
meant that the *choregos* accompanied it on an instrument, coordinated the dance   
steps, thus imposing what could be called the *choral order.* The activity of the   
chorus-members was complementary to that of the *choregos:* according to   
varying modalities, they performed together the elements of Greek music—   
melody, rhythm, and song. Within this framework it is possible to qualify the   
modes of performance of the different songs, some of which belonged to specific   
poetic genres, sung by choruses of young girls or of women in Archaic Greece.

A study of the religious rites involving choral performances by women was   
the result of a question as to the use of the Archaic lyric chorus. Although these   
choruses were performed for secular occasions, they were used for the most part   
in the cults of specific deities. A general and necessarily partial analysis of Greek   
rites and the more detailed study of specifically Lacedaemonian cults showed that   
the rituals followed closely the path leading the young child from adolescence to   
marriage and to maternity. Even if they also had other functions, many of the   
cults at Sparta were associated with tribal initiation and gave a religious stamp   
to its various steps.

This comparison between Greek choral practice and tribal initiation led to a   
definition of the role played by the young girls' choruses in the social system of   
the Archaic city. Similar to that found in tribal societies, this initiation system   
aspired to integrate adolescent boys and girls into adult society by preparing   
them for the role of the citizen and his wife; as future wife of the citizen-soldier,   
the Greek girl had to prepare for motherhood. This learning period took place in   
groups of adolescents under the leadership of an adult. The lyric chorus was one   
of the tangible modalities of this organization. In Sparta at any rate, its integral   
position in the political structure of the State confirms the institutional and   
therefore the sacred nature of the chorus. In addition, examples of ritual inversion   
in the chorus, such as homoeroticism or marginality, as well as the notable   
pedagogical function of the chorus in Greece, were also an integral part of the   
institution.

-264-

Given the late use of writing, from the middle of the eighth century only, and   
the hazards of tradition, we have only a very small part of the songs and poems   
composed for the rites of Greek tribal initiation; these literary manifestations of   
the institution of initiation have only a limited place in Archaic lyric poetry. I   
must add that the social changes brought about, among other technological   
changes, by the adoption in Greece of the Phoenician alphabet had a decisive   
influence on this Archaic institution. The rites associated with it gradually   
changed or disappeared, to be replaced by a scholastic type of education system,   
as tradition became fixed by writing and, paradoxically, provoked a probable   
acceleration of history, a fact noted by anthropologists in all societies in which   
writing supplants the oral mode of transmission. It is definitely an institution in   
transition that appears in the few poetic fragments we are able to read. Later   
authors, from whom most of our information comes, can have realized only   
confusedly its function, and its meaning would have escaped us altogether   
without ethnographic comparisons. In conclusion, it is up to us not to forget it.

-265-

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