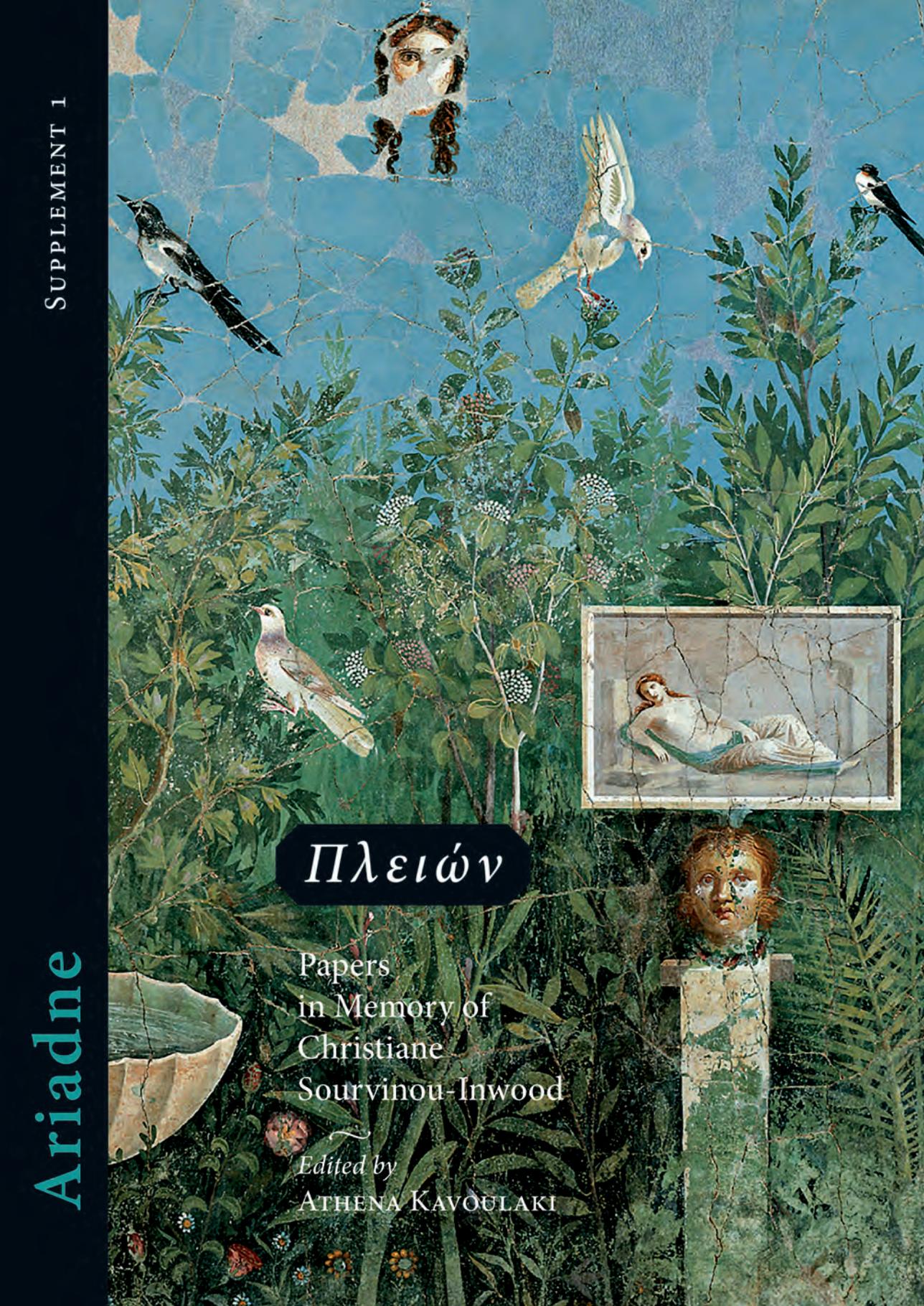


SUPPLEMENT 1

Ariadne



Πλειών

Papers  
in Memory of  
Christiane  
Sourvinou-Inwood

~  
Edited by  
ATHENA KAVOULAKI



*ΑΡΙΑΔΝΗ*, Παράρτημα, αρ. 1 • *ARIADNE*, Supplement 1

*Πλειών*

**PAPERS IN MEMORY OF CHRISTIANE SOURVINOU-INWOOD**

*Πλειών δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἄρμενος εἶη*  
Hesiod, *Works & Days* 617



*Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood  
at the Norwegian Institute,  
Athens*

*ARIADNE*

The Journal of the School of Philosophy of the University of Crete

Supplement 1

*Πλειών*

**PAPERS IN MEMORY OF CHRISTIANE  
SOURVINOU-INWOOD**

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ATHENA KAVOULAKI

Rethymnon 2018

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## FOREWORD

**Lucia Athanassaki**

Dean of the School

I CAN THINK OF no better introduction to the new series of *Supplements to Ariadne* than *Πλειών: Papers in Memory of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood*. *Ariadne Supplements* is an open access peer-reviewed series that welcomes scholarly publications occupying the space between a journal and a book. These publications are usually Festschrifts and Conference publications that have some unity, but are not in any sense book ‘chapters’.

We are delighted to be able to publish scholarly research without worrying too much about commercial issues, thanks to the support of the Ioanna Sfakianaki fund. Ioanna Sfakianaki was a Rethymniote who died in 1997 and bequeathed all her property to the School of Philosophy. Once the inheritance cleared, about 10 years ago, this special fund gave a huge boost to the publications of our School, which have since multiplied and are open access (<<http://www.phl.uoc.gr/ekdoseis.php>>).

The editor of this volume, my colleague Athena Kavoulaki, was a very close friend of Christiane since her days as a student at Oxford; I, however, only once met Christiane, cigarette in hand, at a book launch garden party that Oswyn Murray gave at Holywell Manor in 2004. At the time I was reading her *Tragedy and Athenian Religion*. I wish I had told her how much I enjoyed the amazing combination of vast knowledge, precise reconstructions of religious practices and power of visualization that pervades this book. But back then I thought we would have plenty of opportunities to talk at Oxford and Rethymnon. Christiane was known to be a timid traveler, but Athena kept trying to convince her to come to Rethymnon in order to give some lectures. Knowing Athena,

I was sure that sooner or later she would prevail. Unfortunately, it was not meant to happen. I remember the shattering news of Christiane's untimely death that reached us at Rethymnon a few days before the conference on Archaic and Classical Choral Song in May 2007. We scheduled an impromptu memorial event at that conference: Athena Kavoulaki, John C. Petropoulos and Ian C. Rutherford spoke about Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood as a great scholar and dear friend.

This volume springs from a formal memorial conference entitled 'Reading Greek Religion', that Athena Kavoulaki organized in Rethymnon in 2012 in memory of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood's scholarly achievements. I am delighted to see the volume in print. It is a volume that will attract great attention on account of the original and substantial scholarly contributions it contains, and also because it sheds light on an unknown aspect of Christiane's personality, her youthful endeavors in writing poetry which we can now glimpse for the first time, thanks to Athena Kavoulaki who has edited them as an appendix to this volume. Christiane's poems are sensitive, learned and annotated! They herald the formidable learning that would characterize her scholarly work a few years later.

I wish to thank the contributors, the anonymous referees, the copy-editor Kostis Psychoyos, the Publications Committee of the School of Philosophy and above all the editor, my valued colleague Athena Kavoulaki, for master-minding this volume which is a labor of love and exacting scholarship.

School of Philosophy,  
University of Crete  
February 2018



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## *Abbreviations and Conventions*

SCHOLARLY JOURNALS normally appear as in *L'Année Philologique*. For ancient sources and basic scholarly works (collections and editions of texts, works of reference etc) standard abbreviations are used (mainly according to the system of *OCD*<sup>4</sup>); but the following may also be noted:

- Agora*            *The Athenian Agora*. Results of excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- CID*                *Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes*.
- CIG*                A. Boeckh et al., *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 4 vols, Berlin 1828–77.
- CIGS*              G. Dittenberger, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae Septentrionis*, Berlin 1892.
- FD*                 *Fouilles de Delphes*. Paris 1902– .
- GHI*                R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford 1969.
- HTCarie*          P. Debord and E. Varinlioglu, *Les hautes terres de Carie*, (Ausonius *Mémoires* 4), Bordeaux 2001.
- I.Amyzon*        J. et L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie. Exploration, histoire, monnaies et inscriptions*, Paris 1983.
- I.Apameia*        Th. Corsten (ed.), *Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai*, (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 32), Bonn 1987.
- I.Cret.*            M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae*, 4 vols, Rome 1935–50.
- I.Didyma*        T. Wiegand and A. Rehm, *Didyma*, II: *Die Inschriften*, Berlin 1958.
- I.Eleusis / IE.* K. Clinton, *Eleusis. The Inscriptions on Stone: Documents of the Sanctuary of the Two Goddesses and Public Documents of the Deme*, 2 vols, (Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, 236 and 259), Athens 2005–8.
- IGASMG*        R. Arena, *Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia*, vols I–IV, Pisa 1992–2002.
- IGDGG*          L. Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de la Grande Grèce*, 2 vols, Geneva 1995.
- IGDS*            L. Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Sicile*, Rome 1989.

- IGUR** L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, 4 vols, Rome 1968–90.
- I.Iasos** W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iasos*, 2 vols, (IGSK 28), Bonn 1985.
- I.Kaunos** C. Marek, *Die Inschriften von Kaunos*, Munich 2006.
- I.Knidos** W. Blümel, *Inschriften von Knidos I*, Bonn 1992.
- I.Oropos** V. Petrakos, *Οἱ Ἐπιγραφές τοῦ Ὀρωποῦ*, Athens 1997. (Cf. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, current editors: A. Chaniotis, T. Corsten, N. Papazarkadas, and R. A. Tybout (February 2018, <[http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772\\_seg\\_conc\\_IOropos](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1874-6772_seg_conc_IOropos)>.)
- I.Rhod.Peraia** W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften des rhodischen Peraia*, Bonn 1991.
- I.ScM** D. M. Pippidi and I. I. Russu, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae*, I, Bucharest 1983.
- I.Sinuri** L. Robert, *Le Sanctuaire de Sinuri près de Mylasa*. Première Partie. *Les Inscriptions Grecques*, Paris 1945.
- NGSL** E. Lupu, *Greek Sacred Law. A Collection of New Documents*, Leiden and Boston 2005.
- N.I.Olympia** P. Siewert and H. Taeuber, *Neue Inschriften von Olympia. Die ab 1896 veröffentlichten Texte*, (Tyche Sonderband 7), Vienna 2013.
- OCD<sup>4</sup>** S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow (eds), *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th edition, Oxford and New York 2012.
- OF Bernabé** *Orphicorum Fragmenta* = A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci. Testimonia et Fragmenta*, Pars II: *Orphicorum et Orphicis similibus testimonia et fragmenta*, fasc. 1 et 2, Munich and Leipzig, 2004–2005; fasc. 3: *Musaeus · Linus · Epimenides · Papyrus Derveni · Indices*, Berlin and New York, 2007.
- OF Kern** O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, Berlin 1922 (reprint 1963).
- PG** J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus, Series Graeca*.
- P.Gurob** J. G. Smyly (ed.), *Greek Papyri from Gurob*, (Royal Irish Academy, Cunningham Memoirs 12), Nos 1–29, Dublin 1921.
- TAM** *Tituli Asiae Minoris*, Wien 1901– .
- Tit.Cam.** M. Segre and G. Pugliese Carratelli, ‘Tituli Camirenses’, *ASAtene* 27-29 (1949-1951): 141-318.

Abbreviations may at times be included in the lists of works cited that can be found at the end of every chapter (note that no comprehensive bibliography is given at the end of the volume).

Transliterations of ancient Greek names are not characterized by strict consistency: it has seemed reasonable to use the familiar Latinized spelling for those names for which this has become normal English usage (e.g. ‘Plato’ instead of ‘Platon’, ‘Plutarch’ instead of ‘Ploutarkhos’). Hellenized transliterations have been adopted for less familiar terms or in order to avoid confusion.

## *Acknowledgments*

THE ORIGINAL IDEA for a volume in memory of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood was born at a conference organized in her memory in September 2012 in Crete. It was an event that proved rewarding and valuable in its own right. The friendly atmosphere, the stimulating talks and the lively discussions were an appropriate tribute both to Christiane's scholarly achievements and to her passionate and inspiring personality. I am pleased to have the opportunity to express in writing my sincere thanks to all those who came to Crete at that time and shared scholarly ideas or fond memories, more specifically (in alphabetical order) E. Aston, L. Athanassaki, J. Blok, E. Bowie, I. Clark, R. Gagné, F. Graf, D. Hedley, S. Hitch, S. Humphreys, S. Iles Johnston, M. Inwood, D. Makri, A. Marinis, A. Nikolaidis, N. Papalexandrou, R. Parker, J. Petropoulos, V. Pirenne-Delfolge, I. Rutherford, A. Serghidou, M. Vlazaki, P. Wilson.

When that event took place, the financial crisis in Greece had already set in. It was almost a miracle that the conference managed to take place. Warm thanks are due to those institutions and individuals who supported that project financially, as well as to all those (colleagues, students and friends included) who assisted in many different ways.

The enthusiasm engendered by the conference made the idea of the publication of the proceedings appear imperative. But the circumstances were adverse. Securing funds in those days proved difficult and dispiriting. The journey became a long one with repeated reconfigurations and rearrangements of schedules. I am grateful, however, to all those who persevered all the way, as well as to those who joined midway; their persistence—and patience—fueled the whole effort, and finally the destination has been reached.

I am fully aware, however, that this goal would have been unattainable, had it not been for the acceptance of the publication by the Editions

of the School of Philosophy of the University of Crete. I am grateful to the former Dean of the School Prof. K. Kopaka and to the members of the committee who initially accepted my proposal, and I feel truly thankful to our current Dean, Prof. Lucia Athanassaki, for the lively interest, trust and support that she has shown towards this project. Her concern and her sense of *kairos* have proved more than decisive.

I would also like to thank the Sfakianakis Trust for funding the publication, the Resource Management Department of our University for making the funds available, the various readers of the essays for their helpful comments, and Kostis Psychoyos for his scrupulous preparation of the manuscript.

There are also debts of a different kind: to Mike Inwood for all his support and for entrusting me with Christiane's poetry notebook; to John Raffan for his friendship and for precious moments of learned interaction; and to my family for too many reasons.

The volume is dedicated to the memory of a great classical scholar, a beloved friend and a deeply sensitive person: Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood. Her work will be long appreciated and will long continue to inspire scholarly discussions—and she will be remembered with gratitude for ever.

A.K.

December 2017

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## INTRODUCTION

Athena Kavoulaki

THE PRESENT VOLUME inaugurates the Supplement Series of *Ariadne*, the Journal of the School of Philosophy of the University of Crete.<sup>1</sup>

When *Ariadne* was first published in 1983, it was conceived as an *annuaire*, a scholarly yearbook of the School, reflecting the range of research activities and scholarly interests represented in the School. When it was transformed into a scholarly journal in 2008, it continued to provide a forum for work in the domains of all three Departments of the School (the Departments of Philology, of History and Archaeology, and of Philosophical & Social Studies).

Given this background, it is felicitous that the inauguration of the Supplement Series of *Ariadne* marks the commemoration of a great Hellenist, the late Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood (née Χριστιάνα Σουρβίνου), who was distinguished for her ability to bring together different approaches to literature, history, archaeology and the visual arts in a sophisticated and theoretically informed way. Her published work on Greek antiquity spans the whole spectrum of materials and methods that conventionally belong to the different subject areas studied in the Departments of a Greek School of Philosophy. Correspondingly, the papers collected in the present volume (Volume 1 of the Supplement Series) reflect the diversity of research interests and activities found in the scholarly production of a strikingly prolific and enquiring mind. Were it not for the wide-ranging scope of *Ariadne*, the hosting of such a varied collection of essays might have proved difficult. But in the present case the very variety<sup>2</sup> becomes an advantage, since the first supplementary volume retains a degree of continuity with the previous tenor of the

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<sup>1</sup> See <<http://www.phl.uoc.gr/ekdoseis/tefxi.php>>.

<sup>2</sup> In both subject matter and extent.

journal and may serve as an appropriate bridge towards future volumes describing perhaps more uniformly marked territories.

The exploration of the broad horizons of ancient scholarly research seems to stand as the hallmark of the academic profile of the late Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood. The credit for such a distinct ability may be attributed both to her rigorous graduate education (in Rome, Birmingham, and mainly Oxford) as well as to her long-term familiarity with interdisciplinary trends in ancient studies. The seeds of such a disposition, however, may have been sown earlier in her life, possibly even in her school years or more likely in her years as an undergraduate. In 1962 Christiana Sourvinou (aged 17 at that time—she was born in 1945) entered the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens, which then operated as a single and undivided School. This meant that in the first two years the programme of studies was common for all students and contained a large number of compulsory taught courses which covered all areas of study (language & literature, history, archaeology, philosophy etc.) and all periods of Greek culture (prehistoric, ancient, Byzantine and modern). It was only in the third year that the student had to choose a particular direction and specialize in a particular area of the humanities. As is well known, Christiana chose history & archaeology and excelled as a star pupil of the famous prehistoric archaeologist Spyridon Marinatos. What is less well known is the degree of her engagement with other areas of the humanities such as modern literature or medieval studies, that Sourvinou developed especially during the first, formative part of her student career. Her deep-rooted familiarity with a variety of fields (especially linguistic and literary fields) may be gauged retrospectively from the multifaceted scholarly paths of her mature academic career. There are, however, unflinching testimonies of her deeply ingrained fascination with and gifted use of language, literature and history of all Greek periods preserved in a unique repository of ideas: her poetry collection compiled between 1962 and 1965 (and published for the first time in the Appendix of this volume). I have been granted access to this invaluable resource by her husband Mike Inwood, to whom I am deeply grateful. In this poetry collection, hand-written in a sumptuous, black-leather notebook and decorated with drawings in her own hand, the first poem (entitled ‘Adolescence’, ‘Εφηβεία’) dates to the time of Christiane’s seventeenth birthday (February 1962). Far

from being a panegyric, the poem is permeated by an impressively mature tragic tone generated from a deeply felt awareness of the ephemeral quality of human relations.

The second poem, entitled “Υπολειμματικό” (‘Residuum’), dated to July 1962 (when Christiana had not even begun her undergraduate studies), is impressive in its conception and prophetic of Christiane’s later engagement with ancient Greek religion: a detail of a historical incident of Roman history (characterized as a ‘residue of primitive religion’ in her course books) sparked reflection on the universally resonant theme of self-sacrifice and human fate. A light touch of irony regarding death and glory permeates the poem.

When we reach the third poem of the collection, “Ἐπίγραμμα (στὸν Κωνσταντῖνο Παλαιολόγο)”, a short poem conceived as a kind of tomb epigram, the first-year student confesses (in a philologically exemplary note) her debt to the lectures in Byzantine Philology by the distinguished Byzantinologist N. Tomadakis. The characteristic reflective sensitivity to tragic fate is again noteworthy; equally striking, however, is a conspicuous familiarity with such philological issues as poetic form, diction and style. The poem is characterized as an ‘Epigram’ and manages to convey the epigrammatic tone, following perhaps (consciously or unconsciously) not only ancient models but also similar attempts by the famous Modern Greek poet Cavafy. As the collection progresses, the meticulous scholarly references that accompany the ancient symbols structuring the poems interlace with a poetic style evocative of contemporary trends in Greek poetic writing. This developed modern poetic consciousness occasionally surprises with its versatility with traditional rhythms and styles, playfully evoked in those contexts where shared experience is more at stake.

Sourvinou-Inwood’s early familiarity with literary voices, genres and traditions is amply confirmed and eloquently displayed in her youthful poetic exercises, which point to a deep sensitivity molded through reflection and serious study of poetic discourse. Equally importantly, her poetic activity seems to imply that for Christiane the study of cultures in their entirety could go beyond the boundaries of scholarly expertise towards an understanding of personal and collective history, in a manner convergent with a potential intrapersonal and interpersonal quest. This trajectory can be traced throughout the collection, which comes to an

end on the completion of Christiane's undergraduate studies.<sup>3</sup>

The pages left blank at the end of her poetry notebook signal perhaps that the numerous densely-written pages of her academic work were already being produced in earnest:<sup>4</sup> she started publishing almost immediately after she received her first degree; she continued at a steady pace for almost four decades, while substantial studies appeared even after her passing.<sup>5</sup> And yet more is to be expected.<sup>6</sup>

Christiane's early research activity and subsequent publications are indicative both of her inner disposition and of her gradually formed theoretical approach to cultural phenomena. She was first attracted to the Minoan and Mycenaean civilizations and more particularly to the study of Linear B tablets (an area appropriate for practicing her combined talents in both language and archaeology). This is a world full of symbols and enigmas that call for meticulous deciphering and extracting of meaning. Even if the tablets record practical details and simple human activities,<sup>7</sup> to reach these basic facts requires the application of rigorous methods of reading and decoding. The early 1968 *Minos* publication is a case in point: in that study Christiane proposes first of all a correct *reading* of the tablet ('il faut sans aucun doute lire *e-mi-to* et pas *ti-mi-to*')<sup>8</sup> and then goes on with suggestions of *meanings*. These fundamental methodological principles, indispensable for the study of the tablets, proved to have a lasting effect on Christiane's theoretical approach. Even after leaving the field of Mycenaean studies and moving to Archaic and Classical material, Sourvinou-Inwood insisted that the products of a remote culture did not make sense at face value but needed to be 'read' correctly and 'decoded'. For this purpose she developed a methodology broadly known as 'reading' (from the titles of her books<sup>9</sup>) but more precisely indicated as 'ancient anagnostics', by which she meant the scholarly attempt at reconstructing the code and making

<sup>3</sup> The date of the last poem is September 1965. Christiane graduated in 1966, the only student in four years to be awarded a starred first in Classics.

<sup>4</sup> A list of her publications is appended to this introduction (pp. 16-20).

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. SOURVINO 1968 and SOURVINO-INWOOD 2008, 2011.

<sup>6</sup> Emma Aston has announced that she is going to edit Sourvinou-Inwood's unpublished work on animals in Greek myth and cult (<<https://www.reading.ac.uk/classics/about/staff/e-m-m-aston.aspx>>, 12/2017).

<sup>7</sup> E.g. the tablet KN As 821, discussed by SOURVINO in her 1968 *Minos* publication, deals with employees of a workshop.

<sup>8</sup> p. 184 of the above-mentioned publication (n. 7).

<sup>9</sup> SOURVINO-INWOOD 1991, 1995.

sense of the cultural artefacts of a society to which today's readers (and observers) have limited access.<sup>10</sup>

Sourvinou-Inwood tested the applicability of her model on a large variety of cultural products, which included not only images and material objects but also poetic texts, mythical narratives and ritual practices. The results are often imposing and unexpected, as a sustained effort was made to avoid modern 'cultural assumptions' and to reconstruct 'ancient perceptual filters'. More than the actual outcome, however, it was the methodological path that seemed to intrigue her, tracing it with an honesty and attentiveness to detail that both impressed and exhausted her readers. She was aware of mixed reactions but remained convinced that a detailed exposition of methodology was indispensable. As she repeatedly explained, her methodological scrutiny aimed to produce as 'neutral' an interpretation as possible by eliminating modern assumptions and 'perceptual filters' derived from unreflective common sense or traditional scholarly baggage. In her 'reading' of the texts or images, much of her effort would go towards the identification (or 'recovery') of ideological 'schemata'. As a result, several texts believed to have specific historical reference were shown to be better understood as ideological constructs.

Sourvinou-Inwood insisted that her aim was to establish 'ancient realities and perceptions'. She approached this goal, often using comparative material; she did so with great caution, however, always aiming at raising possibilities and not at building models against which ancient data would then be examined, since she believed that our own cultural assumptions about what is 'natural' or 'universal' could contaminate our analysis of the evidence. With this frame of mind, she was initially opposed to naive empiricism, while later in her writings she showed a concern to combat extreme relativism (embedded in some postmodern readings), 'nihilism' as she called it in her final book, *Hylas, the Nymphs, Dionysos and Others* (2005).<sup>11</sup> She was no follower of academic fashion and was not afraid to oppose modern orthodoxies or to reject fashionable comparisons between ancient Greek ideals and the modern. Her aim was to help her readers—and her students—acknowledge the complexity of the issues of social and cultural developments and to provide them with a methodology of 'reading' cultural products through the eyes of their contemporary users. To formulate her methodology, she

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<sup>10</sup> SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1991, vi.

<sup>11</sup> SOURVINOU-INWOOD 2005, 14–17; see especially p. 16: 'nihilists form natural alliances with naive empiricists.'

benefited from the structuralism of the so-called Paris school and later from semiotics and even post-structuralism. But she did so in her own idiosyncratic way, refusing to identify with any single or monolithic approach. For Sourvinou-Inwood critical theory was neither a goal in itself nor a narcissistic game; it was simply a powerful tool in her incessant search for meaning. ‘Making sense’ is perhaps the most frequently used phrase in her writings.

She published six monographs and numerous articles, some of which are collected in her influential *‘Reading’ Greek Culture* (1991), which includes an extensive presentation of her methodological approach to Greek myths, rituals, texts and images. Her engagement with methodology was already made apparent in her *Theseus as Son and Stepson* (1979) and in her *Studies in Girls’ Transitions* (1988), monographs that studied adolescent transitions and anatomized the Greek *imaginaire* as regards male and female identities; further advancements would be made in all her subsequent major works: her voluminous monograph on Greek attitudes to death and the afterlife entitled *‘Reading’ Greek Death* (1995); her ambitious *Tragedy and Athenian Religion* (2004) which traces proto-tragedy and establishes fifth century tragic drama as a genre of religious exploration;<sup>12</sup> her *Hylas, the Nymphs, Dionysus and Others* (2005), a book that focuses on the mythic-ritual nexus of Hylas in Kios in Mysia and discusses issues of ethnicity, of cultural and religious interactions and of colonial discourses;<sup>13</sup> and the posthumously published *Athenian Myths and Festivals* (2011), edited by Robert Parker, a thorough study of Athenian myths and rituals of civic importance, which establishes a kind of history of the religious imaginary of the Athenians. According to one of her reviewers, ‘every book by Sourvinou-Inwood is a feast of the mind: broad knowledge, thorough investigation and acute—and sometimes surprising—conclusions’.<sup>14</sup>

Her methodological rigour (based on her system of ‘ancient anagnostics’) imbued all her analyses: myth and ritual, adolescent transitions, representations of the afterlife, civic religious structures, variations of Panhellenic religious representations found in specific cities, religious

<sup>12</sup> Based on the prestigious Carl Newell Jackson lectures she had delivered in 1994 at Harvard.

<sup>13</sup> Based on the Martin Nilsson lectures delivered in 1997 at the Swedish Institute at Athens; it was the last book that she saw published.

<sup>14</sup> C. Delattre, review of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, *Tragedy and Athenian Religion*, Lanham, MD 2003, in *BMCR* 09/2003.

interactions between Greeks and non-Greeks, and the articulation of polis religion in Greek tragedy. This broad field of religious practices and discourse proved to be the privileged area in which her scholarly genius would excel. Of outstanding quality and impact is her examination of the ways in which ancient Greek religion both articulated and was articulated by the political structures of the Greek city-state; it has been succinctly and effectively presented in her famous essay ‘What is polis religion?’ (supplemented by her ‘Further aspects of polis religion’)<sup>15</sup> which was hailed by Robert Parker as ‘unquestionably the most influential article on Greek religion’<sup>16</sup> of the last quarter of the 20th century. The quality of reactions that her ‘polis religion model’ and generally her work on the religious system of the Greek polis has provoked and continues to provoke,<sup>17</sup> unmistakably attests to the strong fertilizing power of Sourvinou-Inwood’s contribution to the modern study of Greek religion.

Apart from being a committed researcher, Christiane was also a committed teacher.<sup>18</sup> She held posts at Liverpool, Oxford and Reading;<sup>19</sup> regrettably she never secured a tenured position at Oxford (where she lived with her husband, the philosopher Mike Inwood, fellow of Trinity College, Oxford). She was unforgettable in the classroom and irreplaceable as a warm and generous mentor. Her friendliness and her care for her students and advisees were rewarded with life-long devotion.

In compensation for her withdrawal from teaching in 1998, Christiane turned to creative writing, reviving a talent manifested of old in her poetic compositions of the early ’60s. It was not poetry, however, this time

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<sup>15</sup> The two essays appeared concurrently (1990) but in different volumes. They were both included in the *Oxford Readings* volume edited by BUXTON 2000.

<sup>16</sup> Obituary in *The Guardian*, 31 May 2007.

<sup>17</sup> KINDT 2012 and 2015 is a primary example, but discussions and reactions are numerous; for an overview one can consult the subject review article by HARRISON 2015. For the popularity of her polis religion model see even on *YouTube* (Ellie Mackin Roberts, ‘Want to study ancient Greek religion? Book recommendations to get you started!’, <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FDY5ylZA7YE>>, 7.7.2016).

<sup>18</sup> Early testimonies to her interest in Pedagogics are her publications SOURVINOU 1968 and SOURVINOU 1969.

<sup>19</sup> In the ’70s she held two research fellowships at Oxford and then in 1976 she took up a lectureship at Liverpool, from which she resigned in 1978. In 1989 she received an honorary research fellowship at University College, London, and from 1990 to 1995 she was a senior research fellow at University College, Oxford. She then took up a readership at the University of Reading but had to resign in 1998 mainly due to health problems.

but prose writing and more particularly detective novels that attracted her attention and intrigued her. She wrote four in all and managed to see the first of them translated and published in Modern Greek (the English version would appear a few months after her passing). All of them are set in ancient Greece and the sleuth is an ancient Greek sub-priestess. The continuity between her scholarly and her creative writings is obvious and challenging.<sup>20</sup> If in her scholarly essays Christiane cannot step beyond the limit of the surviving evidence, in her novels she can insightfully recreate ancient realities and propose solutions to long-standing puzzles. In the construction of characters and plots one may be tempted to detect a slight ‘Euripidean’ touch: long argumentation or exposition of sociopolitical ideas combined with a discreet sensitivity that often takes the form of wholehearted trust in the power of romantic love and exalting imagery along with a heightened sense of Greek religion as a repository of great emotional inspiration. Amazement at the gods’ proximity to humans is often worked out and manifested at the finales of her novels.

In consonance with the broad and varied spectrum of material studied by Sourvinou-Inwood, the papers collected here to celebrate her memory evince a similar variety of subjects and breadth of approaches. It should be stressed, however, that no effort has been made to cover the entire range of her interests. The collection here is simply representative of her engagement with issues in the fields of myth and ritual, of religious institutions and structures (including temples, festivals, offices, etc.), of poetic texts and contexts, of funerary dedications, monuments and artefacts. Some of the papers were originally presented at a conference organized by the Department of Philology in Rethymnon in 2012, but the final collection has been enriched by contributions made after that event, once the practical details concerning the publication had been finalized. Immense gratitude is due to all, past and present contributors, for advancing the intellectual discourse that Sourvinou-Inwood’s work shaped and nourished in significant ways.

The discussion commences with a paper that focuses on the locality which ancient Greeks themselves considered the centre of the earth, namely Delphi—γᾶς ὀμφαλός, and deals with origins and primeval practices; thus, in a sense it marks spatial and temporal beginnings. At

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<sup>20</sup> E.g. *Murder Most Classical* refers to the Brauronia festival.

the same time, the investigation carried out therein is modeled on one of the most important methodological premises that Sourvinou-Inwood introduced, namely the reconstruction of ‘schemata’, i.e. of ideologically important narrative patterns, mainly abstract in conception. According to Sourvinou-Inwood, myths are structured by schemata that express and are shaped by the realities and representations of the societies that produced or recast those myths. In this essay, which opens the collection, Ian Rutherford (Christiane’s colleague at Reading and dear friend) attempts in a succinct and efficient way to analyse myths and rituals (from various parts of the Greek world, including Crete), which are relevant to Delphic theoric practices. Rutherford succeeds in highlighting a general pattern tentatively called a ‘schema of purification, laurel and pilgrimage to Delphi’, in which the movement of sacred delegates between a Greek city and Delphi is coordinated with a myth about a primeval purification of Apollo or Orestes in that city.

With the second essay, we make a full transition to the ‘real’ world of the historical communities of Greek antiquity and more particularly we move to the field of their religious and political organization. In his essay Robert Parker (Christiane’s staunch interlocutor and friend) undertakes to familiarize his reader with a less well-known area that belongs to the eastern part of the Greek-speaking world, namely Caria. As more and more information about this area comes to light (in terms of archaeological evidence, inscriptions, etc.), Caria has become a pole of attraction of scholarly interest. Robert Parker focuses on religiously relevant material, against which he tests the famous polis religion model introduced by Sourvinou-Inwood. Taking Mylasa as a case study, he investigates particular aspects and features on the basis of literary sources, mainly inscriptions. An intriguing picture emerges: the dynamic interaction of many different religious-political bodies and social structures is indeed what makes the study of Carian religion interesting and illuminating as regards the configurations of ancient religious systems. According to Parker’s analysis the most distinctive feature of the Carian religious world is the sanctuary-centred communities, which are different from poleis (although they can come to be subsumed under poleis). What is clearly confirmed in this case is the continuous process of ‘bricolage’ (another theoretical concept deployed by Sourvinou-Inwood).<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1995, 20-26 and 2005, 22-23.

The polis religion model also lies at the basis of the third essay in the collection by another of Christiane's dear friends, namely Professor John Davies. This time, however, we move from the Greek periphery to the centre of Greek cultural activity, Athens and Attica. In his analysis Davies approaches the financial aspect of the polis religion structures, which is one of the least investigated aspects of the Greek (and Athenian) polis religion system. He takes as his case study the sanctuary of Amphiaraus at Oropos and on the basis of surviving inscriptions with relevant financial records he attempts to assess the overall economic impact of the modes of resource-utilisation that ritualized behavior comported in the context of a basic religious structure such as a sanctuary. In his investigation Davies ambitiously includes an attempt to evaluate the degree of 'rationality' that can possibly be attributed to the economic activity carried out in such a context. He admits, however, that modern economical theories do not seem to fit the ancient data (which present a complex picture requiring further analysis); but the polis religion approach seems to constitute a starting point for an investigation that could eventually illuminate areas so far opaque.

The focus of the following two essays remains in the geographical and cultural territory of Athens and Attica. The first is dedicated to Sourvinou-Inwood in her capacity as an 'interpreter' of Greek religion—and the paper itself deals with Athenian 'interpreters' of religious matters. These were the so-called *exegetai*, religious authorities in ancient Athens. Contrary to previous assumptions, Sally Humphreys (another distinguished modern 'interpreter' of Greek religion) argues here pertinently and persuasively that an *exegetes* in Classical Athens was not an elected office-holder. To support her thesis, Humphreys follows Christiane's methodology and starts by examining the 'filters' through which the evidence has been read. These filters were derived from a combination of cultural ambiance and disciplinary training. In the last half-century or so, these filters have been thoroughly questioned with the result that the evidence cannot look the same any more. Thus, the author suggests an alternative scenario, which gives more weight to epigraphy, legal process, and the evidence from comedy and suggests that in the Classical period the term *exegetes* could be applied to anyone who authoritatively 'expounded' ritual matters, either as historian or as counselor. The author offers a fresh interpretation of *IG I<sup>3</sup> 131* and *137*, arguing that they refer to an *exegetes* sent from Delphi and his replacement by Apollo himself, for whom a *theoxenia* is organized.

Inscriptional evidence also lies at the heart of the subsequent essay by Peter Wilson, who for his part examines not religious authorities but religious festivals. Wilson, like Humphreys, attempts to reinterpret available evidence and reconstruct alternative scenarios. His focus, however, concentrates on the organization of dramatic performances in the programme of Attic Dionysiac festivals and more particularly on the infrastructure necessary for such an organization, i.e. the theatres themselves (belonging to local sanctuaries). He offers a meticulous review of the major theories on theatre distribution in the demes of Attica (by Paga and Goette), suggesting points of agreement and disagreement. Although Wilson does not concentrate specifically on the financial issues of Dionysiac sanctuaries, his investigation and its findings converge with those of Davies in regard to the inapplicability of economically rational systems to ancient religious realities (theatrical—and hence Dionysiac—constructions in this case). In Wilson's own words, 'one must certainly not let the appeal of a seemingly economically rational system skew the evidence...deme pride and traditions demonstrably overrode the dictates of any such rationality'. To support his thesis, Wilson goes through the whole evidence on theatrical installations in the Attic demes, thus affording his readers a panoramic—and updated—view of theatrical life and Dionysiac cultic activities in ancient Attica.

From the organizational framework and the architectural installations underpinning ritual and poetic performances, we move next to analyses of surviving poetic texts, once performed in the beautiful localities of important sanctuaries and at the appointed time of sacred festivals.

Although the issue of its performance is rather perplexed, Pindar's *Paeon 6* seems to be one of the most appropriate texts for the study of such performative details. Agis Marinis undertakes this task and demonstrates that the performance context is inextricably connected with the Panhellenic religious discourse that seems to be carefully and gradually fashioned throughout the poem. By highlighting the Panhellenic dimension of this Pindaric hymn, Marinis makes an attempt to trace the way in which an expanded, 'Panhellenic', horizon is accommodated within Pindaric religious discourse. Such an investigation (which the author promises to develop further in the future) makes an important contribution to the discussion of the Panhellenic character of Greek religion and stands as a corrective to the impression of a strict dichotomy between polis religion and Panhellenic religion (the artificial nature

of which was readily acknowledged by Sourvinou-Inwood herself).<sup>22</sup>

An important consequence of Marinis' discussion is the illumination of the symbiotic relationship between poetry (and more particularly hymnal poetry) and religion. Literature proves to be part of the religious preoccupations and initiatives of the time. This is a line of thought that Sourvinou-Inwood promoted in various ways.<sup>23</sup> Most poignantly, in her *Tragedy and Athenian Religion* she insists that tragic poetry is part of the religious discourse of the polis which acknowledges the darkness and unknowability of the cosmos and the divine, setting it in dialogue with the polis' cults and rituals. Sourvinou-Inwood's stance invites further reflection on the subject of divine unknowability, an invitation to which Renaud Gagné responds in a perceptive and sensitive way. He builds upon the complexity that the rich tragic material seems to present concerning the failures of human knowledge. He further argues that the potential of this material relates to and resonates with other intangible theological ideas in ways that may surpass the level of the polis cultic structures reflected in the plays. As the author suggests, the exploration of these resonances can be fruitfully undertaken through the zooming and distancing devices deployed by Sourvinou-Inwood in her work on drama and ritual. The author's case study is Euripides' *Hippolytus*, a play with a significant role in *Tragedy and Athenian Religion* and in other works on tragedy. In the *Hippolytus*, issues of divine unknowability are enacted in multiform and creative ways that enhance an understanding of 'tragic religion' as an open ground of theological discourse, in which ideas and preoccupations of theological relevance (such as ancestral fault) can be accommodated even independently of any consideration of cult.

Poetry as a vantage point for discerning issues of religious significance is highlighted again in Petropoulos' essay, which makes use of poetic material as a testing ground for his investigation of 'sacred time'. In this case, however, the poetic text analysed is dated to the 3rd century and dramatizes a historical, cultic event in a highly creative and ingenious manner. More precisely, in Theocritus' *Idyll* 15 (the text under discussion) the reader is invited to form a picture of the ritual procedures through the words of a hymn (fully 'quoted' in the *Idyll*) that itself forms part of these procedures, and is indeed itself the ritual highlight of the

<sup>22</sup> Mainly in her 'polis-religion' essay (SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1990, 295ff.) mentioned above.

<sup>23</sup> E.g. Sourvinou-Inwood treated Pindar's Dithyramb for the Athenians (fr. 75 Snell) as well as *Paeon* 6 as testimonies for the reconstruction of the early history of the Dionysia in her *Tragedy and Athenian Religion* (2003, 96-98 and 145-156).

festival (the *Adonia* celebrated in Arsinoe's palace at Alexandria). As Petropoulos perceptively argues, the ingenious (and perhaps idealized) depiction and commemoration in the hymn of the concurrently enacted event allows a fusion of the 'now' of the performance with the 'forever' of the mythico-ritual hymnal perspective. Through this fusion the temporal dimension changes, and singer and audience are transferred to 'sacred time'. What Petropoulos underlines is the instrumental role that the *pars epica* of the hymn plays in this transition, which ultimately affects the transformation of everyday temporality into 'sacred time'.

A dimension that is vividly articulated and highlighted in all three literary essays (discussed so far) is the significance of poetic theology in the context of Greek religious understanding. Its role has already been outlined by Sourvinou-Inwood herself, and all three authors are aware of her legacy, acknowledging the value of her methodological suggestions. Nonetheless, their studies constitute an advancement of her theses in the direction of clarifying further the way in which religious ideas and 'beliefs' (as well as experiences) could be shaped through the mediation of poetry independently from or in loose relation with ritual activity.

The reception of this poetic theology and its intriguingly innovative recreation on the modern musical stage are the issues discussed by Michael Anderson in his succinct but inspired discussion of Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex*. As the author remarks, many modern artists recognize the importance of the sacred dimension in Greek dramas and attempt to reimagine and rework the religious thoughts and emotions of the ancient plays in their modern revivals and adaptations. According to Anderson, an important example of such an artistic trend is Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex*, various features of which are suggestively analyzed in the essay. The author brings to the fore the composer's aspiration both to explore the role of the sacred in human experience and to recreate a spiritual ethos akin to that of Greek tragedy, employing a creative mimesis of the religious elements of the Sophoclean model.

According to the evidence adduced by Anderson, Stravinsky described musical composition as 'the subjugation of the Dionysian forces'.<sup>24</sup> Dionysus and his manifold strengths and identities occupy the centre of attention in our next essay by Anton Bierl. The idea of Dionysus' 'multiplicity of names' is to be found—once more—in poetic texts and more particularly in the lyric parts of Sophocles' *Antigone*, a play that Sourvinou-Inwood loved and studied. In the fifth stasimon of the play

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<sup>24</sup> ANDERSON, *infra* pp. 221ff.

the chorus addresses Dionysus as ‘god of many names’—πολυώνυμε. This intriguing epithet seems to have goaded Bierl into undertaking a large-scale investigation of Dionysiac epithets, the results of which are presented here *in extenso*. Bierl discusses a number of important poetic texts relating to Dionysus (such as Euripides’ *Bacchae* and Aristophanes’ *Frogs*) and makes a structural analysis of Dionysian epithets that reveals all the major aspects of the god. Of particular value (for methodological, pedagogical and other purposes) is the long list of epithets (with bibliographical quotations and comments in German and other languages) that is appended to his essay.

The final essay that studies ancient Greek material is the paper by Mika Kajava and Elina Salminen. In this case their scholarly attention turns from texts to artefacts, a change that is very fitting for a commemoration of Sourvinou-Inwood, since she was an expert in the analysis of material remains. The fact that some of the objects discussed here could have been offerings to the dead makes their examination even more appropriate, since it touches on one of Sourvinou-Inwood’s privileged areas, namely the field of funerary practices and representations. The objects that are here placed under scrutiny are inscribed round-shaped artefacts associated in one way or another with athletes. Since these objects belong to a larger category of ‘Greek inscribed discs’, the authors offer first an introduction to the general subject, accompanied by comments on a representative example of this category (a disc from Kyme), before launching into a detailed examination of a substantial list of athletic round-shaped objects from various locations of the Greek world. The photographic material that accompanies the discussion helps the reader follow the detailed argumentation.

The volume concludes with an excursus and an appendix. The excursus contains a short piece by Michael Inwood. As a true philosopher and heir to the Socratic legacy, Inwood discusses whether there is any point in religion or not (religion in general rather than ancient Greek religion in particular)—παίζων τε ἅμα καὶ σπουδάζων.

In the appendix the collection of Sourvinou’s youthful poems is published for the first time. Her poems attest to a remarkable gift for poetic writing and suggest deep familiarity with poetic trends of the day and the most distinguished of modern Greek poets (such as Cavafy and Seferis). Her ease in playing with styles and her capacity to transform personal experience into collective myth through the use of history point at

a potential that if further developed might have secured for Sourvinou herself a place in the Modern Greek poetic canon.

She chose differently—to the greater gain of scholarship.

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## Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood

### List of Published Works

(some of the titles below may have appeared under the names Sourvinou, Survinu, Sourvinou-Olivier, Σουρβίνου, Elfwood [pseudonym])

#### 1. Authored books

- *Theseus as Son and Stepson: A Tentative Illustration of Greek Mythological Mentality*. London 1979.
- *Studies in Girls' Transitions: Aspects of the Arkteia and Age Representation in Attic Iconography*. Athens 1988.
- *'Reading' Greek Culture: Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths*. Oxford 1991.
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- *Athenian Myths and Festivals: Aglauros, Erechtheus, Plynteria, Panathenaia, Dionysia*, edited by R. PARKER. Oxford 2011.

#### 2. Co-authored books

- OLIVIER, J.-P., GODART, L., SEYDEL, C., SOURVINO, C., *Index généraux du linéaire B (Incunabula graeca LII)*. Rome 1973.

#### 3. Articles and book chapters

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# 1

## DELPHI, PRIMEVAL PURIFICATION AND *THEŌRIA*: IN SEARCH OF A SCHEMA

Ian Rutherford

*THEŌROI* ('observers') were delegates sent by cities to sanctuaries and festivals to attend, view, and spectate (hence the word '*theōroi*'<sup>1</sup>), on behalf of the city. The practice is well attested in Classical and Hellenistic periods, less so in the Roman Empire, although it must still have continued. Having the capacity to send its own delegation to one of the national festivals is a primary sign that a community is autonomous, just as being able to attract delegates from elsewhere—as imperial Athens did in the fifth century—shows that it is important. *Theōria* thus played a key role in '*polis* religion', and in fact it was the main religious mechanism through which the polis connected with the rest of the world. My friend Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood discussed its operation, albeit briefly, in her seminal articles on that subject,<sup>2</sup> and I was also immensely privileged to have had the opportunity to discuss the subject with her a number of times. Hence I regard it as appropriate to offer here in a volume dedicated to her memory a brief discussion of an aspect of the subject that I believe would have interested her.

1. I begin with one of the few pieces of evidence that attest rituals relating to the departure of *theōroi*.<sup>3</sup> According to Varro (cited by Probus in his preface to Virgil's *Eclogues*),<sup>4</sup> people in Rhegium setting off for Delphi

<sup>1</sup> Associated perhaps with θέα (spectacle) or even θεός (god), i.e. 'sight-watcher' or 'god-watcher' respectively; see RUTHERFORD 2013, 5.

<sup>2</sup> See SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1990, 297-298.

<sup>3</sup> See RUTHERFORD 2013, 174-178.

<sup>4</sup> Varro, *ARH* Book 10, fr.XI Mirsch (1882), 110 = Probus, ad Verg. *Buc.* VI, 31, p. 325 Hagen.

took laurel from the grove of the temple built long before by Orestes after he was purified for the murder of his mother, having presumably been sent there by Apollo from Delphi:

Varro mentions this river, in which Orestes was purified, in the tenth book of the *Humanities* (*Human Antiquities*) with these words: near Rhegium there are seven rivers connected together: the Latapadon, Micotes, Eugiton, Stracteos, Polie, Molee, and the Argeades. It is said that in these Orestes was purified from the mother's murder, and that his bronze sword has been there for a long time, and that he built a temple dedicated to Apollo, and that the inhabitants of Rhegium, when they are about to set off for Delphi, after having performed the sacred rite (*res divina*), used to tear some laurel from the temple's sacred grove, and bring it with them.

Immediately after this Probus cites a corroborating evidence from the *Origines* of M. Porcius Cato, who refers to a group called the Tauriani and the town Taurinum in this region, and specifies that Orestes, when he arrived there, was accompanied by Iphigeneia and Pylades;<sup>5</sup> the location is probably the River Petrace close to the city of Matauros, about 50 km north of Rhegium.<sup>6</sup>

This was not the usual site for Orestes' purification. He was more often said to have been purified in the Peloponnese, most frequently in Arcadia; and the story that achieved canonical status was Aeschylus' version in his *Oresteia* that he was absolved of guilt in Athens, but via judicial procedure rather than by ritual.<sup>7</sup> When and how Orestes came to be associated with South Italy is impossible to say. The poet Stesichorus is said to have been from Matauros, and in view of the associations of this region with Orestes, the possibility arises that Stesichorus' *Oresteia* was originally performed at this site (as Willy Cingano suggested).<sup>8</sup> On

<sup>5</sup> Cf. M. Porcius Cato, *Origines* F45 (= CORNELL *et al.* (eds) 2013.2, 182-183; 2013.3, 89-93). For other sources, see COSTABILE 1979, 528-529. For parallels for the deposited sword, see MELE 2011, 362.

<sup>6</sup> See COSTABILE 1979, 529 (with map on p.553), who identifies the river with the ancient Metauros, modern River Petrace.

<sup>7</sup> Arcadia: Pherecydes fr.135 and Eur. *Orestes* 1643-47; *Electra* 1273-74. See FOWLER 2013, 439-441. Other places in the Peloponnese are: Gythion: Paus. 3.22.1 with LESKY 1939, 989-990; and Ceryneia: Paus. 7.25.7. At Athens the practice of solo-drinking on the second day of the Anthesteria festival was supposed to go back to the episode in myth-history when the polluted Orestes was accepted into the community, though kept at arm's length (see below pp. 27-28).

<sup>8</sup> See Stephanos of Byzantium s. Μάταυρος (= T9 in CAMPBELL 1991, 35); Suda s. Στησίχορος

the other hand, it might be better to think of a later date if Orestes came to be linked with South Italy because the toponym/ethnonym Taurinum/Tauriani suggested to someone the story of the flight of Iphigeneia and Orestes from Tauris, which is not attested before Euripides.

The most reasonable explanation for the use of laurel by people travelling from Rhegium, described by Varro, is that they obtained it having made the journey north, perhaps on the occasion of a festival, where they performed the sacred rite (*res divina*). Carrying laurel seems highly appropriate to the Apolline context: ‘Laurel carrier’ (*Daphnephoros*) was a common epithet of Apollo, most famously at Eretria, and at Thebes it lent its name to the Daphnephoria-festival.<sup>9</sup>

The degree of ritualization strongly suggests that the participants were official *theōroi*, travelling to Delphi on civic business, either to consult the oracle or to attend the festival. They may have carried laurel for the same reason that other *theōroi* are known to have worn crowns —as a symbol of their sacralised status to protect them from attack.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the *res divina* performed at the start may well have been a purification ritual<sup>11</sup> somehow recalling the purification of Orestes and intended as a rite of passage marking the beginning of the *hieromenia* which lasted during their *theōria*-mission.<sup>12</sup>

2. Carrying laurel is not uncommon in Greek ritual,<sup>13</sup> but the idea of carrying laurel to Delphi after a purification seems to echo the Delphic festival known as the Septerion (or Stepterion).<sup>14</sup> In Plutarch’s version of this a boy or young man flees Delphi after setting fire to a hut, which was in Plutarch’s day taken to symbolise the lair of the Delphic dragon (making the young man the ritual *avatar* of Apollo). He wanders as a

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(T1 in CAMPBELL 1991, 28) says he was from Ματαυρία. For the performance see CINGANO 1993. If the *Oresteia* was performed on an occasion when the *theōroi* were setting off for Delphi, this would be an example of theoric poetry of the sort I discussed in RUTHERFORD 2004a; and now RUTHERFORD 2014.

<sup>9</sup> CALAME 1977.1, 117-119; SCHACHTER 1981-94.1, 84. For laurel, see also SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1979, 233.

<sup>10</sup> See RUTHERFORD 2013, 213-215 and 217-222; BLECH 1982, 366.

<sup>11</sup> See, however, CORNELL *et al.* (eds) 2013.2, 183 who translate ‘after carrying out a sacrifice’.

<sup>12</sup> MELE 2011, 356-357 connects it with the foundation story of Rhegium (Strabo 6.1.6, 426), according to which the founders were Chalcidians who had been sent to Delphi as a tithe during a famine; the *theoria* thus replicates the foundation story, and the purification ritual resolves the impure status of the colonists, exiled like *pharmakoi*.

<sup>13</sup> See BLECH 1982, 218.

<sup>14</sup> On the Septerion see RUTHERFORD 2004b. On the paean reference (Pindar’s *Paeon X(a)*) which seems to be our earliest source for the Delphic Septerion, see RUTHERFORD 2001, 200-205.

fugitive through North Greece, eventually reaching Thessaly, where purifications take place, which were intended to reenact the primeval purification of Apollo after he killed the dragon. The location may have been the adjacent River Peneios, which, in a tradition probably at least as old as Pindar, is linked to the Underworld.<sup>15</sup>

According to Aelian, who may well be drawing on Theopompus for this,<sup>16</sup> the Delphians sent noble children to Thessaly, accompanied by an *arkhitheoros*, who made a sacrifice there and then returned, bringing laurel from the very tree where Apollo purified himself:<sup>17</sup>

Here, as the people of Thessaly report, Pythian Apollo purified himself on the orders of Zeus, when he had slaughtered the snake that still guarded Delphi, the oracle still being in control of Earth.<sup>18</sup> He made himself a crown from the laurel of Tempe, and carrying a branch [from the same laurel] he went to Delphi to take over the oracle as the son of Zeus and Leto. There is an altar at the very spot where he put on the crown and removed the branch. Even now every eight years the Delphians send here the children of noble families accompanied by someone to lead the delegation (*arkhitheōros*). They arrive, make a lavish sacrifice in Tempe, and return with crowns woven from the same laurel from which the god took branches for his crown on the earlier occasion. They take the route known as the Pythian which carried them through Thessaly, Pelasgia, Oeta, and the territory of the Aenianes, Malis, the Dorians and Western Lokris. The latter escort them with respect and honour equal to that accorded to the delegation bringing sacred offerings to the same god from the Hyperboreans. In addition, the crowns given to victors at the Pythian Games are from this laurel.

<sup>15</sup> *De def. or.* 15, 417e-418d; for the Peneios and its linking with the myth of the Seperion (in the context of Pindar's *Paean X(a)*), see RUTHERFORD 2001, 201-202, drawing on SIMON 1953, 33ff.

<sup>16</sup> Aelian, *VH* 3.1 = Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 80.

<sup>17</sup> Aelian, *VH* 3.1: ἐνταυθά τοί φασι παῖδες Θετταλῶν καὶ τὸν Απόλλωνα τὸν Πύθιον καθήρασθαι κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ Διός, ὅτε τὸν Πύθωνα τὸν δράκοντα κατετόξευσεν φυλάττοντα τοὺς Δελφοὺς, τῆς Γῆς ἔτι ἐχούσης τὸ μαντεῖον. στεφανωσάμενον οὖν ἐκ [ταύτης] τῆς δάφνης τῆς Τεμπικῆς καὶ λαβόντα κλάδον εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα [ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς δάφνης] ἔλθειν εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ παραλαβεῖν τὸ μαντεῖον τὸν Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς παῖδα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ βωμὸς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐστεφανώσατο καὶ τὸν κλάδον ἀφείλε. καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν δι' ἔτους ἐνάτου οἱ Δελφοὶ παῖδας εὐγενεῖς πέμποσι καὶ ἀρχιθέωρον ἕνα σφῶν αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς θύσαντες ἐν τοῖς Τέμπεισιν ἀπίαισι πάλιν στεφάνους ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δάφνης διαπλέξαντες, ἀφ' ἧσπερ ἔλων καὶ τότε ὁ θεὸς ἐστεφανώσατο. ... καὶ μὴν καὶ Πυθίοις ἐκ ταύτης τῆς δάφνης τοὺς στεφάνους τοῖς νικῶσι δίδοσιν. ...

<sup>18</sup> The best account of the oracle of Earth at Delphi and its take over by Apollo remains SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1991 (= 1979; 1987).

This text represents the Septerion as a civic ritual performed in the open, a linear celebration of North Greek identity. On the face of it, this seems quite different from the wanderings of Plutarch's isolated fugitive. It is not clear how to reconcile the two accounts; did the ritual change over time, with Plutarch perhaps harking back to an earlier, tribal phase and Theopompus representing a later phase when the ritual had been reshaped to serve a political purpose? or are we dealing with two parts or aspects of the same thing, Plutarch focusing on the dramatic ritual at Delphi, and Theopompus the civic frame that surrounds the journey?

However we explain it, the Septerion seems to provide another example of the association between purification, laurel and pilgrimage to Delphi that we found in the ritual from Rhegium. There are three differences: first, the purification is of Apollo rather than of Orestes; secondly, the people making the journey are Delphians rather than locals, who journey to Thessaly and then return, while the people of Rhegium travel to Delphi and back; and thirdly, the laurel carried in the Septerion procession has a double function, both marking out the status of the participants (in this case described as imitating Apollo who himself wore laurel) and destined to be used for the prizes in the Pythian festival.<sup>19</sup>

In this paper I shall suggest that this can be seen as case of a general myth-ritual pattern or 'schema', to borrow a favourite theoretical term of Christiane's.<sup>20</sup> For want of a better term, we can call it the 'schema of purification, laurel and pilgrimage to Delphi'. In what follows I shall suggest that at least two other examples of it can be identified.

**3.** The first example relates to Orestes. Apart from South Italy or Athens (mentioned above) another place that claimed to be the site of the purification of the matricide Orestes is Troezen. Our sole source is Pausanias,<sup>21</sup> who tells us that the purificatory rites were carried out in two locations: first, by nine men on a 'sacred stone' in front of the temple

<sup>19</sup> The parallel between the ritual at Matauros and the Septerion is developed also by INTRIERI 2008, 379-381, who suggests that the geographical position of Matauros north of Rhegium is analogous to that of Tempe in relation to Delphi.

<sup>20</sup> To give some examples: schemata and myth in SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1991, 247 (... 'if it is correct that myths are structured by schemata and "messages" reflecting important facets of the society's beliefs, realities and representations'); schema and ritual in SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1991, 285-286 (the ritual schema of dining on leaves at the sanctuary). Christiane apparently took this term from PIAGET 1973.

<sup>21</sup> Paus. 2.31.4-9. See CALAME 2009, 245-246; PUCCI 2016.

of Artemis Lykeia, which Orestes founded; and secondly in a ‘booth (*skene*) of Orestes’ situated in front of the sanctuary of Apollo Thear-ios,<sup>22</sup> where he stayed because no citizens would receive him into their home (a striking parallel to the aetiology for solo drinking on the second day (the ‘Choes’) of the Anthesteria festival at Athens.<sup>23</sup>

Down to the present day, the descendants of those who cleansed Orestes dine here on appointed days. A little way from the booth were buried, they say, the means of cleansing, and from there grew up a laurel-tree, which indeed still remains, being the one before the booth.<sup>24</sup>

So here we have purification and the laurel; the only element missing is the departure of *theōroi* for Delphi. Like all other Greek cities, Troezen must have sent *theōroi* to Delphi and likely enough their departure was somehow connected to the local cult of Apollo Thear-ios. In fact Apollo’s epithet might mean ‘relating to *theōroi*’ (*thearos* is the standard Doric form of *theōros*). Similar semantic issues arise with the building called the Thearion on the nearby island of Aegina mentioned by Pindar, which must have been an institution for local *theōroi* of some sort.<sup>25</sup> At Troezen it would not be surprising if ‘the descendants of those who cleansed Orestes’ were members of a traditional sacred *genos*, one of whose duties was participating in *theōriai* to Delphi, and if they travelled to Delphi carrying laurel from their local laurel tree like the pilgrims from Rhegium.<sup>26</sup>

It is impossible to say how old this tradition was. The parallel with the Athenian ritual has been thought to imply dependence on that, though in fact the relationship could be the other way round.<sup>27</sup>

4. My last example comes from Crete, whose links with Delphi go back at least as early as the Cretan priests of the *Homeric Hymn* to Apol-

<sup>22</sup> Paus. 2.31.8. The epithet Thear-ios is also found in Troezen’s colony Theangela in Caria: see RUTHERFORD 2013, 136.

<sup>23</sup> Orestes’ drinking alone is first referred to in Eur. *Iphigenia in Tauris* 957-960.

<sup>24</sup> Paus. 2.31.8: καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ ἀπόγονοι τῶν καθηράντων ἐνταῦθα δειπνοῦσιν ἐν ἡμέραις ῥηταῖς. κατορυχθέντων δὲ ὀλίγον ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τῶν καθαροῦν φασὶν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἀναφῆναι δάφνην, ἣ δὴ καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔστιν, ἣ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ταύτης.

<sup>25</sup> See RUTHERFORD 2010 and 2013, 131-135.

<sup>26</sup> For the role of sacred *gene* in *theōriai*, see RUTHERFORD 2013, 136. That the *theōroi* carried laurel from the tree was suggested also by MELE 2011, 361; criticized by PUCCI 2016, 79 n.23.

<sup>27</sup> For references see PUCCI 2016, 76 and 88-92.

lo,<sup>28</sup> and where many skilled purifiers are supposed to have lived, such as Thaletas and Epimenides. Another famous purification, this time of Apollo again, is supposed to have been made by Carmanor at Tarrha, on the south coast of Western Crete, where Apollo was later worshiped under the epithet Tarrhaios.<sup>29</sup> In the story Apollo along with Artemis had sought purification first in Sicyon, but had mysteriously departed, and their abortive visit was still commemorated by a ritual in Pausanias' day.<sup>30</sup> Carmanor had good Delphic connections, since his son Chrysothemis is supposed to have won the first musical contest there.<sup>31</sup> Tarrha is not known to have sent any *theōroi* to Delphi, although (like most other cities) it had a *thearodokos* to receive the Delphic festival announcers.<sup>32</sup> Tarrha was a member of the league of the Oreioi, comprising several other cities in the region.<sup>33</sup> One of these cities, namely Elyros, a few kilometers West, also had a Delphic *thearodokos*, but uniquely, Elyros had a *thearodokos* at Delphi as well to receive *theōroi* going from Tarrha, as we see from a decree from the 2nd century BC.<sup>34</sup> A religious link between Elyros and Delphi is indicated by Pausanias' testimony that Elyros dedicated a bronze goat there represented as suckling the Phylakides and Philander, the sons of Apollo and the local nymph Akakallis. Significantly, this myth of Elyros also involved Tarrha, because, according to Pausanias' Elyrian informants, the location of Apollo and Akakallis' primeval lovemaking was the house of Carmanor in Tarrha.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *H. Hom. Ap.* 390-544.

<sup>29</sup> Paus. 2.7.8; 2.30.3; 10.6.6. Tarrhaios, possibly a son of Apollo, was also the name of the father of the founder of the Cretan city Lappa (Stephanos of Byzantium *s.v.*) close to the NW coast; Lappa had strong links to Apollo's cult of Clarus in the Roman period (RUTHERFORD 2013, 439-440).

<sup>30</sup> Paus. 2.7: [7] Ἀπόλλων καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἀποκτείναντες Πύθωνα παρεγένοντο ἐς τὴν Αἰγιάλειαν καθαρῶν ἕνεκα. γενομένου δὲ σφισι δείματος, ἔνθα καὶ νῦν Φόβον ὀνομάζουσι τὸ χωρίον, οἱ μὲν ἐς Κρήτην παρὰ Καρμάνορα ἀπετράποντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ Αἰγιάλειᾳ νόσος ἐπέλαβε· καὶ σφᾶς ἐκέλευον οἱ μάντιες Ἀπόλλωνα ἰλάσασθαι καὶ Ἄρτεμιν, [8] οἱ δὲ παῖδας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἴσας παρθένους ἐπὶ τὸν Σῦθαν ποταμὸν ἀποστέλλουσι ἰκετεύοντας· ὑπὸ τούτων δὲ πεισθέντας τοὺς θεοὺς φασιν ἐς τὴν τότε ἀκρόπολιν ἔλθειν, καὶ ὁ τόπος ἔνθα πρῶτον ἀφίκοντο Πειθοῦς ἐστὶν ἱερόν. τούτοις δὲ εἰκότα καὶ νῦν ἔτι ποιεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Σῦθαν ἴσασιν οἱ παῖδες τῆ ἑορτῆ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ ἀγαγόντες δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐς τὸ τῆς Πειθοῦς ἱερόν αὐθις ἀπάγειν ἐς τὸν ναόν φασι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ὁ δὲ ναὸς ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ νῦν ἀγορᾷ...; the Sicyon episode is interpreted by MELE 2011, 359.

<sup>31</sup> See Paus. 10.7.2. For Apollo Tarrhaios, see ALY 1908, 43-44; Stephanos of Byzantium *s.v.*

<sup>32</sup> The evidence is the Delphic *thearodokoi* list of about 220-210 BC, col.3.111; for the text see PLAS-SART 1921; RUTHERFORD 2013, 423, text D16.

<sup>33</sup> See SEKUNDA 2000; TRAEGER 2007.

<sup>34</sup> Delphic *thearodokoi* list col.3.110; see previous note. Decree of Elyros: *I.Cret* 2.13.1A (= RUTHERFORD 2013, 424, text E1).

<sup>35</sup> Paus. 10.16.5.

Thus, if we take Elyros and Tarrha together, we find two of the components of the schema I identified earlier: primeval purification (at Tarrha) and a close link to Delphi (at Elyros); only the laurel is lacking.

5. To conclude, I have sought to identify a ritual schema in which the movement of sacred delegates between a Greek city and Delphi is coordinated with a myth about a primeval purification of Apollo or Orestes which is supposed to have happened in the city, and in which the setting off of the delegates from the city takes place in the context of a ritual or myth commemorating the purification. A special symbol of the primeval purification is the wearing of laurel taken from a significant tree.

Part of the significance of instances of this ritual schema is aetiological: the journey of the delegates to Delphi in present time reciprocates the journey of Orestes or Apollo in the opposite direction in the past; and the successful purification of Orestes and Apollo in the distant past may have been thought to provide a precedent for the ritual purification that many people, travelling to Delphi to consult the oracle, may have hoped Apollo would provide.<sup>36</sup> In addition, rituals of this sort may have served to guarantee the sacralised status of those setting off for Delphi, providing a sort of 'rite of passage', which marked the transition between normal life and period of the sacred journey; in some cases this was a 'sacred period' or *hieromenia* coinciding with the absence of the delegates *en mission*.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> The general view has been that Delphic purification was more a matter of myth than reality (see DYER 1969; PARKER 1983, 139), but purificatory sacrifices seem to be mentioned in the convention between Andros and Delphi, *CID* 1.7, A13, 31-32, with RUTHERFORD 2013, 372. Compare also Aristoxenus' (fr.117W) account of the mysterious illness afflicting the women of South Italy, for which the Delphic oracle recommended singing spring paeans (a form of purification?). Many of the surviving oracles of Apollo from Roman Clarus also prescribe purification: see MERKELBACH and STAUBER 1996; RUTHERFORD 2013, 97.

<sup>37</sup> Recent work on Cyrene has in fact uncovered evidence for an offering called '*Prothearia*' ('before the *theōria*'), apparently regarded as one of the 'Days of the Akamantia', which seems to be associated with purification. See RUTHERFORD 2013, 187-188 and 403 (text D5); DOBIAS-LALOU 2007, 147-148; 2003, 18; *SEG* 57.2010. The mysterious term 'Akamantia' also occurs in the Cyrenaean Cathartic Law (*SEG* 9.72, *LSS* 115, A21-25; cf. PARKER 1983, 338-339); hence 'the Days of the Akamantia' would be days on which purification took place and the point of the associated *Prothearia*-offering could well have been to purify those going on the *theōria*. Notice also that according to the *Lex Sacra* from Selinous one of the contexts for the performance of the rite for the Chthonic Gods mentioned on side A of the text (ll.7-8) is 'before the truce, in the fifth year, in which the Olympiad also occurs': JAMESON, JORDAN and KOTANSKY 1993, 15; RUTHERFORD 2013, 90.

Quite possibly the total number of instances of this schema was greater than four. Purification sites of Apollo are rare;<sup>38</sup> but Orestes was said to have been purified in many places;<sup>39</sup> his purification in W. Arcadia, which seems to be particularly old, could well have been the site of another instance of this schema.

Can we say anything about the relationship between the four extant instances? It seems likely that the Septerion was first; other instances may either have been introduced by local authorities who had observed Delphic rituals and decided to replicate them, or alternatively the push may have come from the Delphic authorities, possibly working through the mechanism of oracles. It may be noted that from the point of view of Delphi the locations of Matauros and Tarrha are situated towards the extremes of the catchment area of the sanctuary in the West and the South, just as the River Peneios represents a Northern limit (a site in the East is lacking; should we think of Athens? or even of Tauris?). A problem with the hypothesis of central management might seem to be that the Delphic authorities would have been unlikely to commit themselves to the idea that each of Apollo and Orestes was purified at more than one place. But myth-ritual does not necessarily work by such strict logic; multiple locations for such purifications could have been tolerated, especially since any one act of purification would not necessarily have been considered final.



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<sup>38</sup> In Argos by the local king Crotopus according to Statius, *Theb.* 1.570, but it is not clear how old the tradition was; cf. also the abortive purification at Sicyon (mentioned above): Paus. 2.7.7-8.

<sup>39</sup> See above.

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# 2

## CARIA AND POLIS RELIGION\*

Robert C. T. Parker

### *Introduction – religious-political organisations in Caria*

IF ONE WISHED to find a place for Caria within a comparative typology of forms of religious organization, it would probably be because the region provides useful examples of organizing bodies other than the polis. A classic text here is Strabo's description of the Chrysaoric league:

ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Στρατονικέων δύο ἱερά, ἐν μὲν Λαγίνοις τὸ τῆς Ἑκάτης ἐπιφανέστατον πανηγύρεις μεγάλας συνάγον κατ' ἐνιαυτόν, ἐγγύς δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Χρυσασορέως Διὸς κοινὸν ἀπάντων Καρῶν, εἰς ὃ συνίασι θύσοντές τε καὶ βουλευσόμενοι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν· καλεῖται δὲ τὸ σύστημα αὐτῶν Χρυσασορέων, συνεστηκὸς ἐκ κωμῶν· οἱ δὲ πλείστας παρεχόμενοι κώμας προέχουσι τῇ ψήφῳ καθάπερ Κεραμιῆται· καὶ Στρατονικεῖς δὲ τοῦ συστήματος μετέχουσιν οὐκ ὄντες τοῦ Καρικοῦ γένους, ἀλλ' ὅτι κώμας ἔχουσι τοῦ Χρυσασορικοῦ συστήματος (Strabo 14.2.25, C 660).<sup>1</sup>

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\* I have benefited from exceptionally acute and detailed comments on a draft by RIET VAN BREMEN; some are cited in the notes with her name and no further reference, but many further suggestions have been acted on silently (but gratefully).

<sup>1</sup> 'In the territory of the Stratoniceans there are two sanctuaries, at Lagina the famous one of Hecate which holds great festivals annually, and near the city that of Chrysaorean Zeus shared by all the Carians, where they assemble to sacrifice and debate matters of common concern. The organisation is called "of the Chrysaoreans", and is made up of villages. Those with the most villages prevail in the vote, as is the case of the Keramietai. The Stratoniceans belong to the organisation though not of the Carian race [Strabo has earlier spoken of Stratonicea as "a settlement of Macedonians"] because they include villages of the Chrysaorean organisation.'

Strabo's account of the Chrysaoric league has sometimes been taken as a model for trying to imagine a pre-polis form of religious and political organization. Though his Chrysaoric league is based near a polis, it is not of it: it can seem to bypass the polis both above and below; above, because it is 'shared by all the Carians'; below, because it is 'made up of villages'. Delegates come together from all Caria in Strabo's phrase 'to sacrifice and discuss matters of common concern'. So the religious and political structures are simply the same; an inscription in fact speaks of a delegate sent to a Chrysaoric meeting as both *ekklesiastes* and *theoros*, a man sent to participate in a political assembly and *theoros* to a religious rite (*I.Mylasa* 101.15: 2nd c. BCE?). Another shadowy but possibly important supra-polis body which may have preceded the Chrysaoric league is the Carian league.<sup>2</sup> At the sub-polis or at all events non-polis level, bodies known as *koina*, associations, have a conspicuous role in religious life in Caria. When a polis enters the picture it does so in the role of adversary of yet another non-polis organisation: the *syngeneia* of Korris and his son Hekatomnos fights doggedly in the third century BCE against the polis of Mylasa to retain control of the great sanctuary at Labraunda.<sup>3</sup>

The jostling and interaction of many different bodies and structures is indeed what makes the study of Carian religion interesting. But recent work and recent discoveries have brought important modifications, and one cannot now accept Strabo's text as a window into a pre-polis world. There is no trace of the Chrysaoreans before a decree of 267 in which they praise a Ptolemaic official (*I.Labraunda* 43); the argument from silence is not decisive, but it has been suggested that they were created during the period of Ptolemaic control of the region, for administrative convenience:<sup>4</sup> the nesiotic league, certainly a creation of the third cen-

<sup>2</sup> HORNBLOWER 1982, 60-62.

<sup>3</sup> See below.

<sup>4</sup> DEBORD 2003, 137 (as a predecessor he postulates, pp. 126-131, a league of Zeus Idrieus, a god known from *I.Iasos* 52.8). HORNBLOWER (1982, 63) had thought tentatively of a Hecatomnid creation. The renaming of Alabanda as 'Antioch of the Chrysaoreans' shows the Seleucid attitude to the league to have been positive. The presence of attested members of the Chrysaoric league—Keramos, Alabanda, and, as elements within Stratonicea, Koranza, Hierakome—in the 'Sekkōy lists' (n. 13 below) suggests that the Chrysaoric league did not exist at the date of the Sekkōy lists if these reflect an organised league, since there can scarcely have been two simultaneously. But VAN BREMEN reasonably questions the administrative convenience argument, asking 'what would one imagine the administrative convenience to have been? for purposes of taxation? army recruitment? but would those really have gone through such a body?' For an attempt to find evidence of the cult at the start of the 3rd c. see ŞAHİN 2010, 4-6. GABRIELSEN (2011) treats the league as a typical Hellenistic federal state with nothing distinctively Carian about it; but this

ture, shows how the Ptolemies preferred dealing with entities above the level of the city. It would then have been fostered for similar reasons by the Seleucids. On two points Strabo is misleading, or at all events has in the past misled. Though he speaks of the league as an institution uniting ‘all the Carians,’ only a limited number of Carian communities are attested as belonging to it, and a text which speaks of ‘the Chrysaoreans and the other Carians’ establishes formally that the two groups are not co-extensive.<sup>5</sup> Inscriptions also show, which is crucial for our purposes, that when Strabo presents the league as ‘made up of villages’ he should not be taking as denying all relevance to larger bodies: several inscriptions speak of representatives coming to the league not from villages but from cities, and we find expressions such as ‘a Chrysaorean from Mylasa.’<sup>6</sup> The only sub-polis units attested as belonging to the league are not villages but two of that elusive Carian entity the *syngeneia*.<sup>7</sup> We cannot therefore view the league as an entity that bypassed the cities altogether; Strabo’s phrase ‘those with the most villages prevail in the vote, as is the case of the Keramietai’ (i.e. the polis of Keramos) suggests rather that each city had a quantity of votes based on the number of villages (or *syngeneiai*?) associated with it. The league is not an alternative to the polis but a further level, an extra tier.

Outside Strabo’s text, villages in fact play almost no organisational role in religious life in Caria, at least under that name; the dedications by and for κῶμαι and κωμηῆται that are so frequent in most of the rest

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overlays the power of its institutions (see HAMON 2012) and underplays its religious role: cf. J. and L. ROBERT (1983) on the sense of religious obligation, and religious sanctions against default, attested by their inscription no. 28, which treats contributions to the league, and above on the term *theoros*.

<sup>5</sup> *I.Labraunda* 5.15-16. For attested members see GABRIELSEN 2011, 341. Whether ‘Carians’ in that phrase is meant ethnically or geographically is not clear.

<sup>6</sup> *I.Mylasa* 101.15; *I.Labraunda* 43.2-3, *I.Amyzon* 16.3: cf. GABRIELSEN 2011, 335-336.

<sup>7</sup> The inscription from Karakollar (*BCH* 10 [1886]: 308-309, no. 4 – McCABE 1991, Alabanda, nos. 14-17) contains honorary decrees of two *syngeneiai* (the name of one survives: [Π]ιτυνέων? ἢ συγγένεια) for an individual’s service εἰς τε τὴν σ|υγγένειαν καὶ πάντας [Χ]ρυσσαορεῖς; also of the demos of Stratonicea and another demos for the same individual’s services to themselves (not the Chrysaoreans). A theoretical possibility exists that these are independent *syngeneiai* (like those of Pelekos and Korris discussed later); if as is more probable (so BRESSON and DEBORD 1985, 209-210) they are sub-divisions of a polis (probably from the findspot Alabanda), they will presumably have formed part of a larger delegation from the polis (Alabanda was certainly a member of the league) rather than acting as completely independent agents. Two further *syngeneiai* from the Alabanda region appear in the decree *BCH* 10 (1886): 311-314, no. 4 (*sic*: in fact 5) lines 22-31, as re-read in *BCH* 32 (1908): 203-204 (McCABE 1991, Alabanda, no. 94); again their nature is unclear.

of Asia Minor are noticeably absent.<sup>8</sup> *Koina* by contrast are numerous,<sup>9</sup> but again do not give us the village as the base unit of Carian religious life. They come in many shapes and sizes; they are in fact so diverse that to speak of them as a characteristic feature of Carian religious life is misleading if the concept of *koinon* is taken to pick out a distinctive form or structure which that life assumed. The only permissible generalisations are, positively, that in Caria *koina* are, almost without exception, permanent communities, not as in some parts of the Greek world clubs, and, negatively, that they are not poleis (though the line is blurred when a *koinon* speaks of its *politai*).<sup>10</sup> Most are on a larger scale than villages: several are sub-divided into tribes, several have once been poleis; others are even more extensive. In the region of Caria that fell under Rhodian control several communities that in the 4th c. called themselves poleis re-emerged later as *koina*; attested *koina* cluster in the Rhodian-dominated east of Caria. The Rhodians, it is argued, disfavoured polis life in their subject territory, deliberately demoting poleis to *koina* to discourage independence; the process is clearly seen in the case of Hyllarima, a polis in the fourth century, a *koinon* in the second.<sup>11</sup> Such *koina* are products of politics and history, not survivals from a Carian past before the polis.

The most dramatic evidence for the role of poleis in Caria as early as the fourth century comes from two inscriptions, first published in 1990, dated to the satrapy of Mausolus; though found at Sekköy they are probably ‘pierres errantes’ from Mylasa.<sup>12</sup> The first lists the representatives who came ‘from the cities’ to witness a land purchase by Zeus Osogollis and Mylasa from the Kindyans; the second, found at the same site, is clearly of the same character; together they name some twenty identifiable communities (the names of others are lost). An institutional structure must underly this bureaucratic procedure, and the hitherto elusive Carian *koinon* has been proposed as a candidate.<sup>13</sup> But from evidence

<sup>8</sup> *I.Kaunos* 33 is a rare example of honours accorded for service to a κώμη (which has its own named festival, the Katasporia); it comes from Caria’s extreme eastern edge.

<sup>9</sup> See DEBORD 2003.

<sup>10</sup> Communities: DEBORD (2003, 161) cites the one exception (a *koinon* of *eranistai* in Hyllarima). Not poleis: DEBORD 2003, 172. *Politai* of a *koinon*: *I.Mylasa* 866.

<sup>11</sup> See VAN BREMEN 2004b, 370-371, 385, 397; 2009, 113; WIEMER 2010, 425-427 (with the evidence on various demoted poleis, including Hyllarima).

<sup>12</sup> Best now read as DEBORD and VARINLIOĞLU (eds) 2001, nos. 90 and 91. Pierres errantes: as BLÜMEL (1990) originally suggested and VAN BREMEN (2013) argues.

<sup>13</sup> So DEBORD (2003, 119-125), who offers a map of the *koinon*’s constituents on this basis, p. 123 (similarly REGER 2010, 48). We should not assume that the cities listed, and the transactions

outside these texts it is not certain that a Carian *koinon* (first securely attested in the second c. BCE, with religious functions)<sup>14</sup> existed at all at this date; instances of cooperation between ‘the Carians’ in the Archaic and Classical periods (Hdt. 5. 118-121; *I.Mylasa* 1. 5) may well have been *ad hoc*. One might think rather of administrative arrangements within the satrapy of the Hecatomnids, who for fiscal and other purposes would have found poleis more convenient to deal with than smaller units, and promoted them accordingly.<sup>15</sup> On either view, a ‘peer polity network’ of poleis emerges as the basic political structure of the region by the fourth century. The Copenhagen *Inventory* of poleis now in fact registers for Caria no fewer than 71.<sup>16</sup> What realities underlay the title ‘polis’ in a given case is an open question, but the general application of the term is itself an important datum, and there was some generalization of procedure: each ‘city’ sent a comparable delegation.

### *The polis of Mylasa: case study*

I turn now to a particular city, Mylasa; the abundance of documentation that it provides from (above all) the first half of the second century makes Mylasa the necessary choice; of other Carian candidates, Hylarima is rich in gods but not in organisational details;<sup>17</sup> the religious life of Stratonicea becomes vivid (a few documents from Panamara aside)<sup>18</sup> only in the Imperial period. I begin with a thumbnail historical sketch before proceeding to a more synthetic account.<sup>19</sup> Mylasa is already mentioned by Herodotus (1. 171) as seat of a Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεοῦς· τούτοισι μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ ἐόντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσί ἐγένοντο, τούτοισι δὲ οὐ μέτα.<sup>20</sup>

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involved, in the two Sekköy documents were necessarily the same. DEBORD notes that the fragmentary *I.Mylasa* 4 and 8 and *I.Labraunda* 67 now can be identified as comparable documents.

<sup>14</sup> *I.Mylasa* 828.12, ‘priest and king of the *koinon* of the Carians’: *I.Mylasa* 828.12; though see HORNBLOWER 1982, 60-62 for a tentative association of the fragmentary *I.Mylasa* 10 ...]Καρῶν βασιλ[ε.../ .....]ξατράπης Σ. . . with the *koinon*, which would thus go back to the fourth century.

<sup>15</sup> So VAN BREMEN; the places mentioned in the two Sekköy inscriptions all fall within the area of the Hecatomnid satrapy.

<sup>16</sup> P. FLENSTED-JENSEN, in HANSEN and NIELSEN (eds) 2004, 1110-1137.

<sup>17</sup> DEBORD 2009, 257-260.

<sup>18</sup> On which see VAN BREMEN 2003, 2004a, and 2010.

<sup>19</sup> See especially REGER 2010, and for archaeology of the region WILLIAMSON 2012.

<sup>20</sup> ‘An ancient sanctuary of Carian Zeus, which is shared by the Mysians and Lydians as being

The Carianness of Mylasa itself was proved, if proof were needed, by the recent discovery in the vicinity of a list of names in Carian.<sup>21</sup> One might suppose that the Carian league of the Archaic period, if one existed, was based at Herodotus' sanctuary, but his intriguingly complicated account of it as Lydo-Myso-selectively Carian does not sit wholly easily with that theory. At all events the sanctuary has not been securely identified,<sup>22</sup> and vanishes from the record after Herodotus; a priest of Zeus Karios appears twice in inscriptions from the region, but it is at a different site in Caria, Panamara, that Zeus Karios predominates.<sup>23</sup>

The dynasty of the Hecatomnids of the fourth century were based in Mylasa, and, though Mausolus transferred his capital to Halicarnassus on the coast, the sanctuary of Labraunda in the hills 14 kms to the north of Mylasa became a showcase of Hecatomnid power; the family in whom the priesthood of Zeus Labraundeus was invested may themselves have been a cadet branch of the Hecatomnids.<sup>24</sup> Whoever formally controlled Labraunda in the Hecatomnid period, it functioned in practice as a sanctuary of Mylasa, to which it was linked by an impressive sacred way. After Alexander's conquests, Mylasa like the rest of Caria was subject to varying domination: under Asander, perhaps Eupolemos (neither directly attested in inscriptions of the city), then Ptolemaic, Seleucid, then declared 'free' by Seleucus II, then Antigonid, then after Apamea declared free again by the Romans. The changes of authority in the third century lubricated a longstanding dispute between the priestly dynasty and the city over control of the sanctuary at Labraunda and its revenues, with both sides taking their case to Seleucus II and then to Philip V via Olympichus, a local dynast who served both monarchs successively. The priest Korris writes to Seleucus II that the Mylaseans have 'deprived him of portions of the sacred land which he and his ancestors have administered' and deny him his perquisites from sacrifices (*I.Labraunda*

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brothers of the Carians. For they say that Lydos and Mysos were brothers of Car. These peoples have a share, but those of other stock who have adopted the Carian language do not have a share.'

<sup>21</sup> See BLÜMEL and KIZIL 2004, and RUMSCHEID 2005.

<sup>22</sup> COOK (1961, 100-101) located it at Beçin, which he identified as the site of 'old Mylasa': his theory is rejected by RUMSCHEID (1999, 206-207) and P. FOSS (*ap. REGER* 2007, 94 n. 34), but supported by BARAN (2009, 306-311). The remains within the town often taken to be the sanctuary were re-interpreted as a proto-Mausoleum by RUMSCHEID (2010) and their funerary use has been spectacularly confirmed by the discovery of a grave chamber and sarcophagus: see e.g. <<http://www.ahf-Muenchen.de/Tagungsberichte/Berichte/pdf/2013/054-13.pdf>>. Carian league and the sanctuary: LAUMONIER 1958, 43.

<sup>23</sup> See DEBORD 2001, 31-34. Priest: *I.Mylasa* 204.14, *I.Labraunda* 70.2 (presumably the same cult).

<sup>24</sup> So DEBORD 2011, 136. Showcase: HORNBLLOWER 1982, 277-280 and 309-312.

1. 1-6), charges which they deny (*I.Labraunda* 3. 17-23); his son Hekatomnos claims (fraudulently, according to the Mylaseans) to have received a letter from Antigonos Doson to the Chrysaoreans stating that ‘the priesthood was his and security in the territory was granted and tax exemption had always been conceded to his ancestors by the kings’ (*I.Labraunda* 5. 5-12); the Mylaseans assert in reply to Philip V that the sanctuary was theirs, founded by their ancestors, that the territory surrounding it and associated revenues were theirs also, and ‘those who live in the sanctuary are our citizens and assign tribes<sup>25</sup> and use the same laws’; they also accuse the Chrysaoreans of attempting to appropriate the shrine (*I.Labraunda* 5. 21-36). The earliest surviving decree of the Chrysaoreans was in fact found at Labraunda, and the sanctuary may have been their base or one of them before the foundation of Stratonicea; it may also in effect have been under their control.<sup>26</sup> The rights and wrongs and indeed precise points at issue in this tangled and much-discussed dispute elude us:<sup>27</sup> the Mylaseans seem to shift their ground from a claim to have treated the priest fairly to a stronger claim to total ownership of the sanctuary; they feel threatened both by the priest and by the Chrysaoreans, but the relation of the threats is obscure. Philip eventually, and conclusively, decided in favour of the city.

It was in the second half of the 3rd c. that Olymos, a small polis 9 kms or so north west of Mylasa, was merged into it by ‘sympolity’; this sympolity, unlike others in the region, proved permanent, and brought in ‘Apollo and Artemis, gods of the Olymian people’. Hydai too, a little further to the south west of Mylasa, seems to have come in by the second century.<sup>28</sup> Beginning perhaps late in the third century, several sanctuaries in the region began an extensive programme of purchasing lands which they then leased out, sometimes to the original owner, to provide

<sup>25</sup> The active verb cannot easily be rendered as by CRAMPA in *I.Labraunda* p. 31 ‘[are] distributed among our tribes’ (so too BRESSON and DEBORD 1985, 206; I find nothing comparable in LAROCHE 1949). In *Milet* 1.3. 143.17-18 νέμειν πόλιν means ‘inhabit the city’. The fact that Antigonos wrote to the Chrysaoreans about this matter acknowledges their *locus standi*.

<sup>26</sup> *I.Labraunda* 43; cf. GABRIELSEN 2011, 341; for DEBORD (2001, 27), arguing from coins, Mylasa gains control of Labraunda at the start of the third c. but loses it to the Chrysaoreans in the period of Ptolemaic domination and recovers it only in the 220s.

<sup>27</sup> See most recently DEBORD 2011, who cites earlier studies; note especially BENCIVENNI 2003, 247-298.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Apollo and Artemis, gods of the Olymian people’: *I.Mylasa* 806. 17, and many similar expressions (cf. p. 44 below). In 818.6 they are just Artemis and Apollo (here only I think in this order) Olymeis or of the Olymians. For the date of the sympolity REGER 2004, 164-168, and for the process p. 45 below. Hydai: *I.Mylasa* 902, 903.6, 906.1-2.

revenue to finance the cult. The duration of this programme is disputed: on the latest view it extends from the last decade of the third century to c. 145.<sup>29</sup> Precise chronology does not matter here if we accept the present consensus that it occurred in a compact period of time mostly within the first half of the second century. It is the extensive epigraphic record of these land sales, combined with a good quantity of decrees issued by various public Mylasean bodies over a somewhat longer period, that makes possible the admittedly very incomplete survey of Mylasean religion to which I now turn.

The citizen body was divided among three tribes, which were subdivided into groups known as *syngeneiai*; this characteristic and flexible term, widespread in the Greek of Caria, presumably reflects an indigenous word unknown to us. The *syngeneiai* were, it seems, divided in their turn into *patrai*, attested in just one text, of which we know nothing. By the date that we can observe them, both tribes and *syngeneiai* are required to absorb numerous new citizens; no stress is laid on the kinship criterion.<sup>30</sup> The total of *syngeneiai* is unknown, but only eight or nine are securely attested,<sup>31</sup> and the frequent recurrence of the names of eight of them suggests that the total was not much larger, or at all events that only a small number were large and important. Rites occurred at all three levels, polis, tribe, and *syngeneia*. Two of the tribes honour a Zeus named from them (Zeus of the Otorkondeis, Zeus of the Hyarbesutai) at his own sanctuary, as do two of the *syngeneiai* (Zeus of the Aganitai, Zeus of the Maunnitai);<sup>32</sup> others certainly had rites, and nothing goes against the view that the cult was in each case centered on an eponymous Zeus, though other gods may well have been honoured too.<sup>33</sup> The chief god of the city itself was again a Zeus or rather a pair of Zeuses: specific to Mylasa itself was the remarkable composite figure Zeus Osogollis (often abbreviated to Osogo), also known in literary texts and in inscriptions (*I.Mylasa* 652 of the late third century is the

<sup>29</sup> DESCAT and PERNIN 2008, responding to ASHTON and REGER 2006, who argued for a period not longer than the late 190s to 170s. On the still-disputed motivation for the sales see DIGNAS 2000.

<sup>30</sup> *I.Mylasa* 176.3, 863.3. *Patrai*: *I.Mylasa* 863.3, by supplement also in 176.3. For incorporation at Olymos see *I.Mylasa* 876 and n. 41. On *syngeneiai* see BRESSON and DEBORD 1985.

<sup>31</sup> See LAUMONIER 1958, 132-133, with the index to *I.Mylasa* II, pp. 172-173. The Loritai, known only from *I.Labraunda* 31, are doubtful.

<sup>32</sup> See *I.Mylasa* II, index, p. 175.

<sup>33</sup> For rites of the tribe Konodorkondeis see *I.Mylasa* 119. 11-12; for 'gods' of the *syngeneia* Ogondeis 124.1. The name of the god whose priesthood is sold by the *syngeneia* Maunnitai (302) is unfortunately lost; for similar still more fragmentary documents see 304-305.

earliest) as Zenoposeidon and appearing finally as Zeus Osogollis Zenoposeidon; he was equalled in importance (and often joined on coins) by Zeus Labraundeus of Labraunda.<sup>34</sup> Both tribes and *syngeneiai* could control sacred property and revenues on a considerable scale.<sup>35</sup>

Thus far the structure resembles that familiar from many Greek cities. And various decrees that assign to this or that honoured individual the right to a *meris*, a portion of sacrificial meat, at all the rites of the honouring body also have a familiar ring.<sup>36</sup> But similarity here may disguise difference, because in the one clear Mylasean case the individual honoured is already a member of the honouring body: what is happening is not the bringing in of an outsider, but enhancement of an insider's standing within the group. It would follow that an ordinary Mylasean was not automatically entitled to a cut of meat at all the sacrifices of the bodies that he belonged to. Another difference concerns the prominence of the different elements within the whole. In the 4th c. decrees passed by the whole polis were passed to 'the three tribes' for ratification (*I.Mylasa* 1 and 2), and, though that formula disappears, the tribes lost little of their importance. Not only do honorary decrees issued by tribes substantially outnumber those of the city, but they also equal them in detail and substance; we repeatedly hear that individuals 'at the request of the tribe' undertook a task or office (as commissioner for sacred and public works or panegyriarch, for instance) in a way 'worthy of the tribe and

<sup>34</sup> The new text (now SEG 40.991 = DEBORD and VARINLIOĞLU (eds) 2001, no. 90) published by BLÜMEL 1990 showed that the full form of the name/epithet often shorted to Osogo was Osogollis and that Διὸς Ὀσογῶα Διὸς Ζηνοποσειδῶνος in *I.Mylasa* 319-322, 324-325 is a misreading for Διὸς Ὀσογῶλλιος Ζηνοποσειδῶνος; it also attests his importance through the striking phrase 'Zeus Osogollis and the Mylaseans'. On Zenoposeidon see BLÜMEL's note on *I.Mylasa* 320; on this god as god of the city, not of the tribe Otorkondeis, see DEBORD 2001, 21-24. For the two Zeuses jointly see e.g. *Milet* 1.3 (= T51 in *I.Mylasa* II, p. 21) 146 line 76, *I.Labraunda* 8. 25-26 and still SEG 46. 1428. They already appear on the two sides of a rare coin of Mausolus (two identical specimens were found in the Pixodaros hoard, and a third came onto the market in 2010), which gives Zeus Osogollis the more prestigious obverse; they recur on Mylasean coins dated by DELRIEUX 1999 to the second half of the third century. Very strikingly, a joint emblem combining their respective symbols the trident and the double ax appears on Mylasean coins at the start of the third century and again in its last quarter: DEBORD 2001, 27 with figs. 7 and 8. For the probable remains of the sanctuary of Zeus Osogollis see LAUMONIER 1958, 105 and the map in RUMSCHEID 2010, 97 fig. 29.

<sup>35</sup> *I.Mylasa* 200-232; note too e.g. the *syngeneia* sanctuary of 502.

<sup>36</sup> See the index to *I.Mylasa* s.v. μερίς, for examples from all three levels. In no case is the recipient demonstrably an outsider (I do not see why LAUMONIER (1958, 129) states the opposite about *I.Mylasa* 119), and Ouliades in 101.58 is demonstrably an insider. That tribes could honour both members and non-members is explicit in *I.Mylasa* 301.

the whole people' (see e.g. *I.Mylasa* 106, 108); the important public office is, it seems, in some way tribally appointed, and the tribe takes responsibility for recognising its worthy discharge. One tribal decree praises its recipient for 'international' activity in other Carian cities and even in Cos (*I.Mylasa* 118). The tribes operated in concert, holding their elections on the same day (*I.Mylasa* 110 with 301). Tribes and *syngeneiai* owned land on a considerable scale. Land ownership was not confined to them (we hear of land dedicated to Zeus Osogo, for instance),<sup>37</sup> but the land lease operations mentioned above were all conducted within Mylasa itself by tribes, not the polis, though within the incorporated community of the Olymians by the whole demos. Tribal festivals could, it seems, match those of the city: a decree of the Otorkondeis was passed at 'the official *ekklesia* at the Taurophonia in accord with ancestral tradition' (201.2); a tribal decree of uncertain provenance, but very probably from Mylasa, attests a ritual of 'bull-releasing,' at which the bulls in question were eventually eaten by the tribe (*I.Mylasa* I, Appendix, text 1, p. 269).<sup>38</sup>

The evidence for entities only partially absorbed within the polis structure is also considerable.<sup>39</sup> As was noted above, Olymos entered into a sympolity with Mylasa apparently in the third century. In its time of independence Olymos, like Mylasa, had been divided into three tribes, these too perhaps divided into *syngeneiai*.<sup>40</sup> By the sympolity, all Olymians were registered in Mylasean tribes and *syngeneiai* and *patrai*. The three Olymian tribes were re-designated *syngeneiai* (*I.Mylasa* 806.11; 861.8-9); the previous Olymian *syngeneiai* if any existed will have been reduced to the level of *patrai*.<sup>41</sup> Each Olymian henceforth therefore belonged to two *syngeneiai*, one of Mylasa which gave him his formal civic identity, one of Olymos which retained rites and revenues of its own.<sup>42</sup> An Olymian also

<sup>37</sup> *I.Labraunda* 8.

<sup>38</sup> *I.Mylasa* 201.2; *I.Mylasa* I, p. 269, Appendix, text 1.

<sup>39</sup> That for private cults by contrast is slight: a group of Diktyннаistai, *I.Mylasa* 179.4; *I.Mylasa* 404 (undatable), priest of Zeus in a σύστημα; and now the Darronistai discussed by CARBON 2005.

<sup>40</sup> New citizens after the union are incorporated in a *syngeneia* and *patra* (the latter perhaps a quondam *syngeneia*) in *I.Mylasa* 876.9. But there is no reference to a *syngeneia* in *I.Mylasa* 866, which predates union with Mylasa and incorporates a new citizen merely in a *phyle*; and after the union in SEG 47. 1608, 50. 1121 and 1122 incorporation is into a *syngeneia* (i.e. a quondam *phyle*) only.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. the previous note. The origin and character of a fourth Olymian *syngeneia* (Soloneis, *I.Mylasa* 817.3; cf. SEG 54. 1163) is obscure: cf. REGER 2010, 54-55. Olymians are not attested as members of some of the Mylasean *syngeneiai* (LAUMONIER 1958, 131-132), whether by chances of evidence or by design is not clear.

<sup>42</sup> *I.Mylasa*. 861 8-10. The decree goes on to insist that, though the Olymian *syngeneiai* could admit

retained an identity as a member of the ‘demos of the Olymians’, though this would have been obscured abroad where presumably he would have been accounted a Mylasean. This Olymian demos participated in the land purchase programme on behalf of ‘Apollo and Artemis gods of the demos of the Olymians’, as they are regularly described; they are joined in due course by Leto.<sup>43</sup> It maintained a cultic programme of, it seems, considerable vitality; in an important decree the Olymians denounce intruders who participate not just in these Olymian rites but also in the *ἱεουργία* and *ἱερωσύνη* and *προφητεία* of the deme without entitlement (*I.Mylasa* 863). The separate Olymian ‘citizenship’ remained sufficiently important for it to be conferred on favoured persons.<sup>44</sup> Olymos thus remained a partially unassimilated and in some ways privileged element within Mylasa. Olymians seem freely to have held Mylasean priest-hoods whereas Mylaseans were excluded from those of Olymos.<sup>45</sup>

Another anomaly existing in parallel to the main structures is the ‘*syngeneia* of Pormounos’ associated with the isolated rural sanctuary of Sinuri in the hills about two and a half hours walk south-east of Mylasa. Arrangements at this sanctuary are of prime interest for anyone

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non-members to their own rites, such individuals did not thereby acquire a right of access to rites of the Olymian demos as a whole. One might compare the case of an Athenian deme granting rights to a non-citizen, who would not thereby acquire rights in Athens itself.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. n. 28 above. Very similar apparently is the role of Apollo and Artemis, ‘ancestral gods’, in another community, Hydai, absorbed in Mylasa: *I.Mylasa* 902, 903.6, 906.1-2. *SEG* 39. 1135 (*I.Mylasa* \*\*895), cf. 1136-1137, attests a subscription launched in Olymos to enhance the cult of Leto alongside that of Apollo and Artemis; reference is made to ‘great ἐπιφάνεια’ and Leto is described as εὐεργέτις. (L. 13 as printed attests an already existing temple of Leto, but VAN BREMEN writes persuasively ‘I wonder if the word might be βω|μόν rather than ν|αόν (with a dotted alpha which on the photo looks as if it could be part of the letter μ): it would make some sense if they had decided, following epiphanies, to construct an altar to Leto somewhere near the temple of Apollo and Artemis; cf. l. 14: ? ἀπέναν|τι τοῦ ναοῦ and also, in l. 13 ἐν ἡμέραις, indicating a time period within which something has to be done, which does not sit well with sacrificing: one could stipulate it for something to be constructed or erected.’) Is this assimilation of an indigenous pair identified as Apollo and Artemis to the family structure known from Greek myth? These texts illustrate the flourishing cultic life of Olymos; note too ‘the temples at Kybima’ (*I.Mylasa* 801.18), and the ‘Parthenon’ (unpublished inscription mentioned by L. Robert, *Rev. Arch.*<sup>6</sup> 6, 1935, p. 159).

<sup>44</sup> *SEG* 47. 1608, 50. 1121 and 1122; such grants presumably explain *I.Mylasa* 861. 4; cf. REGER 2004, 166-168.

<sup>45</sup> LAUMONIER 1958, 158. In the synoecized Rhodes of the late fourth century (FRASER 1952, 194) the Lindians likewise litigated to ensure that ‘selections in Lindos of priests and *hierothutai* and *hieropoioi* and others with responsible for communal matters shall be made from the Lindians themselves, as is prescribed in the laws, and persons shall not participate in Lindian sacra who did not participate in them before’ (*JG XII* 1.761 [*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 340], 38-420); cf. REGER 2004, 167-168.

concerned with Carian religious organisation: we discover here a form unique to Caria, a sanctuary controlled by a *syngeneia* and originally unattached to any city. What seems to be the earliest inscription found at the site records the decision of ‘the *syngeneis* of Pelekos who had all assembled’ in an *ekklesia kuria* to honour one Nesaios; they make him ‘their brother’, and subject anyone opposing the decision to a curse from ‘this god’ (i.e. Sinuri).<sup>46</sup> Pelekos is otherwise unknown but Pellekos (*sic*) is the first name in a list of 16 ‘priests of Sinuri’, evidently priests for life, found at the site (*I.Sinuri* 5); these priests were apparently chosen from a single family, the succession passing from brother to brother before descending to the next generation.<sup>47</sup> The *syngeneis* of Pelekos appear only in that document of the mid 4th c.; they give way, for unknown reasons,<sup>48</sup> to a ‘*syngeneia* of Pormounos’ which is named in six texts from (perhaps) the late fourth century onwards and doubtless also underlies vaguer allusions to ‘the *syngeneia*’ or ‘*syngeneis*’. Of its relation to the sanctuary Robert writes simply ‘Les affaires du dieu et celles de la *syngeneia* sont les mêmes.’<sup>49</sup> Nobody other than the *syngeneia* takes decisions about the god’s affairs; apart from honouring benefactors, the *syngeneia* takes no decisions, none at least that are recorded, about affairs other than the god’s. It concerns itself with building work in the sanctuary, with resisting in the courts threats to the god’s property, and with investing the god’s capital in rentable land (the land purchase scheme again). Even honours to benefactors are sometimes demonstrably conferred for services to the cult, and may have been so always. The *syngeneia*’s main annual meeting, at which decrees are passed, is a sacrifice, ‘the *bouthusia*’; two other festival names can perhaps be recovered from fragmentary inscriptions.<sup>50</sup> One inscription (*I.Sinuri* 10) speaks of sacrifices being made to *progonikoi theoi*, the ancestral gods of the *syngeneia*, Sinuri

<sup>46</sup> *I.Sinuri* 73 (improved text after ROBERT 1949, in HORNBLOWER 1982, M 5, with discussion pp. 72-73). The fragmentary *I.Sinuri* 74 also concerns Nesaios; 3 may be a dedication by his son. The history of the site goes back much further: HORNBLOWER 1982, 276-277.

<sup>47</sup> ROBERT 1945, 23-25; Pele- also appears on a fragment, ROBERT 1949, 67. ROBERT (1945, 95) considers but rejects the view that Pelekos was a mythical ancestor; he inclines to identify him with the priest Pellekos. For LAUMONIER (1958, 182-183) Pelekos is a god’s name by origin.

<sup>48</sup> ROBERT 1945, 94-95. The obvious explanation—that the *syngeneia* of Pelekos became extinct—will not work if the priests listed in *I.Sinuri* 5 were as Robert thinks (previous note) his descendants. *Syngeneia* of Pormounos: *I.Sinuri* 9, 11, 16, 40, 44 (first mention), 46 D.

<sup>49</sup> ROBERT 1945, 25.

<sup>50</sup> *Bouthusia*: *I.Sinuri* 11.2, 24.2, 25.3; *Kotamia*: *I.Sinuri* 17 and 17a with ROBERT 1949, 60-63; *Suennia*: *I.Sinuri* 74.

presumably chief among them;<sup>51</sup> ideally therefore the cult is still seen as that of a kinship group, even though outsiders could be admitted into it as full members (*I.Sinuri* 44).

Most of the decrees of the *syngeneia* of Pormounos are dated by the *stephanephoros* of Mylasa.<sup>52</sup> The *syngeneia* had therefore been incorporated in Mylasa. But the single surviving decree (*I.Sinuri* 73) of the earlier body of ‘*syngeneis* of Pelekos’ contains no reference to Mylasa; it speaks instead of Idrieus (satrap from 350 to 344) and his sister/wife Ada, and of a tax exemption (*ateleia*) which it is apparently in the power of the *syngeneia* to confer, though probably subject to heavy guidance from the satrapal pair. The sanctuary will then at this date have been an independent entity controlled by the *syngeneis* and attached to no other community, though naturally not free from the strong influence of the ruling power in the region. (A table and ‘doors’ were already dedicated at the sanctuary by a Hekatomnos who is doubtless Mausolus’ father.)<sup>53</sup> The *syngeneis* were perhaps based at that *Hiera Kome*, the road to which is often mentioned in their documents.<sup>54</sup>

As we noted, the later decrees of the *syngeneia* of Pormounos show it to have become part of Mylasa. But this incorporation occurred in a distinctive way. The *syngeneia* continued to exist, and to perform functions comparable to those of the other Mylasean *syngeneiai* that were sub-divisions of tribes and gave a Mylasean his civic identity, but it was not included among them; such members of the *syngeneia* as we can identify in civic terms belong in those terms to one of the *syngeneiai* of Mylasa (that of the Tarkondareis).<sup>55</sup> So any ‘Sinurian’ now belonged to

<sup>51</sup> LAUMONIER (1958, 178) fails to justify his strange idea that the expression excludes Sinuri. The dedication by Menippos when ‘saved from great unexpected dangers’ to ‘the gods who proved his greatest benefactors and [saviours]’ (*I.Sinuri* 8) is taken by ROBERT (1945, 22) as addressed to the Dioscuri; a block bearing their caps and stars was found in the sanctuary. But Menippos mentions in his dedication that he was priest (of Sinuri): could his rather general expression have been meant to include both the god he served and the Dioscuri?

<sup>52</sup> The earliest, *I.Sinuri* 44, is dated, not by the *stephanephoros*, but ‘in the seventh year, in the [time of] Pleistarchos’. This is ambiguous: we do not know whether this dating by year of Pleistarchos was in use at Mylasa at this date.

<sup>53</sup> *I.Sinuri* 76: on the possible Hekatomnid role in re-structuring the sanctuary see HORNBLOWER 1982, 277 and 312-313. For the relation of the *syngeneis* of Pelekos to the ruling power ROBERT (1945, 97) compared what is now *I.Strat.* 501, in which the Koarendeis (a group we now know to have constituted a polis: see ŞAHİN 2010, 1-4) joined with Mausolus in granting *ateleia* to a benefactor.

<sup>54</sup> ROBERT 1945, 78.

<sup>55</sup> ROBERT 1945, 30 without comment on the anomaly, which is however noted by LAUMONIER 1958, 177.

two *syngeneiai*, that of Pormounos at Sinuri and also whatever Mylasean *syngeneia* he had been assigned to. This is just the same double identity as we observed above in the case of the incorporated Olymians. The Olymians, even when joined with Mylasa, insisted on exclusive Olymian access to the traditional Olymian rites. No comparable decree of the *syngeneia* of Pormounos defending the exclusivity of the cult of Sinuri survives, but no opening out can be demonstrated either. Apart from the single word ‘polis’ on an inscription of which only two words can be read (the other is Sinuri: *I.Sinuri* 4), there is indeed no positive proof that Mylaseans other than members of the *syngeneia* took any interest in the sanctuary. That extreme conclusion is perhaps hard to credit: the sanctuary had enjoyed Hecatomnid patronage and could boast impressive fourth century *temenos* walls even if no temple; it seems too substantial for the use of a closed group. A particular question concerns the priesthood. The list of 16 ‘priests of Sinuri’ apparently connected by family ties breaks off and is not continued, even though two further holders of the priesthood are known from later sources. Robert supposed that the original priestly family died out and it was at this point that the list of the sixteen was inscribed; ‘thenceforth, the priests were chosen by the city or rather by the *syngeneia*, without family restrictions; given the usage at Mylasa at this date, one can suppose that the priesthood was offered for sale.’<sup>56</sup> But Robert’s ‘or rather by the *syngeneia*’ is a crucial restriction there; even if the original priestly family became extinct, the *syngeneia* remains active down to our latest records.

The relation of Mylasa to the sanctuary at Labraunda is comparable, but writ much larger, and with an element of conflict added. A remarkable inscription of the second half of the 3rd c. from the sanctuary records the decision of the priest Korris (probably the same who was first protagonist in the dispute with Mylasa) and his *syngeneis* that an individual whose name is lost should be proclaimed *proxenos* and benefactor of the priest and his *syngeneia*, should be granted citizenship, property rights and honorific seats at festivals, and should be assigned to the tribe [Iban]ollis; his descendants should enjoy the same privileges.<sup>57</sup> Was the ‘city’, sub-divided into tribes, in which citizenship was here

<sup>56</sup> ROBERT 1945, 25. Further priests: see REGER, in ASHTON and REGER 2006, 134 with n. 28, who abolishes one supposed priest absent from the list (Pixodaros) and moves another (Hybreas) up to the 180s. The other is known from an unpublished statue base mentioned by ROBERT 1945, 13 (cf. *I.Mylasa* 763), for Thargelios who ‘had been’ (γενόμενος; on this expression cf. n. 61 below) priest of Sinuri; Robert dated this ‘not earlier than the second half of the first c. B.C.’

<sup>57</sup> *I.Labraunda* 11; 12 is a fragment of something similar.

conferred, that of ‘the priest Korris and his *syngeneis*’? Or was it the village of Labraunda? Or the Chrysaoric league?<sup>58</sup> Whatever it was, Korris and his *syngeneis* clearly claim to hold the keys to it. Korris’ pretention to be, so to speak, ruler of an independent kingdom was according to the Mylaseans a fraud: the shrine and its property had been theirs from the beginning, the Labraundians were in fact Mylaseans. But the parallel with the ‘*syngeneis* of Pelekos’ at Sinuri makes Korris’ position more plausible, particularly if we accept that he was of the Hecatomnid line; a recently published inscription from Iasos shows his son Hekatomnos being treated by that city as a figure of considerable weight, and there seem to have been periods in the 3rd c. when Mylasa did not feel itself practically in control of the sanctuary.<sup>59</sup> Philip V decided none the less in favour of the city, and later holders of the priesthood are unambiguously Mylasean citizens. But those later holders of the priesthood before the Christian era still to judge from their names belong to the family of Korris,<sup>60</sup> and will surely have remained powerful voices in any discussion of the affairs of Labraundian Zeus. Perhaps an inscription will one day emerge showing the continuing existence of a *syngeneia* of Korris at Labraunda. Change came eventually: an inscription perhaps of the early 1st c. CE honouring an individual who ‘had been priest’ of both Zeus Osogo and Zeus Labraundeus (*I.Mylasa* 326) proves the office no longer to have been held for life. A similar expression in an inscription perhaps of the second half of the 1st c. BCE appears to attest the same change for the priesthood of Sinuri. But these are the first signs of rotating priesthood at Mylasa.<sup>61</sup>

The tenor of the last several pages has been to complicate the picture of polis religion in Mylasa and apparently to reduce its scope. Tribes and *syngeneiai* and their rites almost overshadowed whole polis celebrations;

<sup>58</sup> So tentatively BRESSON and DEBORD 1985, 205 n. 54. But tribes in the Chrysaorean league sound unlikely, as DEBORD (2001, 28) admits.

<sup>59</sup> Iasos: SEG 57. 1074, as discussed by MADDOLI (2007, 306-316) and DEBORD (2011, 135-138). Loss of control: GAUTHIER (1999, 30) arguing from the reference to plain ‘Zeus’ in the Mylasean decree that he publishes (SEG 49. 1503): had Mylasa controlled the sanctuary at Labraunda as well as that of Zeus Osogo in the city, it would have been necessary to make plain which Zeus was meant.

<sup>60</sup> Hekatomnos son of Ouliades, *I.Mylasa* 501.3 and often; Korris son of Hekatomnos, *I.Mylasa* 102, serving as secretary to the boule: cf. DEBORD 2011, 136 and 144.

<sup>61</sup> Sinuri: n. 56 above. Two very fragmentary priesthood sale texts, perhaps deriving from civic sub-divisions, speak respectively of appointment ‘on a hereditary basis’ (διὰ γένους) and of tenure ‘for ever’ (*I.Mylasa* 304-305); but life tenure was the norm for sold priesthoods and does not necessarily have implications for priesthoods assigned in other ways.

the Olymians and the *syngeneia* of Pormounos were only partially assimilated bodies retaining areas of religious authority and rites exclusive to themselves; Philip's verdict in favour of Mylasa against the priestly family at Labraunda is unlikely to have delivered the sanctuary completely into the city's hands. If one tries to draw up a list of attested public rites of the Mylaseans, one soon comes to an end. Most important perhaps was a monthly *panegyris* in honour of the chief god Zeus Osogo, doubtless the prime concern of the *panegyriarches*. We hear also of an athletic competition in honour of Zeus Osogo, and choruses for Dionysus; a *panegyris* at Labraunda is already attested in the 4th c., and Mylaseans continued to use the sanctuary<sup>62</sup> even when their control of it was contested in the third; there were probably the usual Hermaia and Herakleia and Mouseia in schools and gymnasia.<sup>63</sup> For women, one inscription probably of the mid-fourth century appears, unexpectedly for Caria, to attest Thesmophoria-like rites.<sup>64</sup> A newly-published honorary decree for Olympichos has revealed a *penteteris*, the Taureia, at which, according to a probable supplement, hitherto unknown 'founders of the city' (κτίσται) were 'celebrated in hymns' (ὑμνεῖν); the new decree adds Olympichos to the roster of those hymned, and also establishes an annual sacrifice and procession, to be attended by all the priests and athletic victors, in his honour.<sup>65</sup> A specimen of such 'hymning' of a mortal or quondam mortal is perhaps revealed by the extraordinary poem honouring one Pytheas discovered at Mylasa in 2014.<sup>66</sup> These two texts and the 'proto-Mausoleum' also very recently identified in Mylasa (above, n. 22) suggest that cult of rulers and other great men may have been central to civic religion in the 4th and 3rd centuries.

<sup>62</sup> This is shown by Korris' complaints, *I.Labraunda* 1. Monthly panegyris: *I.Labraunda* 8.22; *panegyriarches*: 107.5, 108.7. Note too an apparent reference to 'hosting the whole demos' in 138.3 (uncertain date). Zeus and Dionysus: *I.Mylasa* 101.61-62 (cf. 107.12, 112.5, 149.1-2); *panegyris* at Labraunda: *I.Mylasa* 3.4-5, cf. *I.Labraunda* 53-54 with J. Crampa's commentary *ad loc.*, arguing for an extension from one day to five in the 4th c., and a 'pan-Carian' scope (neither change necessarily permanent).

<sup>63</sup> *I.Mylasa* 421.6 and (imperial) 135.8; by supplement already in 21.13 (4th c.); cf. *SEG* 54. 1101. That last text adds an interesting detail about gymnasium life: non-citizens were excluded from oil distributions in the gymnasium until a benefactor made special provision for them.

<sup>64</sup> *I.Mylasa* 303, with DETIENNE 1979, 207-208. The letter-forms are fourth century (VAN BREMEN), making it the only such text of that date from Mylasa not associated (in what survives) with the Hecatomnids.

<sup>65</sup> *SEG* 58. 1220, which VAN BREMEN dates, contrary to the editors, to the late third century. One need not then necessarily suppose that the new rite was long-lived.

<sup>66</sup> MAREK and ZINGG forthcoming. Note too DESCAT 2011 (*SEG* 61. 871) for cult paid to the Daimones Agathoi of Hekatomnos and Aba.

This is as far as one can go on the basis of direct evidence. There is, however, a different route by which one can, not necessarily extend the list of festivals, but give more substance to the notion of a public religious sphere, in a slightly later period. Crucial here is a distinctive feature of the public inscriptions of the city. Hellenistic Mylasa was awash with priests. We know this because it was the convention for the holder of a priesthood, or at least of certain classes of priesthood, to be identified as such in any public document that mentioned him, however irrelevant his office might be to the matter at hand; the priesthood became part of the official name, like an ethnic. I will refer to such priesthoods henceforth as ‘title priesthoods’. So Mylaseans involved in land transactions, for instance, whether as purchasers on behalf of a public body or merely as witnesses to previous ownership of the property, were given their priestly title if they had one – and a remarkable number did. Of a team of fourteen serving as ‘property buyers’ (*ktematonai*) in one sale, five are so identified (*I.Mylasa* 801-804); of forty known holders of the annual eponymous magistracy, the *stephanephoroi*, seven are priests.<sup>67</sup> Considerable social prestige evidently attached to priestly office. Even foreign cities when mentioning Mylaseans might observe the convention: the unknown city that issued *I.Mylasa* 632 in honour of the Mylasean judge Theodoros Theodorou added to his name ‘priest of Isis’.

Here are the male priesthoods attested for the Hellenistic period:<sup>68</sup>

Apollo Didymeus (*Milet* 1.3. 146. 75-76); Apollo Pythios; Apollo and Artemis (joint); Artemis St[rateia]; Aphrodite Euploia; Aphrodite Strateia; Basileis; Ge and Hekate; Daimones Agathoi; Dikaiosyne; Dionysus; Dioskoroi; Eros; Hephaestus; Hestia (*Milet* 1.3 146. 75); Homonoia (cf. *SEG* 42. 1012); Isis; L. Munatius Plancus and goddess Rome; Poseidon Isthmios; Samothracian gods (*I.Sinuri* 47a; *SEG* 42. 999.11); Sinuri; Zeus Eleutherios; Zeus Karios; Zeus Kretagenes and the Kouretes; Zeus Ktesios; Zeus Labraundos; Zeus Nemeios; Zeus Olympios; Zeus Osogo(Ilis) (Zenoposeidon); Zeus Stratios and Hera; Zeus Hypsistos and Tyche Agathe. Note too the ‘priest and king of the *koinon* of the Carians’. From a later or uncertain date we can add Aphrodite Syria, Peitho, Sabazios and the As-, Tauropolos, C. Marcius Censorinus.

<sup>67</sup> See *I.Mylasa* II, pp. 169-170. Of the seven contributors to the construction of a stoa listed in *I.Mylasa* 501, four are priests.

<sup>68</sup> For references where not given see *I.Mylasa* II, p. 198, index ii s.v. *hiereus*. Numismatic evidence, rich and early for cults of Zeus, is late and sparse for other figures: AKARCA 1959, 52-53.

Priestesses are much more sparsely attested; this is partly no doubt because the factors that reveal priests to us do not apply to women, but one should note too how many goddesses in the above list are served by men. From the Hellenistic period we have only a priestess of Mother of the Gods (*I.Mylasa* 336) and ‘priestesses’ of (probably) Demeter (ib. 303; cf. 309); later Aphrodite Pandemos, Nemesis and Demeter can be added.

Several holders of the title priesthoods appear under more than one year in the land sale records;<sup>69</sup> since the normal choice in antiquity was between annual and permanent tenure, these must have been life appointments. About others, including the important priesthood of Zeus Osogo,<sup>70</sup> we lack evidence for the Hellenistic period.

If the title priesthoods were all priesthoods of the city, we have recovered an abundance of public cults. But that assumption needs to be tested, because other bodies too had priests. Three fragmentary inscriptions certainly or probably regulate the sale of priesthoods, in accord with the practice widespread in eastern Greek cities. The one sufficiently preserved to reveal its origin is issued by a *syngeneia* and assigns the priest duties in a rite celebrated by that body (*I.Mylasa* 302); the other two may be similar (*I.Mylasa* 303-304). (The name of the god served is lost in each case.) Civic sub-divisions appointed to priesthoods, therefore. In principle, some of the title priesthoods might be such priesthoods of sub-divisions of the city. But an argument can be found for rejecting that possibility. The only attested cults of the sub-divisions are those mentioned earlier, cults of a Zeus named from the body in question, such as Zeus of the Otorkondeis (a tribe), Zeus of the Aganitai (a *syngeneia*), and so on. Presumably these Zeuses each required priests.<sup>71</sup> But no such priesthood appears among the title priesthoods; since priesthoods of the tribes and the *syngeneia* must have been quite numerous, that absence should be significant. Another possibility is that some of the title priesthoods were confined to the Olymians. That possibility cannot be rigorously excluded; but the document that seeks to preserve Olymian exclusivity speaks only of ‘priesthood’ (singular); there is no strong reason to think that priesthoods other than perhaps

<sup>69</sup> So e.g. Phaidros Moschionos is priest of Daimones Agathoi in different years in *I.Mylasa* 806 and 813, Diodotos Melanos (Dioskoroi) in 801, 816c and 822; Euthydemos Theoxenou (Zeus Eleutherios) in 207 and 804.

<sup>70</sup> It was apparently annual later (*I.Mylasa* 326, and cf. ib. 320-325, 327).

<sup>71</sup> A tribal priest is mentioned in the probably Mylasean decree *I.Mylasa* I, Appendix, p. 269, line 10.

that of ‘Apollo and Artemis’ were theirs.<sup>72</sup> Some title priesthoods seem by their nature necessarily to belong to the city, most obviously those of Zeus Eleutherios, which doubtless commemorated the liberation of the city by Seleukos II, of ‘the kings’, and of Zeus Kretagenes (if one accepts that this last bears a Seleucid mark).<sup>73</sup> Zeus Nemeios, Poseidon Isthmios and Apollo Didymeus too have an ‘international’ dimension less appropriate to a civic sub-division; the cults of Isis and Homonoia, which can scarcely antedate the third century, should probably also belong to the polis. A decree honours a citizen who fought to recover alienated property of an Aphrodite (no epithet given) on behalf of ‘the people.’<sup>74</sup> On the other hand, the known prehistory of the priesthoods of Sinuri and Zeus Labraundeus proves that not all the title priesthoods had been priesthoods of the city from their first origins; they may well still have been the prerogative of exclusive groups, and it is even, as we have seen, uncertain to what extent the cult of Sinuri was open to Mylaseans at large at all. But perhaps one should take the title priesthood of Sinuri as the missing proof that the cult was recognized as in some sense of the city: the majority of the title priesthoods that certainly have that character can bring the doubtful cases with them.<sup>75</sup>

The argument comes to an end here, for want of further evidence; and in a sense what the impressive list of title priesthoods underlines is how fragmentary is our knowledge of the religious structures of Mylasa. We cannot associate the vast majority of these priesthoods with particular sanctuaries on the ground, famed though Mylasa was for its

<sup>72</sup> Cf. LAUMONIER 1958, 142. Exclusivity: *I.Mylasa* 861.12. *I.Mylasa* 869 is an Olymian decree honoring a priest of the Daimones Agathoi, to be displayed in the Olymian shrine of Apollo and Artemis. Had they controlled the shrine in which the priest served, would not that have been the natural place of display?

<sup>73</sup> Liberation: *ILabraunda* 3.8, with texts cited *ad loc.* and now *SEG* 58. 1220. 13-14; the kings: REGER, in ASHTON and REGER 2006, 133; Zeus Kretagenes: MASTROCINQUE 2002; SAVALLI-LESTRADE 2010, 142-147.

<sup>74</sup> *I.Mylasa* 132. 4-16; property of Aphrodite already appears in the fragmentary *I.Mylasa* 4 of the Achaemenid period, but this is a text comparable to those from Sekkōy (n. 12 above) and need not refer to Mylasa. Fights in defence of sacred property were endemic in the region: cf. *I.Sinuri* 2, 11, ? 12 and 13.

<sup>75</sup> The priest of Daimones Agathoi is interesting. Gravestones of Iasos and Mylasa regularly present themselves as ‘of the Daimones agathoi’ (the singular is a rare variant) of a deceased person (see *I.Mylasa* 428 with Blümel’s note and the index, and on the cult CARBON 2005, DESCAT 2011); occasionally they are ‘of the Daimones agathoi’ and the dead person is separately named. How these spirits of the individual dead came to receive collective cult is unclear, but there is no special reason to associate it with sub-groups.

abundance of fine temples;<sup>76</sup> nor with festivals attested by inscriptions, nor (which is probably significant) with landholdings of their gods;<sup>77</sup> we can guess on the basis of known cases that they were all held for life, but we know nothing about eligibility to hold them. The issue raised earlier about the balance between rites of the city and rites of the sub-divisions remains an open one: who mattered most to an ordinary Otorkondian, the Zeus of his own tribe, or Zeus Osogollis of the city, or Labraundian Zeus with his impressive *panegyris*, or the Zeus of distant Nemea known from a title priesthood?

### Concluding remarks

I leave that unanswerable question unanswered. The gaps in our knowledge<sup>78</sup> are such that a detailed comparison between ‘Carian polis religion’ and the polis religion so brilliantly illuminated by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood in her famous pair of articles cannot be attempted; and what was discussed above was anyway only the religion of one Carian polis. But one historical point may be worth picking out. For Greece, the old conception whereby cities emerged by the coalescence of pre-existing kinship-based units (tribes) has fallen out of favour: the view prevails at the moment, with strong support from Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, that the city created tribes as necessary sub-divisions of itself.<sup>79</sup> Tribes existing on their own outside the polis are unattested in Greece, and barely conceivable. But in the *syngeneiai* of Caria we observe units that exist both independently (the *syngeneiai* of Pelekos and Pormounos at Sinuri, the *syngeneia* of Korris at Labraunda, and perhaps some other cases)<sup>80</sup> and within a city (they are found as tribal

<sup>76</sup> See Strabo 14.2.23, C 659 and the good joke of Stratonikos in Ath. 8.41, 348D. Two sanctuaries in the vicinity (probably of a goddess, at Kale Mevkii, between Mylasa and Labraunda: RUMSCHEID 2005) and at Gencik Tepe, 3 kilometres east (SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH and HELLSTRÖM 1997), cannot be assigned.

<sup>77</sup> The main landholding gods are Zeus of the Otorkondeis and of the Aganitai (*I.Mylasa* 201-232); Zeus Osogo (*I.Labraunda* 8; *I.Mylasa* 203.6, 204.7 [sold to Zeus Otorkondeon], 854.12, *SEG* 42. 999.11); Zeus Labraundos (*I.Mylasa* 805.6, 806.17, 831.3); Apollo and Artemis of Olymos (*I.Mylasa* 805.6 and often); Apollo and Artemis of Hydai (*I.Mylasa* 903); Sinuri (*I.Sinuri* 46-72). Given the preference in Mylasa for financing sacrifices from landholdings (*I.Mylasa* 864.22-25; DRGNAS 2000), a landless cult could scarcely be sumptuous; but the chance attestation of property of Aphrodite in *I.Mylasa* 132. 4-16 is a warning against the argumentum ex silentio.

<sup>78</sup> Pausanias 10. 26.8 speaking of the Cnidian *lesche* at Delphi writes that τῆ δ' Ἰφιμεδεία γέρα δέδοται μεγάλα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Μυλάσσοις Καρῶν. I have no idea what to make of this.

<sup>79</sup> So ROUSSEL 1976; cf. e.g. SOURVINOU-INWOOD 2000, 33-36.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. n. 7 above.

sub-divisions not only in Mylasa but also at another city which is probably Alinda; perhaps too at Alabanda);<sup>81</sup> both inside and outside the city *syngeneiai* are grouped around cults. In one case, that of Sinuri, the same *syngeneia* is active both independently and within the city of Mylasa. Here then it may seem that the evolution from kinship group to polis unobservable in Greece occurs before our eyes.

But the matter is more complicated. As we have seen, the *syngeneia* at Sinuri is not incorporated as a *syngeneia* of Mylasa, though Mylasa has its own *syngeneiai*; it continues to exist as a parallel structure. So it does not support a very simple model whereby a city is put together from pre-existing *syngeneiai*. There is also a certain dissymmetry between the independent *syngeneiai* and those that sub-divide the city: the former are named from individuals (*syngeneia* of Pelekos or Korris), whereas the latter have collective (perhaps local) names (Aganitai); the former worship independent gods (Sinuri), whereas the latter worship hypostases of themselves (Zeus of the Aganitai). A further complication is the tribes, which, as in Greece, have no attested existence outside the city but are structurally indistinguishable from the civic *syngeneiai*: like these, they are centred on the cult of a god who is a hypostasis of themselves, and in naming too the two types are very similar (thus the tribe of Otorcondeis at Mylasa contains a *syngeneia* of Tarkondareis). Laumonier took the homogeneity of the Mylasean tribes and *syngeneiai*, all worshipping a Zeus who was a hypostasis of themselves, as a sign of their authentic, primeval character.<sup>82</sup> One might borrow from the revised view of the history of the Greek polis an opposite view: the homogeneity is the product of a standardizing design imposed at a particular moment in time. (But standardization does not necessarily imply new creation: the anomalous ‘*phyle* Koboldou’ at Stratonicea, which apparently designates a place within a deme,<sup>83</sup> reminds us of the complicated indigenous realities that may underlie the superimposed Greek word *phyle*.) The story of the transition ‘From *syngeneia* to polis’ is one that cannot be told step by step. Free-standing *syngeneiai* and those that sub-divide poleis are like and unlike; no direct route leads from one to the other, and we must rather suppose a probably complicated process of re-use and partially changed use of old forms and names.

<sup>81</sup> Alinda?: LAUMONIER 1934, 291-298, no. 1 (McCABE 1991, Alabanda, no. 1); cf. BRESSON and DEBORD 1985, 209-210. Alabanda: n. 7 above.

<sup>82</sup> LAUMONIER 1958, e.g. 133-134; this led him to strange views about the cult of Sinuri, pp. 175-183.

<sup>83</sup> VAN BREMEN 2000, 394-398.

This paper opened with forms of religious organisation in Caria other than the polis. Leagues turned out to be an extra tier, not an alternative; villages proved elusive. There remain *koina*, and the ideal would be to explain how the religious life of *koina* compares with that of poleis, a question which is obviously just a sub-aspect of that of the broader relation of those two structures. But we saw that it is misleading to suppose that there is an ideal type of the Carian *koinon*. Many are quondam poleis that have been deprived of their place in the sun by the greater sun of Rhodes; they remain structurally very similar to the poleis they once were. Some contain other *koina* within them, like Russian dolls; these are a superimposed layer. Some few may be groupings of villages, like the Leukoideis whose magistrates are κώμαρχοι.<sup>84</sup> Some are centred round a sanctuary, and one may wonder how the *koina* of Panamareis at Panamara or of Telmissians at Telmissos<sup>85</sup> differ from the *syngeneiai* of Pelekos at Sinuri or of Korris at Labraunda: in each case we are dealing with a sanctuary-centred community which is not a polis, though it may eventually be absorbed into one. Such sanctuary-centred communities are perhaps the most distinctive Carian element to be taken up within the continuous process of bricolage (involving both things and names from two cultures) that created the Carian religious world which we very partially observe.



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# 3

## WAS 'POLIS RELIGION' 'ECONOMICALLY RATIONAL'?

### THE CASE OF OROPOS

John Davies

*MY PRESENCE in this volume may require some explanation. I came to know Christiane Sourvinou when she came to Oxford from Birmingham as a Mycenaean specialist to work with my late first wife Anna Morpurgo. We, with others, soon found considerable common ground of attitude and approach over a much wider field of Greek studies, especially in respect of the need to bridge the gap of knowledge and understanding which we felt existed in the early 1970s between 'classical archaeology' and 'ancient history' as the disciplines were then practised and taught in Oxford. As an experiment—or perhaps as a demonstration—we decided to offer a joint seminar in early 1975, with the clumsy but programmatic title 'Delphi between history and archaeology: cult, myth, and politics.' That seminar not only attracted and retained an attendance which included Simon Price and Robert Parker, but was formative for both of us in shaping our subsequent work and interests. For my own part, that influence took two forms. In the short term, it prompted the choice of Delphi as the unifying focus of a third-year course which I created and taught in Liverpool for many years. Its attractions were, first, that it offered a vantage-point that was not Athens or Rome from which students could view the entire history of Antiquity, and secondly that it compelled them to attempt to knit together information that had been generated within very different genres of material (literary, archaeological, art-historical, epigraphical). In the longer term, our seminar prompted an awareness that sanctuaries, as institutions with their own logic and high concentrations of activity, offered the historian an invaluable but under-explored avenue of entry into the economic life of antiquity; much of my subsequent scholarly work, as also some*

*of hers,<sup>1</sup> has reflected that awareness. I therefore owe her a very great debt of gratitude, and it is a matter of profound sorrow to me that she cannot now accept that acknowledgement in person. All I can do is to offer what follows here as a token, a critique, and a salutation.*

## I

My title<sup>2</sup> may create unrealistic expectations. It juxtaposes two phrases which have each become terms of art within the general discipline of ancient history but normally denote two wholly distinct areas of discussion. The first will be familiar to all readers of this volume from Christiane Sourvinou's two papers of 1988 and 1990 as well as from the debate which they have aroused. The second, in contrast, has up to now found space only in a very specialised corner of the debate about ancient economies, and has attracted more attention in respect of the economies of the Roman Empire<sup>3</sup> than it has of the pre-Roman Greek polities, whether royal or other. Yet the juxtaposition within my title generates ramifications which far exceed the capacities both of this paper and of its author. That is because they touch on scholarly work within other academic disciplines—the economics of religion, rational choice theory, economic sociology, economic anthropology—which clearly provide potentially valuable comparative or theoretical materials but also present the dangers that are inherent in presuming on a superficial acquaintance.

This paper will therefore restrict itself to a more limited purview. It will use a single well-documented case-study in order to explore how, and how effectively, a Greek political community managed its revenue-bearing cultic assets, and within what framework of practicality and *mentalités*. The justification for doing so stems from the pervasiveness

<sup>1</sup> SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1978; 1988; 1990; 1993.

<sup>2</sup> This paper takes its origin from a lecture given at the British School of Archaeology in Athens in February 2006, when I was co-directing the School's PG residential course on 'The history, archaeology, and epigraphy of the Greek sanctuary'. I am most grateful to the then Director, Dr (now Professor) James Whitley, for that first invitation, and now to Dr Kavoulaki for this second invitation. I owe thanks also to Roland Oetjen for directing my thoughts some years ago towards rational choice perspectives. I also thank Stephen Lambert, Milena Melfi, Guy Oakes, Sue Sherratt, and Koen Verboven for assistance of various kinds.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. RATHBONE 1991, with KEHOE 1993; DE BLOIS and RICH (eds) 2002; VERBOVEN 2015.

in Greek polytheistic antiquity of the system that has been labelled ‘polis religion’, i.e. a structure which had come to incorporate most (if not all) of the cults, sacrifices, sanctuaries, and festivals of most (if not all) the deities which were recognised as having a place within the geographical circumscription of a specific city-state. Such structures, stable but not static, naturally required supervision and resources, but though the practicalities of such resource-management have been the object of systematic study for generations<sup>4</sup> the approach has been historical-antiquarian rather than economic; to my knowledge only Carmine Ampolo has explicitly linked the two phrases in my title within a Classical Greek context, very briefly in two papers.<sup>5</sup> Likewise, Beate Dignas’ detailed exploration of ‘The economy of the sacred’ in her 2002 book is more concerned with the much larger field of the social, institutional and financial relationships that linked (1) civic communities, (2) sanctuaries and temples, and (3) rulers/kings/governors in the various triangles of powers that characterised the post-Alexander world, whereas by definition the key relationships within ‘polis religion’ are between community and individual (citizen or not), with or without the mediation of priests, inside the single polis. What follows here will therefore follow Ampolo’s lead and attempt to explore its implications.

In any case the lack of discussion is understandable, since each phrase lends itself to ambiguity. That which inheres in the phrase ‘polis religion’ is easier to bridge, since it will not be deployed in what follows in any complex sense. I am not concerned either to assess the value of the structuralist penumbra with which Christiane Sourvinou surrounded it, or to test the application to the Greek states of Bendlin’s claim that ‘the ideal of civic religion...is a phantom that masks individual [*sc. élite*] interests’,<sup>6</sup> or to explore in detail the problems of the interaction between the system which she described and the personal, marginal, magical, immigrant, or other supra- and infra-polis aspects of Greek

<sup>4</sup> Full review, with exhaustive documentation, in MIGEOTTE 2014.

<sup>5</sup> AMPOLO 1992; 2000. Of the other papers in LINDERS and ALROTH (eds) 1992, only that of Sara ALESHIRE (1992) is immediately pertinent. However there has been a lively debate among historians of Roman religion about applying both the term ‘polis religion’ (WOOLF 1997; BENDLIN 1997, especially 63-65) and economic terminology in general to a context which was certainly much more pluralist than Greece and perhaps more openly competitive (survey in BENDLIN 2000; summary in EIDINOW 2014, 77-79).

<sup>6</sup> BENDLIN 1997, 63.

religious practice. These themes have been well rehearsed since 1988<sup>7</sup> and need no further comment here. My business will simply be with one aspect of the ensemble of ritualised behaviour, whether collective or personal, that can be detected in Greek societies in general as being concerned with ‘religion’: namely, with the overall economic impact of all the modes of resource-utilisation that such behaviour comported, and in consequence with an attempt to evaluate the degree of ‘rationality’ that can be attributed to it.

Implicit though it has largely been, this issue is of primordial importance. Its structure therefore needs to be spelled out, beginning with the four basic presuppositions which would have attracted a virtually unanimous<sup>8</sup> adherence among all sections of all populations of all ancient Greek communities:

- a) that gods and other supernatural entities exist;
- b) that they can and do exercise power within the physical world;
- c) that their exercise of power can be influenced by appropriate human activities; and
- d) that they have preferred places for such activities.

In turn, via complex processes which cannot be described in detail here, those presuppositions generated at least four forms of the use of resources:

- e) of land, when it was deemed to be the property of a god or hero and was therefore subject to particular kinds of collective management;
- f) of financial and human resources to create altars and shrines, or for the erection and maintenance of temples and other constructions within sanctuaries;
- g) of natural and human resources for sacrifices and other ceremonial procedures; and
- h) of natural and financial resources for dedications.

Furthermore, especially in respect of the last category, some account must be taken of the benefits that could otherwise have accrued from the productive deployment of those resources; benefits that, once those resources had been sterilized in the form of dedication or sacrifice, had either been annulled altogether or at best indefinitely deferred.

<sup>7</sup> Explicitly or implicitly in PRICE 1999, 67-88; OGDEN (ed.) 2010, 219-279; PARKER 2011, 57-61; KINDT 2012, 12-35; POLINSKAYA 2013, 24-25 and 452-455. The Erfurt project (RÜPKE 2012) will take the debate further, as also above all does the review by HARRISON 2015.

<sup>8</sup> ‘Virtually’, because hints of agnosticism or atheism are attested among the intelligentsia (OCD<sup>4</sup>, s.v. atheism [R. Parker]; WHITMARSH 2015).

To seek to use the phrase ‘economically rational’ in such a context therefore generates a series of problems. (1) First and foremost, the phrase invites a discourse which is not just descriptive and analytic but is also judgemental. In the words of Dominic Rathbone’s helpful summary—building on a line of interpretation which goes back through Finley and others to Weber<sup>9</sup>—one is being invited to judge whether a particular activity was ‘an economic enterprise with the connotations of economically rational management and productivity and profit consciousness, or whether it was a more passive agglomeration of wealth, managed in a fairly simple manner so as to extract a satisfactory income while maintaining the capital value of the investment.’<sup>10</sup> (2) That in turn poses the question whether one can fairly assess behaviour as ‘economically rational’ or otherwise when it is attested within a remote society whose populations had not developed the conceptual tools of analysis of behaviour and outcomes (including ‘investment’ itself, not to mention ‘marginal efficiency gains’<sup>11</sup>) which are a precondition of ‘rational choice’ as currently understood. (3) Again, one needs to decide how far such an assessment is affected or invalidated when (a) an economic actor is not an individual or (in modern terms) a conventional trading ‘firm’ but a *polis*, a hereditary body that acts not only as a collective and as a trustee for future generations but also as trustee of the management of property or enterprises ‘owned’ by deities, when (b) such entities were deemed to be able and willing to avenge misbehaviour ferociously, and when (c) that behaviour might not be recognised as improper until after the vengeance had been wrought. (4) Lastly, what difference does it make to our judgement when, at least in terms of ‘polis religion’, the activity in question was restricted to the area which the polis controlled, when that activity comprised a network of cults, each with a degree of autonomy, and when there was no formal supra-polis organisation such as a Church that could plan and effect economies of scale?

Solutions to these problems are hard to find. True, study of the issues of rationality and rational choice is a standard mainstream component

<sup>9</sup> Weber’s basic insight was to distinguish four kinds of action, driven respectively by habits, by emotions, by values, and by risk-assessed purposes. Only the last two rated as driving rational action, the fourth alone yielding economic rationality. Helpful expositions, with further references, in KUPER and KUPER (eds) 2004, 847-850 s.vv. ‘rational choice (action) theory’ and ‘rational expectations’, and in SMELSER and SWEDBERG (eds) 2005, 3-25.

<sup>10</sup> RATHBONE 1991, 394 with n. 2.

<sup>11</sup> For the post-1870 ‘marginalist revolution’ in economics, cf. BACKHOUSE 2002, 166-184, and HANN and HART 2011, 37-54.

of economics itself,<sup>12</sup> economic anthropology,<sup>13</sup> and sociology and social theory,<sup>14</sup> and is present within ancient Near Eastern studies<sup>15</sup> and Classical studies<sup>16</sup> in the wake of Finley's amalgamation of Weber and Polanyi.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the exploration of the relationships between economics and present-day religious practice is a flourishing field,<sup>18</sup> though it falls outside the purview of mainstream economics as an analysis of purposive action. Unfortunately, since interdisciplinary dialogue has been wholly lacking, the historian of the economics of Greek cult has no one widely-accepted theoretical framework to hand. My instinct is that to adopt any one version, e.g. one based on neo-institutionalism or expressive rationality in their capacity as the two currently fashionable modifications of neo-classical theory, is at best premature if not an error of method;<sup>19</sup> one recalls that though Max Weber's gigantic *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* was characterised by dizzying heights of abstraction, his own practice was to study individual cultic-religious systems in order to assemble a corpus of comparative evidence.<sup>20</sup> Hence, notwithstanding the alleged perils of empiricism,<sup>21</sup> the aim should rather be to continue the culture-specific, evidence-driven, but economically-oriented explorations that were begun for Classical Antiquity by Linders and Alroth (1992) and Dignas (2002)<sup>22</sup> and are paralleled for the modern world by

<sup>12</sup> E.g. GODELIER 1972; BECKER 1976; and SMITH 2008; but also Herbert Simon's concept of 'bounded rationality' (SIMON 1982a; 1982b; 1997, especially Part IVA). I exclude mathematical-ly-oriented expositions.

<sup>13</sup> Review of major titles in HANN and HART 2011, 72-99; add CARRIER (ed.) 2012.

<sup>14</sup> WEBER 1947 most obviously, with other traditions represented by GODELIER 1972; BRUBAKER 2006 [1984]; DOYAL and HARRIS 1986; HARGREAVES HEAP 1989.

<sup>15</sup> JURSA *et al.* 2010, 13-26.

<sup>16</sup> CHRISTESEN 2003, 32-39; ENGEN 2010, 28-36, both using HARGREAVES HEAP 1989 to invoke 'expressive rationality'; SCHEFOLD 2011; SILVER 2011.

<sup>17</sup> To the most recent survey of Polanyi (ISAAC 2012) add HUMPHREYS 1969/1978.

<sup>18</sup> GEERTZ 1966; BERGER and BERGER 1976, 367-389, and others were precursors of a now very active sub-field of economics. Surveys and samples in IANNACCONE 1998; WUTHNOW 2005; STARK 2006; IYER 2008; IANNACCONE and BERMAN 2008; IANNACCONE and BAINBRIDGE 2010; MCCLEARY (ed.) 2011; COLEMAN 2012.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Wuthnow's replacement of a first, very theoretical essay on the links between religion and economic life (WUTHNOW 1994) by a much more evidence-based second version (WUTHNOW 2005).

<sup>20</sup> Viz. his studies of Protestantism and of the sociology of the Chinese, Indian, and Jewish religions. Conspectus in PARSONS 1947, scathing critique in IANNACCONE 1998, 1474-1478 and IANNACCONE and BERMAN 2008, 87.

<sup>21</sup> DOYAL and HARRIS 1986, 1-26.

<sup>22</sup> Plus, more recently, a distinguished series of studies of Delos (REGER 1994; CHANKOWSKI 2008; MIGEOTTE 2014, 585-678); also Ephesos (DAVIES 2011).

the studies reviewed in recent products of the Handbook industry (cf. n. 18). To that end the following two sections focus on a single illustrative case-study, with tentative responses to problems (1) to (4) being offered in section IV.

## II

The case-study focuses on the sanctuary of the iatromantic hero-turned-god Amphiaraus in the territory of Oropos to the north of Athens. It will concentrate on one brief period only, and will not attempt to review the unusually complex history<sup>23</sup> of the sanctuary in detail. However a basic minimum of background information is necessary as an explanatory backdrop. Oropos itself, though situated on the Euripus at the extreme eastern end of what became Boeotian territory, is stated by a Hellenistic antiquarian to have been 'a foundation of the [Ere]trians'<sup>24</sup> from across the Euripus, a tradition which receives support both from the buildings and artefacts from the EIA-Archaic settlement at Skala Oropou<sup>25</sup> and from the dialectal forms that are attested in the three Oropian decrees *I.Oropos* 1-3.<sup>26</sup> Nikokrates' further statement 'for it is disputed by Boeotians, [Eretri]ans, Athenians' can also largely be corroborated, for the Eretrian control or influence that was still visible in 490<sup>27</sup> had yielded in the first instance to Athenian control by 431,<sup>28</sup> the Oropians then being described as Athenian 'subjects' (ὑπήκοοι),<sup>29</sup> but thereafter to Boeotian control in 411 and to a subsequent oscillation, interspersed by three brief periods of independence, that was not finally resolved in favour of the Athenians until the Augustan period.<sup>30</sup> One of those brief periods has now been persuasively argued by Knoepfler<sup>31</sup> to have been from 338 till

<sup>23</sup> Surveys or summaries in GSCHNITZER 1958, 82-85; ROESCH 1984; KNOEPFLER 1986; DAVERIO ROCCHI 1988, 183-196; HORNBLLOWER 1997, 279; FARAGUNA 1992, 260-262; MORPURGO-DAVIES 1993; *Inventory* 448-449 no.214 (Hansen).

<sup>24</sup> Nikokrates, *FGrH* 376 F 1, with KNOEPFLER 1985 but also WALKER 2004, 155-156.

<sup>25</sup> References in *Archaeological Reports* 2002/03: 12-13.

<sup>26</sup> Briefly PETRAKOS 1997 *ad I.Oropos* 1; in more detail MORPURGO-DAVIES 1993 and KNOEPFLER 2001, 367-368 and 373, the latter re-dating the three decrees to 338-335.

<sup>27</sup> Hdt. 6. 101. 1. Eretrian revindication of the territory continued through the fifth and fourth centuries (KNOEPFLER 1986, 81 n.99).

<sup>28</sup> It was certainly under Athenian control by the date of *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 41, lines 67-71 of which specify the maximum permitted ferry-fares between Hestiaia or Chalkis and Oropos, so the Euboean Revolt of 446 is a likely *terminus post quem non*.

<sup>29</sup> Thuc. 2. 23. 3, with HORNBLLOWER 1997 *ad loc.*

<sup>30</sup> KNOEPFLER 2001, 378, citing a then unpublished inscription to be published by Petrakos.

<sup>31</sup> KNOEPFLER 2001, 367-389.

335, and though it is not essential for the present argument that his case should be accepted<sup>32</sup> it does render more intelligible the nature and the intensity of the Athenian activity which can be seen to have followed immediately upon their re-acquisition of the territory.

That activity is documented in an extant speech, Hyperides' *For Euxenippos*,<sup>33</sup> and in a number of inscriptions. Much but not all of the documentation has to do with the sanctuary of Amphiaraus, a hero whose profile in myth,<sup>34</sup> both as scion of a family of seers and as one of the Seven Against Thebes, offered any polity that controlled it a cult that had great potential value, whether as an oracle, as a healing spa, or as 'patron saint' of a territory. However, Herodotus appears to record his sanctuary as having been at Thebes itself, both when it was one of those consulted on Croesus' behalf ca. 546 and when Mus consulted it on behalf of Mardonius in winter 480/79,<sup>35</sup> so that its emergence in Oropian territory by the late fifth century<sup>36</sup> is a puzzle which has yet to receive a satisfactory explanation.<sup>37</sup>

As an aid towards envisaging the course of its subsequent development in the fourth century, it will be helpful to set out the main components of the known epigraphic and archaeological record. I review first the pre-335 dedications, now conveniently assembled together as *I.Oropos* 333-348, since they can be seen to reflect the tensions over control of the territory. The earliest (333), of the 560s, is reported to resemble one from nearby Rhamnous, Attica's remotest and most northerly deme, and one dated ca. 480-470 (334) is signed by an Athenian sculptor, Strombichos,<sup>38</sup> but one from the late fifth century (336) is clearly Eretrian, while two late fifth-century *apobatai* reliefs<sup>39</sup> may be either Attic or

<sup>32</sup> It is accepted by WHITEHEAD (2000, 207) and by the editors in *GHI* 75.

<sup>33</sup> Speech III in Jensen's standard Teubner edition, IV in Kenyon's OCT and Burt's Loeb edition.

<sup>34</sup> Hom. *Od.* 15. 223-255; Aesch. *Hepta* 568-596; Pindar, *N.* 9.24-27; *O.* 6.12-17; *P.* 8.39-56.

<sup>35</sup> Hdt. 1.52; 8. 134. 1-2.

<sup>36</sup> As is normally inferred from the existence of Aristophanes' play *Amphiaraus* of 414 (F17-40 K-A). I do not know what reason TRAVLOS (1988, 301) had for stating that the shrine 'wurde im letzten Viertel des 5. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. von einem Privatmann gegründet'.

<sup>37</sup> Reviews of possibilities by SCHACHTER 1981, 21-23 and PARKER 1996, 146-149, with references to earlier scholarship.

<sup>38</sup> *IG VII* 3500 = *I.Oropos* 334; *PAA* 842 205; very likely identical with 842 200, dedicatory to Hermes in the 470s, as suggested by MATTHAIIOU 1990/91: 13 no.2, whence *SEG LXVI* 65, and endorsed by PETRAKOS 1997. That Strombichos identifies himself as *Athenaios* on *I.Oropos* 334 implies that the sanctuary was not yet within Athenian territory.

<sup>39</sup> References in PARKER 1996, 146 n.99; add *I.Oropos* 335.

Boeotian.<sup>40</sup> Others that reflect an Athenian presence<sup>41</sup> include an undated one by an unidentified Athenian (343); a statue-base (346) with a fourth-century sculptor's signature by a Pheidias who has been cast as a descendant of his famous namesake;<sup>42</sup> a dedication to Hygieia by Hyperides' client Euxenippos, inscribed without demotic and therefore presumably pre-335;<sup>43</sup> and a victory dedication to Amphiaraus by the ephebe son of [A]utulokos, on which his demotic has been erased and replaced by *Athenaios*.<sup>44</sup>

The relevant public documents are much less easy to view as an ensemble. As so often, the epigraphic record is scattered through a number of volumes, with individual documents being re-identified with different numbers as the result of republications. The process is unavoidable, but does render the task of constructing a story such as that of the Amphiaraion intricate and time-consuming. For easier orientation, and at the cost of creating yet another set of numbers, I list the main documents as follows<sup>45</sup> and shall refer to them by the numbers in *bold*.

- 1: *Decree specifying procedures at the Amphiaraion*: Sokolowski, *LSCG Suppl.* 35; *SEG XXII* 370; *SEG XXXI* 415; *I.Oropos* 276, with PETROPOULOU 1981.
- 2: *Decree specifying procedures at the Amphiaraion*: *IG VII* 235; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 1004; Sokolowski, *LSCG* 69; *SEG XXXI* 416 (summary of PETROPOULOU 1981); *I.Oropos* 277; *GHI* 27 (detailed commentary).
- 3: *Athenian Council decree moved by Pandios*: KNOEPFLER 1986 (whence *SEG XXXVI* 442)(decree only); *I.Oropos* 290.
- 4: *Oropian decree for Amyntas Perdikka*: *IG VII* 4251; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 258; *I.Oropos* 1; *GHI* 75A.
- 5: *Oropian decree for Amyntas Antiochou*: *IG VII* 4250; *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 258; *I.Oropos* 2; *GHI* 75B. Re-dating: KNOEPFLER 2001, 367-389.
- 6: *Decree of the two Athenian tribes Aigeis and Aiantis*: LANGDON 1987,

<sup>40</sup> The only two possibilities according to Theophrastus' *Nomoi* (F 15 S-M =657 ST) ap. Harp. A 182 (Ἀποβάτης).

<sup>41</sup> Others do not: two from Skala Oropou (*I.Oropos* 333 and 336) are unconnected to Amphiaraus and are possibly or certainly non-Athenian, and various others (*I.Oropos* 337; 338; 340; 344; 345) allow no inferences. The dedication by an Aristomedes of Pherai (*I.Oropos* 342) is so closely associated with the proxeny decrees *I.Oropos* 1 and 2 for Amyntas Perdikka and Amyntas Antiochou that it must share their downdating by Knoepfler to 338-335.

<sup>42</sup> *PAA* 918 765 (the text there misreported as Φαιδίας).

<sup>43</sup> *SEG XXII* 372; *I.Oropos* 347.

<sup>44</sup> *IG VII* 444; *I.Oropos* 348.

<sup>45</sup> I make no attempt to reproduce full lemmata, which are accessible in *I.Oropos*, *IG II*<sup>3</sup>, and *GHI*.

- whence SEG XXXVII 100; *Agora* XIX, L8; *Agora* XVI 84; PAZARKADAS 2009.
- 7: *Athenian law on the Lesser Panathenaia proposed by Aristonikos of Marathon*: full texts only as GHI 81 and IG II<sup>2</sup> 447.
- 8: *Athenian decree for Pytheas of Alopeke*: IG VII 3499; IG II<sup>2</sup> 338; SIG<sup>3</sup> 281; SCHWENK 1985, 146 no.28; *I.Oropos* 295; IG II<sup>3</sup> 338.
- 9: *Athenian decree moved by Phanodemos to crown Amphiaraus*: IG VII 4252; SCHWENK 1985, 198-201 no.40: *I.Oropos* 296; IG II<sup>3</sup> 349, with detailed analysis by SCAFURO 2009.
- 10: *Athenian decree praising Phanodemos*: IG VII 4253; SIG<sup>3</sup> 287; SCHWENK 1985, 201 no.45; *I.Oropos* 297; IG II<sup>3</sup> 348.
- 11: *Athenian decree praising Phanodemos and others*: IG VII 4254; SIG<sup>3</sup> 298; SCHWENK 1985, 241 no.50; *I.Oropos* 298; IG II<sup>3</sup> 355.
- 12: *Dedication by the Athenian Council at Amphiaraion*: *Agora* XV 49; SCHWENK 1985, 280 no.56; *I.Oropos* 299; IG II<sup>3</sup> 360.
- 13: *Athenian decree*: IG II<sup>2</sup> 375; SCHWENK 1985, 449 no.89; *I.Oropos* 300; IG II<sup>3</sup> 385.

The three surviving public documents of the pre-335 period (Nos 1-3) also reflect the shifts of control. The earliest (No. 1), a fragmentary decree from a period of Boeotian overlordship in the early fourth century, laid down provisions to exact fees from visitors and to keep a tally of healed patients, a fact which confirms the impression which the fragments of Aristophanes' *Amphiaraus* also suggest,<sup>46</sup> that the healing role of the sanctuary was already prominent. That decree was, it appears, superseded by a second and more elaborate version (No. 2), now dated to a period of renewed Boeotian control between 386 and ca. 374. It lays down the responsibilities of the priest of Amphiaraus, his powers to enforce orderly behaviour in the sanctuary, the divisions of role and of sacrificial victim between priest and worshipper, and the rules to be observed by those who came to sleep in the sanctuary in the hope of receiving oracular guidance in a dream (i.e. the rite of incubation). The third document (No. 3) is a decree of the Athenian Council<sup>47</sup> proposed by Pandios,<sup>48</sup> which arranges for the repair of the fountain of Amphiaraus and of the baths, for the erection of a stele recording the repair, for various

<sup>46</sup> See n. 36 above.

<sup>47</sup> For such decrees cf. RHODES 1972, 88-105 and 271-275; KNOEPFLER 1986, 83 n.57 (not citing Rhodes 1972); RHODES and LEWIS 1997, 30.

<sup>48</sup> KNOEPFLER 1986, 85-89; less adventurously, PAA 763 635 (but even there it would have been safer to keep the Pandios of IG II<sup>2</sup> 31 as a separate entity).

payments, and for a vote of thanks to the priest. Now re-dated firmly by Knoepfler to the period of Athenian control between ca. 374 and 366, possibly to 369/68, and followed on the stone by a detailed specification of the works to be done, this decree valuably reveals the stage of development of facilities at that date. The ensuing period of Boeotian control after 366 saw further construction, especially the long stoa of ca. 360, built in a style which 'has much that is alien to Athenian architecture'<sup>49</sup> and of a length (nearly 109 m) which must reflect a rapidly rising level of demand for the rite of incubation. The surmise that it was a Macedonian donation is now discounted,<sup>50</sup> but the basis of the surmise, the survival of two proxeny decrees for prominent Macedonians (Nos 4 & 5), has all the more interest now that a further exercise of re-dating by Knoepfler has located them in 338-335 during a brief period of Oropian autonomy.

All the same, it was the period of renewed Athenian possession after 335 that saw the activity that is most significant for the present argument. It had various objectives. One was military, i.e. to ensure that the Athenians were not caught on the hop again, as they had been in 366. It is now clear that the means chosen, Epikrates' law to reconstitute the ephebate as a border guard force, was adopted in 335/34, the first year-cohort being enrolled in 334/33 and passing out in 333/32;<sup>51</sup> it is no accident that ephebic documents are prominent at the Amphiaraion.<sup>52</sup> A second objective was economic, to exploit the territory as profitably as possible.<sup>53</sup> Part of it was dedicated to Amphiaraus, part of it was distributed to the ten Athenian tribes coupled in pairs, and a tract of land called the Nea which was probably another part<sup>54</sup> was dedicated to Athene. The strategy was evidently to retain the land wholly or mainly in corporate or cultic hands, and to lease it on stated conditions, rather than to sell it into private ownership or to retain the Oropians as tenants. The detailed

<sup>49</sup> Thus COULTON 1976, 269, and TRAVLOS 1988, 302. The reference to an architect on *I.Oropos* 289 is tantalising, since the inscription evidently belongs to a non-Athenian period, but it was found at Skala, not at the Amphiaraion, and is in any case lost.

<sup>50</sup> COULTON 1976, 48 n.2; but Petrakos' note on *I.Oropos* 339 still cites Coulton's earlier view.

<sup>51</sup> The basic case is that presented in detail, with full anterior references, by KNOEPFLER 2001, 381-382, and endorsed by PAPA ZARKADAS 2011, 105.

<sup>52</sup> *I.Oropos* 348 and 352-354.

<sup>53</sup> What follows here gratefully summarises the expositions in WHITEHEAD 2000, 153-262; *GHI*, pp. 398-403; PAPA ZARKADAS 2009; and PAPA ZARKADAS 2011, 44-49 and 102-106.

<sup>54</sup> The debate on its location is still open; recent contributions, with references to earlier work, in WHITEHEAD 2000, 208; *GHI*, pp. 400-401; PAPA ZARKADAS 2009, 179-180.

land-distribution scheme, as reflected in Hyperides' speech *For Euxenippos* and in a badly damaged decree (No. 6) of the two tribes Aigeis and Aiantis, still presents major difficulties, not least because of both initial human error in surveying or allocation and subsequent encroachments on land allocated to Amphiarus, but the emphasis on workable land and on timber which runs through the entire document leaves no doubt about contemporary priorities.

Even so, the feature that stands out most sharply is the degree of emphasis that was laid on support for cult and festivals; this was clearly a third major objective. The document concerned with the Nea (No. 7), a law proposed by Aristonikos of Marathon in the later 330s on behalf of the law commissioners, provided for the rents to be used to buy animals for sacrifice during the annual festival of the Lesser Panathenaia, doing so 'in order that the sacrifice to Athene at the Lesser Panathenaia may be as fine as possible and that the income for the festival-managers be as great as possible' (lines 5-7). A decree of the same period, passed in summer 333 (No. 8), sounds the same note by praising one Pytheas of Alopeke<sup>55</sup> for his services as Superintendent of Springs, *inter alia* because he 'has restored the spring in the Amphiarion and has taken care of the water-channel and the pipes there' (lines 16-18).

Two years later, two decrees passed on the same day in early summer 331 begin to reveal the professed underlying motivations. One (No. 9), moved by Phanodemos of Thymaitadai, is unique in providing for a god to be crowned: 'Whereas the god takes good care of those, Athenians and others, who come to the sanctuary, for the sake of the health and salvation of all in the land, to crown Amphiarus with a golden crown from 1000 drachmas, and the herald of the people is to proclaim that "The people of Athenians crowns Amphiarus with a golden crown from 1000 drachmas"; and later on that the *epimeletai* 'are to proclaim in the sanctuary what has been voted by the people and are to dedicate the crown to the god for the health and salvation of the people of Athenians and of children and women and of all in the land.'<sup>56</sup> The other decree of that assembly session (No. 10) provides part of the background for Phanodemos' concern: 'Whereas Phanodemos of Thymaitadai has

<sup>55</sup> PAA 793 270, from a well-attested family (cf. ib. 255, 260, 262, 265). The decree is careful to keep his award in abeyance until he 'renders his accounts' (lines 19-20), but since he would be in post for the best part of three more years even the promulgation of the award looks decidedly premature; there was clearly felt to be some urgency about recognising his achievements.

<sup>56</sup> Lines 11-20 and 25-31; 'stretched and innovative phraseology' (SCAFURO 2009, 73).

legislated well and honourably concerning the sanctuary of Amphiaraus, so that both the Quadrennial Festival and the other sacrifices to the gods in the sanctuary of Amphiaraus may take place as splendidly as possible, and has made resources available for these activities and for the maintenance of the sanctuary, Resolved by the Council...(procedural formulae omitted)...to praise Phanodemos son of Diyllos of Thymaitadai for his honourable activity towards the god and towards the sanctuary of Amphiaraus, and to crown him with a gold crown from 1000 drachmas' (lines 10-27).

Not that Phanodemos left the scene thereafter, for a decree of autumn 329 (No. 11) enjoins that 'Since those elected by the people for the management of the contest and of the other aspects to do with the festival of Amphiaraus well and honourably organised both the procession to Amphiaraus and the athletic contest and the cavalry contest and the *apobasis* contest and all the other activities to do with the festival which the people had instructed them, resolved by the people; to praise those elected, Phanodemos son of Diyllos of Thymaitadai...(and nine other men)...for their justice and honourable activity towards the god and towards the people of Athenians, and crown them with a gold crown from 1000 drachmas...' (lines 11-35). A year later, too, when the Council of 328/27 made a dedication (No. 12) at the Amphiarion and when 21 councillors and ten others contributed to the cost, Phanodemos' name headed the list of 'the others'.<sup>57</sup>

### III

So much for the data, which have deliberately been presented above in a normal historical-antiquarian style. It is now appropriate to change key and to explore the ways in which, and the extent to which, the economic behaviour just described lends itself to the use of a more abstract and analytical language. *Four* aspects present themselves.

The first is the issue of the possession of Oropos itself, viewed simply as a process before addressing the question of why possession was sought. Here it may be helpful to call in aid two particular *tools* of analysis. The first is that of an 'implicit market'. I take the term from Becker 1991,<sup>58</sup> because of its potential applicability to contexts where there is

<sup>57</sup> No. 13, a decree of summer 321 that is the last surviving document from this period of Athenian control of Oropos, preserves nothing but initial formalities.

<sup>58</sup> BECKER 1991, ix, with commentary (based on the 1981 edition) by BOURDIEU 2005, 83.

the possibility of choice between goods or between providers even when there is no medium of exchange, no locus or institution of exchange, and no sense on the part of actors that the language of exchange or of the market is appropriate. It is reassuring that the current discourse on the economics of religion<sup>59</sup> has no hesitation in using the terminology of the market, along with the full range of theoretical models.

The *second tool*, which I have already advocated briefly elsewhere,<sup>60</sup> is to think of *poleis* as the structural equivalent for Greek antiquity of the 'firms' which have been seen ever since Adam Smith as the basic unit of discourse within the discipline of economics. The case for so doing does not stem simply from the virtual absence from Greek antiquity of recognisable 'firms' in the modern sense, but rather from the number of separate *polis*-entities that are known, from the characteristics of their structure (citizens as shareholders; a management structure; a portfolio or productive assets; a workforce, to some degree organised as a partnership), and from their indelible disposition towards ruthlessly competitive behaviour, pursued to a degree that needs no illustration here.<sup>61</sup> If one adds, as a counterweight to this last point, their capacity also for collaboration and amalgamation, the similarities of structure and behaviour between ancient *poleis* and modern firms seem close enough for the transposition to be usable. Indeed, one might with equal appropriateness think of sanctuaries as 'firms' in much the same way.<sup>62</sup> Attested by the thousand throughout the regions of Greek culture, they too had some of the relevant characteristics. These included a management structure, sometimes familial but more often comprising short-term office-holders; a portfolio of productive assets, and/or a flow of income generated by the provision of products and services, such that a sanctuary could hope to be largely self-sustaining; a workforce, however small and amateur; a level of autonomy that, at the extreme, could give them real or near-real independent status; and above all a degree of continuity through time and of protection from disruption which any 'firm' would envy.

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<sup>59</sup> References in n. 18 above.

<sup>60</sup> DAVIES forthcoming, section 1.1.3.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. FRIER and KEHOE 2005, 126-134.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. IANACCONE's sections on 'Churches as firms' and on 'Religious markets' (1998, 1484-1488), Stark's image of a 'religious economy' with a 'market' of adherents, 'firms' 'seeking to attract or retain adherents', and organisations offering religious culture as 'product' (STARK 2006, 64), and the terminology of consumers, producers, and investors used by IANACCONE and BAINBRIDGE 2010.

Armed with these tools, one may return to Oropos. As a piece of real estate, it was coveted by no fewer than four corporate parties—the Eretrians, the Boeotians, the Athenians, and the Oropians themselves—who were therefore competing for its possession, and were doing so during a period of mainland Greek history that is generally recognised to have had high population levels and heavy pressure on a very limited quantity of available land. Historically, the acquisition of Oropos by outside parties had hitherto taken the culturally normal forms of violence, subterfuge, or diplomacy, but it may be helpful to apply the tools described above, however tentatively, and to think in terms of ‘competition’ between ‘firms’ as potential purchasers within an ‘implicit market’. In practice this will not take us far, for there was no willing seller (left to themselves, as they rarely were, the Oropians clearly preferred to be an independent micro-state), but land-markets within individual states were already a well-established reality by the 320s, and the theory would become reality at the interstate level a century later, when a near-explicit market in the form of a monetary purchase of a city and its territory is attested.<sup>63</sup>

All the same, such competition, whether civil or military, establishes that the land was a good worth acquiring. If, as a second aspect, we attempt to identify its attractions, they appear to form a spectrum within which ‘polis religion’ moves from a marginal to a central role. At the purely secular end of the spectrum lay Oropos’ location, for its value to Athens as an access point for Euboea, already explicitly noted by Thucydides, was simply geographical, and remains true today.<sup>64</sup> Equally ‘secular’ may have been the economic attraction of the forest cover that is attested in repetitive detail by No. 6, though Papazarkadas rightly notes the importance of a secure supply of wood for public sacrificial purposes.<sup>65</sup> Much less clearly ‘secular’ was the allocation of land to pairs of tribes, who directly benefitted financially (Hyperides 3 *Eux.* 16). What little is known of the financial resources and administration of the Cleis-

<sup>63</sup> E.g. the purchase of Hieron Chalkedonion (now Anadolu Kavak) by the Byzantines from Kallimedes, the *strategos* of a not securely identified Seleukos, not long before 220 ‘at great cost’ (Polyb. 4. 50. 3; Dion. Byz. p. 30.3 Güngerich; BENGTON 1944, 118); or the purchase of Kaunos from the Ptolemies by the Rhodians after 197 for 200 talents (Polyb. 30. 31. 6, with Walbank *ad loc.*).

<sup>64</sup> Thuc. 7. 28. 1, with HORNBLOWER 1997 *ad loc.* An earlier Athenian decree had already regulated ferry fares between Oropos and towns on Euboea (*JG* I<sup>3</sup> 41.65-76). The vehicle ferry between Skala and Eretria is the modern embodiment of the link.

<sup>65</sup> PAPAARKADAS 2009, 173 and 175-176; *ib.* 2011, 105 and 127.

thenic tribes<sup>66</sup> shows both ‘sacred’ and ‘secular’ uses of the resources that accrued from other rentals, so the same must be assumed for their use of the new income from Oropian territory. Not ‘secular’ at all, of course, was the allocation of land to Athene and to Amphiaraus, for both Aristonikos’ law (No. 7) on the Panathenaia and the decree for Phanodemos (No. 9) are explicit that the income from those lands was to be used to finance festivals in honour of the appropriate god. Though we have no direct evidence for the extent of either demesne, that assigned to Amphiaraus has been tentatively estimated as ca. 17 per cent of the territory,<sup>67</sup> while one may cautiously adopt the default assumption that, as with territory outside Attica taken into Athenian ownership in the fifth century, one-tenth was assigned to Athene.<sup>68</sup> If these estimates are anything like correct, over one quarter of Oropian territory was being given to two gods; and Amphiaraus was getting a 1000-drachmas crown into the bargain (No. 11). Polis-religion could hardly be more prominent or pervasive—or, so it would appear, extravagant and economically perverse.

Such a verdict would be over-hasty. As briefly hinted at above, the actual legislative provisions reveal a hard-headed set of enactments that achieved no fewer than four objectives. First, militarily, they kept a newly re-acquired and vulnerable borderland under public control and protection, providing thereby a means both of checking the encroachments which are referred to<sup>69</sup> and of repelling incursions from Boetia or Euboea. Secondly, they created a system of land-tenure via leases which allowed the forms of land-use to be specified. Given the flow of agronomic treatises that were beginning to appear,<sup>70</sup> and given the detailed good practice that is specified in contemporary land-leases from Attica and elsewhere,<sup>71</sup> it is reasonable to expect that the same approaches will have been applied, and maybe specified, in the new territories. In any case, it is clear that the yield from the land was to be maximised. Thirdly, by providing that the revenues from the leases of the gods’ demesnes

<sup>66</sup> Survey in PAPAARKADAS 2011, 106-111.

<sup>67</sup> COSMOPOULOS 2001, 74-75 (but with a warning of its precariousness); PAPAARKADAS 2011, 48.

<sup>68</sup> Thuc. 3. 50. 2 (Lesbos, 427 BCE); Ailian, *VH* 6.1 (Chalkis, 446 BCE); HORSTER 2004, 71. The allocation made at Brea (ML 49 = *JG I*<sup>3</sup> 46.9-11) is not quantified.

<sup>69</sup> No. 6. 114 and 115.

<sup>70</sup> Xenophon’s *Oikonomikos* and Theophrastus’ two treatises on plants survive; Androtion’s *Georgikon* (*FGrH* 324 T 17 & F 75-82) and a possible *Georgikon* of Kleidemos (*FGrH* 323 F 33-36, with Jacoby *ad loc.*) unfortunately do not.

<sup>71</sup> BEHREND 1970; OSBORNE 1988; *Agora* XIX L1-16; HORSTER 2004, 180-185.

should be devoted to festivals and feasting, the entire body of Athenian citizens as shareholders would benefit by enjoying a lavish though spasmodic dividend from their shareholdings. It would be a proportional rather than an arithmetically equal distribution, indeed,<sup>72</sup> from which the many thousands of non-citizen inhabitants of Attica, free or slave, were excluded; but that was the logical consequence of the pre-suppositions which underlay polis religion—a system that privileged all members of the male descent groups that made up the polis but offered virtually nothing to non-citizens. One may debate whether a further consequence, that of keeping at bay the lively real-estate market of contemporary Attica, was intended.<sup>73</sup>

The fourth objective, however, brought in market considerations in another form, that of the demand-led market for access to healing cults. If the cult of Asclepius, spreading from Trikka and Messene through Greece by the fifth century, largely by private initiative,<sup>74</sup> had become the ‘market leader’, that was because ‘poleis-firms’ had evidently found themselves obliged by the scale of demand to invest in resources beyond the scale that was practicable for private individuals, and had also seen that it attracted footfall and prestige. Amphiaraus at Oropos was therefore a late-comer: to whatever degree it may be appropriate to detect ‘competition’ in an ‘implicit market’ and even to ascribe such terminology to Phanodemos’ motivations, Amphiaraus was competing for his niche especially with Asclepius at Epidaurus<sup>75</sup> and in Athens itself, though perhaps not yet in Cos.<sup>76</sup> Like Asclepius, too, he was dependent on investment in appropriate facilities if he was to be in a position to satisfy demand on the part of a public that had long been accustomed to travelling to specialist oracular or competition-oriented cult-spots

<sup>72</sup> As emerges clearly from the detailed calculations of yield and benefit from No. 7 made by the editors of *GHI* 81.

<sup>73</sup> That the risk of the *de facto* privatisation of cult property to the benefit of long-term tenants was real is revealed in stark detail by two fourth- or third-century documents from Lucanian Herakleia that show the difficulty which the city experienced in recovering the estates of Athene and Dionysus (*IG XIV* 645, re-edited in UGUZZONI and GHINATTI 1968; lucid analysis in MIGEOTTE 2014, 165-167).

<sup>74</sup> PARKER 2011, 275 n. 7; RIETMÜLLER 2005, 91-228; *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, s.v. Asclepius (F. Graf).

<sup>75</sup> The scope of the building programme that began ca. 370 (BURFORD 1969, 53-55) would have been well known at Athens by the 330s.

<sup>76</sup> Where the dates of the start of a specific Asclepius cult, of its public adoption, and of its monumentalisation are all much debated (RIETMÜLLER 2005, 206-219; INTERDONATO 2013, 33-37; PAUL 2013, 173-178).

such as the Panhellenic sanctuaries. One detects a tension: while the investment on the ground suggests that healing cult-spots were beginning to be seen as a possible third category for pilgrimage, the language of the Assembly decrees focuses predominantly on the benefits accruing to the population of Attica itself. It would be some time yet before the gulf between civic and Panhellenic cult functions, identified variously by Sourvinou-Inwood and by Polinskaya,<sup>77</sup> began to narrow.

For Phanodemos and his fellow politicians, then, far from being an intrusion inflicting an unwelcome disequilibrium on a static tableau of 'polis-religion', Amphiaraus at Oropos represented a welcome accession. His was not just an 'elective cult', in which those who wished could be permitted to participate;<sup>78</sup> as a public cult it was also a multifaceted opportunity, to be fostered energetically by the city via what looks like a set of very rational measures (and was certainly no less 'rational' than the support given nowadays to the comparable cults at Lourdes or Częstochowa). And yet one hesitates. One does so not so much because the language of the public documents quoted above concentrated on celebrating spectacle, piety, and lavishness in honouring the gods rather than on practicality and efficiency, as because other closely associated actions tell a different story.

Behind Hyperides' speech *For Euxenippos* lay an expedient formally adopted by the Athenian Assembly in order to determine a dispute whether land held in Oropia by two of the tribes actually belonged to Amphiaraus; Euxenippos and two others were instructed to follow the sanctuary's normal practice by sleeping in the temple and reporting his dream to the people. Hardly surprisingly, a political opponent claimed that he had misrepresented the god and had made a false report to the people as a favour to certain unidentified parties; equally unsurprisingly, the exposition offered by his advocate Hyperides is so disjointed and evasive<sup>79</sup> that some kind of jobbery is clearly being concealed. Fortunately, for present purposes the problems presented by the text are secondary, for it was the basic public act, that of seeking to decide a dispute with significant financial consequences for both god and mortal landholders by means of oneiromancy, that is primary: an act that must

<sup>77</sup> SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1978; POLINSKAYA 2013, 489-533.

<sup>78</sup> PRICE 1999, 108-125.

<sup>79</sup> Hyperides 3 *Eux.* 14-18, with WHITEHEAD's exposition (2000, 199-215) of the consequential interpretative problems.

strike any modern external observer as bizarre. To invoke the extensive ancient and modern literature on the interpretation of dreams in antiquity will not help, for that does no more than to contextualise the task given to Euxenippos and his two colleagues; we have to accept that (at least initially) corporate Athens trusted both the procedure and the god and the men to deliver a just decision. Even so, the procedures stood in sharp contrast to that adopted in 352/51, when the decision whether or not a tract of sacred land on the frontier between Attica and Megara should be cultivated was entrusted to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi via an elaborate procedure that was clearly designed to ensure that neither the officials at Delphi nor the Athenian delegation could influence the decision.<sup>80</sup>

#### IV

In this final section, conscious of Mary Douglas’ brisk comment that ‘some questions are just not worth asking because there is no valid way of answering them,’<sup>81</sup> but conscious also of practicality and appropriateness as additional criteria for assessing possible responses, I return to the question posed by the title of this paper and to the problems outlined in Section I above. I re-emphasise that this enquiry focuses on the rationality or otherwise of the behaviour of an ancient Greek state as a collective manager of assets, not on that of the individual worshipper. Current work on ‘the economics of religion’ is largely concerned with the latter, and makes a good case for showing how belief systems buttress welfare-maximising behaviour; a diagnosis which can indeed be applied without much difficulty to antiquity, with some recent more context-specific support.<sup>82</sup>

That limitation to the collective level makes responses more manageable. Reverse order is appropriate, since a response to problem (4), the easiest to assess, has already been offered above; the size or status of a city-state seems to have made no difference to the effectiveness or efficiency of that state’s cultic arrangements, only to their scale and to the degree to which institutions within or beyond the single polis assumed

<sup>80</sup> *IG II<sup>3</sup> 292. 23-73*, with DAVERIO ROCCHI 1988, 186-194 and the commentary on *GHI 57*.

<sup>81</sup> DOUGLAS 2007, 398.

<sup>82</sup> Thus, SILVER 2011 has persuasively argued that oaths and rituals helped to minimise transaction costs, administration costs, and enforcement costs for both public and private business.

part of the structural load.<sup>83</sup> With problem (3), however, the issues of validity and appropriateness are real, for in respect of properties in the beneficial ownership of a deity the role-expectations both of Athenian politician-manager and of citizen-stakeholder as trustees for that deity cannot be assumed to have been those that might be predicable, whether in standard entrepreneurial theory or otherwise, of the same individuals as beneficial owners of their own property. In economic terms, theories of co-operative economics<sup>84</sup> come into question, but (to complicate matters still further) theories of both producer co-operatives and consumer co-operatives as well as of the economics of piety are involved. In anti-quarian terms, however, it has become increasingly clear that the device of seeking divine approval via an oracle permitted considerable flexibility and ingenuity in using cultic assets to the best advantage<sup>85</sup>—though the procedure involving Euxenippos' dream was perhaps a little too flexible.

Problem (2) also presents difficulties. To use the post-1870 language of efficiency and marginality here is analytically perfectly valid, whatever the conceptual capacities of the historical actors may have been. However, it is impracticable in the absence of all but the crudest qualitative indications of the uses made of available technology and good practice. It is also inappropriate, at least on its own, since non-economic objectives are integral to polis-religion. In the particular context described above, whatever benefits accrued would have gone in large part to the community by redistribution, but also to individuals via various forms of psychological and emotional reassurance and 'cultural capital', so that the benefits would have comprised goods that were incommensurable.

That leaves problem (1), which is irresolvable for a different reason. At least for this particular episode of public resource management in an 'advanced economy' of the 330s and 320s BCE, neither of Rathbone's alternative formulations is wholly appropriate. No-one can plausibly claim that Phanodemos and Aristonikos were organising 'an economic enterprise with the connotations of economically rational management and productivity and profit consciousness'—but the maximisation of production is an explicit aim (No. 7, lines 5-7); nor was it 'a more pas-

<sup>83</sup> The studies now available in TAYLOR and VLASSOPOULOS (eds) 2015 offer examples 'within' the polis.

<sup>84</sup> However, even the briefest exploration of the literature reveals a huge gulf between radical advocacy and critical quantitative analysis of sub-optimal performance.

<sup>85</sup> Brief survey of examples in DAVIES 2001; theoretical analysis in IANNACCONE *et al.* 2011. Questions of which assets counted as cultic cannot be pursued here (BLOK 2010).

sive agglomeration of wealth, managed in a fairly simple manner so as to extract a satisfactory income while maintaining the capital value of the investment,<sup>86</sup> for what was being set in place was a distinctly ‘active management’ and was anything but ‘simple.’ In any case, neither formulation does justice to the values of ‘polis religion’ or of the needs and desires of the men and women whose behaviour as participants is being assessed. All readers of this paper will be aware—some painfully so—that the simplistic artificiality of ‘economically rational’ can smother wider criteria of ‘welfare’, with which it is intrinsically incommensurable; an impasse, alike in economic or historical analysis and in the real life of today, that is yet to be resolved.



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<sup>86</sup> RATHBONE 1991, 394 (both citations).

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# 4

## THE ATHENIAN *EXEGETAI*

Sally Humphreys

SINCE, by the definition I shall offer here, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood could undoubtedly be classed as an *exegetes*, a new investigation of the role seems a suitable tribute for an unforgettable friend.

I shall argue that an *exegetes* in Athens was not—at least until the Hellenistic period—an elected office-holder. This thesis goes against previous assumptions; following Christiane, I start by examining the ‘filters’ through which the evidence has been read. These filters were derived from a combination of cultural ambiance and disciplinary training.

Classical scholars in the nineteenth century would first have met *exegetai* in Plato’s *Laws*, where they were indeed office-holders.<sup>1</sup> Plato’s *exegetai* were elderly men (over sixty) who held office for life and pronounced with authority (derived partly from the Delphic oracle, which had a hand in their appointment) on religious and ritual questions. Like professors, they were experts whose expertise had been publicly recognised by appointment to office (in German terms, they were *Beamte*).

Plato’s city had three *exegetai*, and study of Athenian inscriptions suggested that the same might have been true there;<sup>2</sup> at least Athens seemed to have three categories of *exegetai*: one appointed (at least partly) by the Delphic oracle and hence called *pythochrestos*; one elected (from the Eupatridai, at least in some texts) by the *demos*;<sup>3</sup> one or more

<sup>1</sup> *Laws* 759c-e; cf. 828a-b, 774e-775a, 865b-d, 871a-d, 873d, 845e, 916c, 958d.

<sup>2</sup> Plural *exegetai* were restored in IG I<sup>3</sup> 131 (discussed below) to conform to Plato’s scheme. See also WADE-GERY 1931.

<sup>3</sup> The Athenian Pythais (renewed in 138/7) included in 129/8 Ophelas son of Habron of Bate as *exegetes pythochrestos*; in 106/5 and 98/7 the *pythochrestos* was Phaidros son of Attalos of Berekidai, but the other *exegetes* in the former year was Kallias son of Habron of Bate, and in 98/7 Euktemon son of Kallias of Bate (*FD* III 2, 24, 5, 6; *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 697, 711, 728). The Bate *exegetai* were

appointed by (?) and from the Eumolpidai.<sup>4</sup>

Nineteenth-century post-Enlightenment filters predisposed scholars to regard aristocracy and religion as domains of institutional conservatism, preserving relics of a more Archaic age. It was therefore easy to assume that the Hellenistic references to *exegetai* could be used to reconstruct the institutions of earlier periods.

The publication in 1891 of the Aristotelian *Athenaion Politeia* (A.P.) confirmed the view that Eupatridai had been powerful in Archaic Athens, but led to a change of direction in studies of *exegetai* due to Wilamowitz' theory that A.P. had drawn its historical information from 'the *Atthis*', which had been based on a chronicle kept by the *exegetai* like the pontifical *Annales Maximi* in Rome. Kleidemos, perhaps the first Athenian atthidographer, had himself been an *exegetes*—or, at least, was cited as the author of an *Exegetikon*, which seemed to amount to the same thing—and there was appropriate evidence also for the other atthidographers.

*Exegetai* are not as prominent in Wilamowitz' still eminently instructive reflections on the origins of Greek historiography as Jacoby's attack (1949) would lead one to expect. Wilamowitz did not actually mention the *Annales Maximi*, though they are implied in his insistence (1893.I, 280) that Athens did not have official chronicle-keepers; and his suggestion that unofficial chronicles had been published ca. 380 was hazardous. His underlying aim (1893.I, 281) was to stress the value of the fragments of local histories as sources to be studied alongside Herodotus and Thucydides. Jacoby's polemics somewhat distorted Wilamowitz' views, and led him into unnecessary insistence that atthidographers before Philo-

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probably all descendants of Habron son of Kallias 'the *exegetes*', who wrote on festivals and sacrifices (FGrH 359 T I). LGPN II has the *exegetes* of 106/5 as Ophelas' great-nephew (BSS) Kallias V, and Euktemon (98/7) as Ophelas' nephew (BS), but it seems more likely that the Kallias of 106/5 was K. II, Ophelas' brother and Euktemon's father. In 106/5 and 98/7 the *pythochrestos* was Phaidros son of Attalos of Berenikidai, probably related (affinally?) to the family of Lysiades II of the same deme (archon in 149/8), his son the Epicurean philosopher Phaidros (RAUBITSCHER 1949), and Lysiades III, archon in 51/0 and *pythochrestos* ca. 41 (IG II<sup>2</sup> 3513 = I.Eleus. 291). *Pythochrestos* from the Eupatridai and Eupatrid *exegetes* appointed by the demos also in FD III 2, 60, Syll.<sup>3</sup> 773, 26/5. *Exegetai* (without further qualification) also appear in SEG 21.469 (129/8?), in ephebic inscriptions (starting with JG II<sup>2</sup> 1006 of 123/2, ending with 1029 of 96/5), and in JG II<sup>2</sup> 1035.12 (c. 20?), where a single *exegetes* is perhaps concerned with an *aresterion*.

<sup>4</sup> A statue of Medeios III of Piraeus, IG II<sup>2</sup> 3490 = I.Eleus. 275 (c. 65-60) calls him 'the *exegetes* of the *genos* Eumolpidai' (cf. JG II<sup>2</sup> 3487 = I.Eleus. 241); on theatre seats of the Roman period the *exegetes* elected from the Eupatridai holds office for life (IG II<sup>2</sup> 5049), the *pythochrestos* (5023) does not.

chorus were not (*qua* historians) motivated by antiquarian interests, and that *exegetai* were distinct from (at least ‘official’) *manteis*.

Independently, J.H. Oliver published in 1950 a study of *The Athenian Expounders*, claiming that the office of *exegetes* had been introduced ca. 400 (as a control on the political use of omens, etc.). He had noticed that the noun *exegetes* (as opposed to the verb *exegeomai*), applied to a human, is first attested at this date; he was familiar with the epigraphic sources on Athenian religion in the Hellenistic period, and unusually free from the prejudice that classed all religious institutions as archaic.

The publication of these two books generated an acrimonious debate, with contributions also from H. Bloch and M. Ostwald.<sup>5</sup> Its main effect was to focus attention more specifically on the fifth-century sources for *exegetai* and *manteis*, to which we shall shortly return. Before this, however, it is important to note how ‘filters’ (unquestioned assumptions) have changed over the last half-century. Better knowledge of Athenian institutions and steady work on Plato’s *Laws* (e.g. Saunders 1972, Piérart 1974) have shown that Plato was quite capable of taking liberties. There is also a good deal of recognition now that from at least 140 BCE onwards there was traditionalistic innovation in religious institutions associated with a revival of elite *gene*; and it has become clear that in this period ‘Eupatridai’ was a collective term for the members of these *gene*, no doubt derived but not continuously inherited from archaic usage. Attitudes to the terminology found in Greek sources (in this case, *exegetes* and *mantis*) have been influenced by developments in linguistics deriving ultimately from Saussure and Wittgenstein. The constitutionalist approach to Attic institutions favoured by the nineteenth-century conception of Classical Athens and the Roman republic as precursors of the modern state (and reinforced by *A.P.*) has been replaced by a stronger interest in sources of power and prestige.<sup>6</sup> The status of *manteis* has also risen somewhat in the eyes of scholars<sup>7</sup>—even if they are still discussed in Parker 2005 under the heading of ‘unlicensed religion’, and grouped there with experts in magic. We know more, generally, about the status of experts or ‘professionals’ of various kinds in cities (doctors, cooks...) and can at least see *exegetai* (perhaps even ourselves) as professionals rather than professors.

So how does the evidence now look, read with different filters?

<sup>5</sup> BLOCH 1953a-b, 1957; OLIVER 1954; OSTWALD 1951. See also VON FRITZ 1940; *FGrH* III b b II on 328 T 2-3.

<sup>6</sup> Deriving ultimately from Max Weber.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. CHANIOTIS 2008; FLOWER 2008.

In the Classical period the only further specification attached to the noun *exegetes* is ‘from the Eumolpidai’. In the fifth century we are told that the Eumolpidai ‘expound’ about the use of the Eleusinian *pelanos*,<sup>8</sup> and the formula is repeated in the fourth century (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 140). Payment is made in the fourth century to Eumolpid *exegetai* for a cart or carts used for the Mysteries. Eumolpid *exegetai* have to be on duty (in Athens?) from the first of [?Metageitnion], probably until the Mysteries, to expound for Athenians and foreigners who consult them; they can be penalized for failing to do this.<sup>9</sup> Consistently, we are also told by Andocides in 399 that Kerykes are not allowed to expound; and by [Lysias], at about the same date, that the Eumolpidai expound unwritten laws relating to *asebeia*.<sup>10</sup>

Despite this evidence for Eumolpid exegesis, when in 352/1 the Athenians set up a judicial commission to determine the boundaries of the *orgas*—land on the border between Athens and Megara sacred to the Eleusinian deities—no role was explicitly specified for *exegetai*. The commission of fifteen was to consist of ten men chosen from the whole citizen body and five from the Council; its sessions (in the City Eleusinion) were to be attended by the archon basileus, the hierophant, the daidouchos, ‘the Eumolpidai and Kerykes’, and any citizen who wished to be present. This left the door wide open for *exegetai*, both Eumolpid and non-Eumolpid, but the formulation suggests that no *exegetes* at this date held a formally institutionalized office. The use to be made of the land, once delimited, was to be decided by consulting the Delphic oracle through a complicated process that left no room for exegetic expertise.<sup>11</sup>

We have a list (with some gaps) of the members of this commission. They were not chosen on the basis of tribal representation, and had probably been nominated on the basis of special interests and/or knowledge.<sup>12</sup> They do not seem to be well-known men; apart from the

<sup>8</sup> See JAMESON 1956. *Agora XVI*, 57, a decree fragment dated before 350, may refer to exegesis by Eumol[pidai]. Note also the role of *exegetai* in prescribing rules of ritual purity for the cult of Demeter on Cos c. 240, *IG XII.4.1.72*, l. 20.

<sup>9</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1672 = *I.Eleus.* 177.41, carts/wagons used to transfer the Eleusinian *sacra* to Athens and back? *SEG* 30.61 = *I.Eleus.* 138, duties in (?) Metageitnion; cf. *I.Eleus.* 25-27, 2nd-1st c. BCE.

<sup>10</sup> Andoc., 1.116; [Lysias], 6.10. TODD (2007) thinks the latter text may be an edited version of a speech delivered at Andocides’ trial; in any case the approximate date is not disputed. Andocides’ statement was perhaps technically true, but since Kerykes could initiate they presumably also provided information that could be described as exegesis.

<sup>11</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 204 = *I.Eleus.* 144, *IG II<sup>3</sup>* 292, R/O 58. See SCAFURO 2003; PAPA-ZARKADAS 2011, 244-259.

<sup>12</sup> Choice ‘from all Athenians’ meant only that there were no formal criteria; probably (as seems to be the case for ambassadors) nomination was made by a friend, even if prompted by the nominee. I do not think there were expert surveyors at this date. It is not clear whether the two *gene* chose representatives or relied on volunteers.

decree-proposer Philokrates (if he is the Hagnousian councillor of l. 77), the only one who perhaps appears elsewhere is Eudidaktos of Lamprai (sent to Delphi), who may be the Eudidaktos named on a curse tablet relating to a lawsuit.<sup>13</sup>

The identification of the Philokrates who proposed *IG II*<sup>3</sup> 292, and had previously proposed another decree on the same topic (l. 55), with Philokrates of Hagnous, who played a prominent role in the embassy to Philip of Macedon in 347/6 and the subsequent peace negotiations, is strongly supported by the reference to a Philokrates in Androtion's account of the *orgas* affair (followed by Philochorus); for his name to be recorded in this way implies that he was a well-known man. It is interesting that when his property was later confiscated (he was accused through *eisangelia* by Hyperides in 344/3 and fled to avoid trial), two *ergasteria* in Melite were bought for 1500 dr. by the Keryx Hipponikos III son of Kallias III of Alopeke; since Hipponikos would have been over eighty at this date, and since we know that confiscated property was often bought in by friends of the condemned man, this raises the possibility that Philokrates himself was a Keryx.<sup>14</sup>

In Plato's *Euthyphro*, set in 399, Socrates, accused of *asebeia*, meets the religious expert Euthyphro who is accusing his father of homicide. A Naxian *pelates* (dependant working on the land) had killed one of the father's slaves; the father tied the killer up, left him in a ditch, and sent a messenger to Athens to ask the *exegetes* or *exegetai*<sup>15</sup> how to proceed. Before an answer came, however, the killer died, and Euthyphro decided to prosecute his father.

In a rather similar case in 357/6 known from a speech in the Demosthenic corpus (47.68), the speaker consulted *exegetai* when a freed-woman living in his house died of injuries after being beaten up by the opponents. The *exegetai* offered both exegesis and advice: a ritual to be performed, and the advice that prosecution would be unwise.

<sup>13</sup> WÜNSCH 1897, 103.

<sup>14</sup> *FGrH* 324 F 30, 328 F 155; *Agora* XIX, P 26.446-460; *APF* 7826. XV (the possibility that the purchaser was Hipponikos IV, aged ca. 20, does not alter the point made here). It seems to have been rather common for councillors to propose decrees (and Kerykes, if they had experience of announcing the Eleusinian truce, would have made suitable ambassadors). Androtion and Philochoros say that the boundary was marked by the hierophant and *daidouchos*; this need not imply a change of procedure after *IG II*<sup>3</sup> 292, since their role may have been a ritual one. The reference in these passages to a decree proposed by Philokrates will have concerned our *IG* text, or the previous decree mentioned in it (cf. KÖRTE 1905).

<sup>15</sup> Singular in §4d, plural in §9a.

Although these two passages deal with homicide, and Aeschylus (*Eumenides* 595) represents Apollo's advice to Orestes as 'expounding', it would be rash to think that *exegetai* were especially concerned with homicide. Theophrastus' Superstitious Man (*Characters* 16.6) would consult them if a mouse gnawed through his flour-sack (here too they might give advice: get a cat!),<sup>16</sup> and our sources can hardly be a representative sample.

A client of Isaeus consulted an *exegetes* when he came into conflict with kin over the estate of his maternal grandfather Kiron.<sup>17</sup> The response was on the border between ritual prescription and practical advice (the term used is *keleuein*): he should not interfere with the funeral but should spend extra money of his own on performing the *enata* ritual on the ninth day from the death.

In these passages it seems to be of little consequence whether one or more *exegetai* is mentioned, and it is not entirely clear, when *exegetai* appear in the plural, whether they were consulted as a group or sequentially (as one might say, 'The doctors tell me...', without implying a medical board). The texts do not tell us whether *exegetai* were to be found at a specific location (as was presumably the case for the Eumolpid expounders during their period of duty) or whether, like doctors, they were distributed over the city (and perhaps even elsewhere), and known by reputation.

In the Classical period (and later) Athens did not need to take special measures to attract experts. A smaller city might offer a public salary to a doctor to ensure that modern medical knowledge was available, but Athens did not.

Instructions on ritual could also be given by an oracle/*mantis*, and by a priest. Euthydemus of Eleusis, priest of Asclepius in the early fourth century, 'expounded' to the Athenians how they should use quarry revenue for sacrifices (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 47), and set up an altar with instructions for offerings from individuals (II<sup>2</sup> 4962): here he used the word *exeikazo*, probably to denote a relief illustrating the approved form of offering, but perhaps also recalling the (vaguely) similar verb *exegeomai*.

We have a further reference to an *exeg[etes]* in a probably Lycurgan decree concerning repairs to the fifth-century statue of Athena Nike; he

<sup>16</sup> He also consults dream-interpreters and *manteis*.

<sup>17</sup> Is. 8.39, ca. 383-363.

was apparently consulted about making a propitiatory sacrifice (*arestērion*).<sup>18</sup> Here as in other texts it is not clear whether the definite article implies an office, or merely refers back to earlier consultation.

Jacoby's efforts to separate *exegetai* completely from *manteis* are unconvincing. Apollo was both *mantis* and *exegetes*, and the fifth-century *mantis* Lampon was also called 'the *exegetes*' (Eupolis fr. 319 PCG V; cf. Storey 2003). The references come from comedy (in the assembly he is simply 'Lampon', IG I<sup>3</sup> 78 = *I.Eleus.* 28); they do not imply that he held an official position as *exegetes*, but that he was known for authoritative pronouncements on ritual—as is indeed clear from our sources.

*Exegetes* was a more respectable term than *mantis* or (worse) *chresmologos*; hence litigants speak of consulting *exegetai*, while comic poets mostly attack *manteis* or oracle-mongers. *Manteis*, however, were not necessarily disreputable. They accompanied armies, and the Thracian *mantis* Sthorys was granted Athenian citizenship for his services and invited (perhaps twice) to dine in the Prytaneion.<sup>19</sup>

It may have been quite usual to extend such an invitation to a *mantis* who had made a successful and favourable prophecy. When in Aristophanes' *Peace* the *mantis*/oracle-monger Hierocles is told 'No more free dinners for you!', this need not imply perpetual *sitesis*, merely that he was relatively often invited.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, when IG I<sup>3</sup> 131, a fifth-century text specifying those entitled to perpetual dining rights, was discussed in the nineteenth century, these texts from comedy were used, together with the specifications for appointing *exegetai* in Plato's *Laws* and later references to an *exegetes pythochrestos*, to argue that Lampon and Hierocles had held office as *exegetai* chosen by Delphi in accordance with Plato's procedure. Schöll, in the first major discussion of the text (1871), mentioned the reference by the orator Lycurgus (1.85, 87) to a Delphian called Kleomantis who had interpreted an oracle for King Codrus and had been granted perpetual *sitesis* for himself and his descendants in recompense, but this text did not carry enough weight to raise the possibility that Apollo's chosen expert might have been Delphian; Plato's influence was too strong.

<sup>18</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 403 = II<sup>3</sup> 144; LAMBERT 2005, no. 3.

<sup>19</sup> IG II<sup>3</sup> 17, OSBORNE 1970; on *manteis* in war see also PRITCHETT 1979, 47-67.

<sup>20</sup> *Peace* 1084; Hierocles appears already in 446/5, IG I<sup>3</sup> 40.64-6.

c. a. 440–432?

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 45

- [. . . . .<sup>c.15</sup>. . . . .] ἐ γ ρ α μ [ μ ά τ ε υ ε vac.]  
 [ἔδοχσεν τῆ βολῆ καὶ τῶι δέμ]οι· Ἐρεχθεὶς ἐπ[ρυτάνευε, .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>7.9</sup>. . . . .] ἐγραμμάτευε, <sup>2.4</sup>]θιππος ἐπεστάτε, [. . .]ικλῆς [ε]-  
 [ἴπε· ἔναι τὲν σίτεσιν τὲν] ἐμ πρυτανεῖοι πρῶτον μὲν τοι[.]  
 5 [. . . . .<sup>19</sup>. . . . .] κ]ατὰ τὰ πάτρια· ἐπειτα τοῖς [h]αρμ-  
 [οδίο καὶ τοῖς Ἀριστογε]ίτωνος ἡδ[ς] ἄν ἔι ἐγγύτατα γένος,  
 [ἠυῖδον γνεσίον μὲ ὄντων, ἔν]αι αὐτοῖσι τὲν σίτ[ε]σι[ν κ]α[ι] ε[ἴ]  
 [τις ἄλλος ἠείλεφε σίτεσι]ν παρὰ Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὰ [δ]ιῆδομ-  
 [ένα . . . . .<sup>17</sup>. . . . .]ν ἡο Ἀπόλλον ἀνηῆλ[εν] ἐ[χ]σεχομ-  
 10 [νος . . . . .<sup>18</sup>. . . . .]ς σίτεσιν καὶ τὸ λ[οι]πὸν ἡδ[ς] ἄν  
 [ἀνηῆλει, σίτεσιν ἔναι καὶ] αὐτοῖσι κατὰ ταυτά. κα[ι] ἡοπόσ]-  
 [οι νενικέκασι Ὀλυμπίασι] ἔ Πυθο[ῖ] ἔ ἠισθοῖ] ἔ Ν[ε]μέ[α] [καὶ ἔ νικ]-  
 [έσοσι τὸ λοιπὸν, ἔναι αὐτ]οῖσι τὲν σίτεσιν ἐν πρυτανε[ῖ]ο]-  
 [ι καὶ τὰς ἄλλας δορεῖας π]ρὸς τῆ σιτέσει κατὰ τὰ [ἐν τ]ῆ[ι σ]-  
 15 [τέλει γεγραμμένα τῆ] ἐ]ν τῶι πρυτανεῖοι. ἡο[π]όσο[ι δὲ ἡάρ]-  
 [ματι τελεῖοι ἔ ἠίπποι κ]έλετι νενι[κ]έκασι Ὀ[λ]υμπ[ί]ασι ἔ Π]-  
 [υθοῖ ἔ ἠισθοῖ ἔ Νεμέα] ἔ] νικέσοσι τὸ λοιπό[ν], ἔναι [καὶ αὐ]-  
 [τοῖσι σίτεσιν κατὰ τὰ ἐν τ]ῆ[ι στέλε]ι] γεγραμ[μ]ένα Ε[. . .<sup>5</sup>. . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>22</sup>. . . . .]! περὶ τὸ στρατ[έ]γιον . . .<sup>6</sup>. . .]  
 20 [. . . . .<sup>23</sup>. . . . .] ΔΟΡΕ[.]ΑΝΚ[. . . . .<sup>14</sup>. . . . .]  
 [. . . . .<sup>24</sup>. . . . .]ΝΛΕ[. . . . .<sup>18</sup>. . . . .]

The text tells us only that a man or men<sup>21</sup> named by the oracle for the purpose of expounding shall have *sitesis*, as shall those in the future in the same category. It should be read in conjunction with IG I<sup>3</sup> 137 (not yet available to Schöll), where Apollo has announced that he will himself act as *exegetes*, and the Athenians in response make arrangements for a *thronos* and *theoxenia* in the *pr[ytaneion]*.<sup>22</sup>

c. a. 422–416

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 44–46

3 vv. erasi

- 1 [. . .<sup>4.5</sup>. . .] ἰ σ ἐ π ρ υ τ ά ν ε υ ε·  
 [ἔδοχσεν τῆ βολῆ καὶ τῶι δέμ]οι· Ἀντικρατίδες ἐγρ[αμμά]-  
 [τευε . . . .<sup>c.8</sup>. . . .]ος ἐπεστάτε, Φιλόχσενος εἶπε· τῶι [Ἀπόλλο]-

<sup>21</sup> The plural *autoisi* in l. 11 is not decisive, since it may refer to successive holders.

<sup>22</sup> On *theoxenia* see JAMESON 1994. IG I<sup>3</sup> 131 and 137 cannot be precisely dated and it is not even certain that 137 is the later of the two (Delphi's reluctance might have been due to the plague).

[νι . . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . ἐπ]ειδὲ ἀνεῖλεν ἑαυτὸν ἐχσεγετέ[ν . . . .<sup>6-8</sup> . . . .]  
 5 [. . . .<sup>5</sup> . . . Ἀθηναίο]ις θρόνον τε ἐχσελεῖν ἐν τῷ πρ[. . . .<sup>8-10</sup> . . . .]  
 [. . . .<sup>12</sup> . . . .]ε[. . .]ντας ἰος κάλλιστα καὶ κα[. . . .<sup>9-11</sup> . . . .]  
 [. . . .<sup>10</sup> . . . . νε]μόντων οἱ ἐπιστάται πα[.]λι[. . . .<sup>10-12</sup> . . . .]  
 [. . . .<sup>8</sup> . . . . τῷ θεῷ, ἀναλίσκοντες μέχ[ρι . . . .<sup>12-14</sup> . . . .]  
 [. . . .<sup>14</sup> . . . .] ὄθεμπερ ἐς τὰ ἄλ[λα . . . .<sup>15-17</sup> . . . .]  
 10 [. . . .<sup>9</sup> . . . . μὲ ὀλ]έζονος ἕ δραχμῆ[ς . . . .<sup>17-19</sup> . . . .]

Previous interpreters have proposed that the Athenians had asked the oracle whether they could call Apollo their *patrios exegetes*, and when he responded favourably made arrangements for him to dine with his representative(s). This is hardly satisfactory. Oracular permission was not needed for such a move; Apollo had already been called *patroos* at Athens, and represented by Aeschylus as expounding.<sup>23</sup>

I suggest an alternative scenario, which makes sense of the tradition recorded by Lycurgus and provides a more meaningful interpretation of *IG I<sup>3</sup> 137*. At some point, perhaps in the sixth or even the early fifth century, Athens had decided to invite Delphi to provide the city with an expounder; eventually this arrangement had acquired a mythical charter referring to Codrus. During the Archidamian war this situation became diplomatically<sup>24</sup> and/or logistically problematic; Delphi decided no longer to send its man to Athens, but cloaked the decision decently by announcing that Apollo would do the job himself. The Athenians, in turn, put a good face on their position by awarding him *sitesis*.

We do not know when arrangements for dining in the Prytaneion were formalized in Athens. Collective dining was a common feature of elite society in the early Greek polis,<sup>25</sup> and the introduction of elected offices held for a limited period of time may not immediately have made much difference. Elite visitors from other cities who came on public business would be invited to meals, and Athenians who had distinguished themselves by victory in games, or in other ways, might also be invited. Plutarch (*Solon* 24) says that Solon was opposed to frequent invitations (the term is *parasitein*); he may have deduced this (not unreasonably) from the penalty for non-attendance when invited, which he also records. Formalization of the invitations to victors in the Olympian,

<sup>23</sup> *Eum.* 595 (noted also above).

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Thucydides 1.118.3; GIULIANI 2001.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the special food allowance given to Spartan kings for entertaining.

Pythian, or Isthmian games should perhaps be dated after the reorganization of the Nemean games in ?573. It is not unlikely that the grant of hereditary *sitesis* to the descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton was a deliberate reorientation of an institution that had been formalized or expanded during the Pisistratid tyranny.<sup>26</sup> That suggestion would not date the grant to the Delphian expounder; Herodotus' account of the 'wooden walls' oracle (7.140-143) might imply that there was no such person in Athens at the time of Xerxes' invasion, but cannot be pressed.

Although the *exegetes'* display of erudition was not parodied in comedy (unlike that of doctors and cooks), a convincing performance would presumably call for what we might call antiquarian knowledge. In this sense there would indeed be a relation between exegesis and historiography, though not in the form imagined by Wilamowitz. Pausanias very commonly calls his local informants *exegetai*; they will have been local antiquarians.<sup>27</sup> Works on ritual topics are cited for all the Atthidographers; even Androtion is credited with a book on sacrifices, though the source is late.<sup>28</sup> Kleidemos' *Exegetikon* was no exception (in any case, we do not know whether titles were given to prose books before the Hellenistic period). MOMIGLIANO's distinction (1950) between 'political' and 'antiquarian' historiography in early modern Europe is not appropriate for ancient Greek local historians.

Arthur Darby Nock is famous for his ambition to leave less Greek religion in the world than he had found in it. For his generation, still mired in the residues of evolutionism, that is understandable. But the counterpart to evolutionism was the Enlightenment conviction that the Greeks had progressed from Mythos to Logos, from religion to philosophy. Learned experts with a rational interest in ritual and in the past did not fit tidily into this schema; it was attractive to pigeon-hole them as holders of a traditional office associated with the Delphic oracle and the aristocratic *gene*. My proposal, in this paper, to increase the number of Attic *exegetai*, rather than reduce it, is part of an attempt to under-

<sup>26</sup> The missing recipients of *sitesis* at the beginning of IG<sup>3</sup> 131 may simply be the current archons. I shall argue elsewhere that the parasites of Athena Pallenis (see PARKER 1996, 330-331) were created by Pisistratus.

<sup>27</sup> See PERSSON 1918, 42-47.

<sup>28</sup> FGrH 324 F 70-71 (Natalis Comes), classed as dubious or spurious, but there is a book number and a quotation. VON FRITZ (1940) gives a good account of the evidence for these ritual works, and altogether takes a more balanced view than Jacoby of the relations between *manteis*, *exegetai*, and atthidographers. HITCH (2011) underestimates their importance. See also RHODES 1990.

stand Greek religious thought as an on-going contribution to classical intellectual activity.



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# 5

## THE THEATRES AND DIONYSIA OF ATTICA\*

Peter Wilson

### *Introduction*

The dramatic festivals of Dionysus held by the demes of Attica are slowly emerging from an extended period of (at times contemptuous) neglect. The view long prevalent that everything about the theatre of the Rural Dionysia was irredeemably mediocre can ultimately be traced back to a few well-aimed barbs of Demosthenes (and his nephew Demochares) cast in the face of his opponent, the ex-actor Aeschines, that ‘real ape on the tragic stage, a rustic Oinomaos<sup>1</sup> who ‘hired yourself to those famous bellowers, the actors Simykkas and Sokrates as a player of third parts’ and ‘wandered through the fields<sup>2</sup> ‘collect(ing) figs and grapes and olives like a grocer selling stolen fruit, earning more from that than from the contests, in which you competed for your very life.’<sup>3</sup> Demosthenes exaggerates to an almost absurd degree the ‘rural’ character of the Dionysia in which Aeschines competed (especially considering that the one festival he mentions by name is the intra-mural Dionysia of Kollytos<sup>4</sup>),

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\* I was fortunate enough to form a close and lasting friendship with Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood from the time we were colleagues at University College, Oxford (1994-1995). It is a humbling honour to offer this article on a subject on which her knowledge and insight were so deep, in memory of her enormous intellectual energy and rich, sustaining humanity. My sincere thanks go to Athena Kavoulaki for her invitation to the conference from which this volume emerged and for making that event immensely rewarding and enjoyable; to Eric Csapo for astute comment on this article; to Hans Goette and Kazuhiro Takeuchi for discussion of some of its contents; and to the Australian Research Council, the Onassis Public Benefit Foundation and the University of Sydney for financial support.

<sup>1</sup> Dem. 18.242.

<sup>2</sup> Demochares *FGrH* 75 fr. 6a.

<sup>3</sup> Dem. 18.262.

<sup>4</sup> Dem. 18.180. See further below pp. 134-136 on the Kollytos Dionysia.

and he thereby almost single-handedly created a prejudice of parochialism and provinciality for the whole sector that endured for centuries.<sup>5</sup> A long-overdue corrective to this view began with the systematic collection of the (largely epigraphic and archaeological) evidence then available for the festivals by David Whitehead in the context of his comprehensive study of deme life.<sup>6</sup> The corpus of evidence has since been updated by Jones,<sup>7</sup> and continues to grow.<sup>8</sup> And a number of contributions to a more thorough and sympathetic analysis of the evidence for deme theatre have begun to appear in the last decade.<sup>9</sup>

In this article my limited goal is to examine the evidence for theatre in a number of Attic demes within the context of a recent debate about the distribution of theatres across the demes of Attica. In many cases the existence of a theatre or festival of Dionysus in a deme turns upon the interpretation of a small number or even a single item of (usually epigraphic) evidence, so close and careful attention to each case is essential in order to reach a sound judgment as to the attested distribution of theatres across Attica. Two contributions in particular stand out: an article by Jessica Paga in which she argues that the distribution of theatres in the demes of Attica reflects a deliberate attempt to ensure that they served the needs of the Cleisthenic trittyes;<sup>10</sup> and a chapter by Hans Goette, which itself responds to Paga's thesis,<sup>11</sup> provides an excellent general account of the current state of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence, and makes a different case for a more *ad hoc* 'sharing' of theatres by loose, regionally-based groups of Attic demes.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Pickard-Cambridge's decision to include the Rural Dionysia (last) in his section on 'The Lesser Festivals' (the title of Part I of *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*) is indicative: PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE 1968, 42-56.

<sup>6</sup> WHITEHEAD 1986.

<sup>7</sup> JONES 2004.

<sup>8</sup> For instance, knowledge of the theatre discovered in Halimous has been slow to disseminate, despite preliminary publication in 1993: see KAZA-PAPAGEORGIOU 1993 and below pp. 102-105. The theatre in Acharnai was discovered only in 2007: PLATONOS 2012, 24-26.

<sup>9</sup> WILSON 2000, esp. 244-252; JONES 2004, 124-158; SPINETO 2005, 327-350; SUMMA 2006; WILSON 2007; 2010; 2011; 2013; 2015; CSAPO 2010b, 89-95; PAGA 2010; GOETTE 2014. CSAPO and WILSON (forthcoming) will include a full presentation and study of the evidence for deme theatre. On religion in the Attic demes MIKALSON (1977), HUMPHREYS (2004, 130-196) and PARKER (2005, 50-78) are fundamental. I also draw attention to the important work being done by Kazuhiro TAKEUCHI on the epigraphic evidence for the cult of Dionysus in Attica.

<sup>10</sup> PAGA 2010.

<sup>11</sup> And in so doing independently arrives at a number of the same conclusions as I do here.

<sup>12</sup> GOETTE 2014.

Paga surveys the evidence for ‘deme theatral areas’,<sup>13</sup> and makes the interesting observations that the attested theatres are widely distributed within the Coastal and Inland areas of Attica; and that the demes in which they are found fall within the upper divisions of relative size and bouleutic quota.<sup>14</sup> She goes on to argue that the evidence reveals a pattern in which there is no more than one theatre for each trittys (City, Coastal, Inland) per tribe. This argument forms the basis for a broader thesis that deme theatres were used for meetings of the trittytes as administrative and organisational entities, as ‘nodes of communication, both between the astu and demes, and within demes of the same trittys. News, announcements, messages, and the like could be shared and passed within the trittys, facilitating the spread of information.’<sup>15</sup> This is a stimulating if ultimately problematic thesis. My aim is not to address it in its entirety, but rather to offer a close analysis of a number of items of evidence for deme theatre that are central to Paga’s thesis but receive less than full treatment by her (or in some cases are omitted entirely) and which have more generally not been studied in as much detail as they deserve (§§ 1-4). Since however this evidence forms the foundation of her broader thesis about the role of theatres in the Athenian trittys system, my study of these items of evidence will necessarily throw some doubt on the solidity of that thesis (§ 5).

Goette’s hypothesis on the regional sharing of deme theatres is founded on an exhaustive overhaul of the evidence and intimate knowledge of the topography of Attica. I have expressed similar, though less fully developed, views as to the likely sharing of theatres and theatrical festivals,<sup>16</sup> and take this opportunity to revisit those views in light of prior omissions (see below on Halimous) and new analysis. In the course of

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<sup>13</sup> PAGA 2010, 353-366. She prefers this term to ‘theatre’ *simpliciter* because of her very reasonable view that theatres in demes were likely to have been used for many other things than watching plays (a view that goes back to and beyond KOLB 1981: see WHITEHEAD 1986, 15-16). On this point it might be remarked that the same is true of the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens, namely that it was used for meetings of the Assembly and other events. But it continued to be called ‘the theatre’. Such evidence as there is for deme nomenclature points in the same direction. I shall therefore continue to use the term ‘theatre’ for the deme context. Paga builds on Ober’s thesis that deme theatres were probably used by the Cleisthenic tribes for many of their large-scale activities, such as tribal assemblies, rehearsals for choruses at the City Dionysia and so on: OBER 2008, 205-210.

<sup>14</sup> See esp. PAGA 2010, 376, Table 1. The latter point had already been well made by JONES 2004, 139-141.

<sup>15</sup> PAGA 2010, 380.

<sup>16</sup> In WILSON 2010.

my discussion of individual items of evidence I shall have cause to part ways with Goette's interpretation of a number of instances of the presence of theatres in demes. In the final section (§ 5) I address the issues raised by this debate more directly.

For the sake of clarity I shall begin by indicating here my own view as to the current state of evidence. There are I believe currently 22 demes for which there is evidence for a local Dionysia with some form of theatrical performance in the Classical period.<sup>17</sup> A question mark before the deme name indicates a substantial degree of doubt as to the presence of a Dionysia. Bouleutic quotas are noted in brackets; a 'T' indicates good evidence for a theatre:

Acharnai (22, T); Aigilia (6); Aixone (8, T); Anagyrous (6); Eleusis (11, T); Euonymon (10, T); Hagnous (5); Halai Aixonides (6); Halai Araphenides (5, T); Halimous (3, T); Ikarion (5, T); (?) Kephale (9, T); Kollytos (3, T<sup>18</sup>); Lamptrai (14: Upper 5, Lower 9, T); (?) Marathon (10); Myrrhinous (6); Paiania (12: Upper 1, Lower 11); Phlya (7); Piraeus (9, T); Rhamnous (8, T); Sphettos (5, T); Thorikos (5, T). Since neither was ever incorporated into the Attic deme system, I exclude Salamis, which had a Dionysia from at least ca. 400;<sup>19</sup> and Oropos, which had a theatre by ca. 335,<sup>20</sup> perhaps with a wooden precursor from around 420.<sup>21</sup>

### § 1. *Theatre in Halimous*

One of the most recent Attic theatres to be discovered was brought to light in an excavation on a property on the southern foothills of Agia Anna in modern Alimos in the 1980s. The location guarantees that it belonged to the deme of Halimous (City trittys of Leontis, bouleutic quota 3). It might be suggested that this was a structure associated with the important Thesmophoria held by the deme,<sup>22</sup> but close similarities in the morphology of the excavated remains to those in which drama is known to have been performed elsewhere in Attica very much suggest that this was a

<sup>17</sup> Where the evidence substantiating each case does not appear in the text below I refer the reader to CSAPO and WILSON (forthcoming).

<sup>18</sup> But see below, pp. 134-136.

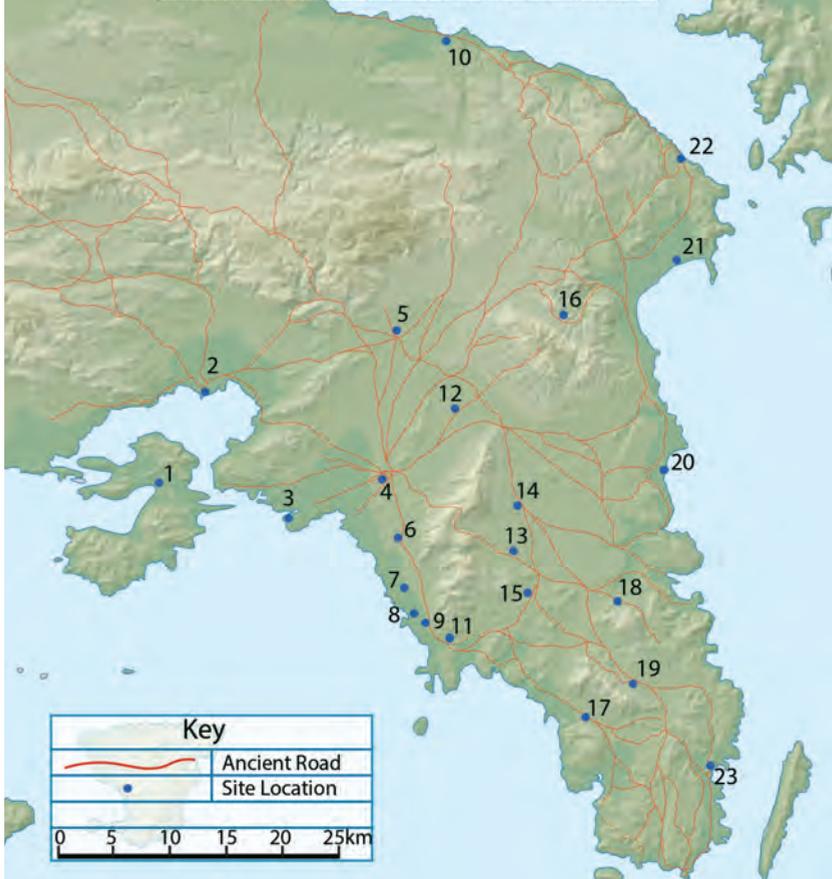
<sup>19</sup> Implied by a tombstone with relief showing the deceased as a tragic choreut (Piraeus Museum 4229, ca. 420-410, found in the necropolis of the ancient city) and the choregic dedication IG II<sup>2</sup> 3093 (ca. 400-375).

<sup>20</sup> *I. Oropos* 292, ll. 29-30.

<sup>21</sup> GOETTE 1995.

<sup>22</sup> This is the view of Jean-Charles MORETTI (pers. comm.).

**MAP OF ATTICA**  
WITH DEME THEATRES AND DIONYSIA



- |                         |                               |                                    |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. [Salamis - D]        | 9. Halai Aixonides - <b>D</b> | 17. Aigilia - D                    |
| 2. Eleusis - <b>TD</b>  | 10. [Oropos - <b>T</b> ]      | 18. Myrrhinous - <b>T? D</b>       |
| 3. Piraeus - <b>TD</b>  | 11. Anagyrous - <b>T D</b>    | 19. Kephale - <b>T?</b>            |
| 4. Kollytos - <b>D</b>  | 12. Phlya - <b>T? D?</b>      | 20. Halai Araphenides - <b>T D</b> |
| 5. Acharnai - <b>TD</b> | 13. Sphettos - <b>TD</b>      | 21. Marathon - <b>T? D?</b>        |
| 6. Euonymon - <b>TD</b> | 14. Paiania - D               | 22. Rhamnous - <b>TD</b>           |
| 7. Halimous - <b>TD</b> | 15. Lamptrai <b>T? D?</b>     | 23. Thorikos <b>TD</b>             |
| 8: Aixone - <b>TD</b>   | 16. Ikarion - <b>TD</b>       |                                    |

**D** - Certain Dionysia in the deme  
**D** - Likely Dionysia in the deme  
**T** - A theatre attested in the deme  
**T** - A theatre likely in the deme



theatre proper: for instance the presence of a wide access passageway dividing the *koilon*; evidence of retaining walls; and in particular the style of *prohedria*—three double seats of a type known from other Attic theatres, such as Ikarion and Euonymon. The remains of a Thesmophorion were in fact sighted at a different location higher up this same hill early last century, on or near its top, though reports of excavation by Wrede prior to the Second World War were never published and the site was much changed by German occupation during the war.<sup>23</sup> Moreover the recent excavation also found, in an undisturbed layer of the *koilon*, fragments of what the excavator identified as probably a choregic base;<sup>24</sup> and another large fragment from a base inscribed with olive crowns on three surfaces, almost certainly part of an honorific *stele*, decree or other commemorative monument.<sup>25</sup> These are the sort of objects much more likely to be found in a theatre proper than a viewing area associated with a Thesmophorion. In addition, GOETTE (2014) points to the theatre's high degree of visibility and its situation outside the sanctuary of the Goddesses, making it implausible as a place for holding a Thesmophoria. Sherds from the theatre range in date from the late seventh to the third century, attesting to long and continuous use. This has prompted the suggestion that it perhaps began life as a site connected to the Thesmophoria and was later transformed into a theatre and more general place of gathering.<sup>26</sup> That there may in any case have been an interaction of some sort between the cult of Dionysus and that of Demeter and Persephone in Halimous is suggested by the evidence of Arnobius (5.28), who writes of 'Alimuntia illa...mysteria, quibus in Liberi honorem patris phallos subrigit Graecia.'

Paga failed to include Halimous in her list of Attic theatres (as did I).<sup>27</sup> But she does acknowledge that 'a new discovery could easily wreck a situation that now appears quite tidy'.<sup>28</sup> As it happens, Halimous was in the City trittys of Leontis, so this theatre does not disturb the pattern detected by Paga, for no other theatre is hitherto attested for

<sup>23</sup> KAZA-PAPAGEORGIU and KLADIA 2006, 76-82.

<sup>24</sup> The fragmentary inscription (SEG 46, 318) contains the remains of the demotic Halimousios: [- - -]ΛΙΜΟΥ|[- - -]ΣΑΥ|[- - - - -].

<sup>25</sup> KAZA-PAPAGEORGIU 1993, pl. 27d-e; KAZA-PAPAGEORGIU and KLADIA 2006, 84.

<sup>26</sup> TOUCHAIS 1999, 655.

<sup>27</sup> In WILSON 2010. JONES (2004) also omits Halimous from his survey of deme theatres without comment.

<sup>28</sup> PAGA 2010, 378.

the City or Coastal trittys of that tribe.<sup>29</sup> But Halimous does present a somewhat different challenge to Paga's theory, or to any theory that only demes of above-average size built theatres, given its small size. With a bouletic quota of 3 Halimous is below the average for all demes (just under 4), and very far below that of the thirteen demes with an attested theatre, ca. 8.75. It also represents a challenge to any view that sees the distribution of theatres in Attica as determined or strongly influenced by an at least implicit 'regional' economy. For the existence of a theatre in Halimous in such close proximity to those securely attested in the neighbouring demes of Euonymon and Aixone raises important questions about the likelihood of regional 'sharing' of deme theatres (and perhaps even of festivals). Rather than treating the Halimous theatre as confirmation that the distribution of theatres was controlled by the trittys pattern, I would further emphasise the way the reduplication of theatres in such close proximity points rather to the great pride with which individual and autonomous demes constructed and maintained their cultic infrastructure, despite what might seem an obvious economy to be derived from sharing such infrastructure with neighbours. And this pride, evident from a variety of sources,<sup>30</sup> tends to undermine any theory that presumes extensive sharing of resources and traditions belonging to a single deme. (See further §5 below.)

## § 2. *Theatre in Sphettos*

A theatre in the deme of Sphettos (Inland trittys of Akamantis, bouletic quota 5) could possibly disrupt the pattern detected by Paga, for Hagnous shares precisely the same membership as Sphettos and is believed by some to have celebrated a Dionysia in its own theatre.<sup>31</sup> In this

<sup>29</sup> Nor in my opinion for its Inland trittys, since the evidence for one in Cholleidai is feeble. It consists solely of the demotic of Dikaiopolis in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (l. 404: Χολλήιδης), combined with the fact that he celebrates a Rural Dionysia in his home deme earlier in that play (ll. 202ff.). Why he is given this demotic is unclear. The reason may be no more than that identified by a number of scholia: namely to achieve a pun on 'lame', with reference—made soon after, l. 411 χωλοῦς ποιεῖς—to the lame characters of Euripidean tragedy. There is moreover no suggestion in the *Acharnians* of a theatre either as the location for or destination of Dikaiopolis' phallic procession, nor is there any hint that theatrical performances are to form part of his Dionysia.

<sup>30</sup> See the fundamental discussions of OSBORNE 1985; WHITEHEAD 1986; HUMPHREYS 2004, 130-196 and PARKER 2005, 50-78.

<sup>31</sup> By e.g. PAGA 2010, 354 n. 5 herself. The evidence is *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1183*, a deme decree that refers to a local Dionysia. The assignation of this decree is uncertain: TRAILL (1975, 132) reassigned it from Myrrhinous to Hagnous; see also WILSON 2011. GOETTE (2014, 87) makes a case for Myrrhinous, which is now virtually guaranteed by a horos published by DOVA 2013.

case Paga's treatment of the epigraphic evidence is less than ideal. She describes it as 'tenuous and unlikely',<sup>32</sup> troubled both by the assignation of the relevant inscription to the deme and by the 'extensive restorations' made to it.<sup>33</sup> In addition she fails to register the existence of a second important item of evidence for theatre in Sphettos.

To treat the item which Paga omits entirely first: this is a votive relief, dated on stylistic grounds to around 350-325, found built into the apse of a church ('Popa') northwest of Koropi.<sup>34</sup> The site is a short distance east-north-east of the small plateau Κάστρο του Χριστού and very near the village of Philiati.<sup>35</sup> The inscription that attests the existence of a theatre came from Philiati, so both items were found in close proximity. Though without any surviving inscription, the relief is clearly a choregic dedication. The identification goes back to Milchhöfer and remains unchallenged; indeed Csapo has recently made a very full case on iconographical grounds for this relief being a choregic monument for tragedy.<sup>36</sup> A (very probably tragic) chorus and its leader make an offering to Dionysus. A choregos approaches Dionysus at the head of a group of fourteen adult male choreuts in two neat lines of seven, two of whom in the front row hold crowns in their hands as a symbol of their victory.<sup>37</sup> A pig is being led to sacrifice. There can be very little doubt that this choregic relief was dedicated in a sanctuary of Dionysus, or theatre, of the deme Sphettos.<sup>38</sup> A fragmentary Papposilenos with Dionysus was also found in the same area.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>32</sup> PAGA 2010, 354.

<sup>33</sup> PAGA 2010, 354 n. 7. On the Dionysia in Sphettos see now TAKEUCHI and WILSON 2014.

<sup>34</sup> Athens NM 2400; MILCHHÖFER 1887, 98 no. 103; REISCH 1890, 124 fig. 12; VOUTIRAS 1991/92, 39 with n. 43 fig. 7; VAN STRATEN 1995, 87; WILSON 2000, 374 n. 147; JONES 2004, 135; AGELIDIS 2009, 51-53, 221-222 no. 97 with pl. 10a; GOETTE 2014, 89-90.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. MILCHHÖFER 1887, 98 no. 104. On the place called Philiati, a village until at least the seventeenth century, see KALOGÉROPOULOU 1969, 62.

<sup>36</sup> CSAPO 2010a, 86-88.

<sup>37</sup> VOUTIRAS 1991/92, 39; cf. AGELIDIS 2009, 52-53.

<sup>38</sup> KALOGÉROPOULOU (1969, 64) airs the possibility that the sanctuary of Dionysus may have been on the small plateau Κάστρο του Χριστού. This plateau was certainly an important centre or acropolis for the deme. It has revealed a Mycenaean fortification wall and the rock-cut remains of a sanctuary, with a number of mortices and cuttings for the receipt of reliefs and dedications: KALOGÉROPOULOU 1969, 57 Fig. 1, 64. This was also where a fourth-century dedication by the Sphettians as a deme was found (SEG 25, 206).

<sup>39</sup> MILCHHÖFER 1887, 97-98, no. 99. This might almost count as a third item of evidence for theatre or at least a cult of Dionysus in Sphettos. A fragment of a bull that was found in the same area may also have a Dionysian association: MILCHHÖFER 1887, 97-98, no. 101.

There is little reason to doubt the assignation of the other item, a fragmentary deme decree, to Sphettos. At an absolute minimum it attests to the existence of a theatre of sufficient pretensions to have prohedric seating. The inscription has received very little discussion since its publication in 1986.<sup>40</sup> What survives is the lower part of a marble *stele*, broken on all sides.<sup>41</sup> It is dated only very approximately, by letter-forms, to the second half of the fourth century. This is a text based on that of its first editor, Kalogeropoulou, with modifications as noted in the apparatus.

non.-stoich.

- 1 [------ δρα]χμὰς εἰ[σήνεγκε -----]  
 [------ -]ν περὶ οἰκο[δομίας/ν -----]  
 [------ Δήμ]ητρος τὸ ἰ[ερόν -----]  
 [- ἐπαινέσαι Ἀπολ]λόδωρον Α[- -----]  
 5 [ὅτι ----- ἀφ]ίει εἰς τὸ ἰε[ρόν -----]  
 [- ----- ε]ισφέρει ἄμ[α καὶ -----]  
 [- ἐς τὴν (?) σκη]νὴν τὴν ἐστη[κυῖαν -----]  
 [- ----- ]ις εὐσεβέσ[τατα -----]  
 [- - (?) δεδόχθαι τοῖ]ς δημόταις [ (?) εἶναι δὲ / δοῦναι δὲ ]  
 10 [- αὐτῶι προεδρία]ν ἐν τῶι θεά[τρῳι -----]  
 [- - - παρὰ τὸν Διο]νύσου ἱερέ[α. - (?) ἀναγράψαι]  
 [δὲ τότε τὸ ψήφ]ισμα τὸν δῆ[μαρχον -----]  
 [- (?) ἐν στήλῃι λιθίνῃ κα]ὶ στῆσαι ἐν [τῶι θεάτρῳι].

*vacat*

1 εἰ[σήνεγκε Wilson, εἰ[σέφερον or εἰς τ[ὸν or τ[ὴν Kalogeropoulou || 2 περὶ οἰκο[δομίας/ν Wilson, τῶ]ν περιοικο[ύντων Kalogeropoulou || 5 (?) ποιεῖ Wilson || 6 καὶ Wilson || 7 (?) σκη]νὴν Wilson, στήλῃ]ν Kalogeropoulou || 8 or (?) τοῖ]ς εὐσεβέσι Wilson || 9-10 εἶναι δὲ / δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῶι Wilson || 10 [... προεδρία]ν ἐν Stroud, *SEG* [... προεδρία]ν ἐν Kalogeropoulou, in error || 11-13 [... παρὰ τὸν Διο]νύσου ἱερέ[α. ἀναγράψαι | δὲ τότε τὸ ψήφ]ισμα τὸν δῆ[μαρχον ἐν στή]λῃι λιθίνῃ κα]ὶ στῆσαι ἐν [τῶι θεάτρῳι]. Kalogeropoulou

<sup>40</sup> *Ed. pr.*: ΚΑΛΟΓΕΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 1986 = *SEG* 36, 187 with an important modification by STROUD (1998), noted in the apparatus. The date of publication is the same as the important collection of evidence for Rural Dionysia of WHITEHEAD (1986, 212-222), and for that reason Sphettos does not appear in his list of demes celebrating a Dionysia or with a theatre. JONES (2004, 128, 135) was the first to include it in a collection of evidence for deme Dionysia.

<sup>41</sup> Dimensions: 0.2 × 0.105 × 0.5 m. I have as yet been unable to study the stone directly at autopsy, but have through the kindness of Giorgos Papadopoulos and Angelos Matthaïou learnt that it is now kept in the Brauron Museum, inv. BE 848.

(?) [he] con[tributed ..... dra]chmas ..... in connection with build[ing] ..... the s[anctuary] of [Dem]eter ..... [to praise Apol] lodoros A[- ..... because ..... ] he [ (?) releas]es for the san[ctuary] ..... and] he [co]ntributes at the same t[ime also ..... for] the stand[ing ? stage-building .....] (?) most pious[?ly ..... th]e demesmen [ (?) decided to give him *prohedri*a in the thea[tre ..... along-side the] pries[t] of [Dio]nysos. The de[march ... is to inscribe this de] cree [on a stone *stele* an]d erect it in [the theatre].

This is evidently a tattered sliver of an honorific decree for one Apollodoros.<sup>42</sup> We have the concluding lines, which mandate the award of *prohedria* in a theatre (ll. 9-11), and the inscription and erection of the decree by the demarch, probably also in the theatre (ll. 11-13).<sup>43</sup> Their formulaic character permits some confidence in the restorations, at least in general outline. Kalogeropoulou believes her restoration of l. 12 sufficiently secure to permit an estimation that there were 30-31 letters per line (the inscription is not stoichedon),<sup>44</sup> but I think that we must leave the matter of the line-length somewhat more open. No edge is preserved, and while the publication and erection formulae used in deme decrees are fairly predictable, they are not sufficiently so to admit security for Kalogeropoulou's text. In fact it is likely that a proper name or other qualifying description appeared after the words 'the demarch' in l. 12. The inclusion of such specification or qualification of the demarch in question is more often than not the rule in deme decrees.<sup>45</sup>

Lines 1-3 are what remain of the reasons for honouring Apollodoros. A contribution of money is prominent (l. 1).<sup>46</sup> Kalogeropoulou argued that l. 2, for which she proposed [...τῶν] περιοικο[ύτων...], indicates that 'the people living around the local shrine of Demeter carried

<sup>42</sup> Perhaps a progenitor of the Apollodoros son of Apollodoros of Sphetos, honoured as secretary to Akamantis when presiding over the Council, in 222/21: *Agora* 15, 128, ll. 32, 48, 52-53, 68.

<sup>43</sup> On the restoration of [τῶν θεάτρων] in l. 13 see below.

<sup>44</sup> ΚΑΛΟΓΕΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 1986, 3.

<sup>45</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1180, ll. 24-25: 'the demarch after Leukios'; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1193, ll. 8-9: 'the demarch Isarchos'; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1197, l. 20 (23): 'Philotheros the demarch'; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1198, l. 20: 'the demarch Dorotheos'; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1199, ll. 15-16: 'the demarch in the year after the Archon Neaichmos'; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1202, ll. 19-21: 'the demarch Hegesileos and the treasurers'; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1203, l. 20: 'the demarch Po[- ...]'; *SEG* 43, 26B, ll. 15-16: 'the demarch Oinophilos'; *AE* 1925-1926, 168, ll. 17-18: 'the demarch Archias'. On the other side (just 'the demarch'): *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1182, ll. 16-18; *SEG* 22, 116, l. 24; *SEG* 34, 103, l. 27.

<sup>46</sup> An aorist εἰσήνεγκε (cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1361, l. 21) is preferable to the imperfect εἰσέφερεν, which does not appear to be attested in Attic inscriptions.

on a collection related to what was needed to be done with it, to which Apollodoros seems to have contributed more than his share.<sup>47</sup> That may be so, but I suggest that the surviving letters are more convincingly treated as a reference to building works: [... -]ν περὶ οἴκο[δομίας/ν ...] ‘in connection with build[ing]’.<sup>48</sup> The reference would rather be to construction works related to the sanctuary of Demeter, for which Apollodoros contributed funds.

Line 4 is the commendation clause, with ll. 5-8 a re-capitulation of the grounds for praise.<sup>49</sup> Kalogeropoulou’s [ἀφ]ίει ‘he releases’ in l. 5 is not entirely comfortable. Perhaps an expression with [προ]ίει ‘he does’ is worth considering. At all events the reference is almost certainly back to the delivery of funds for the sanctuary of Demeter (εἰς τὸ ἱε[ρὸν] l. 5). If ἅμ[α] ‘at the same time’ is correct in the following line (and there is no obviously preferable alternative),<sup>50</sup> this phrase seems to mention an additional contribution, perhaps one added to those already cited in the initial statement of the grounds for praise. Note the present tense [ε]ἰσφέρει ‘he contributes’ l. 6, suggesting an additional action in the more immediate past, or an ongoing one.<sup>51</sup> This contribution may have likewise been expressed as a sum of money. Our only indication of the nature and purpose of this further benefaction consists of the remains of l. 7. Though far from common in Attic inscriptions, the perfect participle of ἵστημι seems the only compelling restoration of εστη[- (l. 7) in this context, thus implying a contribution towards some ‘fixed’ or standing’ (probably

<sup>47</sup> KALOGÉROPOULOU 1986, 5.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Agora* 19 L13, l. 2.

<sup>49</sup> The appearance of the honorand’s name (in the accusative) in l. 4 very much suggests that this is where the decree moves on to praise Apollodoros. It is nonetheless awkward to have δεδύχθαι (or ἐψηφίσθαι) follow the commendation clause (ἐπαινέσαι), as in this reconstruction. However, since it seems much the most cogent explanation of the dative [τοῖ]ς δημόταις, especially given that what immediately follows is undoubtedly an award of *prohedria*, we might suppose a resumptive use of δεδύχθαι in this case. The most likely alternative would be to explain the dative δημόταις as governed by the idea of Apollodoros’ ‘very pious’ (l. 8) behaviour shown ‘towards the demesmen’ (and a somewhat less likely variant on this alternative would be to construe the remains of l. 8 as another dative plural—[τοῖ]ς εὐσεβέσ[ι]—also with reference to the demesmen (?)).

<sup>50</sup> The least unlikely alternative might be a form of ἀμφοτέρως.

<sup>51</sup> We might compare the dynamic in the polis decree in honour of Eudemos son of Philourgos of Plataea (*IG* II<sup>3</sup> 352, 330/29), which refers to an earlier offer in the past (ἐπειδὴ | | Εὐδημιος πρότερόν τε ἐπηγγ[ε]ῖ|λατο τ[ῶ]ι δήμωι ἐπιδώσειν ll. 11-3) followed by a more recent donation (καὶ νῦν [ἐπ]ι|δέδ[ω]κε[εν] l. 15). This is akin to the more widespread description in honorific decrees of benefactions made ‘again now as in the past’, on which see VELIGIANNI-TERZI 1997, 228-231.

architectural) feature of feminine grammatical gender: τὴν l. 7.<sup>52</sup>

I suggest that [σκηνη]ν ‘skene’ is a preferable candidate for the object of Apollodoros’ attentions to Kalogeropoulou’s ‘stele’. The latter is too vague unless we suppose an earlier, lost reference to a particular *stele*. And what exactly would it mean to contribute to ‘the fixed / standing / erected *stele*’? The phrase cannot have meant that ‘he contributes to the erection of’ the *stele* (namely the one before us recording Apollodoros’ honours). The contribution is described as being made (in the present tense) to an object that is already standing (ἔστηκε[κυῖαν]). By contrast ‘skene’ needs no further specification other than that which appears precisely in the words τὴν ἔστηκε[κυῖαν]. Although we are very familiar with the use of the word σκηνη alone as a technical term in modern handbooks for a theatrical stage-building, it did not have that as its sole, and perhaps not even as a possible, meaning when it appeared without further qualification in texts of the Classical period. Σκηνη referred to a wide variety of impermanent structures—tents, booths, cabins.<sup>53</sup> In Classical texts it is always necessary to disambiguate the sense of *skene* and to clarify when a theatrical *skene* is meant.<sup>54</sup> I suggest that ἔστηκεκυῖα was used to indicate that the *skene* in question was ‘the standing’ or ‘fixed’ *skene*. The most common such *skenai* were precisely those in theatres. But a ‘standing *skene*’ is not the same as what in general modern usage is often called a ‘permanent’ *skene*—which usually means a *skene* built entirely of stone. A ‘fixed’ or ‘standing’ *skene* might have been made entirely of wood, or with a stone stylobate into which wooden uprights were inserted. Its main feature is that it is not the sort of entirely temporary structure that could be taken up and moved to another place to serve another function, like a tent. It is the *skene* in a designated theatre. And while rare, the perfect participle of ἵστημι is in fact used in connection with the *skene* of a theatre, the theatre in the deme of Piraeus. It appears in the phrase ἅπαντα ὀρθὰ καὶ ἔστηκότα in the inscription

<sup>52</sup> ΚΑΛΟΓΕΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ (1986, 5) glosses this as a likely reference to ‘other benefactions and contributions of Apollodoros (to the shrine of Demeter?)’.

<sup>53</sup> <sup>9</sup>LSJ, s.v. See DUCAT 2007; SLATER 2011, 282.

<sup>54</sup> Even at Plat. *Laws* 817c σκηναὺς used of stage-buildings is disambiguated by context and refers to impermanent structures; similarly specification is needed at Xen. *Cyrop.* 6.1.54: τραγικῆς σκηνηῆς. In Attic inscriptions the unqualified term is used of a tent: *IE* 177 (330), l. 433; *IE* 52 A.II.40, B.II.51. Note the need to qualify the word when used in a theatrical context at *Agora* 19 L 6, fr. c col. III, ll. 145-46 = WILLIAMS 2011, ll. 27-28 (prob. 343/42). It appears in the honorific decree *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 470, l. 3 of ca. 330 in a highly fragmentary context: further specification is likely to have been present in the lost text.

that records the lease of the Piraeus theatre, in an immediate context that includes two explicit references to its *skene* (Agora 19 L13, ll. 1-7). This is to be left ‘all in good order and upright / standing’ at the end of the lease. This kind of expression is a sort of legalese for ‘ship-shape’, but Slater is right to draw attention to the special use of ἑστηκότα within it (coupled with the more regular πάντα ὀρθά) in this specifically theatrical context. Slater argues that it shows that the Piraeus theatre was not to be dismantled at the end of the period of the lease, but to be left ‘standing’.<sup>55</sup> Since the passage in which the phrase appears can be taken safely to refer only to the *skene* of the Piraeus theatre, and not to the theatre in its entirety—and certainly not to its *theatron* or seating space—it seems to me that this does not support Slater’s argument that the *seating* of that theatre was not to be dismantled. It does however give us an important insight into the habit of using the perfect participle of ἵστημι in relation to theatrical *skenai* in particular.

Another unusual feature of this decree tends to support the suggestion that Apollodoros contributed to the theatre of Sphettos as well as its sanctuary of Demeter, and was being rewarded appropriately for doing so. He is to be given a particularly special form of *prohedria*, and moreover that *prohedria* appears to be the only award which he is given, apart from the praise conferred by the decree itself. For even given the fragmentary state of the inscription there is clearly no place for the award of further honours, such as a crown and its announcement by herald. This concentration on *prohedria* may well reflect the nature of his benefaction. He was to be given what must have been the most prestigious seat in the house. Kalogeropoulou noted the special nature of this award—‘next to the priest of Dionysus’ (l. 11), which is without parallel.<sup>56</sup> This is a nice example of the possibilities in the economy of *prohedric* distinction. Assuming that the priest of Dionysus occupied the centre-front seat in Sphettos, as in Athens,<sup>57</sup> Apollodoros would be close to the centre of the orchestra and with an excellent view of the *skene*.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> SLATER 2011, 276-277: contra CSAPO 2007.

<sup>56</sup> While παρά with the dative ἱερε[ι] ‘beside’ would also be possible, the formulation with the accusative is preferable as suggesting the prior act of processing after invitation to take his seat: cf. e.g. Isaeus 8.16.

<sup>57</sup> PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE 1968, 268-269; Aristoph. *Frogs* 297 with the ancient scholia *ad loc.*; for the statue: cf. Aristoph. *Knights* 536.

<sup>58</sup> While Kalogeropoulou’s restoration of l. 11 is relatively safe, with a longer line-length one could also propose a version that had the priest of Dionysus himself summon Apollodoros to his seat, e.g.: [...καὶ καλείτω αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν προεδρίαν ὁ τοῦ Διὸς]νύσου ἱερε[ύς]. ‘[and may the] pries[t] of Dio[n]ysos [summon him to his seat].’ Against this however is the fact that in the three

Though it cannot be regarded as completely secure, the restoration of [τῶι θεάτρῳι] in the final line (l. 13) as the site for the erection of the honorific decree is compelling.<sup>59</sup> The theatre is certainly the logical site for the erection of the *stele*, given the fact of Apollodoros' award of *prohedria* there, irrespective of whether he also contributed to the *skene*, but if he did, it would be virtually certain that that was the site for the permanent record of his honour.

### § 3. Theatre in Anagyrous and Lamprai

I take these two demes together because they both belong to the tribe Erechtheis and are both normally assigned to its Coastal trittys. If there was a theatre in both demes Paga's pattern of distribution would therefore be further disrupted. Paga acknowledges this as a potential exception, along with the tribe Aigeis, two of whose demes—Kollytos and Ikarion—are both known to have celebrated a Rural Dionysia with theatrical performances and are both traditionally assigned to the City trittys. She deals satisfactorily with the problems raised by Kollytos and Ikarion.<sup>60</sup> But the evidence relating to Anagyrous and Lamprai merits closer analysis.

Paga accepts the case for a theatre in Anagyrous.<sup>61</sup> Goette on the other hand argues that the evidence for a theatre in that deme has been misinterpreted, and proposes that the theatre of Aixone further to the north served a broad region at the southern tip of Mt Hymettos that included Anagyrous along with Aixone, Halai Aixonides and perhaps even Aigilia. According to Goette, the evidence generally thought to relate to Anagyrous in fact refers to performances held in the theatre at Aixone. This was possibly situated on the slopes of Mt Hymettos above Agios Nikolaos, one of the centres of the ancient deme. Remains of a theatre were seen and mentioned in a brief report by Habbo Lolling in

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clear examples of invitations to *prohedria* in the demes it is the demarch, not the priest, who issues the invitation (Halai Araphenides: SEG 46, 153, ll. 12-15; Eleusis: IE 99, ll. 18-20; IE 101, ll. 18-21; Piraeus: IG II<sup>2</sup> 1214, ll. 22-26), and we should naturally assume that the priest was himself always among if not the very first to be invited to a seat of honour.

<sup>59</sup> This is the concluding clause of the decree but it is impossible to determine where the text will have ended, in the absence of a good guide to the line-length. And while the space beneath the surviving text is unscribed, one cannot rule out the use of the first part of a further line (i.e. [l. 14]).

<sup>60</sup> PAGA 2010, 377-378.

<sup>61</sup> PAGA 2010, 354 n. 5, apparently on the basis of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1210 alone.

the 1870s,<sup>62</sup> but Ackermann has cast doubt on the very idea that Lolling had himself seen the ruins, noting that the expression he used merely reports that ruins were still in existence.<sup>63</sup> The case Goette makes for the significance of the ‘lost’ theatre of Aixone is extremely important. It is my view however that two of the relevant items of evidence as good as prove performance by Anagyrasioi in a theatre on the territory of that deme itself, and thus cast doubt on the idea that the Aixone theatre also served the deme of Anagyrous.

The evidence for a Dionysia with theatrical performances of tragedy and comedy in Anagyrous consists of two choregic monuments (*IG I*<sup>3</sup> 969; *IG II*<sup>3</sup> 4, 507) and a deme decree (*IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1210), spanning a period of well over a century, ca. 440-300.<sup>64</sup> Matthaiou and Goette have made the important point that, in nineteenth-century usage, ‘Vari’ (the stated find-spot of *IG II*<sup>3</sup> 4, 507 and *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1210) comprised a much larger region than its modern equivalent, and included areas that are likely to have been within the ancient demes of Anagyrous, Halai Aixonides and Aixone.<sup>65</sup>

While the deme to which *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1210 properly belongs may be open to question, the two choregic dedications are a different matter. The dedication of the Sokrates who had supported a performance by Euripides and recorded the event with a bronze statue and inscription listing the fourteen *tragoidoi* by name (*IG I*<sup>3</sup> 969; Athens EM 13180) is to my mind virtually incontrovertible evidence for performance in Anagyrous itself. This was found only in the 1950s and is thus not subject to the problem of loose nomenclature of ‘Vari’. In fact it was found in Varkiza in a coastal area known as Ἀλμύρα, which is clearly within the territory of ancient Anagyrous.<sup>66</sup> And it is moreover now generally agreed that

<sup>62</sup> LOLLING 1879, 193-194; MATTHAIΟΥ 1992/98. Lolling’s laconic report of his sighting of theatre ruins is particularly frustrating, but it is evidently not a mistaken identification of the Euonymon theatre, since he explicitly places the remains in Pirnari far to the south-east, halfway between Trachones and Vari.

<sup>63</sup> ACKERMANN (forthcoming), 70.

<sup>64</sup> An unpublished inscription from the area of Anagyrous was announced in 2005 (*Eleftherotypia*, 12 August 2005; *AR* 52 (2005/6): 12), and said to refer to a performance of Euripides, supported by a demarch named Theophilos as choregos. I strongly suspect that this is a garbled combined reference to *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 969, which names Euripides as *didaskalos*, and *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 2852, a dedication by one Theophilos to commemorate his service as demarch. My thanks to Hans GOETTE for bringing this item to my attention and to him and Robert PITT for discussing it with me.

<sup>65</sup> MATTHAIΟΥ 1992/98; GOETTE 2014; see also SCHÖRNER and GOETTE 2004, 6 n. 29.

<sup>66</sup> ΜΙΤΣΟΣ (1965, esp. 163) for details of the precise find-spot: ‘εις Βάρκιζαν, κατά την διάνοξιν τοῦ πρὸς Σούνιον αὐτοκινητοδρόμου. Ἀκριβέστερον, ἢ θέσις, ἔνθα ἀπεκαλύφθη, εἶναι κατὰ τὸ

it records a victory in tragedy won in the deme, rather than at a festival in the city, as once thought.<sup>67</sup> Its dedicator—and doubtless choregos, though the term is not used—Sokrates, is almost certainly an Anagyrasian, the prominent general in the Samian war 441/40 who, alongside Pericles and Thucydides son of Melesias, was a candidate for ostracism in 443.<sup>68</sup> Moreover his chorus was evidently composed of Anagyrasioi: one of the choreuts with the exceedingly rare name ‘Son’ must be a member of the deme, as the only other attested bearer of that name certainly is.<sup>69</sup> The names of the *tragoidoi* on this dedication are all listed without demotic (or patronymic). This strongly suggests that they were all locals and, given that at least one of them can be identified as an Anagyrasios, we may be confident that the chorus as a whole was made up of demesmen of Anagyrous.<sup>70</sup> It follows as very probable that this was a notable performance by a chorus of Anagyrasians, sponsored by a prominent member of that deme, of work by Euripides, and probably under his personal direction. It strikes me as exceedingly unlikely—so unlikely as to be virtually inconceivable—that Sokrates would have been content to see this monument to his own *philotimia* and the glory of his deme erected outside his home deme, in the theatre of Aixone. That

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μέσον περίπου τῆς “Αλμύρας” περί τὰ 100 μέτρα ἐκείθεν τῆς μεγίστης ἀκτίδος τοῦ χειμερίου κύματος, πρὸ τοῦ ἐξοχικοῦ κέντρου, ιδιοκτησίας, κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον, Κρητικῶς, νῦν δὲ ἐπονομαζομένου “Νεράϊδα.” ELIOT (1962, 37) reports, inaccurately, that it was ‘discovered at Vari, citing VANDERPOOL (1955, 223)—who was writing well before the publication of the *editio princeps*—‘from the village of Vari’. The *Chronique* of BCH for 1955 (no. 79, p. 210) correctly notes its provenance as Varkiza. Eliot doubts that it provides good evidence for the site of the deme Anagyrous, but the inaccuracy in his description of the find-spot does not inspire confidence, and he was unaware of the important prosopographical evidence for the name ‘Son’.

<sup>67</sup> In WILSON (2000, 131-132) I followed WHITEHEAD (1986, 220) and MITSOS (1965, 167) in regarding this as an example of a victory won in the city but advertised in the home deme. I am now convinced that the performance in question must have taken place in the deme: thus CSAPO 2010b, 91. The case for the alternative rests entirely on *a priori* assumptions about the likely—inferior—quality of theatre at Rural Dionysia. In her attempt to reconcile a belief that Euripides would not have appeared in Anagyrous with the site of dedication, GHIRON-BISTAGNE (1976, 120) was led to hypothesise a separate dedication in the city, for which there is no evidence. But there is no doubt that Euripides traveled around—and beyond—Attica to produce his work.

<sup>68</sup> Androton *FGrH* 324 F38; *Agora* 25, 661.

<sup>69</sup> ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΥ 1990-91; *SEG* 41, 191. But see MILLIS (2015, 231-232) who would date the inscription to the last decade of the fifth century, making Sokrates the homonymous grandson of the general.

<sup>70</sup> MILANEZI (2004.2, 265) has tentatively identified another choreut, Euthydikos (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 969, l. 4) as the Anagyrasian who appears early in the fourth century as Εὐθ[ύ...].ος ‘Euth[y...].os’ on a tribal list (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2366, l. 31), where at l. 29 she would also propose restoring the name of his fellow-choreut [Φίλο]κράτης ‘[Philo]krates’ instead of Kirchner’s [Πολυ]κράτης ‘[Poly]krates’.

need not rule out Goette's theory that the demesmen of Anagyrous—Sokrates and his *tragoidoi* among them—held their Dionysia in the theatre of Aixone, for one might save the hypothesis by assuming that the place of dedication was different from the place of performance. But it is to my mind a much more plausible interpretation of this monument to assume that they were in fact the same, and that Euripides performed one (or more) of his tragedies with a local chorus in a theatre in the deme of Anagyrous early in his career. I therefore retain Anagyrous as a deme with a theatre.

The same argument applies to the second choregic dedication, for comedy. In fact a close reading of its (poetic) text offers even stronger evidence for performance in Anagyrous: *IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 507*, dated only approximately by letter-forms some time after ca. 350:

non.-stoich.

- 1 ἠδυγέλωτι χορῶι Διονύσια σ[ύ]μ ποτε ἐν[ίκα],  
 μνημόσυνον δὲ θεῶι νίκης τόδε δῶρον [ἔθηκεν],  
 δήμωι μὲν κόσμον, ζῆλον πατρὶ κισσοφο[ροῦντι].  
 τοῦδε δὲ ἔτι πρότερος στεφανηφόρον [εἶλεν ἀγῶνα].

1 ἐν[ίκα] Keil ἐν[ίκων] Köhler || 2 [ἔθηκεν] Keil [ἔθηκαν] Köhler [ἔθηκα] Preuner  
*apud* Kirchner || 4 [εἶλεν] Keil [εἶλον] Preuner *apud* Kirchner [ἦλθ' ἐς] Wilamowitz

[Name of dedicant appeared elsewhere on part of the monument, now lost]

[He] was once vic[torious] at the Dionysia with a choros of sweet laughter,  
 and [he set up] this gift to the god as a memorial of the victory,  
 an adornment for the deme, a spur to emulation for his father, wearing ivy.  
 Even before him did [he take] the crown-bearing [contest].

The stone was found (and remains) in secondary usage built into the altar of the small church of Agioi Pantes, near the modern town of Vari, almost certainly on the territory of Anagyrous and close to an ancient necropolis of the deme.<sup>71</sup> There is little doubt that this was a dedication to Dionysus (θεῶι...τόδε δῶρον) and record of a victory (μνημόσυνον...νίκης : l. 2, with a chiasmic flourish) by an Anagyrian choregos for

<sup>71</sup> PΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-PALAIOS 1929, 165; cf. MITSOS 1965, 166. On the (north) necropolis of Anagyrous see now ALEXANDRIDOU 2012. My thanks to Jaime CURBERA and William SLATER for information on the current whereabouts of this inscription.

comedy at a Dionysia (l. 1). This conception of choregic dedications as gifts to the gods is not widespread in Attica, and is almost exclusively confined to demes.<sup>72</sup> The deictic τόδε ‘this gift’ makes it clear that the monument included some object, probably a statue (as in the dedication of Sokrates) or other artwork. Line 3 bears definitively on the argument as to where this victory was won and its commemorative monument erected. It proceeds to gloss ‘this gift’ as both ‘an adornment for the deme’, and ‘a spur to emulation for his father’. The monument, with its artwork, can only be ‘an adornment to the deme’ by virtue of its dedication there, probably in the theatre or sanctuary of Dionysus.<sup>73</sup> The expression testifies to the pride of the man who has thus quite physically ‘adorned’ his local theatre.

As for Lamptrai, the evidence consists of a single inscription, dated only approximately, by letter-forms, to ca. 325-300 (*IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1161; Athens EM 7709). This is the text as it appears in *IG*, with some minor modifications as noted in the apparatus:<sup>74</sup>

stoich.

[- -----]

1 NK[- - -εις δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στ-]  
 ἡλῆς δο[ῦναι ----- τοὺς ἐπιμ-]  
 ελητὰς τὸ ἀ[νάλωμα ----- ἀν-]  
 εἰπεῖν Λαμπ[τρᾶσι ----- Δι-]

5 ουσίοις τὸ[ν στέφανον ----- τ-]  
 ἦι φυλῆι κα[θάπερ -----]  
 ο ἡ φυλῆ ἐπ[ι -----]  
 ος καὶ ἀν[-----]  
 ἀρχωι κ[-----]

*vacat*

1 NK Takeuchi νκ Lolling ν κ Kirchner || 4 εἰπε. ἴνα ἄμ π Lolling || 8-9 (?) [δημ]ἀρχωι Wilson

<sup>72</sup> WILSON 2000, 249.

<sup>73</sup> The view that this phrase shows that the victory was won in the city, because ‘such “honor for the deme” ... can only have been won outside it’ (WHITEHEAD 1986, 234; also KÖRTE 1935, 634) misconstrues the close grammatical connection between ll. 2 and 3 by making ‘adornment’ refer loosely back to the victory of l. 1. There is thus no reason to treat this as an urban victory and all presumption points the other way: thus REISCH, *PW III*, 2419; BRINCK 1906, 36.

<sup>74</sup> My thanks to Kazuhiro TAKEUCHI for discussion of this inscription and for providing me with access to a good photograph of the stone.

[unidentified number of lines lost] ... [and the *epim*]eletai are to gi[ve] the e[xpense for the inscription of the *st*]ele [.....] to [an]nounce th[e crown at] Lamp[tra]i ..... at [the Di]onysia ... for [t]he tribe ju[st as .....] the tribe a[t .....] and ann[(?)]ounce ..... for [the (?) dem]arch ...

Though highly fragmentary, there is little doubt that this is the lower part of an honorific decree issued by a tribe: a φυλή ‘tribe’ is mentioned twice (ll. 6, 7). The find-spot on the Acropolis is consistent with a place of erection in a tribal sanctuary, probably in this case the Erechtheion.<sup>75</sup> The duties of the three tribal *epimeletai* (note the plural [ἐπιμ]ελητᾶς safely restored in ll. 2-3) were predominantly administrative and financial, and included taking care of honours awarded by the tribe, as evidently here. Lines 3-5 are the remains of the proclamation clause, directing the announcement of awards ‘at the Dionysia’ [Δι]ονυσίοις. Tribes did not hold Dionysia. The festival in question must therefore be either the City Dionysia or a Dionysia of one of the tribe’s constituent demes. The former can be ruled out. By the last third of the fourth century, the city had taken steps to curb the habit of tribes and demes of announcing honours at the City festival of Dionysus which they had decreed in their own assemblies. In 330, Aeschines refers to a law in force that prevented both demes and tribes from announcing crowns at the tragic competition of the City Dionysia.<sup>76</sup> Moreover the letters Λαμπ[ in l. 4 are most cogently restored as Λαμπ[τρᾶσι] ‘at Lamptraï.’<sup>77</sup> This must be a reference to the place at which the announcement is to be made, and thus where the Dionysia was to be held. It follows as very likely that there was a theatre in the deme of Lamptraï. The (restored) locative form (Λαμπτρᾶσι) is consistent with its use to describe the site of theatres or festivals in a number of other Attic inscriptions.<sup>78</sup>

This is therefore almost certainly an award by the tribe Erechtheis of honours, to be announced at the Dionysia of Lamptraï, attested here for the first time.<sup>79</sup> The decree may have directed the tribal *epimeletai* to

<sup>75</sup> LOLLING 1889, 86.

<sup>76</sup> Aeschines 3.41-45.

<sup>77</sup> The reading of the *lambda*, seen as an *alpha* by LOLLING, is confirmed by photograph and at autopsy by Kazuhiro TAKEUCHI.

<sup>78</sup> SEG 43, 26B, ll. 13-14, 21-22, Acharnai, late December 315 or early 314; IG II<sup>2</sup> 1202, ll. 14-15, Aixone 313/12.

<sup>79</sup> Thus JONES 1999, 163-164. IG II<sup>2</sup> 1204 shows that Lower Lamptraï imposed taxes, possibly including liturgies.

perform the announcement themselves;<sup>80</sup> or perhaps there was a herald (maybe in l. 5: τὸ[ν κήρυκα...]). Lamptrai was a ‘divided’ deme, with Upper (bouleutic quota 5) and Lower (bouleutic quota 9) Lamptrai lying adjacent to one-another to the south-east of the lower part of the Hymettan range. Both were members of Erechtheis. It is impossible to identify which Lamptrai is in question here. The size of Lower Lamptrai might incline us to direct our guesses towards it. But it is also very likely that the two adjacent demes shared a Dionysia (see below). Given that the combined size of the two Lamptrai would be very substantial (with possibly around three percent of the citizen population), such a joint Dionysia is likely to have been an event of some scale.<sup>81</sup> It was evidently deemed a worthy occasion for the announcement of honours granted by the larger unit of the tribe, representing a tenth of the entire citizenry of Athens. This is therefore a striking instance of a tribe making use of the Dionysia of one of its constituent demes to publicise its activities.<sup>82</sup> Perhaps the honorand was himself from Lamptrai. Such a practice is likely to have required special permission from the deme authorities. And we may find a trace of such a request in the closing lines of the decree: for I suggest that a likely restoration of the first word of the decree’s last line is ‘to the demarch’ [δημ]άρχῳ ll. 8-9, and ll. 6-9 could well describe some form of protocol for interaction between tribe and deme.<sup>83</sup>

While not conclusive, this does I believe make it very probable that Lamptrai held a Dionysia in its own theatre. Paga considers this evidence too weak, and so no serious threat to her thesis. But she does nonetheless propose that if there were a theatre in Lamptrai the disruption potentially introduced by it would disappear if Traill’s reassignment

<sup>80</sup> As in a Hippothontid decree, *IE* 63.

<sup>81</sup> The only other deme with an attested theatrical Dionysia and a bouleutic quota larger than those of the Lamptrai (14) is huge Acharnai (22). The next largest would be the combined Paiania (11 + 1); then Eleusis (11).

<sup>82</sup> It is possible that a parallel is to be found in a small fragment of an honorific decree of the tribe Kekropis, dated by possible reference to the Archon Thoudemos (353/52) in l. 7 (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1145; Athens EM 7693; LAWTON 1995, no.107). Lines 6-8 may have mandated the proclamation of a crown by the herald at a Dionysia (perhaps [ἀνειπεῖν τ]ὸν κή]ρυκα Δ[ιονυσίοις]?). Even if a date in or near 352 is correct, this is unlikely to refer to the City Dionysia, and will almost certainly be a Dionysia of one of the tribe’s demes: possible candidates with known (or probable) Dionysia are Aixone, Halai Aixonides and Phlya.

<sup>83</sup> It is a weakness of Paga’s theory that she does not raise the important issue of the legal or administrative basis upon which a trittys might make use of the theatre of a deme. She seems to proceed with an implicit assumption of a kind of constitutional hierarchy of powers, according to which the greater unit of the trittys had the authority simply by virtue of its size to make use of the resources of the smaller unit of the deme. This is at the very least an open question.

of Upper Lamprai from the Coastal to the Inland trittys (while retaining Lower Lamprai in the coastal trittys) were accepted,<sup>84</sup> and on the further assumption that the theatre of Lamprai was in the Upper deme. It appears to me that Traill's (largely arbitrary) reassignment produces as many or more problems than it solves.<sup>85</sup> But, more importantly, I think it most likely that the divided demes of Lamprai would have celebrated their Dionysia as one, making it impossible to 'quarantine' the Dionysia to Upper Lamprai, which, moreover, has the much smaller bouletic quota of the two (5 as opposed to 9)—another reason, on Paga's own theory, for assuming that if only one of the Lamprai is intended here, Lower Lamprai would be much the more likely of the two to hold a theatrical Dionysia.

#### § 4. *Theatre in Kephale*

If there was a theatre in the deme Kephale (a member of the Coastal trittys of the tribe Akamantis), the pattern detected by Paga would be disturbed once again, since Thorikos with its fine stone theatre and energetic Dionysia has the same affiliations. We are very poorly served for evidence of the life of this substantial deme (bouletic quota 9), particularly in terms of public inscriptions, of which not one has been found. The evidence for a theatre is ambivalent,<sup>86</sup> and rests on an observation made by George Wheler after his journey through Attica in the seventeenth century. When he reached the village of Keratea, he saw ruins that prompted him to write 'This hath been an ancient, and great City'. 'I could discern here, where an Amphitheater had been, by the Foundations, and some other remains of it.'<sup>87</sup> Given the strong likelihood that Wheler was on the territory of ancient Kephale,<sup>88</sup> it is difficult to imagine that what he saw could have been anything other than the remains of a substantial Classical or Hellenistic theatre of that deme. And there are some grounds for supposing the existence of a cult of Dionysus in the

<sup>84</sup> TRAILL 1982, 162-169; PAGA 2010, 376-377.

<sup>85</sup> STANTON (1994) has made a renewed and convincing case that both Upper and Lower Lamprai belonged to the Coastal trittys of Erechtheis.

<sup>86</sup> Paga does not mention it. In fact Kephale is absent from all standard accounts of the Rural Dionysia. Note however FREDERIKSEN 2002, 83; GOETTE 2014, 15.

<sup>87</sup> WHELER 1682, 448.

<sup>88</sup> For the secure identification of the deme-site of Kephale in the region of Keratea see BUCHHOLZ 1963; TRAILL 1975, 47.

deme. The modern place-names of Dionysovouni or ‘Hill of Dionysus’, and of ‘Dionysus’ itself—an area near and to the north-east of Keratea—may preserve a memory of it.<sup>89</sup> The terraced slopes of Dionysovouni would have served as a fine site for a theatre. And a votive-relief (now lost) perhaps to be associated with the ruined Church of Agios Dionysios (note the name) near Keratea, represented a god or hero, possibly Dionysus, in a temple, approached by a bearded man in an ‘adoration’ scene, a flat round *eschara*-type altar between them.<sup>90</sup> There was also, remarkably, a shrine of Semachos somewhere in the region.<sup>91</sup> This is the father of the eponymous heroines of the deme Semachidai in the far north of Attica, who with his daughters hosted Dionysus. Some caution is however needed. Already Chandler believed that what Wheler named Keratea was ‘probably Thoricus’.<sup>92</sup> The fact that it had taken Wheler three and a half hours to reach Sounion from Keratea might be more grist to the argument that he was further north than Thorikos, in ancient Kephale. But Chandler himself remarks that the track was ‘very rocky and bad’ and Goette argues<sup>93</sup> that the theatre seen by Wheler was that of Thorikos, noting that Wheler’s term ‘Amphitheater’ fits quite well with the outline of the curved sides of the *koilon* of the Thorikos theatre. But on the other hand Hobhouse, who was traveling through the area under very similar conditions fifty years later, took issue with Chandler’s view that Wheler had misidentified Thorikos as Kephale (Keratea), believing it a largely arbitrary association of ancient ruins with well-known place-names—in this case rendered less plausible because of the existence of ‘a port, still called Thorico, ... about an hour and a half distance to the south-east’.<sup>94</sup>

### § 5. *One theatre, many Dionysia?; co-Dionysia?*

Having made a case for the presence of a theatre and Dionysia in a number of demes where the evidence has hitherto been treated in a somewhat cursory fashion, and having adumbrated the impact of these findings for the theories of theatre distribution recently propounded by Paga and

<sup>89</sup> SOLDERS 1931, 41 no. 25.

<sup>90</sup> MILCHHÖFER 1887, 293 no. 239; others identify the deity as Heracles: FRICKENHAUS 1911, 121-125; TAGALIDOU 1993, 243.

<sup>91</sup> *JG* II<sup>2</sup> 1582, ll. 53-55.

<sup>92</sup> CHANDLER 1776, 167.

<sup>93</sup> GOETTE 2014, 105.

<sup>94</sup> HOBHOUSE 1813, 338.

Goette, in this final section I turn more directly to the question of the possible sharing of theatres by more than one deme and even of collaboration by demes in holding a Dionysia (what might be called ‘co-Dionysia’). I shall attempt to clarify and assess the various positions that have been put forward on the subject.

Three broad models can be identified in the recent literature:

- 1: participation in Rural Dionysia by non-demesmen as audience members and / or more actively as (professional) performers;
- 2: ‘regional’ or ‘catchment’ theatres in demes of larger size serving Rural Dionysia of various more or less proximate demes, each festival however held independently by the several demes;
- 3: ‘co-Dionysia’: the full collaboration (a) by demes or (b) by trittyes in holding a properly joint Dionysia.

*1: (circumscribed) participation in Rural Dionysia by non-demesmen:*

There can be no doubt of the prevalence of (1). Participation in deme Dionysia by non-members is demonstrable at the professional level—actors, poets, musicians, trainers and the like—and as spectators. Professional involvement of non-members was essential to ensuring quality performances, and we can easily point to notable examples that must represent just the tip of the iceberg: Euripides at the Piraeus, and in Anagyrous;<sup>95</sup> Sophocles in Eleusis and (probably) Halai Aixonides;<sup>96</sup> Aristophanes in Eleusis;<sup>97</sup> Kratinos in (probably) Halai Aixonides;<sup>98</sup> Aeschines acting in a reperformance of Sophocles’ *Oinomaos* at Kollytos;<sup>99</sup> the most famous actor of tragedy in the fourth century, Theodoros, probably appearing in Thorikos;<sup>100</sup> and Parmenon, a celebrated comic actor, performing in Kollytos.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Aelian *Historical Miscellany* 2.13; IG I<sup>3</sup> 969: see above, p. 113.

<sup>96</sup> IE 53; IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 498.

<sup>97</sup> IE 53.

<sup>98</sup> IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 498. See note 146 below.

<sup>99</sup> Dem. *On the Crown* 18, 180: in the title role of the *Oinomaos*. That this was the famous play of that name by Sophocles, reperfomed some sixty years after its composition (placed before 414: *TrGF* 4, 381) is widely accepted (WANKEL 1976.2, 891), and is explicitly stated to be so by Hesych. α7381 (Latte), though perhaps on no independent evidence. The possibility that the play was by the otherwise unknown poet Ischandros derives ultimately from a source inimical to Aeschines (*Life of Aeschines* 1.7) and may reflect that hostility in attempting to air-brush from the historical record Aeschines’ association with the hallowed and possibly heroised poet of the Classical past (in a gloss on this passage in Harpocration—163.14 Dind.—Ischandros is an actor).

<sup>100</sup> SEG 34, 174.

<sup>101</sup> Aeschines *Tim.* 157.

The participation of non-demesmen as audience members is also demonstrable. Indeed we should probably think of this more in terms of active encouragement than simple permission. Financial benefit is at least one factor behind it. The evidence that there was something of a ‘circuit’ of deme Dionysia, timetabled in such a way as to permit participation by both professionals and audience in the Dionysia of multiple demes, is clear.<sup>102</sup> The economic motive is evident from one of its key items, Plato *Republic* Book 5.475d, in which ‘spectacle-lovers’ are said to ‘rent out their ears’ as ‘they run around to the Dionysia, never missing one, either in the cities or in the villages.’ The seemingly casual metaphor ἀπομισθοῦν τὰ ὦτα evokes what is virtually a technical term of theatre finance—ἀπομισθοῦν θέαν ‘to rent out a seat for the spectacle.’ From at least the time of Aristophanes, this was used to describe what theatre-managers and spectators did.<sup>103</sup> Plato’s language thus subtly but powerfully ties the spread and timetabling of Dionysia, including deme Dionysia, to commercial forces. Like a troupe of performers wandering from one paying community to another, the theatre-audience in this unsympathetic Platonic vision is itself on tour around Attica, ‘renting out’ its ears for profit.<sup>104</sup> In reality it was ‘renting out a seat for the spectacle.’ We have direct evidence that the deme of Piraeus charged for entry to the theatrical performances of its Dionysia by the last quarter of the fourth century;<sup>105</sup> and virtually conclusive evidence that Acharnai did the same by around the same time.<sup>106</sup> It is a relatively safe assumption that entrance charges were a regular component of the finances of deme theatre. The

<sup>102</sup> Plato *Republic* 5.475d; Plato *Laches* 183a-b. Cf. also the verb of circumambulation with explicit—and exclusive—reference to the Rural Dionysia (Διονύσια κατ’ ἀγρὸν ἄγῳσι περιιόντες) in Plutarch *Non posse suaviter vivi, Mor.* 1098b-c. Even when full account is taken of the negative bias in Demochares’ talk of Aeschines’ ‘wandering through the fields’ as a member of a tragic troupe of actors and in Demosthenes’ derogatory accounts of this ‘rustic Oinomaos’ (*FGRH* 75 fr. 6a), there remains a distinctive image of a dramatic troupe moving from one rural festival to another.

<sup>103</sup> Aristoph. *Phoinissai*, fr. 575 K-A. For a number of similar expressions see *CSAPO* 2007, 90 n. 5.

<sup>104</sup> See further WILSON 2010, 39-40. JONES (2004, 142) already postulated the economic motive without drawing on this passage as direct evidence for it.

<sup>105</sup> See below p. 121.

<sup>106</sup> *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1206, ll. 6-8, with the lineation of PAPAΖARKADAS 2007 = *SEG* 57, 124. This employs the cognate verb ἐκλέγειν ‘to collect’ to refer to ‘[the mon]ey collect[ed from the the]atre’: [τοῦ ἀργυρίου τοῦ ἐγλεγομέ[ν]ου ἐκ τοῦ θε]άτρου, probably a reference to takings at the door: *CSAPO* 2007, 94-95. Note also the use of the verb ἐκλέγειν with reference to the collection of fees for watching spectacles ἐν θαύμασι at Theophr. *Char.* 6.4. Note further λόγευμα used of the money collected in a theatre in Nikarchos (*POxy.* 4502, 39-41 Parsons) with *CSAPO* 2007, 88-89. Cf. SLATER 2011, 279-283. In WILSON (2015, 135-136) I suggest that the deme of Ikarion charged entrance fees to its theatre as early as ca. 440.

seating capacity of several of the surviving Attic theatres was much greater than the total size of their individual official (or even resident) population.<sup>107</sup> This may be as readily ascribed to a desire to maximise the number of (paying) spectators as to the needs of political assembly of tribes or trittyes. Thorikos, Euonymon and Piraeus are the most notable cases, the last especially striking because of the very special nature of its population. Already before the middle of the fifth century the harbour town was a true second urbanised centre, its opportunities for commerce and trade a magnet for foreigners, large numbers of metics and internal Athenian émigrés. With a bouletic quota of (probably) 8,<sup>108</sup> it was well above average size as a deme. But the nominal 320 / 480 adult male demesmen represented by that quota will have been a tiny minority in a town with a population estimated as equal to that of the city of Athens by ca. 432.<sup>109</sup> There can be no doubt that the Dionysia in the deme will have drawn on huge numbers of non-Piraeans as paying audience members. We know that even demesmen had to pay for a seat (τοὺς δὲ δημό|τας θεωρεῖν ἀργύριον] διδόντας, *Agora* 19 L13, ll. 9-10).<sup>110</sup>

One wonders just how open a policy demes operated in relation to the participation of non-members in this way.<sup>111</sup> Were they for instance permitted to take part in the procession?; and the sacrifices? If the latter, at whose cost? We have little way of telling, but the evidence for exclusionary habits practised by demes<sup>112</sup> leads me to believe that in general

<sup>107</sup> WILSON 2010, 68-69.

<sup>108</sup> TRAILL 1986, 16-18; it was 10 after 307/6.

<sup>109</sup> GARLAND 1987, 60.

<sup>110</sup> It seems to me a plausible guess that this inscription went on to describe the arrangements for payment to enter the theatre by non-demesmen at the point where the text breaks off. Lines 9-16 outline the requirement that demesmen pay for a seat, excepting those to whom the deme has granted *prohedria* (to be kept on record by the lease-holders of the theatre), as well as officials such as the demarch, herald and at least one other named official (lost in the lacuna of l. 14: I suspect 'the priests' on the basis of *JG II*<sup>2</sup> 1214, l. 23). The text then continues: ὅσοι δ[έ] ... (l. 16). This may be the start of a corresponding clause describing 'And all those who [are not members of the deme are to pay...]'.

<sup>111</sup> Good discussion in JONES 2004, 141-142. The few extant cases where demes decree privileges such as a share in the deme's sacrifices to benefactors from outside the deme (in particular, Athenian citizens who were members of other demes and probably resident in the honouring deme), strongly suggest by their exceptionality that liberality to non-members was not the norm: e.g. *JG II*<sup>2</sup> 1204 with JONES 1999, 119-122. The honorand of *JG II*<sup>2</sup> 1204 appears in any case himself to have made prior contributions to the deme's sacrifices, for which he is now being honoured (ἐπειδὴ Φιλοκῆ|δη[ς] φιλότιμός ἐστι|ν εἰ[ς] τὰς θυσίας καὶ | τὰ κοινὰ ὧν μέτεστι|ν αὐτῶι ἐν τῶι δῆμῳ, ll. 3-7).

<sup>112</sup> JONES 2004, 141, 297 n. 57. See previous note.

the involvement of outsiders at Dionysia (whether members of other demes or not) probably remained at a largely transactional level—paying for and to that extent being involved in the spectacles; buying local goods and services.

On the other hand, we do have evidence that demes sometimes subsidised the involvement of their members in festivals held by other bodies outside the deme, and in more than the capacity of spectators. It is entirely possible that this might have happened at a Dionysia, perhaps even to the extent of seeing a deme contribute to a theatrical *agon* of a festival run by a neighbouring deme, though the trail of evidence—concerning the small deme Plotheia—does not quite extend that far. The question shades into the somewhat different scenario in which more than one deme might have undertaken to hold a Dionysia together (model 3a below), but it will be appropriate to discuss it here.

*Excursus:*

*Plotheia and the Dionysia of Ikarion: participation or collaboration?*

The most promising and intriguing item of evidence for a more extended degree of participation in one deme's Dionysia by members of another concerns tiny Plotheia (bouleutic quota 1), north of Ikarion beyond Mount Pentelikon. Goette believes that the Plotheians will have used the Ikarion theatre for their Dionysia, and that the theatre of Ikarion might in fact have done service for a number of demes on the north side of Mt Pentelikon.<sup>113</sup> He thinks primarily in terms of the sharing of the theatrical facilities of Ikarion for their own events by these demes (thus model 2 below) rather than any sort of collaborative celebration (model 3 below). I think that this is a situation in which some form of more fully integrated participation in the Ikarion Dionysia by Plotheians as a corporate body might be envisaged, though perhaps falling short of properly joint celebration.<sup>114</sup>

The important inscription of ca. 420 concerning the deme's cult finances (*IG I<sup>3</sup> 258*) shows the Plotheians carefully stewarding their

<sup>113</sup> GOETTE (2014, 95-96): 'why should a deme of about 50 male citizens want to construct a theatre at great expense, especially since one already existed not far from their home deme? Instead of embarking on such an ambitious enterprise, the Plotheians could share with the Ikarion demesmen the theatre at Ikarion.'

<sup>114</sup> If, as is likely, Ikarion was, like Plotheia, a member of the religious association known as the Epakreis and if it held its Dionysia within the context of that association, the situation would be rather different. There is however no ground for thinking that the well-known Dionysia of Ikarion was anything other than a deme festival: see further below.

resources in order to fund the participation of demesmen (especially the cost of sacrifices) at a wide range of festivals.<sup>115</sup> A number of decisions are made by decree concerning the funding of festivals in which Plotheians are involved, in and beyond the deme. The sacrifices for three types of festivals (*hiera*)—Plotheian, Athenian,<sup>116</sup> penteteric<sup>117</sup>—are to be supplied from the interest on loans and rental incomes (ll. 22-28). The next clause (ll. 28-33) treats the funding of ‘the other festivals (*hiera*)’, also divided into three (slightly different) categories: Plotheian, Epakrian, Athenian. The sub-class of ‘Epakrian’ festivals are those held by the religious association called the Epakreis, of which Plotheia was a constituent member.<sup>118</sup> This second group is characterized as those *hiera* for which ‘all Plotheians must pay money.’<sup>119</sup> Having hitherto been financed from sums paid by all Plotheians individually these are now

<sup>115</sup> MIKALSON 1977; WHITEHEAD 1986, 165-169; HUMPHREYS 2004, esp. 151-154; MIGEOTTE 2010, all with earlier bibliography. MIGEOTTE (2010) publishes two useful photographs of the stone.

<sup>116</sup> That is, festivals run by the polis of Athens in which Plotheians are represented, with feasting subsidised from home. The most prominent polis festival in which demes are known to have been represented is the Panathenaia. The demarchs organised the great procession and the sacrificial meat was distributed deme by deme, according to the number of participants sent by each: PARKER 2005, esp. 74. Such representative involvement in ‘Athenian’ festivals is clearly envisaged in the Plotheian inscription: ll. 26-7: τὰ [sc. ἱερά] ἐς Ἀθηναίος ὑπὲρ Πλ[ωθέ]ω[ν] τὸ κοινόν. PARKER (2005, 73-74) thinks as likely candidates of the Pandia and Anakia, both given capital sum entries earlier in the inscription (ll. 9, 6), in addition perhaps to the Diasia and any number of other ‘spectacular festivals’—we might add the City Dionysia. The festival of Theseus may be another: see IG I<sup>3</sup> 82, esp. l. 12 with MAKRES 2014, 189-190.

<sup>117</sup> Ll. 27-28: καὶ τὰ ἐς τὰς πεντετ[ηρί]δ[ας]. These have been thought to be non-annual Plotheian rites (MIKALSON 1977, 426) or the same as the Epakrian festivals (favoured by PARKER 2005, 73), a view based on the assumption that the two groups of three types of *hiera* in ll. 25-28 and ll. 30-31 should be the same. I incline to the view of HUMPHREYS (2004, 153) that they are the *pentetērides* of the Athenian calendar known from Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 54.7.

<sup>118</sup> The Epakreis or the Trittys of the Epakreis is an old pre-Cleisthenic regional association made up of a number of demes (PARKER 1996, 330; PAPA ZARKADAS 2007) and seems to have had nothing to do with the Cleisthenic trittys of the same name. PAPA ZARKADAS (2007) has cogently argued that IG II<sup>2</sup> 2490 is a document of this association aimed at raising revenues from its properties for cult purposes. The festival of Apollo mentioned in the Plotheian decree (l. 8) was probably an Epakrian festival, quite possibly not held in Plotheia. ISMARD (2010, 216) suggests that the Pythion of Ikarion may have served as the site for the celebration of a regional festival of Apollo held by the Epakreis. HUMPHREYS (2004, 152-153) by contrast thinks it may have been held in the neighbouring deme of Anakaia, on the basis of the find-spot of SEG 32, 144, which suggests further that the Epakreis appointed an archon to organize it (PARKER 1996, 330: note however that WHITEHEAD (2010, 71) thinks SEG 32, 144 is a deme document, possibly of Plotheia itself). To the extent that the Epakreis were in the Classical period in some sense a combination of demes, Epakrian festivals would effectively be examples of co-celebration and thus akin to model 3 below.

<sup>119</sup> Ll. 28-29: ὅποι ἂν δέ[η] Π[λ]ωθέας ἅπαντας τελέω ἀργύριο[ν] ἐς | ἱερά.

to be financed on their collective behalf from common funds by the officials in charge of the ‘immunity money’ (ll. 32-33: τὸ ἀργυρίο τὸ ἐς τῆ[ν ἀτ|έ]λειαν). This evidently reflects a change in which festival participation that had hitherto been funded by some sort of individual tax or charge on all Plotheians is now to be funded collectively by the deme on the basis of the (probably new) fund called the *ateleia* which has a capital balance of 5,000 dr. (l. 7).<sup>120</sup>

The decree then goes on, in a new clause (ll. 33ff.), to ensure the provision from deme funds of ‘sweet wine’ (of unspecified quantity) for Plotheians for ‘communal festivals (*hiera*) in which Plotheians hold a feast’; whereas, ‘for the other festivals (*hiera*)’, each Plotheian in attendance is to receive ‘up to a [half-chous] (sc. of wine)’ (ll. 36-37)—ca. 1.6 litres.<sup>121</sup> The next line (just as the text begins to give out more completely) sees a *didaskalos* receive ‘a ja[r] (sc. of wine)’ (ca. 40 litres). These ‘other festivals (*hiera*)’ (l. 36) may be the same as ‘the other festivals (*hiera*)’ (Plotheian, Epakrian, Athenian) mentioned earlier, the ones to be newly financed from the *ateleia* fund. Or else the ‘otherness’ functions differently in both contexts. In the first (l. 28) it certainly served to mark out the category of those festivals (*hiera*) for which individual Plotheians had to pay money. In the second it distinguishes a category of festivals (*hiera*) from those communal ones in which Plotheians feasted together. If a choice must be made, the latter seems the more natural reading. The internal logic of this later clause suggests that the first group of *hiera* will be those (primarily or entirely) ‘at home’ in which the Plotheians feast together as a collective group; the second those (primarily outside the deme) in which (only partial) Plotheian participation is expected.<sup>122</sup> In other words, the provision of a set quantity of wine for those Plotheians attending and for a *didaskalos* seems to relate to events outside the deme. And, whether or not the ‘other’ refers to the same group in both cases, one type of festival to which the new *ateleia* fund

<sup>120</sup> In this interpretation of the *ateleia* fund as covering a cost imposed on Plotheians individually for participation in festivals I follow THUMSER (1880, 146): ‘ad sacra spectantes posita sunt’ and many others, e.g. WHITEHEAD 1986, 166; PARKER 2005, 62. Cf. HUMPHREYS 2004, 152-153 and esp. MIGEOTTE 2010 for a different view of the *ateleia* fund. Migeotte interprets it as a fund to cover contributions to taxes such as those imposed by the city (especially *eisphorai* but also liturgies) in cases where individual members of the deme had been granted *ateleia* by the deme but the obligation to contribute remained.

<sup>121</sup> HUMPHREYS 2004, 153.

<sup>122</sup> With τὰ ἱερά τὰ κοινὰ ἐν ὄσοισιν ἐσ[τ]ι|ῶ]νται Πλωθῆς in ll. 34-35, compare τὰ ἄλλα ἱερά μέχρ[ι] | ἡμίχο ἐ|κάστωι τοῖς παρῶσι Πλωθῆ[ω]|ν, ll. 36-38.

is likely to have been directed is that—such as Dionysia—for which a direct charge on all Plotheians to enter was in all likelihood levied.

The absence of any surviving reference to a Dionysia, that most characteristic of deme festivals, in this inscription that speaks of numerous festivals, has been remarked upon.<sup>123</sup> A Dionysia was in fact restored by Wilamowitz as the destination for the *didaskalos* of line 38: [ἐς Διονύσια δὲ] διδασκάλωι κά[δον] ‘[and] a ja[r] (sc. of wine) for the *didaskalos* [at the Dionysia].’<sup>124</sup> But this restoration cannot stand, as Lewis read an extra *iota* on the stone, leaving insufficient space for ‘Dionysia’ before it: [...7... δὲ τῶι διδασκάλωι κάδο[υ].<sup>125</sup> There are however grounds for thinking that those lines might all the same refer to a Dionysia; and that the decree provided for funded (and viniferous) participation by Plotheians at the venerable Dionysia of neighbouring Ikarion—not merely as paying spectators, but with their own participating chorus. For although Wilamowitz’s restoration cannot stand, the puzzle remains as to under just what circumstances the Plotheians would have been making provision for a special distribution of wine to be given to a *didaskalos*. *Didaskaloi* might be needed at a range of festivals—any in which formal training was involved—but by far the most cogent assumption is that a Dionysiac choral event is intended here. In the great majority of cases where the noun and associated verb are used in Attic inscriptions (city and deme) the training in question is choral training for a Dionysia.<sup>126</sup> This thus looks likely to be an instruction to equip, from Plotheia, a *didaskalos* to perform on behalf of the Plotheians at a Dionysia outside the deme, at which some members of the deme would be in attendance. We might deduce also that they or at least some of them are to be in performance in the chorus for which the *didaskalos* is present.

Which Dionysia? The Dionysia of Ikarion is by far the most likely candidate. Less than five kilometres away from Plotheia, Ikarion had a significant Dionysia and theatre with already (by ca. 420) long-established traditions. It certainly had an energetic festival with a tragic contest by ca. 450, that underwent a financial and administrative reorganisation

<sup>123</sup> It is not one of the festivals given a separate accounting entry in the list (ll. 1-10) that precedes the decree. WHITEHEAD (1986, 169) comments ‘the fact that the rural Dionysia receives no special mention is somewhat surprising’. It might sit anonymously under the category of ‘Plotheian’ or ‘Epakreian’ festivals, or under the rubric of ‘annual *hiera*’ (l. 3). If so we might deduce that it was a relatively modest event.

<sup>124</sup> VON WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF 1893, 154 n. 23; accepted in *JG* II<sup>2</sup> 1172, l. 38.

<sup>125</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 258, l. 38; cf. WHITEHEAD 1986, 220.

<sup>126</sup> The only noteworthy exception is the usage for the trainers of ephebes.

around 440.<sup>127</sup> The Plotheians may well have been participating in this Dionysia not only as audience-members (thanks to their *ateleia* fund<sup>128</sup>) but also contributing a chorus. In that case we have a rather different degree of involvement. To contribute a chorus is to make an important offering to the god, and fully to be part of the mortal celebration. It implies something more like a festival organised by a group of associated bodies; or perhaps the appropriate model is that of the theoric choruses sent to Delos by a loose amphiktyony of cities, with Delos remaining the hosting body.<sup>129</sup> The dossier of evidence from Ikarion does not give any indication that the Dionysia there was organised by a supra-deme entity, or involved outside substantive contribution, but it is far from complete. It is a possibility that Ikarion was also a member of the Epakreis,<sup>130</sup> and that the Dionysia of Ikarion was celebrated or involved some form of collaboration within that religious community. That the Epakreis had a significant Dionysian strand of worship is suggested by the fact that one of its demes, Semachidai, a little further to the north of Ikarion, was like Ikarion named for its Dionysian history. The daughters of Semachos, with their father, were hospitable to Dionysus. The *genos* also named Semachidai provided priestesses of his cult locally.<sup>131</sup>

And so the Dionysia of Ikarion remains an intriguing possible venue for this *didaskalos* from Plotheia and his chorus.<sup>132</sup> What sort of chorus might the Plotheians have sent to Ikarion? The word used for the amount of wine to be given to the Plotheian *didaskalos*—a *kados* (κάδος)—is the metrical equivalent of an *amphoreus*, and there is a tradition that an *amphoreus* was given to comic poets.<sup>133</sup> It would however be to draw a very long bow to see the *didaskalos* from Plotheia providing comedy to Ikarion, outside the performances of tragedy that we know were provided for by local choregia.<sup>134</sup> Perhaps a chorus for the phallic procession

<sup>127</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 254 with WILSON 2015.

<sup>128</sup> HUMPHREYS (2004, 153 n. 58) believes that Plotheia must surely have had cultic ties to the sanctuary of Dionysus in Ikarion, but suggests they were funded by the treasurers' fund for annual sacrifices listed among those with capital sums at IG I<sup>3</sup> 258, l. 3 rather than by the *ateleia* fund.

<sup>129</sup> RUTHERFORD 2004; KOWALZIG 2007, ch. 2.

<sup>130</sup> Thus von WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF 1893, 154.

<sup>131</sup> Philochoros *FGrH* 328 F206; KEARNS 1989, 98, 197; PARKER 1996, 326.

<sup>132</sup> [Ἰκαριοῖ δὲ τῶν] (or [τῶν δὲ Ἰκαριοῖ]) διδασκάλῳ κάδο[ν] 'and a ja[r] for [th]e *didaskalos* [at Ikarion]' would fit the space but is pure speculation in addition to being awkward Greek.

<sup>133</sup> Philochoros *FGrH* 328 fr. 187; Hesychius Lexicon s.v. μισθός. See also Plut. *Mor.* 527d for the association of an *amphoreus* of wine with the procession of the Dionysia of old (it is generally assumed he has Attic Dionysia in mind), along with a vine, he-goat, figs and phallos.

<sup>134</sup> IG I<sup>3</sup> 254. There is plenty of direct material evidence from Ikarion for the performance and

that was such a prominent feature of the rural Dionysia—and clearly attested for Ikarion at this date<sup>135</sup>—is more likely. With a little good-will, it is possible to detect, in the following two lines, instructions for the construction and painting of some sort of object—perhaps a phallus, to be carried by a chorus of Plotheians, suitably equipped with wine, in the procession of the Ikarian Dionysia?<sup>136</sup>

*2: ‘regional’ or ‘catchment’ theatres in demes of larger size serving Rural Dionysia of various more or less proximate demes, each festival however held independently by the several demes:*

Goette has made the most thorough and compelling case to date for the proposal that demes (especially those of a larger size) which are known to have built permanent theatres permitted their neighbours to use them to hold their Dionysia, outside the territory of their own deme.<sup>137</sup> The argument has much to commend it in terms of general probability; and the attested distribution of theatres, as argued by Goette, can be

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memorialisation of tragedy (in addition to *IG I<sup>3</sup> 254*: *SEG* 44, 131; *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1178*; *SEG* 22, 117) but although the origins of comedy, as of tragedy, are also associated in the later literary tradition with Ikarion (PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE 1962, 74-76, 185-187), the material record has left no trace of comic performances. Only one item is potentially relevant: a number of the masks on the choregic relief of ca. 360 (Athens, EAM 4531; *SEG* 44, 131) have been identified as comic, but GREEN (1982) cogently argues that they are satyric. Whether they are employed as literal markers of a performance of the satyr-play in Ikarion or as generic symbols of victory is difficult to say.

<sup>135</sup> It appears in the decree of ca. 440 regulating the festival, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 254*, l. 33: τὸ [φαλλ]ικὸν αἶδεν, with WILSON 2015, 134.

<sup>136</sup> Lines 39-40, the last to survive, though not the last of the decree: [. . . . .]13. . . . . ἀποκαίουτι κ[. . . . .]16. . . . .] δημιουργ[. . 5. .]. I suggest that the verb ἀποκαίω ‘burn off’ in l. 39 is used with the same meaning as ἐγκαίω and that the reference is to payment for encaustic painting, on some object made by the craftsman (or craftsmen) of l. 40. I guess that FROEHNER (1865, 56) came to something like this conclusion. This would help illuminate his otherwise unexplained restoration, which verges on delightful fantasy: [τῶι δὲ τῷ χορῷ] διδασκάλωι καλ[ὸν | στέφανον, τῶι δὲ] ἀποκαίουτι κ[αλὸν | στέμμα κεφαλῆς κ]αὶ δημιουργ[οῖς ἐκ]άστῳι δραχμᾶς . . .]. This must be intended to mean something like ‘For [the] *didaskalos* [of the chorus] a beaut[iful crown]; for the person who paints the be[autiful garland] for his head a]nd for the crafts[men each . . . drachmas. . .]. Each year the Delians made an *agalma* in the form of a phallus to be carried in the procession of their Dionysia. The inscribed accounts of the Delian *hieropoioi* (early third to mid-second century) include payments to craftsmen for encaustic painting of its materials: see e.g. *ID* 290, l. 112 ([τῶι δεῖνι κη]ρογραφῆσαντι τὸ ἄγαλμα Δ·); *ID* 372, ll. 100-101 (τῶι ἐν|καύσαντι καὶ κηροῦ ΓΓΓΓIII) with VALLOIS 1922, esp. 102-103. Although I can find no example of the compound ἀποκαίω used for the encaustic process, the likelihood that it could be so used is increased by the use of the compound ἀποχραίνω as a technical term for encaustic painting (thus BLÜMNER 1886, 452).

<sup>137</sup> GOETTE 2014; earlier suggestions along the same lines by JONES 2004, 140-142; cf. also WILSON 2010, 68-71.

adduced to support it. I have made suggestions along these lines myself, though at a time when I had neglected to take account of the evidence for a theatre in the deme Halimous. This certainly gives more pause for thought.

My main grounds for debate with Goette's model—which he puts forward in a far from dogmatic or schematic manner—derive largely from differences of interpretation of the evidence for the existence of theatres in a number of demes. Before turning to those points of difference, I raise first the question of the precise mechanisms of such sharing. Goette does not broach this subject, but Lohmann had already suggested in a tentative manner that a lease may have been used for the purpose, raising the potential of an economic motive. The practice could have been a source of additional income for those demes that had committed to building and maintaining theatrical infrastructure, and so further motivate such construction in the first place. Lohmann adduced a decree of the deme Myrrhinous to suggest that this deme realised the economic potential of its theatre by leasing it out to other corporate bodies for purposes quite outside those germane to the deme.<sup>138</sup> The argument depends on the interpretation of a clause in which a citizen is granted 'prohedria in all the spectacles which the Myrrrhinousians hold' [πρ]οεδρί[αν ἐν|ταῖς θε]αῖς πάσαις αἷς πο[ι|ο]ῦσι Μυρρρινούσιοι. (ll. 2-4). Lohmann suggests that this phrasing implies the existence of spectacles held by groups other than the Myrrrhinousians—possibly other demes or private entrepreneurs—in their theatre, perhaps under a temporary leasing arrangement.<sup>139</sup> But the phrase need not and almost certainly does not have the limiting sense which Lohmann requires—namely that its specification of spectacles *held by the Myrrrhinousians* implies that spectacles were held by others in the same venue. It seems rather to mimic an expression frequently used to award *prohedria* in polis decrees—'*prohedria* at all the contests which the city holds' (e.g. *IG*

<sup>138</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1182, ca. 330-318; *SEG* 48, 121. This is the main item of evidence for theatre in Myrrrhinous, (but see n. 31 above). In addition an object has been found that, in a preliminary report, is described as a round bronze theatre token, marked on one side with a M above an owl, with the head of Athena on the other (*SEG* 53, 227). As it has not yet been properly published, given that the identification of theatre-tokens is a notoriously difficult business, and that the limited description available offers little reason to associate it with the theatre, judgment must be suspended. A decree authorizing a leasing agreement of the phratry of the Dyaleis, based in Myrrrhinous (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1241), is evidence for the activity of a Dionysian association in the deme, given Hesych. s.v. Δύαλος· ὁ Διόνυσος, παρὰ Παιώσιω (cf. LAMBERT 1998, 303).

<sup>139</sup> LOHMANN 1993, 288-289.

II<sup>2</sup> 500, of 302/1 προεδρίαν ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν οὓς ἂν ἡ πόλις τιθῆι).<sup>140</sup> But while this objection removes or at least seriously undermines this particular item of evidence, it hardly strikes the idea down in principle. The city may have sought to maximise the return from its cultural facilities ‘out of season’, leasing out the Panathenaic stadium for use as pasturage when the festival was not on.<sup>141</sup> Demes that had invested in high-quality cultural infrastructure may well have done the same.

Another place to seek for possible evidence of a contractual relationship between a proprietor and a renter deme might be the decree from Acharnai that requires future successive treasurers and demarchs to fund an annual sacrifice ‘[from the mon]ey collect[ed from the the]atre’ ([ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀργυ]ρίου τοῦ ἐγλεγομέ[νου ἐκ τοῦ θε]άτρου, *SEG* 57, 124, ll. 6-8). This probably refers not to money actually taken from spectators at the door, or at least not directly. For the next clause goes on to envisage a situation in which, ‘if the thea[tre] is [not sold] [ἄπρατον]’, the money for this sacrifice is to be provided directly from the common deme budget (ll. 8-9). The word ἄπρατον—‘unsold’—is a palmary restoration, made independently by Papazarkadas and Csapo.<sup>142</sup> ‘Sale’ of a theatre can only refer to the sale of a theatre-lease. Was the lease envisaged here a lease of the theatre to an outside body such as another deme, for the purposes of their own festival? That is a possibility, but Csapo’s interpretation, based on the comparative evidence from Piraeus, remains the most cogent – namely that it was leased to private entrepreneurs, to have them prepare

<sup>140</sup> The argument might have been better applied to a case such as the decree from Piraeus which awards *prohedria* in the theatre to Kallidamas of Cholleidai, ‘whenever the Piraeans hold their Dionysia,’ (ἕταν ποιῶσι Πειραιεῖς τὰ Διονύσια), *JG* II<sup>2</sup> 1214, ll. 19-21, (?) shortly after 260. This might seem a more promising candidate for serving in a limiting capacity—that is, the award of *prohedria* extends only to the annual Dionysia of the deme Piraeus. But even here we might suppose *prima facie* that any distinction it draws is probably with other events held by the Piraeans in the theatre, rather than with Dionysia held there by other demes. And the fact that, earlier in the same decree, a ἕταν clause is similarly used, where no such distinction is possible, confirms my belief that none is intended here. Kallidamas is awarded a portion ‘whenever the Piraeans make a sacrifice’ (ll. 11-14). This clause can hardly serve to limit the sacrifices in question to those of the Piraeans as opposed to those of any other body, and one might suspect that the inclusion of the phraseology of the later clause awarding *prohedria* ‘whenever the Piraeans hold their Dionysia’ is similarly dictated by nothing more than pride and a desire for expansive clarity (this 38-line decree uses part of Πειραιεῖς 14 times). Cf. *JG* II<sup>2</sup> 1210, ll. 5-6, ca. 400 BC (probably Anagyrous): ‘and to give hi[m] *prohedria* at the con]test [of tragedies] whenever they hol[d the Dionysia]’; εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ προεδρίαν τραγωιδῶν τῶι ἀγ]ῶνι ἕταν ποιῶσι τὰ Διονύσια κτλ.]

<sup>141</sup> *JG* II<sup>2</sup> 1035, l. 50, but the date is the Augustan era.

<sup>142</sup> PAPA ZARKADAS 2007; CSAPO 2007; SLATER (2011, 277-279) expresses misgivings without providing a viable alternative.

it for the use of the deme Acharnai itself, in return for takings at the door. On the other hand, if the theatre at Acharnai had seating built from stone by this date (an open question, pending proper excavation) there would be no need to have the seating constructed for the festival, which seems to be the principal duty required of the lease-holders of the Piraeus theatre. A deme which possessed a theatre that had permanent seating would be in a better position to lease it out to others for independent use *as a theatre*.

The single most promising item of evidence suggesting the use of a theatre by an outside body is provided by an as yet unpublished decree, dated by letter-forms to around 350.<sup>143</sup> This honours an archon of the Marathonian Tetrapolis (who came from the deme Probalinthos) for the performance of his religious duties. He is to receive *prohedria*, and the award is to be announced by a herald 'at the tragedies of the Dionysia' (Διονυσίων τοῖς τραγωιδοῖς). The only other information currently available is that the *stele* was to be erected 'in the Dionysion' (ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ). One would naturally expect this to be the Dionysion at Marathon in which other Tetrapolis documents are known to have been erected;<sup>144</sup> and the Dionysia in question to be that of Marathon, or perhaps one celebrated jointly by the Tetrapolis itself. The *stele* was however discovered, intact, in the fortress of Rhamnous. And, while physically adjacent to the region of the Tetrapolis, the deme of Rhamnous was not itself a member. Two possibilities present themselves. The first is that, although found in an excavated context within the fortress, the decree is out of place there, and somehow never found its way to its proper destination in the venerable Dionysion of Marathon. Petrakos suggests that the job was given to a local cutter of Rhamnous—which with its fortress and sanctuary of Nemesis erected many inscriptions—but for some reason was never delivered. (He also believes the marble comes from the local quarry of Ag. Marina in Rhamnous). The Dionysion and Dionysia in question are on this view those of Marathon, the latter testified here clearly for the first time, and showing performances of tragedy in the middle of the fourth century at a theatre in Marathon.

The second possibility is the one that is relevant to this discussion: namely that the *stele* was quite properly in Rhamnous because the Tetrapolis was making use of the theatre and Dionysion there for the

<sup>143</sup> SEG 48, 129; cf. SEG 50, 166.

<sup>144</sup> IG II<sup>2</sup> 1243, ll. 21-22; cf. IG II<sup>2</sup> 2933.

purpose of honouring one of its own—and moreover for the celebration of its own Dionysia. This would present the first specific evidence for an instance of the use of one deme’s theatre by an outside body. Some slight support for this interpretation might come from the existence of cultic ties between Rhamnous and the Tetrapolis,<sup>145</sup> and from the fact that three of the four demes of the Tetrapolis—including Marathon—formed, with Rhamnous, the coastal trittys of Aiantis.

But it is difficult to see how the Tetrapolis might erect a permanent document of its own within the sanctuary of Dionysus at Rhamnous; and, furthermore, award *prohedria* at a theatre that was not its own: some further qualification specifying that the award pertained only to festivals of the deme Marathon or of the Tetrapolis would surely be necessary. Petrakos’ view that the decree is out of place in Rhamnous and that it therefore testifies to a Dionysia held in a theatre in Marathon remains the more likely.

In sum, the positive evidence for the ‘regional’ usage of a theatre in a large deme for independently-held Dionysia of smaller neighbouring demes is negligible. And so while the hypothesis has much to commend it, one must be very careful not to let the postulated habit influence our interpretation of the evidence for the existence of theatrical performance in any particular area. And one must certainly not let the appeal of a seemingly economically rational system skew the evidence. In at least one or two striking cases, deme pride and traditions demonstrably overrode the dictates of any such rationality. I have already registered a doubt concerning the evidence for one of the regions for which Goette argues most strongly—namely the demes around the southern tip of the Hymettan range, served on his view by a single theatre at Aixone. Goette thinks that both Anagyrous and Lamptraï had no theatre of their own. I have argued that they did—and the case against Aigilia and Halai Aixonides having theatres is, I would suggest, also far from water-tight.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>145</sup> LAMBERT 2000, 69: the Tetrapolis makes offerings to the hero Aristomachus at SEG 50, 168 A2, ll. 19-20, a hero well attested at Rhamnous and buried in Marathon beside the Dionysion: BEKKER, *Anecd. Gr.* 1.262.16-17.

<sup>146</sup> Aigilia: the relevant evidence is a choregic monument (*IG II<sup>3</sup>* 4, 502; Athens EM 10670), dated some time before 350. This records a victory and dedication of a statue and (perhaps) an altar by Timosthenes and his two sons: χορηγοῦντες νικήσαντες ἀνέθεσα[ν] | τῶι Διονύσῳ | τᾶγαλμα καὶ τὸμ [βωμόν] (ll. 4-5; the restoration goes back to Köhler). The stone was acquired from a land-owner in Kalyvia Kouvara, a considerable distance (north and further inland) from the territory of Aigilia, which leads GOETTE (2014, 91) to wonder whether the three men had competed in a Rural Dionysia outside their own deme and dedicated the altar and statue in that

The case of Halimous most clearly disrupts any overly rational theory of regional sharing, and demonstrates the importance of local pride and tradition. This deme had its own theatre (from an early date, it seems: above, pp. 102-103) in close proximity to that of its much larger neighbor Euonymon, which in turn was only some seven kilometres distant from Aixone on the Athens road. At the very least the existence of theatres in Halimous and Euonymon provides a powerful counter-example to any hypothesis that an economy of regional theatres might have operated systematically in Attica.

As seen above (§4), the case for a theatre in Kephale is very unclear, but not out of the question. The deme lay immediately to the south of Myrrhinous, which in turn was situated immediately next to and south of Hagnous. Both Myrrhinous and Hagnous probably held Dionysia with theatrical performances,<sup>147</sup> and Thorikos was less than ten kilometres further south—not to forget Lamptraï and Sphettos not far to the west and north.<sup>148</sup> So there will have been a marked concentration of theatrical activity in the Mesogaia and Laureion. Thorikos possessed a fine stone theatre from an early date. I have argued above that there

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other sanctuary. But if this were a dedication made in a sanctuary outside their home deme, we should expect Timosthenes and his sons at least to have indicated their deme of origin by the inclusion of their demotics. AGELIDIS (2009, 198) by contrast thinks of a city victory, which can virtually be ruled out because of the three related and probably joint choregoi and given that the dedication of a statue (and possibly altar) by a dramatic choregos is unparalleled in the city but relatively common in the demes.

Halai Aixonides: the principal item is the choregic monument (*IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 498*; Athens EM 12693) of ca. 400-375, found at Palaiochori, between Voula and Vari, probably the territory of Halai Aixonides rather than Aixone: ELIOT 1962, 29-30. This is one of the small number of choregic monuments found in demes whose performances have been assigned to an urban context for little better reason than the fame of the poets named in them. But to assume an origin in the city for these performances in fact creates more problems: CSAPO 2010b, 92. The absence of identifying demotics once again tells against the idea that it might have been set up in a theatre not on the territory of its erectors' deme. That the name of one of its choregoi, Epichares, is not attested in Aixone whereas it is found in Halai (probably Aixonides rather than Araphenides) in the fourth century further points to it deriving from the former: DAVIES 1971, 184. *IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 517* is a tiny fragment of a choregic inscription, found in Ano Voula, consisting entirely of the word ἐδίδασκε 'was the *didaskalos*'; cf. ELIOT 1962, 31; ANDREOU 1994, 205. Further, a decree of 338/37 in honour of the deme's treasurers—STEINHAEUER 2004/9—breaks off just before stating where their crowns are to be awarded (l. 16). A theatrical setting is a possibility.

<sup>147</sup> See above, pp. 103-104.

<sup>148</sup> And possibly also Paiania further to the north: the single item of evidence is a choregic dedication for a victory in tragedy (*IG II<sup>3</sup> 4, 503*). GOETTE (2014, 88-89) takes this to refer to a victory in the city commemorated in the home deme. I am inclined to follow the majority who take it as evidence for a theatre in Paiania: PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE 1968, 50; WHITEHEAD 1986, 220; AGELIDIS 2009, 218.

was a theatre in each of Sphettos and Lamptrai. The evidence for Myrrhinous and Hagnous implies without proving that these demes also held their theatrical performances in their own theatres. So the case for a catchment theatre (or two: Goette thinks of Sphettos and Thorikos) serving this area is at the very least unproven.

Other doubts about the theory as a whole persist: how likely would it be that demes, that most topographically specific of all Attic corporate entities, so rooted in their particular physical and religious terrain, might celebrate one of their most important local festivals, and one with such close ties to their agrarian lives, outside their own territory? Various parallels for ‘cultic extra-territoriality’ have been adduced: for instance the use by the Thorikians of the sanctuary of Poseidon at Sounion;<sup>149</sup> or of the sanctuary of Zeus Epakrios on Hymettos by the Erchians.<sup>150</sup> But on closer inspection these turn out to be only partial parallels. For they are more akin to theoric offerings at important sanctuaries in the worshipping deme’s region than to the wholesale temporary take-over of infrastructure, including the offering into the future of *prohedria* to a non-demesman, as postulated for the theatre-sharing theory. The best potential parallel lies in the suggestion that a number of demes may have used the Thesmophorion or Eleusinion of a nearby deme (or the Eleusinion in the city), which they did not control, for one or more of their festivals for Demeter.<sup>151</sup>

There is one other very special circumstance that should be considered under the rubric of large entity sharing its theatre with smaller neighbours, even though in this case the large entity is not a deme but the city of Athens itself. For it has been plausibly suggested that the properly urban (intramural) demes—Koile, Kollytos, Kydathenaion, Melite and Skambonidai—and perhaps too the ‘suburban’ fringe demes (such as Kerameis, Diomeia and Keiradai) would have availed themselves of

<sup>149</sup> SEG 33, 147, ll. 19-20.

<sup>150</sup> SEG 21, 541, E ll. 59-64: these and others in GOETTE 2014, 99.

<sup>151</sup> The case is made by HUMPHREYS (2004) for Paiania (pp. 154-155 on the basis of IG I<sup>3</sup> 250, ca. 450-430) and Erchia (p. 180 on the basis of IG II<sup>2</sup> 1213). Humphreys persuasively suggests that IG I<sup>3</sup> 250 (Paiania) regulated relations between the deme and an Eleusinion that it did not control—just the sort of evidence we lack for the sharing of a *theatron*. But in this instance there is also to be a sacrifice and a (smaller) distribution of grain ‘here’—in the deme—for the Prerosia, when greater offerings are made at the Eleusinion. ROBERTSON 1996, esp. 347-358. The Marathonian Tetrapolis had an Eleusinion (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1358) that will have served the constituent demes of the Tetrapolis, but since it belonged to the Tetrapolis as such, this is a rather different category (irrespective of whether the constituent demes held their own festivals there separately of a joint Tetrapolis event).

the Theatre of Dionysus on the southern slopes of the Acropolis to hold their own festivals. There is perhaps a degree of implausibility in the idea that such demes would construct their own theatre in such close proximity to the fine infrastructure available (in some cases at least) just minutes away, given too that the city held no theatrical festival of its own at this time of year.

Among these demes we know that Kollytos held a Dionysia with theatrical performances that included both comedy and tragedy by the middle of the fourth century.<sup>152</sup> Small in terms of citizens (bouleutic quota 3) as also in physical extension, Kollytos will however have been very populous, with demesmen far outnumbered by a combination of Athenians resident in the city, metics and foreign visitors. It (and any other urban deme) will have had no trouble in attracting a large audience to its Dionysia. The way in which Aeschines and Demosthenes refer in court to the performances of the Kollytos Dionysia suggest that mass citizen audiences will be familiar with them. Kollytos was also a centre of wealth, so much so as to generate the saying that ‘Not all Athenians live in Kollytos’,<sup>153</sup> meaning that not all Athenians were rich. The remains of grand houses on the western and south-western slopes of the Areiopagus confirm the truth of the aphorism.<sup>154</sup> The deme included the Pnyx (or rather ‘enclosed’ it, as a polis structure), and much of the area between it and the Hill of the Nymphs.<sup>155</sup> It also extended further south and east from there, probably as far as the sub-urban deme of Diomeia outside the city walls.<sup>156</sup> It will thus probably have bordered on the southern slopes of the Acropolis, and the Sanctuary and Theatre of Dionysus itself. The Theatre of Dionysus will at any rate have been just a short walk from anywhere in this deme, and there is at least a *prima facie* plausibility in the idea that it made use of the urban Theatre.<sup>157</sup> We know moreover that the city collaborated in some religious

<sup>152</sup> Aeschines, *Against Timarchos* (1).157; Demosthenes, *On the Crown* (18).180; 242. Kollytos is one of only two demes whose Dionysia is attested solely by literary evidence (the other is Phlya), a powerful indication of just how dependent we are on the vagaries of archaeological and epigraphical discovery for our knowledge of deme theatre.

<sup>153</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 601b.

<sup>154</sup> STROUD 1998, 89. Note also the deme’s capacity to offer loans of some sort to the city (below).

<sup>155</sup> For the border with Melite at this point see LALONDE 2006; cf. TRAILL 1986, 126.

<sup>156</sup> Hesych. and Phot. s.v. Διομεῖς. TRAILL 1975, 40; FICUCIELLO 2008, 104.

<sup>157</sup> I raised the possibility in WILSON 2010, 42; GOETTE (2014, 96) believes it very likely; cf. the prudent remarks of PAGA (2010, 374): ‘Did the small deme have its own theatral area, or was the nearby large Theater of Dionysus on the southern slope of the Acropolis “borrowed” for the Kollytian Rural Dionysia? This is a question without an easy or ready answer’. JONES (2004, 138)

and financial matters with this deme, the deme at least on one critical occasion in 327/6 being in a position to offer loans to the city.<sup>158</sup> Similar collaboration could surely have seen the deme use the urban venue for its Dionysia.

It would thus seem reasonable to suppose that Kollytos may have hired the Theatre of Dionysus that was adjacent to its very own territory for its Dionysia. But a number of considerations in fact tell rather strongly against this supposition. In the first place, it is striking that both Aeschines and Demosthenes locate the festival with the phrase ἐν Κολλυτιῶν ‘at / in Kollytos’. This surely means that the festival took place within the territory of the deme itself. The natural assumption is that the deme possessed its own theatre. There can be only two alternatives: that the Theatre of Dionysus was (or could with trivial exaggeration be described as) ‘in Kollytos’; or, less plausibly, that even if the Theatre of Dionysus was properly outside the deme, the festival could be said to have been ‘at Kollytos’, while being held in the Theatre of Dionysus, by virtue of a conceptual projection of the corporate identity of the deme beyond its own physical boundaries.

Secondly, there is Demosthenes’ persistent emphasis on the ‘rural’ character of Aeschines’ performance at the Kollytos Dionysia (as I noted at the start of this article). Could Demosthenes have got away with nicknaming Aeschines ‘rustic Oinomaos’ (ἄρουραῖος Οἰνόμαος) if the event which gave birth to the name took place in the Theatre of Dionysus? Demosthenes’ emphatic ‘rustication’ of the Kollytos Dionysia would be a highly risky strategy if the event was routinely staged in the great urban theatre, which had perhaps fairly recently been magnificently refurbished in stone.<sup>159</sup> And Aeschines himself, speaking as an ex-actor with none of the motives to besmirch the status of the festival Demosthenes will later demonstrate, uses the characteristic descriptor ‘in the fields’ τοῖς κατ’ ἀγροῦς Διονυσίοις of the event.<sup>160</sup> If it had been held in the urban theatre that would make the usage at the very least

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does not explicitly raise the issue of the use of the city Theatre but may have it in mind when he writes ‘If there is a question about Kollytos, it concerns the venue of the dramatic productions ..., but even if a stone *theatron* were to be assumed, the absence of physical remains should not be surprising in this continuously occupied and built-over area.’

<sup>158</sup> SEG 58, 108; MATTHAIOU 2008.

<sup>159</sup> JONES (2004, 138) makes the important point that agriculture will certainly have been practiced in Kollytos and the other intramural demes.

<sup>160</sup> Aeschines, *Against Timarchos* (1).157.

somewhat incongruous, and we might expect it to have fallen off (as seems to have happened with the Piraeus Dionysia).

In sum, there is in fact no *a priori* reason why Kollytos should not have possessed its own theatre, perhaps of a largely or entirely impermanent type, and, as Jones notes, the absence of any visible remains is hardly surprising in this continuously occupied and built-over area.<sup>161</sup> One possible site for such a theatre is in part of the ‘narrows στενωπὸς called Kollytos,’ said by the fourth-century rhetorician Himerius to have been named after the deme and to have served as its agora, ‘right in the middle of the city.’<sup>162</sup> The place was still famous if in sad decline in Himerius’ day. This ‘narrows’ has been identified as the major thoroughfare of the deme, for much of its course some 4 m. wide, and of great importance for circulation in the western sector of the city as a whole. It is a road that began at the juncture of two streets, known as ‘Melite’ and ‘Areiopagus’ streets, and continued into the valley between the Areiopagus and the Pnyx.<sup>163</sup> In its southerly course it comes close to the south-west corner of the Acropolis, where it joins a road that leads east to the sanctuary of Dionysus. If part of this road was sufficiently wide to serve as the deme’s agora, it could perhaps also have done service as its theatre. A possible candidate for that space is the open roughly triangular area formed by the merger of Melite and Areiopagus streets, right at the head of the Kollytos road and directly west of the Areiopagus hill. It is however equally possible, and perhaps rather more likely given what I have said about the rural characterisation of the festival in our sources, that it was held in the outlying, more southerly parts of Kollytos, which are likely to have been more properly rural.<sup>164</sup>

If Kollytos did indeed possess its own theatre, it will represent an outstanding instance of deme pride triumphing over practical utility even more potent than that of Halimous (above p. 102).<sup>165</sup>

<sup>161</sup> JONES 2004, 138.

<sup>162</sup> *Or.* 31.63-65 = Phot. *Bibl.* 375 Bekker, Vol. 6, 121 Henry.

<sup>163</sup> KÖHLER 1872, 112; JUDEICH 1931, 169; YOUNG 1951; LALONDE 2006, 103 and fig. 1, 84; FICUCIELLO 2008, 102-105.

<sup>164</sup> This was the view of KÖHLER (1872, 112).

<sup>165</sup> Wherever the festival was held, the consequences of its central location will have been significant. It doubtless attracted large audiences and high quality performers, with all the resources of the city close at hand (among which note the likely presence in the adjacent deme of Melite of a specialist training house for *tragoidoi*: Photius s.v. Μελιτέων οἶκος with WILSON 2000, 338 n. 101).

### 3: *'co-Dionysia'*:

In his important discussion of 2004, Nicholas Jones aired the possibility that some demes may not merely have shared the theatres of their better-resourced neighbours to hold their own independent Dionysia, but have fully collaborated to hold a joint festival (3a).<sup>166</sup> The idea was taken further by Paga, who proposes that Rural Dionysia may have been held at the level of the tritittys (3b).

#### 3a: *'co-Dionysia' held jointly between demes*

There is no direct evidence for such 'co-Dionysia.' Jones only raises the possibility on the grounds that considerations of economy and the likely need to consolidate resources on the part of demes—especially the smaller and poorer ones—might favour it. But he thinks on balance that the likelihood is 'severely compromised by the consistent silence of the epigraphic record of the deme-associations vis à vis any mode of inter-deme involvement',<sup>167</sup> noting as the single clear item of positive evidence for such deme collaboration the (thus far unique) joint decree of Kydantidai and Ionidai for the celebration of two festivals of Heracles.<sup>168</sup> Jones concludes that 'Larger demes staging the festival...may not only have played host (as we already know they did) to the demesmen (and non-demesmen) of other demes and indeed of Athens itself, but they also may have done so on a scale that was sufficient to compensate for the absence of the festival in the demes of their guests'.<sup>169</sup> This nuanced position seems the most cogent view of the evidence. The grander events of some demes may have 'compensated for the absence', if not of the festival *per se*—for even the most humble of demes could have mustered a procession after the manner described in Plutarch's nostalgic picture of simple rustic piety (*Mor.* 572d)—then certainly of expensive theatrical performances. But the 'compensation' will, I think, have come at a cost (see above, p. 121 on model 1).

While there is little positive reason to hypothesise the existence of 'co-Dionysia', a number of possibilities remain open. I have already suggested that the 'divided' deme of Lamprai probably held a single Diony-

<sup>166</sup> JONES 2004, 141, 297 n. 57.

<sup>167</sup> JONES 2004, 141.

<sup>168</sup> MATTHAIOU 1989; WHITEHEAD 1993; *SEG* 41, 71.

<sup>169</sup> JONES 2004, 142.

sia. The same sort of collaboration might be proposed for the other demes which shared a name (and traditions) and which were contiguous, as seems to be true of both the Paianiai and the Potamoi.<sup>170</sup> By contrast this will not be the case with the six known pairs of homonymous demes, which seem to have shared no political or geographical connection and belonged to different tribes. But there may be other ‘natural partners’ for holding properly joint Dionysia: associations such as the Marathonian Tetrapolis, for instance (see above, p. 131); or the Epakreis of north-eastern Attica (above, p. 126).

*3b: ‘co-Dionysia’ held at trittys level*

The possibility that the demes which formed a single trittys might have held their Dionysia together as a trittys is raised by Paga. It virtually follows as a corollary of her main thesis that there was one theatre per trittys (City, Coastal, Inland) per tribe: ‘it is further possible to imagine the Rural Dionysia as taking place on a trittys level, rather than being celebrated as individual festivals in separate demes; instead of being deme-specific, the festival may have been trittys-specific.’<sup>171</sup> But if there is no evidence for ‘co-Dionysia’ between any two demes, the case against the entirely hypothetical ‘co-Dionysia’ at the trittys level seems overwhelming. The tenor of the entire corpus of evidence for deme Dionysia is against it, revealing as it does a powerful emphasis on the pride of individual demes in holding their festivals and on stewarding and managing their resources to do so. The possibility is conjured entirely from a theory that itself rests on shaky foundations—namely the attested distribution pattern of theatres. As I have shown, this is even more fragile than Paga acknowledged, with theatres in Sphettos, Lamprai and (possibly) Kephale all disrupting the pattern claimed by Paga, and Halimous disturbing it in a different way by its small size and close proximity to a deme with a much larger theatre.

Moreover, Paga’s main thesis is extremely fragile. The theatres identified in the alleged pattern themselves constitute virtually the only evidence for administrative or broadly political activities of the trittyes as corporate bodies: ‘The theatrical areas or “civic centres”...could have functioned as venues for discussion and organization on a trittys level, leading us to the possibility of trittys meetings or assemblies, in addition

<sup>170</sup> TRAILL 1975, 123-128. There is evidence for a Dionysia in Paiania (note 148 above).

<sup>171</sup> PAGA 2010, 382.

to those in the demes and on the Pnyx.<sup>172</sup> That pattern, itself so fragile, seems hardly adequate in the face of the almost spectral corporate existence of the trittyes as it emerges from all other sources.<sup>173</sup> To postulate an active life of assemblies and frequent interaction among members on that basis alone is extremely dangerous.



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<sup>172</sup> PAGA 2010, 380.

<sup>173</sup> Note also the absence of any evidence for the trittyes as a social or religious unit: PARKER 1996, 103. PAPAZARKADAS (2007, esp. 27) also notes that the Cleisthenic trittys is one type of Athenian public association that has left no trace of having possessed land of its own.

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# 6

## PINDAR'S *SIXTH PAEAN*: CONCEPTUALIZING RELIGIOUS PANHELLENISM\*

Agis Marinis

### 1. *Introduction*

In two seminal articles Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood emphasized the central position of religion within the Greek *polis*.<sup>1</sup> To quote a memorable remark of hers, '[t]he role of the *polis* in the articulation of Greek religion was matched by the role of religion in the articulation of the *polis*: religion provided the framework and the symbolic focus of the *polis*.'<sup>2</sup> A fundamental truth inheres in this memorably formulated statement and more generally in her claim about the 'interconnectedness' of religion and *polis* society; simultaneously, however, her theoretical approach invites—and has indeed sparked in recent years—further reflection on the subject.<sup>3</sup>

One of the issues deserving further elaboration is the Panhellenic dimension of Greek religion, an issue of which she acknowledged the importance but did not expatiate on it due to the specific focus of her work.<sup>4</sup> Indeed while endeavouring to assess the character of Panhellenic

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<sup>1</sup> SOURVINOU-INWOOD 2000a; 2000b.

<sup>2</sup> SOURVINOU-INWOOD 2000a, 37.

<sup>3</sup> See now KINDT 2009; 2012, 12-35; EIDINOW 2015; MIKALSON 2016, 189-241.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also RUTHERFORD, this volume, 21-31.

cultic activity, we cannot avoid dealing with the question of the ‘centrality’ of *polis* religion, in other words, the extent to which (potentially wider) cultic communities ‘intersect’ with the city-state. In this quest it is important, first of all, to revisit the dichotomy ‘*polis* versus Panhellenic religion’ which is essentially based on a rather schematic distinction between cults ‘belonging’ to city-states and cults open to a wider constituency, ideally encompassing all Greeks. However, the picture is more complicated: as a prime instance, apart from sanctuaries which distinguish themselves by their inviting of delegations from various cities and the hosting of treasuries,<sup>5</sup> there exists a whole range of sanctuaries which, by Classical times, ‘belong’ to specific cities, yet their cultic constituencies by no means warrant identification with the civic communities of the respective cities.<sup>6</sup> One may readily invoke none other than the most indelibly Athenian festival, the Panathenea, which attracted both visitors and athletes from all over the Greek world. This is true of the religious activity in a number of sanctuaries across the Greek world, as for instance that of Zeus Hellanios on Aegina, to which we shall refer in this paper, in connection with Pindar’s *Paeon* 6.

Pindaric poetry suggests itself as an ideal locus for the study of Greek religion beyond the *polis*, since it was most frequently composed on the occasion of Panhellenic festivals: cultic poems could well be intended for performance at Panhellenic centres, as, for instance, paeans for Delphi or Delos, while epinician odes were composed with reference to the great athletic festivals of the *periodos*, to be addressed—either initially or at possible reperformances—to audiences that can be considered, to a greater or lesser extent, Panhellenic.<sup>7</sup> Hence, Pindar’s lyric offers a distinct opportunity to explore ‘Panhellenic religion’ in its literary enactment through publicly performed verse, but also with the *polis* as an inevitable point of reference; the city commissioning a cultic song to be performed at a Panhellenic centre or the home city of the laudandus, in the case of the epinicians.<sup>8</sup> In fact, the present chapter forms part of a wider study, under preparation, that aims to trace the way in which an

<sup>5</sup> A trait adopted as a ‘threshold criterion for Panhellenic status’ by NEER (2007, 226).

<sup>6</sup> See SCOTT (2010, 256-260) on the difficulty of defining ‘Panhellenic status’, due to the inherent vagueness of the term.

<sup>7</sup> On the performance and reperformance of Pindaric odes, see LOSCALZO 2003; CURRIE 2004; ATHANASSAKI 2009a; NEUMANN-HARTMANN 2009. Now also ECKERMAN 2012, specifically on the question of performances at the sites of the games.

<sup>8</sup> On the importance of the *polis* for the epinician, see now ALONI 2012.

expanded ('Panhellenic') geographical horizon is accommodated within Pindaric religious discourse, not least through the deployment of various modalities of prayer.

One of the key questions that arise in such a broader investigation relates to the various ways in which the gods and most importantly the highest god, Zeus, are connected with specific places via poetic and hymnic tropes. *Paean* 6, in which the Panhellenic religious centre of Delphi is linked to the island of Aegina, offers a paradigmatic case: the way in which this connection is enacted and in which we may assess it are topics central to the very interpretation of the poem. They also affect—while also being themselves affected by—the question of its structure, as well as of its mode and place of performance. These questions present themselves in a particularly acute way in the context of *Paean* 6. The poem is entitled 'For the Delphians to Pytho', yet an independent title has been also preserved for the third triad, namely 'For the Aeginetans in honour of Aeacus a prosodion'. The existence of two titles has raised numerous discussions as regards genre, occasion and performance, while the inclusion of the myth of Neoptolemus in the second triad has diachronically perplexed scholars with regard to the poem's relationship with *Nemean* 7.<sup>9</sup> These problems can be profitably reassessed within the framework of a Panhellenic religious discourse that seems to be carefully and gradually wrought throughout the poem, as will be argued below.

## 2. Hymnic and precatory discourse in *Paean* 6

*Paean* 6 is introduced with a supplicatory address to Pytho, the 'personification' of Delphi; in a manner contrary to the customary trope of the cletic hymns<sup>10</sup> the poetic 'I'<sup>11</sup> is entreating the sacred place—and essentially Apollo—to be *accepted* at the holy time of the festival as the 'prophet of the Muses':

Πρὸς Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς σε, χρυσέα  
κλυτόμαντι Πυθοῖ,

<sup>9</sup> On these issues see succinctly KURKE 2005, 84-95; also discussion below in this essay.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the beginning of Pindar's *Dithyramb for the Athenians* (fr. 75 Maehler): Δεῦτ' ἐν χορὸν Ὀλύμπιοι, / ἐπὶ τε κλυτὰν πέμπετε χάριν, θεοί; with VAN DER WEIDEN 1991, 190-191; FURLEY and BREMER 2001b, 208-210.

<sup>11</sup> I take it first that it is the poet; other considerations are also possible. I discuss the issue below (pp. 162ff).

λίσσομαι Χαρίτεσ-  
 σίν τε καὶ σὺν Ἀφροδίτᾳ,  
 ἐν ζαθέῳ με δέξει χρόνῳ  
 ἀοίδιμον Πιερίδων προφάταν·

5

In the name of Olympian Zeus, I beseech you,  
 golden Pytho famous for seers,  
 with the Graces  
 and Aphrodite  
 welcome me in this holy time,  
 the famous prophet of the Pierians.<sup>12</sup>

Λίσσομαι is a verb denoting a praying attitude which is not connected, as a rule, with the offering of a gift: it is a marked term for a prayer usually uttered when the worshipper is in a precarious position, sometimes when there is not even time for a formal prayer. It involves, as in the case of supplication between humans, a strong sense of dependence on the supplicated party.<sup>13</sup> It is precisely this sense of dependence on the divine that is prevalent here. This address is, on the one hand, in line with the poet's general attitude in cultic poetry: namely, with the fact that he emerges as much more assertive here—in comparison with the epinician odes—as regards his poetic 'office'.<sup>14</sup> However, on the other hand, λίσσομαι qualifies this confident stance, casting the poet in the position of a pious person approaching the sanctuary in order to be accepted as a 'prophet': δέξει (5).<sup>15</sup> The 'prophet' can be understood as 'interpreter',<sup>16</sup> but with distinct sacral overtones since the term alludes to the Delphic office of προφήτης, namely the priest who relates Apollo's message as uttered by the Pythia.<sup>17</sup> What must be underlined is that a central characteristic of this office in both Delphi and other oracular cults is the prophet's role/mediation within an oracular process involv-

<sup>12</sup> The text and translation of Pindaric passages is taken from William RACE's Loeb edition (1997 a/b), with occasional modifications.

<sup>13</sup> See AUBRIOT-SÉVIN 1992, 403-494; PULLEYN 1997, 56-69; specifically on Pindaric λιταί, see MARINIS 2008, 102-118. On supplication between humans, see the detailed treatment by NAIDEN 2006.

<sup>14</sup> See MARINIS 2008, 136-146.

<sup>15</sup> Compare *Paeon* 5.44-45, Λατόος ἔνθα με παῖδες / εὐμενεῖ δέξασθε νόῳ θεράποντα; see also discussion on the final invocation of *Paeon* 6 (esp. l. 183) below.

<sup>16</sup> So RUTHERFORD 2001, 305.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. fr. 150 M.: μαντεύω, Μοῖσα, προφατεύσω δ' ἐγώ; with RADT 1958, 105-108; 108; PAVESE 1993, 470-471.

ing inspiration—thus direct influence from the divine—as opposed to divination mainly effected through induction.<sup>18</sup> Yet, importantly, this role of the poet, especially seen within the wider context of Pindaric poetics, is not wholly *passive* in terms of the mobilization of creative forces—as it will also become clear from lines 50 ff. further on.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the poet's self-characterization as προφήτης not only evinces sacral authority,<sup>20</sup> but also underwrites his mediating role between the gods, more specifically the Muses, and mortals. It is in this role that the poet approaches the sanctuary.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, as Kurke points out, '[t]he poetic ego constitutes himself as an "authoritative outsider" or *metanastes* (to use Richard Martin's term)—a figure who can speak to the Delphian community from a platform of singular independent authority, but can also, as an "adopted son of Pytho", serve as a kind of intermediary or "proxenos" for citizens of other communities visiting Delphi.<sup>22</sup>

The poet's entreaty, expressed with λίσσομαι, is further qualified through the positioning of this supplicatory act (effectively stretching from line 1 to 18, where the lacuna begins) within the sacred time and place of the cultic 'here and now'. Sacred time is denoted by the expression ἐν ζαθέω χρόνω (5), whilst the notion of sacred space is imparted through the initial address of Delphi as Πυθώ, as well as through the expression ἄλλος Ἀπόλλωνος (coming up in 14-15). It is worth looking at those expressions more closely. Ἐν ζαθέω χρόνω involves the transference of the epithet ζάθεος from its traditional qualification of geographical space<sup>23</sup> to that of time—thus reminding us of the phrase ἐν ἱερομηνίᾳ Νεμεάδι in *Nemean* 3.2: in both cases the 'holy time' of the festival is designated, hence essentially the festival itself.<sup>24</sup> As Motte points out, the Greek festivals relate to a 'sacred order of time' that does

<sup>18</sup> See MOTTE 2013, esp. 12-20, with careful distinctions and also reference to the use of this term by Plato.

<sup>19</sup> See analysis by DUCHEMIN 1955, 54-94: 60; HARDIE 1996, 231-235; BRILLANTE 2013-2014, 38-39.

<sup>20</sup> MOTTE 2013, 20-21; cf. RUTHERFORD 2001, 307. On the dynamics of this invocation within the whole framework of the invocations of the Muses in Pindar's cultic poetry, see MARINIS 2008, 142-144.

<sup>21</sup> See FOGELMARK 1972, 119; KURKE 2005, 87-89. HARDIE's analysis (1996, 231-235), also referring to the local cult of the Muses, deserves special attention.

<sup>22</sup> KURKE 2005, 106 (and 107 n.79), referring to MARTIN 1992.

<sup>23</sup> Κίλλαν τε ζαθέην in *Il.* 1.38 is a characteristic instance; see comments by LATACZ (2000b, 41). Cf. WEST (1978, 152) on Ὀλμειοῦ ζαθέοιο in *Hes. Theog.* 6: 'The adjective properly means not merely "holy", but "numinous", πλήρης θεῶν.'

<sup>24</sup> On *N.* 3.2 see also Schol. *ad loc.* (DRACHMANN 1927, 42).

not ‘belong’ to mortals but is linked to immovable cosmic cycles and for this reason calls for respect.<sup>25</sup> Sacred time here refers of course to the festival of Theoxenia—explicitly mentioned in line 61 (ἐν θεῶν ξενίᾳ)—effectively reviving a bygone mythical age in which mortals could banquet with gods.<sup>26</sup> While commensality between gods and mortals is generally the hallmark of theoxenic festivals—either offered to the gods by mortals<sup>27</sup> or vice versa—, in the case of the Delphic festival we are not merely dealing with ritual hospitality offered by mortals to heroic or divine figures, but probably (also) with hospitality offered by Apollo to heroes.<sup>28</sup> In the latter case, the notion of sacred time, which ‘belongs’ to the gods and is celebrated by mortals, actually acquires a more pointed sense and endows ἐν ζαθέῳ χρόνῳ with a marked sacral aura. Moving on to the theme of sacred space, the address to Delphi as Πυθῶ (2) ought not to be left without comment. Since it is the ancient, epic appellation of Delphi,<sup>29</sup> its rather emphatic employment here, at the beginning of the paean, inevitably privileges the notion of sacred geography, while the epithet κλυτόμαντις underlines the centrality of prophecy within Delphic cult.<sup>30</sup> The notion of sacred space is further foregrounded through the expression ἄλσος Ἀπόλλωνος (employed

<sup>25</sup> MOTTE 2007, esp. 93. He further rightly emphasizes the fact that in Greek culture we are dealing with a gradation of sacred/sacralized time and activity. Hence the term ὄσιος: what is allowed due to lack of specifically divine constraints (93). On ὄσιος see now MIKALSON 2016, 282-291. On ‘sacred time’ see also the contribution by J. PETROPOULOS in this volume, 195-220.

<sup>26</sup> See HEDREEN 2010, 344-345. On mythical commensality between god and mortals and its relationship to sacrificial ritual, see BRUIT-ZAIDMAN 1989; MOTTE 2007, esp. 96; now HITCH 2009, 93-140. It is equally worth recalling here the Platonic notion (*Laws* 665a) of the gods as ‘companions in the dance and chorus-leaders’ (συγχορευτάς τε καὶ χορηγούς) in the sacred festivals; see ΚΟΚΚΙΟΥ 2015, 268-270. On the rapprochement between mortal celebrants and the gods in *Paeon* 6, in connection with the expression ἐν ζαθέῳ χρόνῳ, see now ATHANASSAKI 2018.

<sup>27</sup> Characteristically so in the case of the Dioskouri—a form of cultic devotion prominent in Pindar’s *Olympian* 3, for Theron of Akragas (esp. 39-41) and *Nemean* 10, for Theaios of Argos (esp. 49-54); see PETRIDOU 2016, 294-297.

<sup>28</sup> The information stems from a Pindaric scholion: γίνεται ἐν Δελφοῖς ἥρωσι ξένια, ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ ξένια καλεῖν τοὺς ἥρωας (Scholia ad *N.* 7.68 [DRACHMANN 1927, 125-126]), on the ‘processions honouring heroes’ at Delphi). However, it is not clear whether ἥρωσι ξένια is to be equated with θεοξένια; see RUTHERFORD 2001, 310-311; PETRIDOU 2016, 291.

<sup>29</sup> Evident in Homer and the *Homeric Hymns* save for *H.Hom.* 27.14. See HAINSWORTH 1993, 116 (on *Il.* 9.404-405).

<sup>30</sup> Κλυτόμαντις can be understood as ‘famous for prophecy’ (LSJ *s.v.*), or more literally ‘famed for seers’: RUTHERFORD 2001, 305; cf. RADT 1958, 102-103; now MASLOV 2006. On the role of Apolline oracles in Pindaric epinicians, see ATHANASSAKI 2009b; more generally ATHANASSAKI 1990 on the role of prophecy in Pindar.

in lines 14-15), which emphasizes the dedication of the place of the festival to the god, the fact that the place actually 'belongs' to him.<sup>31</sup>

As the poet seeks to be accepted as an intermediary between the mortal and divine world within the festival, the opening invocation of Olympian Zeus assumes particular import: it effectively sets the whole ritual action—the singing of the paean and implicitly the whole celebration of Theoxenia—under the tutelage of the highest god.<sup>32</sup> The epithet 'Olympian' is itself a distinctly 'universal' epithet of Zeus, while at the same time its employment here can be considered as referring to the motif of 'beginning from Zeus', borrowed from rhapsodic poetry: a motif encountered in the proem of *Nemean 2*.<sup>33</sup> However, we are not merely dealing with an allusion of poetological character; Zeus here cannot be plainly considered as 'the poet's Zeus' nor is he solely invoked at the beginning in order 'to underwrite the *ego's* sacral authority at the moment of his approach to Pytho'.<sup>34</sup> The poet's invocation effectively forms the first move in his quest to enact a unitary religious cosmos through song. Zeus Ὀλύμπιος is the Panhellenic divine figure par excellence and the father of Apollo, the god of Delphi: the invocation possesses a markedly inclusive character intended to appeal directly to an audience stemming from various areas of Greece.<sup>35</sup> Thus, this prayer establishes the poet's office as a mediator on the vertical axis, that is, between gods and mortals; the whole aim of the poet's entreaty to Pytho is 'to be accepted', and

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *O.* 10.44-45 Διὸς ἄλκιμος / υἱὸς σταθμᾶτο ζάθεον ἄλσος πατρὶ μεγίστω (on Heracles' foundation of Zeus' sanctuary at Olympia); on Olympia, see also *O.* 3.17-18 and *N.* 6.61; cf. *N.* 2.5 (on Nemea). This can be true of a whole city; for instance, *N.* 10.2: Ἄργος ἵερα δῶμα θεοπρεπέε; cf. the description of the land of Elis (and in a narrower definition Olympia) at *I.* 2.27-28: γαῖαν ἀνὰ σφετέραν τὰν δὴ καλέουσιν Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς / ἄλσος. One may also compare the use of ἔχεις, as in *O.* 4.6: ἀλλὰ Κρόνου παῖ, ὅς Αἴτναν ἔχεις (yet not in the strict sense of locus of cult).

<sup>32</sup> Also the god who offers succour (SCHWENN 1940, 77), without this necessarily being the principal signifier of the epithet here.

<sup>33</sup> Again, SCHWENN (1940, 77); also RUTHERFORD 2001, 307 and n.2. In a similar vein, PAVESE (1993, 469) and RUTHERFORD (2001, 307) read in the invocation the conventional motif 'beginning from Zeus', yet, as KURKE (2005, 115-116) remarks, as a rule this formula involves the explicit exhortation 'let us begin'.

<sup>34</sup> So KURKE (2005, 115-116), pointing to Hes. *Theog.* 50-67. In fact, the Hesiodic passages where the Muses and their divine father are exalted (apart from the above-mentioned *Theog.* 36 ff. and *W&D* 1 ff.) are more closely connected with the plea to the Muses and Zeus at ll. 54 ff. of *Paean* 6, which pertains directly to Pindaric poetics, being a prayer for poetic inspiration.

<sup>35</sup> On Zeus Ὀλύμπιος as supreme god in Pindar, compare mainly *O.* 9.57 (Ὀλύμπιος ἀγεμῶν); *O.* 14.12 (αἰένασον σέβοντι πατρὸς Ὀλυμπίοιο τιμάν); *I.* 6.7-9 (εἶη δὲ τρίτον / σωτήρι... Ὀλυμπίω...σπένδειν).

certainly a claim to sacral authority is pivotal to the verbal act of supplication. However, the connection with Zeus is asserted in a rather ‘general’ sense (πρός: in the name of) as a mortal’s appeal to the highest god; what is confidently projected is *solely* the poet’s relationship with the Muses, his status as their προφήτης (6), as well as his natural connection, *qua* poet, with the Charites and Aphrodite.<sup>36</sup> We are thus dealing with a *gradual* accumulation of poetic-priestly authority,<sup>37</sup> which—and this is my key point here—develops in tandem with the projection of a Panhellenic nexus of places of worship, exactly through the invocations of Zeus and the exaltation of his power. The foregrounding of this nexus is necessary in order to render possible the poet’s mediating function on the horizontal level: chiefly between Aegina and the Delphic sanctuary.

This dynamic process becomes equally evident through the manner in which the choral performance is projected, particularly via the coexistence of the ‘occasional-functional’ with the ‘self-standing’ perspective—to employ Budelmann’s apt dichotomy.<sup>38</sup> The occasional-functional aspect—which involves concrete references to a specific performance occasion—emerges right at the beginning (6-11) where Pindar presents himself as having come to Delphi after hearing ‘the murmur of Castalia devoid of men’s dancing’ (8-9) and with the intention ‘to ward off helplessness’ from the people of Delphi, as well as to protect his ‘own honours.’<sup>39</sup> Moreover, the poet arrives abiding by a sense of duty ‘as a child obeys his dear mother’ (12-13). As Furley and Bremer point out, ‘taken together all these statements are too autobiographical in tone for

<sup>36</sup> Concerning the expression Χαρίτεσσιν τε καὶ σὺν Ἀφροδίτῃ, FURLEY and BREMER (2001b, 29-30) rightly think that it would be arrogant if the poet took his ‘accompaniment’ by the Charites and Aphrodite for granted—in which case the deities would stand for the ‘grace of song’ (so RADT 1958, 103-104). As they point out, this would be ‘to accuse Pindar of hybris’. On the other hand, the opening prayer would lose its focus if the prayer for ‘acceptance’ (δέξαι με) were addressed equally to Pytho, the Charites and Aphrodite (in which case the plural δέξατε would actually sound more normal). In my view, the most persuasive reading (mentioned by FURLEY and BREMER 2001b, 30) is to construe the phrase as ‘receive me in the company = favoured by the Charites and Aphrodite’. A parallel is N. 4.6-8: ῥῆμα δ’ ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτεύει, / ὄ τι κε σὺν Χαρίτων τύχη / γλῶσσα φρενὸς ἐξέλοι βαθείας (with HENRY 2005, 29-30).

<sup>37</sup> For this reason προφήτης ought not to be considered an ‘arrogant’ statement—*pace* PAVESE 1993, 470: ‘il poeta, orgoglioso e sicuro della propria arte’. On piety as a key characteristic of Pindaric poetics, see WALSH 1984, 37-61; MARINIS 2008, 136-188.

<sup>38</sup> BUDELMANN 2013, esp. 87-91.

<sup>39</sup> Most probably we are dealing with concrete honours granted to Pindar and his family, such as προεδρία or προμαντεία, as later sources suggest; see RADT 1958, 115-116 and RUTHERFORD 2001, 309. More generally on Pindar’s status in Delphi, see RUTHERFORD 2001, 178-182.

an anonymous member of the chorus.<sup>40</sup> Pindar should thus be regarded as speaking in his own voice, which he may well lend to a chorus, of course.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, in contemporary approaches to ancient choral performance the traditional distinction between the ego of the poet and the chorus is no longer rigidly construed. In fact the author can be regarded as 'delegating'—to employ Claude Calame's expression—his authority to the chorus;<sup>42</sup> thus the voice of the poetic ego tends, with right, to be viewed as in some way 'interwoven' with that of the members of the chorus.<sup>43</sup>

This 'fusion' between the poet's and the chorus' voice seems to help create a balance between the 'self-standing' and the 'occasional-functional' dimension throughout the poem. The focus on the specific occasion of the performance will be taken up at the beginning of the second triad (62-122) with an explicit reference to the current ritual proceedings: 'For sacrifice is made on behalf of splendid Pan-Hellas' (62-63). Complementary to that is the self-standing perspective, which retains a certain distance from the specific occasion with which the (first) performance is connected and makes the audience focus on the performance *qua* performance, projecting a rather diachronic aspect of χορεία.<sup>44</sup> In the case of *Paean* 6 this is evident, for instance, in the reference to the 'maidens of Delphi' who 'often sing to Leto's son / at the shady navel of the earth' (15-17). There is no hint that the choruses of girls belong to the present occasion, of the Theoxenia;<sup>45</sup> instead this must

<sup>40</sup> FURLEY and BREMER 2001a, 114-115: 114. *Contra* BURNETT 1998, esp. 500-504, who considers these statements part of a 'fiction of spontaneity'. In my opinion, such an interpretation appears rather strained.

<sup>41</sup> We possess two hints pointing to a chorus of young men: ὄρφανὸν ἀνδρῶν χορεύσιος (9); ἰῆτε νῦν, μέτρα παιηό-/ν]ων ἰῆτε νέοι (121-122). HOEKSTRA (1962, 9-11) forcefully argues for a choral performance, which CURRIE (2005, 323 and n.149) also considers probable. FURLEY and BREMER (2001a, 114-115), however, opt for a solo recital of the paean; similarly RUTHERFORD 2001, 308-309. See also FOGELMARK (1972, 119), who argues, referring also to *Dith.* 2.23-25, that the ego's characterization as προφήτης and further as σοφός (52) must refer to the poet and not to the chorus.

<sup>42</sup> CALAME 1999, 129 (with reference to tragedy); cf. CALAME 1997, 202.

<sup>43</sup> See ATHANASSAKI 2009b, esp. 94-96 (with earlier bibliography); also ATHANASSAKI 2018. The seminal paper is D'ALESSIO 1994.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *P.* 10.37-40; with analysis by ATHANASSAKI 2009a, 250-252.

<sup>45</sup> *Pace* HARDIE (1996, 222 ff.), according to whom 'Pindar's dramatic situation also involves the presence of dancing girls, thereby suggesting a possible erotic dimension to the plea of the *komos* for admission' (223). While it is difficult to accept such a scenario, the whole analysis by Hardie, entailing the attribution of 'komastic' characteristics to the chorus, enriches our reading of the poem, particularly since it also refers to the cult of the Nymphs at Delphi, underlining its connection

be a reference to what habitually transpires in Delphi.<sup>46</sup> The connective thread, therefore, between the self-standing and the occasional-functional perspective is none other than the poet's gradually more assertive claim to sacral-poetic authority, through which the prospective (current) performance shall be able to legitimately supply the latest link in a concatenation of ritual celebrations at Delphi.<sup>47</sup> Hence, to underwrite a central point of this study, the poetological aspect is in close connection with the religious: successful mediation between mortals and gods is the prerequisite for successful mediation between communities—a combination that effectively amounts to a distinct Pindaric trope in both his epinician and cultic poetry.<sup>48</sup>

Concerning the diachronic axis, it should be noted that its import first becomes evident in lines 50 ff., where Pindar requests that the Muses grant him knowledge on the story that he intends to narrate. In the light of this explicit request on the part of the poet, I ought here to qualify my earlier statement that what is confidently projected is essentially the poet's relationship with the Muses, his being their προφήτης; in fact, *even this* relationship remains under negotiation and in need of being claimed and asserted anew. It becomes obvious that the status of προφήτης needs to be granted each time, essentially from the Muses as a gift, though the poet's entreaties (κλῦτε νῦν, 58). This becomes clear in lines 50-61:

καὶ πόθεν ἀθαν[άτ – υ υ ᾶ]ρξατο.<sup>49</sup>  
 ταῦτα θεοῖσι [μ]ὲν  
 πιθεῖν σοφὸν[ς] δυνατόν,  
 βροτοῖσιν δ' ἀμάχανο[ν εὐ]ρέμεν·  
 ἀλλὰ παρθένοι γάρ, ἴσατ[ε], Μο[ῖ]σαι,  
 πάντα, κε[λα]νεφεῖ σὺν

---

with the Castalian Spring. For a similar reading, pointing to intertextual connections with Propertius 4.9, see CAIRNS 1992, esp. 72-74.

<sup>46</sup> A comparable passage is *Pai.* 2.97-102, where the song of the Delian and Delphic maiden choruses is exalted: see RADT 1958, 118; also RUTHERFORD 2001, 273-274. Cf. the praise of the performance of the Delian Maidens in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 156-164; with BUDELMANN 2013, 88-89.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the use of πολλακί at l. 182 (discussed below). See also BUDELMANN (2013, 89-91) on the interplay of the two perspectives in Pindar's *Paean* 9.

<sup>48</sup> As regards the victory odes, Nancy Felson, in an unpublished paper discussing *Pythian* 3 and *Olympian* 2, offers new insights along similar lines, significantly also focusing on the distinct presence of Thebes as Pindar's own city.

<sup>49</sup> I avoid adopting any of the suggested supplements for the lacuna; see n. 51 below.

πατρὶ Μναμοσ[ύν]α τε  
 τοῦτον ἔσχετ[ε τεθ]μόν,  
 κλύτε νῦν· ἔρα[ται] δέ μο[ι]  
 γλώσσα μέλιτος ἄωτον γλυκύν [υ υ --  
 ἀγῶνα Λοξία καταβάντ' εὐρύν  
 ἐν θεῶν ξενία.

and as to whence the immortals' [ ... ] began,  
 it is possible for the gods  
 to entrust that to wise men,  
 but mortals have no way to find it.  
 But, virgin Muses, because you know  
 all things—along with your father  
 of the dark clouds and Mnemosyne  
 you have that privilege—  
 hear me now. My tongue longs (to sing?)  
 the sweet essence of honey ...  
 having come to the broad gathering for Loxias  
 in the guest-feast of the gods.

This long entreaty to the Muses which concludes the first triad lends special weight to the mythical account incorporated into the paean.<sup>50</sup> The mythical theme alluded to in the fragmentary line 50, for which a number of solutions have been suggested, would most probably relate to the origins of the Theoxenia festival; however, no absolute certainty is warranted, given the loss of lines 19-49 and the survival of merely a few words from lines 64-78. If line 50 indeed alludes to the origins of the Theoxenia and its celebration, then a connection with the story of Neoptolemus, narrated at lines 98 ff., should be surmised,<sup>51</sup> in which case the hero would most probably acquire the role of the overseer of the ritual order at the sacrifices, as affirmed in *Nemean* 7.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>50</sup> See comments by FURLEY and BREMER 2001b, 32-35.

<sup>51</sup> See FURLEY and BREMER 2001a, 107-109; RUTHERFORD 2001, 309, 315. In both editions the supplement ἀθάν[ατος πόνο]ς is singled out as probably the best solution for line 50: an expression that can be taken to refer to the divine origins of the celebration and/or the immortal duty of yearly choral performances. MAEHLER (1989) adopts the conjecture ἀθαν[άτων ἔρι]ς, which would refer to the divine quarrel over Troy, mentioned later at lines 87-89; so also HEDREEN 2010, 345-347.

<sup>52</sup> *N.* 7.45-47: τὸ λοιπὸν ἔμμεναι / θεοῦ παρ' εὐτειχέα δόμον, ἡρώϊαις δὲ πομπαῖς / θεσιμ-  
 σκόπον οἰκεῖν ἐόντα πολυθύτοις. These lines can be connected with the Theoxenia, since according to the scholiast this festival also involved the offering of hospitality to heroes, as already mentioned. See RUTHERFORD 2001, 314-315.

Regardless of the specific content of the mythic story, the poet is dependent on the divinity in order to properly fulfill his role; here, more specifically, in order to acquire the needed knowledge, despite the fact that he characterizes himself as σοφός (ταῦτα θεοῖσι...εὐ]ρέμεν, 51-53).<sup>53</sup> The address to Mnemosyne and Zeus (55-57) lays emphasis on the issue of memory and truth: Pindar's song aspires to authentically delve into the past and concomitantly relate the truth as regards what we call 'myth'.<sup>54</sup> The key role of the mythical element for the projection of the diachronic axis is unnecessary to emphasize. Indeed, as will be shown below, the temporal continuum enables the connection of the divine with specific communities (geographical locations) and the consequent establishment of bonds on a synchronic level. The expression ἀγῶν εὐρύς (60) at the closure of the prayer underlines the broad ambit of the Delphic festival<sup>55</sup>—what is explicitly described at the beginning of the immediately following second triad as 'sacrifice on behalf of splendid Panhellas' (62-64):

θύεται γὰρ ἀγλαᾶς ὑπὲρ Πανελ-  
λάδος, ἄν τε Δελφῶν  
ἔθ[υ]ος εὔξατο λι-  
μοῦ

For sacrifice is made on behalf of splendid Pan-Hellas,  
which the race of the Delphians  
prayed (to be relieved?) of famine

'Panhellas' is without doubt a most eloquent marker of inclusivity.<sup>56</sup> However, on a more attentive reading it becomes clear that what

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *Paeon* 7b, 15-20 (with BRILLANTE 2009, 40-41); also the more confident assertion at *Dith.* 2.23-25. The term τεθμός (57) referring to the 'office' ('Amt': RADT 1958, 126; or more freely 'prerogative': RUTHERFORD 2001, 305) of the Muses and, more precisely, their role in relating knowledge to mortals is scarcely fortuitous. It stresses the 'solemnity' of the poet's vocation and the need to develop a relationship of confidence between the divinities and the mortal. Cf. the prayer to Zeus at *O.* 7.87-88 (with GENTILI *et al.* 2013, 500-501).

<sup>54</sup> BRILLANTE 2009, 41-43.

<sup>55</sup> RADT 1958, 130-131.

<sup>56</sup> A substantive designating 'the whole of Hellas': a rare word denoting a geographical entity (see RADT 1958, 131-132; HEDREEN 2010, 347). Elsewhere, Pindar uses the adjective Πανέλλανες (of the competitors at the games): ἵπποτροφίας τε νομίζων ἐν Πανελλάνων νόμῳ (*I.* 2.38); Πανελλάνεσσι δ' ἐριζόμενοι δαπάνῃ χαῖρον ἵππων (*I.* 4.29). For Ἕλλανες and its cognates, see *O.* 1.115-116: ἐμέ τε...πρόφαντον σοφία καθ' Ἕλλανας ἐόντα παντᾶ; also *P.* 11.50 (Ἐλλανίδα στρατιάν, of the competitors). Thus, while panhellenism may in general be regarded

is foregrounded in the expression *θύεται... ὑπὲρ Πανελλάδος* is not the broad range of the worshipping community itself but rather of the community 'on behalf of which' the rites are performed. The sacrifice is proclaimed as being offered for the benefit of 'all of Hellas': a markedly inclusive declaration, since it does not strictly determine the worshipping community, but rather the community that will reap the benefits. Further, not only Delphi as a locus of religious ritual, but also the people of Delphi (*Δελφῶν ἔθ[υ]ος*) are able to pray on behalf of all Greeks, as they once did. *Λιμοῦ* makes clear that the object of the Delphians' prayer has been the ending of a famine; this fact, in tandem with the prominence in the third triad of Zeus Hellenios, worshipped on Mount Oros in Aegina, has led scholars to draw a parallel between the aetiology of that cult and the prayer of the Delphians. According to the Aeginetan myth, when Greece was afflicted with a terrible drought, the Delphic oracle instructed the Greeks to ask for Aeacus' intercession: through his prayer the deliverance of Greece was achieved.<sup>57</sup> Many hypotheses have been advanced as regards the possible connection between the story of Aeacus' prayer on behalf of Greece and the Delphic Theoxenia. For instance, it has been surmised that there existed a common aetiology; this hypothesis, however, does not square with the fact that in lines 62-64 it is the Delphians who are praying and not Aeacus; another approach posits a mere parallelism between the two stories, which are thus not to be identified.<sup>58</sup> In any case, the fragmentariness of lines 62 ff. does not allow for any firm conclusion, apart from the fact that the similarities between the two myths must have been present in Pindar's mind.

What is important to observe from the point of view of precatory discourse is the fact that the temporal sequence *θύεται - εὔξατο* marks the modelling of the current celebration and sacrifice at the Theoxenia

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as an 'etic' concept, at least until the mid-fifth century (see SCOTT 2010, 265-273), the Pindaric *Πανελλὰς* and *Πανέλλανας* embody authentic gestures of Greek inclusivity firmly predating Isocrates and Philip. On the Panhellenic aspect of Pindaric victory odes, see more recently ECKERMAN 2008 (on *Olympian* 10) and ΠΙΤΟΤΤΟ 2014 (on *Olympian* 1 in comparison with Bacchylides' *Epinician* 5).

<sup>57</sup> See Isocr. 9.14 ff.; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.6. 9-10; Diod. 4.61.1; Paus. 2.29.7-8; also Pind. *N.* 8.8-12 and Schol. *N.* 5.17a (DRACHMANN 1927, 91-92).

<sup>58</sup> See overview by RUTHERFORD 2001, 331-332 (with further bibliography); in favour of the connection of the Aeginetan myth with the Theoxenia is RADT (1958, 132-134); see also KÜRKE 2005, 118 on 'the suturing together of aetiological myths'; KOWALZIG 2008, 187; *contra* POLINSKAYA 2013, 151-159, 520-531, who believes that what is important is the cultic presence of the Aeakid Neoptolemus at Delphi, rather than the 'presumed association between the *aition* of Zeus Hellenios and the sacrifice for *εὐετηρία* at the Theoxenia' (529).

after the mythical supplication of the Delphians. Hence the worshipping community of the myth blends with the Panhellenic worshipping community at the Theoxenia.<sup>59</sup> Among the remnants of lines 65-78, it is worth laying emphasis on the invocation Κρόν[ιε] (68). We are dealing here with an appellation of Zeus, which, like Ὀλύμπιος in line 1, refers to his role as the supreme god. At the same time, Κρόνιος is an epithet pertaining to the remote, mythical past to which the *aition* belongs.<sup>60</sup> A comparable conception of Zeus is encountered further on, in lines 92-94; what is stressed there is Zeus' elevated vantage point on Olympus whence he ponders on the outcome of the Trojan war and the possibility of averting it: νέφεσσι δ' ἐν χρυσεῖσι Ὀλύμπιοι-/ο καὶ κορυφα[ῖσι]ν ἴζων / μόρσιμ' ἀνα[λ]ύεν Ζεὺς ὁ θεῶν σκοπὸς οὐ τόλ-/μα (92-94).<sup>61</sup> Zeus is subsequently alluded to in connection with the fate of Neoptolemus, which is sealed because of the slaying of Priam at the latter's courtyard altar (ἐρκεῖον βωμόν, 114): what is meant is the altar of Zeus Herkeios, who protects the οἶκος; Zeus is thus implicitly projected as the protector of the suppliant's rights: Neoptolemus is guilty since he did not respect Zeus' altar and hence the god himself.<sup>62</sup>

The second triad ends with the call to the young men of the chorus to 'sing the measures of paeans' (121-122), a call which points towards the generic identity of the poem as a paean<sup>63</sup> and should be connected with the invocation of Apollo Paeon in lines 181-183, at the end. What follows is the third triad, opening with the celebration of Aegina as the 'bright star' of Zeus Hellanios (123-126):

ὀνομακλύτα γ' ἔνεσσι Δωριεῖ  
 μ[ε]δέοισα [πόν]τω  
 νᾶσος, [ῶ] Διὸς Ἐλ-125  
 λανίου φαεννὸν ἄστρον.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. KOWALZIG 2008, 220.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. O. 2.12: ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ Πέας. Cf. LATACZ (2000a, 125-126) on the appellations Κρονίδης and Κρονίων in Homer.

<sup>61</sup> Here we may adduce the parallel of O. 1.54, where the Olympian gods are called Ὀλύμπου σκοποί (with respect to the honours conferred upon Tantalus); similarly, in O. 6.59 Apollo is described as Δάλου θεοδμάτας σκοπός (see ADORJANI 2014, 226-227); cf. P. 3.27, where Apollo is characterized as σκοπός since the deeds of mortals (Koronis here) do not escape his attention. One may also compare Aesch. *Supp.* 381, where Zeus, as protector of suppliants, is characterized as ὑψόθεν σκοπός.

<sup>62</sup> See FURLEY and BREMER 2001b, 35-36; KURKE 2005, 116; PARKER (2005, 16-18) on the cult of Zeus Herkeios at Athens.

<sup>63</sup> See FURLEY and BREMER 2001a, 115-116.

Island whose name is famous indeed,  
 you live and rule in the Dorian sea,  
 O shining star  
 of Zeus Hellanios.

While the cult of Zeus Hellanios is a local Aeginetan one, the poetic re-enactment of his myth in an actual all-Greek context not only virtually presents Zeus Hellanios as a Panhellenic god true to his name,<sup>64</sup> but, more relevantly, it also delineates the Panhellenic cult community at Delphi in the very terms of this aetiology.<sup>65</sup> It is reasonable to posit, with Kowalzig, that the cult of Zeus Hellanios marks on a socio-political level an Aeginetan view of Hellenicity based on international elite connectivity, a model which Pindar appears to endorse and, moreover, oppose to the Athenian model, embodied in the Athenian empire.<sup>66</sup> Further, through the introduction of the Aeacidae, Pindar can be regarded as reinforcing Aeginetan Panhellenic claims, founded on the islanders' crucial contribution to the Trojan war and their recent performance at the battle of Salamis.<sup>67</sup> These political aims are conveyed through hymnic discourse: we are essentially dealing with a *polis*-cult with Panhellenic aspirations, which expands its orbit through publicly expressed religious discourse emanating from a Panhellenic centre. The mainstay of this discourse is the adoption of an elevated perspective on Zeus, which actually reminds us of the supreme god's depiction in lines 92-94 (quoted above). Φαεννὸν ἄστρον also recalls the *Hymn to Delos* (fr. 33c), where the island is said to be called Δῆλος by the mortals, but τηλέφαντον κυανέας χθονὸς ἄστρον (6) by the gods. In both passages the poet introduces a divine vantage-point,<sup>68</sup> clearly distinct from the mortals' point of view, combined with a perspective on the past, a blending of the mythical and

<sup>64</sup> On 'Hellanios' belonging to a category of cult epithets designating the social group performing worship, see PARKER 2003, 178.

<sup>65</sup> KOWALZIG 2008, 219.

<sup>66</sup> As KOWALZIG (2008, 214-217) shows, there were, even within Athens, two conflicting views of panhellenism, one based on elite connectivity (represented in Athens by Kimon) and one based on Athenian imperial aspirations and the public distribution of conquered land (Themistoclean, later Periclean): two views which competed against each other throughout the period of the early Athenian League.

<sup>67</sup> KOWALZIG's further claim (ibid.) is that Aeacus' role in securing Greek abundance in crops is implicitly paralleled with the contemporary economic potential of Aegina, thanks to its strategic position in the Saronic Gulf. Such an allusion to the economic potential of Aegina is considered implausible by POLINSKAYA (2013, 528-531).

<sup>68</sup> In the case of *Paean 6* this view of Aegina from above can also be regarded as alluding to the vista from the very sanctuary of Zeus Hellanios on Mt Oros (KURKE 2005, 120).

historical dimensions.<sup>69</sup> The immersion into mythical time coexists with the ascension on the vertical axis: a view of human things from above, which effectively achieves a perspective of historical events beyond human contingencies. In *Paean* 6, the divine perspective is taken up further on, at the point where the poet refers to Zeus as the bestower of prosperity on the island, while referring to his union with the nymph Aegina, daughter of Asopos (132-137): ὁ πάντα τοι τά τε καὶ τὰ τεύχων / σὸν ἐγγυάλιξεν ὄλβον / εὐρύο[πα] Κρόνου παῖς / ὕδατ<εσσ>ι δ' ἐπ' Ἄσ[ω]-/ποῦ π[οτ' ἄ]πὸ προθύρων βαθύκολ-/πον ἀνερέψατο παρθένον / Αἴγιναν.<sup>70</sup> A complementary outlook on Zeus' role is equally introduced here: the supreme god who respects the decrees of Fate and abstains from action (92-95) now assumes an eminently active role in shaping reality.<sup>71</sup> In a bold move, the poet transfers us back to a primeval time when Aegina was born from Asopos, an era long before the very cult of Zeus Hellanios was instituted.<sup>72</sup>

The Panhellenic connotations, as well as the political implications, of the cult of Zeus Hellanios are, thus, set into a radically new perspective, since the cultic relationship of contemporary Aegina with Zeus is being anchored in the depth of a mythical past. Zeus, called here Κρόνου παῖς, an appellation underlining his primeval character, is decisively elevated above the regional and political conflicts of the poet's time.<sup>73</sup> In a sophisticated way, the poet provides Panhellenic breadth to his song through a bold immersion down the temporal-diachronic axis: a move to be appraised as complementary to the initial invocation of Zeus as Ὀλύμπιος, as well as his subsequent designation as θεῶν σκοπός (94), whereby the god is equally elevated above local, geographically specific (hence politically loaded) appellations.

A study of *Paean* 6 cannot conclude without a consideration of the performance context, which has been the object of extended discussion, especially after the discovery of a special title (προσόδιον εἰς Αἰακὸν)

<sup>69</sup> An eloquent parallel is *N.* 1.13 on Sicily: τὰν Ὀλύμπου δεσπότης / Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν Φερσεφόνα.

<sup>70</sup> One may compare here *O.* 7.67-70: ἀλλὰ Κρόνου σὺν παιδί νεῦσαι, / φαεννὸν ἐς αἰθέρα νιν πεμφθεῖσαν ἔῃ κεφαλᾶ / ἐξοπίσω γέρας ἔσσεσθαι. τελευτάθεν δὲ λόγων κορυφαί / ἐν ἀλαθείᾳ πετοῖσαι. Once again, we encounter here a perspective from above as regards the emergence of Rhodos, the realm of Helios. Zeus—again referred to as son of Cronus—is similarly taking decisions and blessing a place from above. For this appellation cf. mainly *O.* 4.6, *P.* 3.57, *P.* 4.23-24: again with emphasis on the elevated figure of Zeus.

<sup>71</sup> See also KURKE 2005, 116.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (59-61), where Leto secures Apollo's claim to the island of Delos before his birth and promises to the island a steady stream of worshippers.

<sup>73</sup> See above, n. 60.

for the third triad.<sup>74</sup> As shown by Kurke, the convergence of two communities (Delphi and Aegina), as well as two mythic traditions, explains the prominence of the speaking subject: the poem itself is negotiating the inter-state tensions and thereby achieving proper reception.<sup>75</sup> At the same time, it is highly significant that the poetic 'I' is introduced as προφήτης, a term loaded with religious and hieratic connotations: such an authoritative position enables the poet to invoke Zeus as a divine figure elevated above geographical and temporal constraints. Significantly also, the initial δέξαι, marking the poet's plea for acceptance at Delphi for the performance, corresponds—if we adopt Snell's plausible conjecture—in a manner of circular repetition, to δέξαι<sup>76</sup> at the end (181-183): Μοισᾶν / δ' ἔπαβολέοντ[ι]<sup>77</sup> πολλάκι, Παιάν, δέ/ξ' ἔννόμων θ[αλί]αν ('Of the Muses from one often having a share (?), Paean, receive / the feast (?) of lawful men'<sup>78</sup>). Here the poet asks for the acceptance of the sacrifice itself—more precisely the sacrificial feast—and by implication of *the poem* itself, which is thus considered a vehicle of religious discourse: essentially an elaborate εὐχή that accompanies a θυσία. Moreover, πολλάκι strengthens the poet's plea by underlining his frequent participation at the festival: we are dealing with an appeal to an unfailing relationship of worship with the gods,<sup>79</sup> effectively forming a 'cycle of reciprocity'<sup>80</sup> that the poet seeks to maintain. He thus succeeds in creating a broad spatio-temporal continuum on which he maps cultic and civic communities, thereby promoting Panhellenic convergence.

<sup>74</sup> See D'ALESSIO and FERRARI 1988; RUTHERFORD 1997 and 2001, 323-331; KURKE 2005, esp. 90-95.

<sup>75</sup> KURKE 2005, 95.

<sup>76</sup> This conjecture, apart from MAEHLER (1989), has also been accepted by RUTHERFORD (2001, 302) and RACE (1997, in his Loeb edition); RADT (1958, 99, 191-192), however, expresses his reservations on metrical grounds.

<sup>77</sup> ἔπαβολέοντ[ι] read Snell-Maehler and Race; RUTHERFORD (2001, 302, 328-329), following D'ALESSIO and FERRARI (1988), opts for ἔπαβολέοντ[α] (hence a direct object of δέξαι: 'one who frequently possesses the harmonious strains of the Muses'). RADT (1958, 193), however, strongly questions the occurrence of the participle ἔπαβολέων both on textual grounds and due to the fact that the verb ἔπαβολέω is otherwise unattested. HARDIE (1996, 237-239) opts for a construction with (the avowedly much more frequent) ἐπάβολος (ἐπάβoλε) referring to Apollo: 'he who "controls" the Muses', i.e. the songs.

<sup>78</sup> For a similar rendition see RUTHERFORD 2001, 306.

<sup>79</sup> See KURKE 2005, 114 and n.98.

<sup>80</sup> On this notion, see MARINIS 2008, 112-118. Cf. πλείστασι at O. 3.38-41 (again with reference to a theoxenic ritual): ἐμέ δ' ὦν πα / θυμὸς ὀτρύνει φάμεν Ἐμμενίδαις / Οἴρωνι τ' ἐλθεῖν κῦδος εὐίππων διδόν-/των Τυνδαριδᾶν, ὅτι πλείστασι βροτῶν / ξεινίαις αὐτοῦς ἐποίχονται τραπέζαις, / εὐσεβεῖ γνῶμα φυλάσσοντες μακάρων τελετάς; see MARINIS 2008, 38-41; FERRARI 2012, 159-163; PETRIDOU 2016, 7.

### 3. The Enigma of the Third Triad and the Performative 'I'

The final prayer may actually offer us a clue on the issue of performance, which, though not directly related to the central question of this study, is nevertheless relevant to it and could provide us with useful insights as regards the poetic ego and its function in *Paeon* 6. The fragmentary character of lines 177-183 impedes our understanding of the prayer, yet still permits us to gather the meaning of the text to a satisfying degree. φ[ιλεῖ] τε / ...]ι πόλιν πατρίαν· φί-/λῶν] δ' εὐφ[ον]α λαόν /...] γονευ[ ] στεφάνοισι παν / εὐ]θαλέος ὕγιε[ίας] σκιάζετε ('Love... the homeland city, the kindly people of friends... shade over with garlands of flourishing health', 177-181): despite the lacunae, these lines clearly embody a prayer to the gods to show their benevolence towards the city of Aegina.<sup>81</sup> Thus, the third triad, a poem of praise for the island of Aegina, culminates in a prayer for its *polis*, yet it is still far from clear *who* utters this prayer and *where*. An answer, if necessarily tentative, to this question shall enable us to gain a better understanding of the way *polis* religion can be enacted within a Panhellenic genre. To concentrate on line 180, whereas τόνδε must imply the presence of Aeginetans at the performance, possibly among the audience, it does not *necessarily* entail a performance by a chorus of Aeginetans<sup>82</sup>—although it would certainly be applicable to a (re)performance on the island. Φ[ιλεῖ]τε / ...]ι πόλιν πατρίαν ('Love... the homeland city' in Race's translation) can be paralleled to the prayer at *O.* 2.12-15, ἀλλ' ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ Ῥέας... εὐφρων ἄρουραν ἔτι πατρίαν σφίσιν κόμισσον / λοιπῶ γένει ('O son of Cronus and Rhea, ruling over your abode on Olympos, over the pinnacle of contests, and over Alpheos' course, cheered by my songs graciously preserve the ancestral land for their children still to come'). The parallelism with this prayer for Theron and Akragas by the poetic 'I' reminds us of the fact that the term πόλιν πατρίαν does by no means need to imply an Aeginetan chorus

<sup>81</sup> See RACE 1997, 269 n.19: 'The plural imperatives "love" and "shade over" are presumably addressed to all the gods present at the *theoxenia*.' This interpretation is also considered most probable by RUTHERFORD (2001, 327-328), whose translation, however, of πόλιν πατρίαν as 'your native city' (306) is ill-adapted to this reading. KÜRKE (2005, 110-111) equally accepts the gods as the addressees, but also posits a secondary reference to the chorus who has performed the first two triads (in accordance with her theory of split performance of *Paeon* 6; see below). Generally on the motif of the prayer for the city in the Pindaric paeans, see LE MEUR-WEISSMAN 2016.

<sup>82</sup> See CURRIE 2005, 323. τόνδε is a conjecture suggested by D'ALESSIO and FERRARI (1988, 163), after a careful examination of the papyri, and accepted by RUTHERFORD (2001) and CURRIE (2005).

speaking about 'their' own city. It can be perfectly compatible, though, with a marked poetic 'I' as in the case of *Olympian 2*.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, the utterance of such a prayer by the persona of a poet who is an 'authoritative outsider' or 'metanastes' actually reminds us of the prayers for Argos uttered by the Chorus of Aeschylus' *Suppliant Women* (625-709): a group of foreign women, who has been offered asylum at Argos, is engaging in an outpour of auspicious prayers and wishes for the welfare of the city which has granted them protection.<sup>84</sup>

Within this context, a comparison with Pindar's *Paean 2* is equally telling: in the latter, a paean which essentially constitutes a prayer for Abdera and particularly for political stability in that city, we find very clear hints about the speaking person,<sup>85</sup> who must be an Abderite.<sup>86</sup> By contrast, in the case of *Paean 6* we do not possess any such clear hint at a chorus of Aeginetans; indeed, we may further argue that a non-Aeginetan chorus is not merely conceivable, but actually more plausible in the first performance, although of course the poem—in a typical Pindaric manner—hardly precludes further (re)performance scenarios.

Indeed, a first indication for a chorus of non-Aeginetans is what we may call the 'perspective from afar', prominent in lines 124-126: Aegina is presented as 'famous' (ὄνομακλύττα), as the island situated in the Dorian sea and the 'shining star of Zeus Hellanios'. Such expressions are rather reminiscent of a marked poetic *ego*, stemming from outside the place that he is lauding, though it is certainly not incompatible with a performance on the island.<sup>87</sup> A further hint at a non-Aeginetan chorus is in fact the lavishness of the praise conferred upon the island by the poetic *ego*, right from the beginning of the third triad. Certainly, the surviving choral songs do not allow us to reach any conclusive statements; however, a comparison with *Paean 2*,<sup>88</sup> but also more pointedly with

<sup>83</sup> Cf. also the use of the epithet πατρῶος at *P.* 10.72; *I.* 1.35 (with PRIVITERA 1982, 147).

<sup>84</sup> One may specifically compare the prayer for health at *Pai.* 6. 180-181 with *Supp.* 657-666 (on which see FRIIS JOHANSEN and WHITTLE 1980, 27-34).

<sup>85</sup> Characteristically, [τάνδε] ναίω / Θ[ρ]αίικίαν γ[αί]αν (24-25); νεόπολις εἰμι (28) and more pointedly μάρασμα (39). See analysis of the whole poem by DOUGHERTY 1994.

<sup>86</sup> See RUTHERFORD 2001, 266; now also LE MEUR-WEISSMAN (2016, esp. 163-164, 174), who situates the discussion of *Paean 2* within the whole theme of 'praying for the city' in Pindar's paeanic corpus.

<sup>87</sup> Cf., for instance, the praise of Corinth at *O.* 13.1-5 (again with geographical emphasis): Τρισολυμπιονίκαν / ἐπαινέων οἴκον ἡμερον ἄστοις / ξένοισι δὲ θεράποντα, γνώσομαι / τὴν ὀλβίαν Κόρινθον, Ἰσθμίου / πρόθυρον Ποτειδᾶνος ἀγλαόκουρον; also the praise of Athens at *P.* 7, esp. 1-10 (with ATHANASSAKI 2009a, 256-285).

<sup>88</sup> Esp. ll. 24-26 (though one has to take into account the loss of lines 6-22).

*Paeon* 4, featuring the famous self-deprecation of the Ceians concerning their island, is eloquent enough. The Ceians claim to live on a narrow ridge of land, yet one that they would not ‘trade for Babylon’ (13-14); further, they live ‘on a rock’ (21), they suffer from scarcity of horses and ‘know little of cattle-pasturing’ (27), while the speaker declares to be content with ‘a small portion (?) of bush (?)’, which, however, he would not exchange with ‘the pasture land around Ida’ (51-52). A recurring motif in this paeon is indeed the barrenness of the land (excepting viticulture: 25-26), which does not, however, deter the Ceians from gaining Panhellenic distinction in both athletics and the arts of the Muses (21-24). This ‘rhetoric of antithesis between advantage and disadvantage’, within which sometimes ‘we find the disadvantages stated without corresponding advantages’,<sup>89</sup> is in marked contrast to the enthusiastic praise in the third triad of *Paeon* 6 (always bearing in mind the loss of lines 141-175). One might argue of course that Aegina is not Ceos, yet Pindar is not composing treatises on economic geography: he is a poet and his tropes of praise are expected to display either a certain regularity or irregularities that need to be accounted for—as Pindarists know well.

Admittedly, this cannot be considered a definitive argument, especially given the fragmentary character of the available material, but it may legitimately be considered to contribute to the wider picture: that of a non-Aeginetan choral group offering lavish praise to Aegina. The lavishness of the praise is evident enough from lines 123-126—resembling the praise of the sacred island of Delos at fr. 33C—in combination with lines 130-131 and 176-177. This apparent ‘overflow’ of praise needs to be appraised in connection with lines 127-128, where we gain the impression that the poet’s intention is to set right a certain disadvantage, due to which Aegina was apparently at risk of not having been sung at all: οὔνεκεν οὔ σε παιηόνων / ἄδορπον εὐνάξομεν (‘Therefore we shall not put you to bed / without a banquet of paeans’). We are not warranted, I believe, in explaining away this expression as a mere manner of speech. Instead, what we may reasonably assume, following Hoekstra, is that Aegina has been deprived of a δόρπος, namely the sacrificial meal that customarily precedes the chanting of the paeon, but she will nevertheless be honoured with a paeon.<sup>90</sup> The continuation of the above expression, ἀλλ’ ἀοιδᾶν / ῥόθια δεκομένα κατερεῖς / πόθεν ἔλαβες

<sup>89</sup> RUTHERFORD 2001, 285-287: 286; now also LE MEUR-WEISSMAN 2016, 168-172.

<sup>90</sup> HOEKSTRA 1962, 5.

ναυπρύτανιν / δαίμονα καὶ τὰν θεμίξενον ἀρετ[άν] may optimally be explained along similar lines. Hoekstra has rightly pointed to the unconventional character of the phrase ῥόθια δεκομένα ('as you receive waves of song'), which is an indication of praise stemming from outside Aegina. As he points out,<sup>91</sup> the appropriate expression concerning an Aeginetan chorus would be something akin to αἰοιδᾶν ῥόθια ἰέντες; by contrast, ῥόθια δεκομένα here, as a continuation of εὐνάξομεν, points again to Aegina as being the *receiver* of song, instead of sending it forth. Thus, we may also provide an explanation for what Rutherford describes as 'a mild paradox' concerning κατερεῖς: namely the fact that 'one would expect Aegina to know her own history anyway,' that is without having first been addressed in song.<sup>92</sup> The paradox is accurately determined by Rutherford and undoubtedly calls for an explanation: it may plausibly be considered a poetological singularity mirroring the whole 'awkward' situation, the ἀμαχανία mentioned at the beginning (10). Indeed, the island does not 'speak by itself', since it is not represented by a chorus of its own, but will eventually recount its mythical origins through the 'waves of song' that it will receive.

A further indication speaking against an Aeginetan chorus is the very use of the second person throughout the third triad. The second person is significantly addressed to the island itself and not to the nymph Aegina, mentioned at 135 ff., in which case it would be more naturally adapted to an Aeginetan chorus.<sup>93</sup> Especially ὑμέτερον (ἐπιχώριον κατὰσκιον νῶτον ὑμέτερον, 'the shadowy ridge of your native land', 139) is distinctly more compatible with a non-Aeginetan speaking person.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> RUTHERFORD 2001, 325.

<sup>93</sup> Contrast the address to the hero Abderos right at the beginning of *Paean 2*.

<sup>94</sup> Thus leading W. M. Calder to propose the emendation ἄμέτερον. Ὑμέτερον now, according to RADT (1958, 184), must refer to the ridge of Aegina, while κατὰσκιον is a proleptic predicate to ἔκρυψαν (not an adjective qualifying νῶτον) referring to the 'golden tresses of the air' (137-138), hence also implying, if taken literally, the νῶτον of the nymph Aegina. CURRIE (2005, 323) suggests that ὑμέτερον could refer either to Aegina, thus standing for a singular, or to Aegina in tandem with Zeus Hellanios. RUTHERFORD (2001, 325-326) connects ὑμέτερον with the nymph Aegina as well, and also metaphorically to the 'plateau' of the island. The second interpretation is, in my view, the most natural one (cf. Hdt. 2.138), not least since ἐπιχώριον ('of your native land' Race; 'native', Rutherford) must primarily refer to the 'shadowy ridge' of the island of Aegina. However, on a secondary level it may refer to the nymph Aegina, due to the continuity between the reference to the 'virgin Aegina' in lines 136-137 and the subsequent reference (τότε...) to the golden tresses of the air covering the κατὰσκιον νῶτον (137-139).

Whether it was the norm for Aeginetans to perform a paean at the Theoxenia it is difficult to assert. It appears a tempting hypothesis that the Aeginetans enjoyed a privileged position at that festival due to its connection with the story of the intercession of Aeacus for the ending of the drought that had afflicted Greece; however, it is impossible to answer in the affirmative, since our information on the Theoxenia is scarce.<sup>95</sup> What we may assert with confidence is that the lack of a chorus and the consequent ἀμαχανία described at the beginning (7-15), in combination with the reference to Delphian maiden choruses (14-18), point to the substitution of a Delphian chorus for an absent one: more precisely, one that failed to appear.<sup>96</sup> That the absent chorus must have been from Aegina would be a plausible conjecture, even in the absence of the third triad, due to the reference to the *aition* of the Theoxenia, as well as the prominence of the myth of Neoptolemus. Of course, the existence of the third triad, with its praise of Aegina, renders it practically certain that the absent chorus was indeed from the island. Further, what I hope to have shown above is that, in its first performance, the whole poem must have been sung by a single chorus—more precisely a Delphian one. It is worth adding here that the connection of the third triad with the rest of the poem is further sealed through the explicit characterization of the song as a paean in lines 127-128 (οὐ σε παιηόνων / ἄδορπον εὐνάξομεν), as well as through the final address to Apollo as Παιάν at line 182 and the use of δέξαι that closes the circle opened by δέξαι at the beginning of the poem.

Before proceeding with a final appraisal of the connection of the third triad to the rest of the poem, we ought first to engage in a closer examination of Kurke's suggestion<sup>97</sup> of a performance at Delphi split between a Delphian and an Aeginetan chorus, a scenario which, in her view, 'tends to confirm—indeed to enact—the suturing together of two aetiological myths'. Furthermore, 'the need to reconcile within the space of performance two choruses, two communities, and two local mythic traditions conjures up the prominent speaking subject of *Paeon* 6 as a mediating figure.'<sup>98</sup> However, in that case we would expect two distinct

<sup>95</sup> So HOEKSTRA 1962, 6. Moreover, as we have already stressed, we cannot identify with certainty the two myths of supplication on behalf of all Hellenes.

<sup>96</sup> The title 'Δελφοῖς εἰς Πυθῶν' clearly enough denotes a song that has been brought/sent to Pytho for performance by a chorus of Delphians (see FURLEY and BREMER 2001a, 104-105).

<sup>97</sup> KURKE 2005, 93-94.

<sup>98</sup> KURKE 2005, 94.

voices complementing each other, in whose poetic discourse one would also reasonably expect certain dialogic gestures.<sup>99</sup> The prominence of the poetic ego points rather to a *single* choral voice—the more so, since only a unitary performance would be able to tap into the full potential of the precatory discourse as it evolves through the poem. The existence of a prominent poetic ego may in fact be regarded as a strong indication of a unitary composition by a single chorus—as in the case of epinicians—, not least since it precisely points to a mediation by a ‘third party’, not to a dialogue between peers. The poetic ego, speaking through the Delphians, has to ‘reconcile’ diverging geopolitical and religious perspectives; as a matter of fact, it is less prominent in the surviving lines of the third triad: the first person plural substitutes for the singular, except for the final invocation. An explanation could be (again with the caveat of the loss of lines 141-175) that the prayers for ‘acceptance’ at Delphi and the granting of inspiration have already been uttered.

Having been led to the affirmation of the hypothesis of a single chorus performing the whole poem, we still need, however, to explain the existence of a marginal title for the third triad and its independent inclusion in the *prosodia*.<sup>100</sup> We may conclude from the above discussion that while the poem is clearly adapted to a performance by a foreign chorus (the Delphians), it scarcely precludes a performance by an Aeginetan chorus. We may also take into account here the possibility of minor changes; as Rutherford notes, for instance, the third triad does not start like a new song, yet ‘the text of the relevant line need not have been identical in the two versions.’<sup>101</sup> Hence, we may posit as the most convincing solution the subsequent detachment of the song and its ensuing performance as a *prosodion* at Aegina,<sup>102</sup> a detachment that may

<sup>99</sup> Indeed, in the examples adduced by KURKE (2005, 92 n.36) of (possible) split choral performances in tragedy (Aesch. *Eum.* 1032-1047; *Supp.* 1014-73; Eur. *Hipp.* 1102-1052), we either find specific addresses from the principal chorus to a putative second one (Aesch. *Supp.* 1022-1023) or even from the putative second chorus to the principal one (Aesch. *Eum.* 1032-1034). It is these addresses that have actually led scholars to posit a second chorus in the first place, since it is not easy to read them as self-addresses or as a turn to the audience. It is worth noting that the choral exchange from *Hippolytus* is a special case, in which a distinct gender identity is enacted (characteristically, ἀνδράσιν 1109; εὐξάμεναι 1111); see analysis in BARRETT 1964, 366-369. None of these instances corresponds to *Paeon* 6, which is characterized by a preeminent, unifying poetic ‘ego’ and a lack of dialogic hints—unless we are prepared to posit the Delphian chorus as a secondary addressee of φ[ιλῆι]τε... πόλιι πατρίαν (177-178), as KURKE suggests (2005, 110-111). However, such a reading rests, in a circular manner, on the validity of Kurke’s supposition.

<sup>100</sup> See RUTHERFORD 1997; 2001, 329-331.

<sup>101</sup> RUTHERFORD 2001, 329.

<sup>102</sup> RUTHERFORD (2001, 334) himself suggests that they may have taken their part to Aegina.

well be considered part of the original Pindaric project.<sup>103</sup> As regards the performance context, a connection with the θεάριον at Aegina remains perfectly plausible.<sup>104</sup>

The question of who performs the paeon may not be of central import to our main quest in this study—namely the articulation of religious panhellenism in connection with the *polis*—yet it shall inevitably qualify our conclusions. More specifically, if we are dealing with a Delphian chorus then the need to create a unitary nexus of worship within the Greek world becomes more pointed. Indeed, we should not imagine this to be a self-evidently easy endeavour; even more so, of course, if we take into serious account the scholiast's information on the Aeginetans' displeasure at the presentation of Neoptolemus in *Paeon* 6 and Pindar's subsequent redress in *Nemean* 7.<sup>105</sup> Hence the eminence of the poetic persona (as opposed to *Paeon* 2, for the Abderites, for instance); indeed, the 'authoritative outsider' status of the poetic ego, rightly emphasized by Kurke,<sup>106</sup> in tandem with the poet's role in the rapprochement of different constituencies, is better appraised and explained not in the context of a split performance, but in a situation in which the poet is obliged to act as a mediator having a delicate task to fulfill: namely to connect Delphi with Aegina and to praise Aegina, but not through the persona

<sup>103</sup> Among the remaining possible performance scenarios (having already eliminated the suggestion of a split performance) enumerated by RUTHERFORD (2001, 334-337), the possibility of the third triad being a supplement raises the question *when* it was appended to the rest of the poem. If prior to the first performance, then it cannot indeed be considered a supplement in the full sense of the term; if later, then the question is what is the reason for such a supplement since the occasion of the Theoxenia at Delphi had already passed. FARNELL (1930, 313; 1932, 408), for instance, has connected the need for a supplement with the 'apology' hypothesis, remarkably at a time before the ancient title and scholion on line 123 were discovered (cf. CURRIE 2005, 327-329); however, such a conjecture is not persuasive. We are thus left with the hypothesis of detachment.

<sup>104</sup> See KURKE (2005, 119-125) on the possible connection of the θεάριον with such a performance. However, it is not possible to accept KURKE's (ibid.) suggestion of a first performance of the third triad at Aegina (in a procession from the sanctuary of Zeus Hellanios to the θεάριον) before the departure for Delphi and a subsequent performance there (in the context of a split performance of the whole poem). Such a hypothesis runs contrary to the well-attested importance of the first performance within ancient Greek musical and theatrical culture (we may note here the standing of the Great Dionysia at Athens and the corresponding marginality of the Lesser Dionysia which obviously featured reperformances of plays). It is indeed hard to imagine Pindar presenting a significant part of his poem as a *reperformance* at Delphi; such a scenario would scarcely conform with the prestige of either Delphi or Pindar.

<sup>105</sup> See schol. ad N. 7.94a (DRACHMANN 1927, 128-129). On the validity, which cannot be dealt with here, see RUTHERFORD 2001, 312-315; CURRIE 2005, 326-330.

<sup>106</sup> KURKE 2005, esp. 103, 106-108.

of an Aeginetan chorus.<sup>107</sup> The exigencies of the situation required the poetic capability to accommodate an Aeginetan perspective in a Delphic context—furthermore, within a wider cosmos that shall emerge as distinctly Panhellenic.

Thus, if the first performance is a unitary one by a Delphian chorus, Pindar's effort to link divergent religious perspectives and to create a unitary Hellenic religious universe certainly emerges as a more demanding task. Further, in this construal it need not surprise us that the first two triads do not possess an exclusively Aeginetan focus, despite the prominence of the Neoptolemus myth: they are broadly Delphian, yet also perfectly capable of being connected with a quintessentially Aeginetan song. The three triads, musically connected via their common metrical scheme, are, in a more vital sense, *conceptually* linked through the invocations and prayers to Zeus, which form a religious discourse seamlessly evolving through the whole poem, to be sealed by the circular employment of δέξαι. The remarkable Pindaric capacity of combining the epichoric with the Panhellenic perspective is thus conspicuously displayed and tested in *Paean* 6.

#### 4. *Concluding thoughts: the conceptual aspect of Panhellenic religion*

What is effectively deduced from the above discussion is a sense of religious panhellenism which is poetically and conceptually conceived while also being based on concrete cultic arrangements. In this regard, it is important to underline here that, while stressing the conceptual aspect of religion, we shall not downplay its social character. Quite the contrary: to posit the decidedly social character of religion entails, according to one of its first and most eminent exponents, Émile Durkheim, a high degree of 'effervescence', which may only be engendered via the intense communication of thoughts and ideas:

The ideal society is not outside of the real society; it is part of it (...) for a society is not made up merely of the mass of individuals who compose it, the ground which they occupy, the things they use, and the movements which they perform but above all is the idea which it forms of itself.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>107</sup> We must conjecture that obviously Pindar knew of the absence of the Aeginetans well before finishing his composition and adapted it as best as he could to the circumstances.

<sup>108</sup> DURKHEIM 1995, 603-604 [= 1985, 604].

What is ‘communicated’ is indeed ‘ideal’, in the sense of conceptual entities which by definition cannot be identified with religious praxis. This is an aspect of religion which has, at times, been downplayed by classical scholars. This tendency can be traced to a general reluctance to ascribe to Greek religion anything like ‘belief’, a notion usually understood to pertain almost exclusively to ‘doctrinal’ (especially monotheistic) religions, that is, religions where allegiance is effectively co-terminous with the adherence to a publicly expounded creed, rather than participation in ritual activities. However, a distinct shift as regards this attitude is attested in recent scholarship,<sup>109</sup> which tends to accept the existence of beliefs and also seeks to examine the manner of their transmission and dissemination.<sup>110</sup>

To return to *Paeon 6* and the conceptual aspect of religious panhellenism, one may for instance question whether we are allowed to posit the creation of a ‘Panhellenic’ community in the case of a performance in a local context, as in the case of the possible reperformance of the third triad of *Paeon 6* on Aegina. I would respond that in this case the ‘Panhellenic’ community, while not being ‘created’ in situ (ideally as a *communitas*, following Turner’s terminology<sup>111</sup>), is still implicitly projected through the conceptual integration of geographically disparate loci of worship. Actually, in both the case of a local and a ‘Panhellenic’ performance, the epinician poet responds to the same central challenge: the integration of at least two key points of reference (city-state and Panhellenic centre) within a cohesive sacred geography; and in both cases the answer is the enactment of a ‘Panhellenic’ cultic framework.<sup>112</sup> The particular interest of Pindaric poetry, in terms of panhellenism, lies in precisely this: it deploys in the public arena a ‘Panhellenic’ poetic discourse, which, by being (partly at least) independent of any institutional norms, is capable of shaping norms, even antagonistically to influential

<sup>109</sup> See VERSNEL (2011, 539-559) who argues for the existence of ‘belief’ against GIORDANO-ZECHARYA (2005); PARKER (2011, 1-39) and LARSON (2016, esp. 3-7) equally argue in favour of a certain form of ‘belief’.

<sup>110</sup> In fact, we may partly sense here the influence on classics of the cognitive science of religion. For a general work on Greek religion expressly influenced by and appropriating its tools, see now LARSON 2016; also KINDT 2012, esp. 36-54 and recently EIDINOW *et al.* 2016. On the application of cognitive theory in the study of Greek religion, see also PARKER’s (2014) comments.

<sup>111</sup> Aptly employed by KOWALZIG (2005) for approaching Greek pilgrimage; now also by IDDENG 2012, esp. 19-21. On the term, see TURNER 1974b, 182.

<sup>112</sup> A comparable schema can be found in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*: see the nuanced analysis by GAGNÉ 2015, esp. 87-92.

models, as we have remarked with regard to *Paean* 6. It is, thus, clear that Pindaric religious panhellenism should by no means be assessed in contrast to *polis* religion. In fact, both forms of religion are not only 'etic' concepts but also, in a sense, abstractions: if *polis* religion is an abstraction formed out of the privileging of specific forms of worship 'embedded' in the *polis*,<sup>113</sup> so is Panhellenic religion, the main difference being that the ambiguous institutional foundation of the latter forces us decidedly to think beyond administrative arrangements.<sup>114</sup> The question posed here is not who exercises control over religious matters and how, but what is the substratum, the licensing criterion or even the motive for taking part in Panhellenic festivals (apart from *polis*-sanction, of course). Again, this criterion essentially lies in the minds of the worshippers; and a key factor capable of influencing minds and shaping ideas and attitudes is poetic discourse: hence the import of literature and the erroneousness of isolating 'poetic' religion from religion in general.<sup>115</sup>



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<sup>113</sup> On the very notion of 'embeddedness' as a category in the study of ancient religions, see analysis by NONGBRI 2008 (expressing reservations on the usefulness of the term).

<sup>114</sup> SCOTT (2010, 271-272) arrives at a similar conclusion. In a sense the line of enquiry adopted in this chapter is complementary to EIDINOW's (2015), which is based on network theory and explores the notion of the embeddedness of religion in the city. Here we are not studying the circulation of common religious ideas within the city, but their circulation throughout the wider Greek world.

<sup>115</sup> Again, see analogous reflections in GAGNÉ 2015. Cf. also GAGNÉ, and PETROPOULOS, in this volume, 179-193, and 195-220.

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**EURIPIDES, *HIPPOLYTUS* 832-833 AND 1379-1383:  
THEOLOGY, RELIGIOUS EXPLORATION,  
AND UNKNOWABILITY**

Renaud Gagné

ONE KEY contribution of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood's work on Greek religion has been her insistence on the notion of unknowability, the idea that the entire system presupposed the impossibility of mortal knowledge into divine design.<sup>1</sup> Different paths can lead to the realization of that unsettling opacity, but they all deepen the impermeable barrier. Sourvinou-Inwood insists on the fact that Archaic and Classical polis religion was heavily invested in pondering the limits of human knowledge about the gods long before Plato and the Platonic tradition, where apophatic considerations were to play such a major role in reflection on the divine.<sup>2</sup> Tragedy, in particular, was a crucial instrument for

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<sup>1</sup> SOURVINOU-INWOOD 2003, 34-35; 49; 20-21; 63; 153; 209; 221-223; 231; 245; 292-293; 299; 312; 336; 348; 401; 408-412; 497. The discussion on p. 153 refers to SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1989, 147-152, which itself (n. 47) refers to SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1990 ('I argue elsewhere that this notion of unknowability is of fundamental importance in Greek religion'), where (SOURVINOU-INWOOD 2000, 20) she gives the following definition: 'Connected with the absence of revelation, of scriptures, and of a professional divinely anointed priesthood is the fact that a central category of Greek religion is unknowability, the belief that human knowledge about the divine and about the right way of behaving towards it is limited and circumscribed. The perception that the articulation of religion through the particular *polis* systems is a human construct, created by particular historical circumstances and open to change under changed circumstances, is in my view connected with this awareness of the severe limitations of human access to the divine, of the ultimate unknowability of the divine world, and the uncertain nature of human relationships to it. The Greeks did not delude themselves that their religion incarnated the divine will'. See also HARRISON 2006. Cf. BREMMER 2010 for criticism of her relative silence concerning other forms of religious knowledge in the Classical *polis*.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. RAMELLI 2014 for both pre-Christian and Christian Platonism.

exploring the characteristics and consequences of divine unknowability in Classical Athenian religion.

Far from an equivalent of the commonplace Christian idea that ‘God works in mysterious ways’ in its implications about belief and practice, the classical unknowability portrayed by Sourvinou-Inwood stands in polar opposition to the logic of scriptural revelation and exegesis found in ‘religions of the book’. She argued that an open invitation to think about divinity and cult, and the limits of human knowledge about divinity and cult, was sustained in tragedy by the absence of church, scripture, and revelation. And that open invitation, with its institutionalized and far-reaching returns to questioning matters of religion, worked within the ambit of polis religion. Against the notion that the divine matters of tragedy were ‘mere’ literary elaborations with little religious significance, or that they were progressively mustered to criticize, undermine and deconstruct traditional civic religion, Sourvinou-Inwood energetically defended the view that tragic representations of religious similarities and differences were an integral part of Athenian religion’s understanding of itself.<sup>3</sup> The strict correspondences of echoes and zooms that structure tragic portrayals of gods and cult comment and shed new light on the religious system through various shades of contrast. They reflect the system on itself, and renew it. Ultimately, they always reinforce that system. And the principle of unknowability is what makes that complex game of mirrors so potent.

Thoughts, words and deeds are inextricably intertwined in Sourvinou-Inwood’s understanding of Greek religion. There is no strict separation between *legomena* and *dromena* in her work. But a certain hierarchy is in place. The reality and imagination of cult is, emphatically, the primary material of polis religion. It is the social act of cult, handed down from the ancestors and mediated by the polis, that is the foundation of Greek religion in her thoroughly Durkheimian view of common effervescent action and collective representation. Individual agency is defined by the presence of social institutions and traditional civic ritual. Yes, the religious discourses of poetry and other manifestations of myth are indeed important expressions of the social fabric of the Greek *polis*, reflections of the categories that structure thought and behavior, and

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<sup>3</sup> Classroom schematizations often portray this in terms of an opposition between the models of Sourvinou-Inwood, Mikalson and Goldhill. The many areas of overlap between these three models tend to be downplayed.

channels for exploring the meanings of cult, but they are not—they cannot be—privileged portraits of the divine, which must always remain beyond perception. What conditions their value, the depth of their resonance, is the nature of their reference to religious experience. Through its ‘institutional ritual framework’, and through ‘the double perspective of both distance and relevance to the world of the audience’,<sup>4</sup> tragic theology functions as a commentary on cult and society, as distinct from ‘purely intellectual exercise, motivated by purely intellectual interests.’<sup>5</sup> The knowledge that matters, in that view, is intrinsically linked to ritual, to the tangible, concrete elements of religion that people recognize from practice. When a genre, such as tragedy, is described as a ‘discourse of religious exploration’, what is understood by the scholar as the primary aim of that exploration is the articulation of the local polis religion system and its socially-grounded collective representations. The rich imagination mustered by the plays derives much of its meaning from its tension with the ritual reality on the ground.

In Euripides’ *Hippolytus*, for instance, it is ritual that is ‘at the center of the tragedy.’<sup>6</sup> Although Sourvinou-Inwood was always very careful not to reduce the plays to their religious dimensions, it is clear that for her these religious dimensions largely structure the impact of tragedy. The real work of religious exploration championed by tragedy concerns what people do and what they think they do. Clearly recognized norms are the touchstone of interpretation. Divine epithets set in relation to what we know of local cult, epichoric pantheons, standard ritual acts and transgressions, sanctuaries and sacred spaces, constitute the core material of that investigation into tragedy and religion. There were, for Sourvinou-Inwood, a thousand ways in which mythical narratives could speak to concrete, socially-embedded religion. Unknowability, for her, is the principle that allows the many theological assertions and implications of poetry to be discussed freely and without harm as statements that echo, expound or even problematize cult and society—practice grounded in the lived reality of tradition.<sup>7</sup> It is conceived functionally as

<sup>4</sup> SOURVINOU-INWOOD 2003, 12.

<sup>5</sup> SOURVINOU-INWOOD 2003, 3.

<sup>6</sup> SOURVINOU-INWOOD 2003, 332; cf. 1997, 175-184.

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1997, 182: ‘I must make clear that “representation” does not mean identity, embodiment; the distance between the “real” deity and her representation in tragedy is set in place in the audience’s perceptions by the notion of the ultimate unknowability of the transcendental world; this sets in place varying distances between human articulations and divine

a barrier separating the many representations of divinity onstage from the reality of divine agency beyond.

Many will now prefer to envision Greek religion more inclusively, with greater allowance for the plurality of interlocked individual experiences within and across cities, regimes of truth, and the power of ideas beyond the ambit of cult. There is growing awareness of the fact that the theology of poetic texts acted on the religious system in a myriad contradictory manners, and that these texts contributed to shaping the religious system as much as they reflected it.<sup>8</sup> There are, of course, many ways for a mortal to meet the limits of knowledge in tragedy, and the playwrights constantly return to that fundamental theme within their plays.<sup>9</sup> The failures of human perception provided inexhaustibly rich material for drama. The varieties of that material, along with other intangible religious ideas, are as essential to understanding the tragic discourse of religious exploration as any reflection of cult and ritual. The many forms of failed knowledge explored in tragedy are intertwined with some of the most important theological ideas of the day. Their resonance is specific and religiously significant. The limits of knowledge staged in the plays are as different as they are complex, and they can be fruitfully considered from the perspective of the zooming and distancing devices deployed by Sourvinou-Inwood in her work on drama and ritual with such brilliant results. The profound insights she developed on the creative stagings of unknowability by Euripides can continue to inspire investigations of ‘tragic religion’ beyond the now frequent and often overdone criticisms of the polis religion model. What I would like to do in this short paper is briefly illustrate that point with one example from one tragedy, Euripides’ *Hippolytus*, which played such a significant role in *Tragedy and Athenian Religion* and Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood’s other work on tragedy.<sup>10</sup>

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“reality”, the representations in ritual having much greater authority than tragic articulations in so far as they were validated by tradition.’

<sup>8</sup> For recent rehabilitations of the term ‘theology’ in recent scholarship on Greek religion, see e.g. VERSNEL 2011; GAGNÉ 2013; EIDINOW, KINDT and OSBORNE (eds) 2016. Jan ASSMANN’s work on ancient Egyptian theology (see e.g. 1984 and 2005) was instrumental in bringing about this shift in the study of ancient Mediterranean religions more generally. Cf. VON NÄGELSBACH 1840 and 1857 or HARRISON, J. 1903 and 1912, REINHARDT 1910 and PETERICH 1938 for earlier usages. SOURVINOU-INWOOD (2003, 12) sets the work of Archaic poets in the realm of ‘mythology and theology’.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. LIAPIS 2003.

<sup>10</sup> The material presented here relates to earlier work on ancestral fault and was mostly conceived before 2009.

Ancestral fault, the notion that an individual can be punished for a crime committed by his forebear, was a prominent idea in the religious imagination of Classical Athens.<sup>11</sup> In two passages of the *Hippolytus* (832-833 and 1379-1383, ed. Kovacs), Theseus and Hippolytus successively attempt to explain their misfortune by reference to the idea of ancestral fault. The two characters are wrong, obviously, and the common error of both their understanding of divine causation stands out as a statement about their inability to make sense of the forces at work in their downfall. If we want to understand something of how this resonated with the religious ideas of the audience, the mistaken reference of both characters to the idea of ancestral fault cannot be reduced to the general principle of unknowability, or the illustration of a ‘doctrine’, and the specificities of its expression must be analysed in some detail. The topic has received surprisingly little attention in scholarship on the play.

In the first of our passages, which belongs to Theseus’ angry lamentation of lines 817-833, Theseus is reacting to the death of Phaedra, whose body has just been wheeled out on stage for him to see, and he expresses his dismay and intense grief at the sight:

ὦμοι ἐγὼ πόνων· ἔπαθον, ὦ τάλας,  
 τὰ μάλιστα ἐμῶν κακῶν. ὦ τύχα,  
 ὡς μοι βαρεῖα καὶ δόμοις ἐπεστάθης,  
 κηλὶς ἄφραστος ἐξ ἀλαστόρων τινός. 820  
 κατακονὰ μὲν οὖν ἀβίωτος βίου·  
 κακῶν δ’ ὦ τάλας, πέλαγος εἰσορῶ  
 τοσοῦτον ὥστε μήποτ’ ἐκνεῦσαι πάλιν  
 μηδ’ ἐκπεῖσαι κῦμα τῆσδε συμφορᾶς. 824  
 τίμι λόγωι, τάλας, τίμι τύχαν σέθεν 826  
 βαρύποτμον, γύναι, προσαιδῶν τύχῳ;  
 ὄρνις γὰρ ὡς τις ἐκ χειρῶν ἄφαντος εἶ,  
 πήδημ’ ἐς Ἄιδου κραιπνὸν ὀρμήσασά μοι.  
 αἰαῖ αἰαῖ, μέλεα μέλεα τάδε πάθη· 830  
 πρόσωθεν δέ ποθεν ἀνακομίζομαι  
 τύχαν δαιμόνων ἀμπλακίαισι τῶν  
 πάροιθέν τινος.

<sup>11</sup> GAGNÉ 2013, 344-472.

What misery is mine! I have suffered, luckless man that I am, the greatest of my woes! O fate, how heavenly you have fallen upon me and upon my house, an unperceived blight sent upon me by some avenging power! Nay more, it is the very destruction of my life! Unhappy woman, I look upon a sea of troubles so great, I cannot swim out of them or cross the flood of this sorrow. With what name, poor woman, can I call your grievous fate and hit the mark? For you are gone from my hands like a bird, and have sped your swift leap into the house of Hades. Alas! Alas! Terrible, terrible, are my sufferings! I am reaping the stroke of the gods because of the sin of someone before me, someone in time now gone! (Trans. Kovacs)

His sung lament, written in a mix of dochmiac lines and iambic trimeters conveying a profound agitation, calls attention to his unbearable sorrow and helplessness before the stroke of fate. The central portion of the speech emphasises Theseus' great distress and his inability to prevent his wife's demise. Statements placed at the beginning and at the end of the song show how the calamity is framed by the grieving king. At 818-819, he refers to the disaster as a heavy fate that has fallen upon him and his house, a vague, unremarkable image, followed by the very specific reference to a κηλὶς ἄφραστος ἐξ ἀλαστόρων τινός (820). The catastrophe of Phaedra's death is recognised as a stain, a κηλὶς even though it is invisible, incomprehensible, unknown. A pollution lies behind the heavy fate that has destroyed the household. The precise agency of an ἀλάστωρ is identified as the force of that defilement, the distinctive action of a specialised power of vengeance, the same type of divinity of retribution linked to the stain of the ancestors in the *lex sacra* of Selinous, and so frequently mentioned in tragedy as an instrument of punishment.<sup>12</sup> The indeterminate τινός indicates that the identity of the retributive δαίμων is unknown, but that one ἀλάστωρ out of a group of many is responsible for fulfilling the punishment of the obscure stain.

The last three lines of the song (831-833) answer this initial framing of the misfortune: πρόσωθεν δέ ποθεν ἀνακομίζομαι / τύχαν δαιμόνων ἀμπλακίασι τῶν / πάροισθ' ἄτινος.<sup>13</sup> The τύχα βαρεῖα of lines 818-

<sup>12</sup> See e.g. SEWELL-RUTTER 2007, 84. BARRETT 1964, 321: 'Here Th. feels baffled by his calamity: he knows of no act of his own that can have brought it on him, and so surmises (here and 831-3) that it must be the working-out of some ancestral κηλὶς of whose existence he was unaware.'

<sup>13</sup> BARRETT 1964, 323: 'The same notion as 820: since he knows of nothing that can account for his trouble, he surmises that it must be the working-out of some ancestral taint, a taint he cannot

819 is echoed by the τύχαν δαιμόνων of line 832, an image that combines the previous characterisation of the misfortune as a situation that lies beyond human control with the agency of divinity. It is a fortune of the gods that Theseus 'brings back upon himself' in this sentence, an occurrence that both belongs to the agency of divinity and appears as the direct object of a transitive verb in the 1st person singular. The middle voiced verb ἀνακομίζομαι signifies that Theseus is involved in 'recovering' the τύχα of the gods, that he participates in the action that affects him; i.e. he is not just receiving or reaping it. That fortune of the gods is something that returns, a reappearance from some indeterminate time far in the past.<sup>14</sup> The agency of the τύχα is further complicated by the fact that it is governed by the instrumental dative ἀμπλακίαισι. The τινος of τῶν πάροιθέν τινος echoes the τινός of ἐξ ἀλαστόρων τινός of 820. The faults of one of those who came before is a cause of the τύχα, one that is associated with the direct activity of Theseus in bringing it back, and the action of the δαίμονες in enacting it.

The τινος of 833, contrary to the τινός of 820, emphasises the indeterminacy of the person who has committed the ancestral fault, rather than that of the divine power that brought about its punishment, but one is not incompatible with the other. Various levels of causality are combined in the lament of Theseus in complement to each other. The heavy fate that falls on Theseus and his house is the outcome of a pollution that has been hidden up to now. It comes from far in the past. The ancient transgression of one individual has set it in motion, and divine action, the power of one ἀλάστωρ, animates its punishment. It is Theseus himself, however, who has brought it back, and his own acts have a part to play in the fulfilment of the retribution that has just fallen on him. Just returning from a year of exile caused by the pollution (μίασμα) resulting from a murder of kin, Theseus might be linking the present disaster he faces to that event, but nothing in the text clearly points in that direction. What we see in the passage, rather, is the agitated, frenzied expression of a framework of interpretation from a character faced with terrible adversity. Theseus is looking for an explanation for this heavy blow from fate, and he expresses it by combining all possible levels of causality appropriate to the event. After identifying the

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place—the trouble comes πρόσωθέν ποθεν, through the sins τῶν πάροιθέν τινος.

<sup>14</sup> BARRETT 1964, 323: 'the trouble belongs to the family, but had disappeared; when it comes to Th. he is recovering something that had been lost.'

situation as a terrible stroke of fortune, he mentions a hidden pollution, the agency of an avenging spirit, and a fate of the gods he has brought back on himself from an ancient past. What brings all of this together into some kind of coherence is the idea that the whole thing stems from the ἀμπλακίαι of another generation. The very last line emphatically calls attention to πάροιθ' ἐν τινος. At the end of the song, then, grasping for meaning, without a clue as to what has happened, Theseus refers to ancestral fault as the main motivating factor of his predicament.

This would be interesting and significant in and of itself, but it is made even more so by the fact that a similar idea is expressed by Hippolytus later in the play. In his long speech of lines 1347-1388, close to the end of the tragedy, his first words after having been brought on stage by his servants, the dying Hippolytus presents the audience with his raw understanding of the suffering that has befallen him. While Theseus and Artemis are both present on stage, he has not engaged with them and his monologue is not addressed to any one interlocutor. A supreme display of the young man's character before his final exchanges with his goddess and his father, the speech is one of the high points of the play in terms of emotional intensity and the shaping of character perspective.

Much of it is given to his suffering and grief, with a focus on physical pain that could be powerfully embodied through acting. That spectacle of agony is centred on the innocence of Hippolytus. He calls on Zeus to look at his misery, and claims his lack of responsibility in particularly strong terms.<sup>15</sup> Although he surpasses all men in σωφροσύνη, he says, holy and god-revering, he is still on his way to Hades. The work of his εὐσέβεια towards men (εἰς ἀνθρώπους) has been in vain.

It is his father who bears the culpability for that disaster, says Hippolytus at the beginning of his speech. In the first line of the passage, the disaster is imputed to the unjust χρησμός of an unjust father, and the son's curse and bad fortune is presented as a result of the father's fault in lines 1362-1364. The 'ill-fated curse' of his father is mentioned again in 1378. It is in the lines immediately following that verse, 1379-1383, that the causal focus of the calamity moves to the idea of ancestral fault:

μιαιφόνον τι σύγγονον  
παλαιῶν προγεννη-  
τόρων ἐξορίζεται

1380

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. SEGAL 1988.

κακόν, οὐδὲ μένει,  
 ἔμολέ τ' ἐπ' ἐμέ—τί ποτε, τὸν οὐ-  
 δὲν ὄντ' ἐπαίτιον κακῶν;

Some bloodstained calamity, committed by ancestors long dead,  
 breaks forth and does not stay, and it has come against me. Why,  
 when I am guilty of no wrong? (trans. Kovacs)

There is a κακόν stained with the blood of murder that shares a bond of kinship with Hippolytus.<sup>16</sup> It is σύγγονον, meaning that it stems from the same stock. The τι of line 1379 indicates that it is unidentified, that its precise nature is not known, even if its origin is specified: it is the κακόν of ancient forefathers, an ancestral fault. That old transgression is an exile from time, it has stepped out of the past, of the boundaries of its own period, a notable usage of the verb ἐξορίζειν, which indicates that the movement of the fault through the generations is portrayed as a transgression of boundaries, and it doesn't stay in place.<sup>17</sup> μένει, the emendation of Wilamowitz, is superior to the μέλλει of the manuscripts, which is not only metrically problematic but also makes little sense.<sup>18</sup> The ancestral fault is coming out of its territory into the present, it is moving against Hippolytus, even though he is innocent. The motif of his lack of responsibility is thus reasserted with great emphasis, in connection with an ancient evil this time, at the end of the speech.

<sup>16</sup> BARRETT 1964, 407: 'Hipp., innocent of any guilt that would merit his calamity, surmises as did Th. ... that it must be the working-out of some ancestral taint: the sins of an ancestor are being visited on the guiltless descendant.' SAÏD 1978, 135: '...il est clair que ces explications, volontairement formulées en des termes rares et vieillis, comme *kèlis* (la souillure), *alastór* (le génie vengeur), *amplakía* (la faute), qui sont autant d'échos d'Eschyle, font figure d'archaïsmes et n'apparaissent que comme les traces d'un système ancien d'interprétation des faits, dont le contexte montre le caractère inadéquat'; cf. SAÏD 1978, 225. I doubt that Euripides is trying to portray Hippolytus as an archaic reactionary. Such ideas, in fact, would fit particularly well with the 'hubhub of books of Musaios and Orpheus' described by Plato in 364e (see GAGNÉ 2013, 451-455).

<sup>17</sup> BARRETT 1964, 408: 'the taint should work only against the guilty themselves, and this its proper sphere is circumscribed by a boundary, a ὄρος; now it is no longer staying within the boundary but is crossing it to operate outside its proper sphere. A strange image, and no parallel is offered; but no other interpretation seems possible, and conjectures proposed are negligible.' Cf. WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF 1891, 239: 'das κακόν der vorfahren ἐξορίζεται, ... "geht über die grenze..."', wie... die Herakliden 16 ἄλλην ἀπ' ἄλλης ἐξορίζοντες πόλιν. es sucht sich also einen anderen träger. das ist natürlich, es liegt ja in der natur des erbfluches. Hippolytos hat sich nur zu beschweren, weil ein unschuldiger wie er unter diesem fluche zu leiden hat. diese beschwerde kann er nur adversativ einleiten, und von dem κακόν ἐξοριζόμενον kann er nicht sagen, ... "es zaudert ... nicht" ..., sondern das negative complement zu dem weitergehen ist das bleiben.'

<sup>18</sup> See BARRETT 1964, 408.

What are we to make of these two parallel passages, then? In both cases, the characters explain the sudden and unexpected onset of disaster with the same resorting to the idea of ancestral fault. In both cases, the reference comes at the end of a speech, in a highly marked sung section of the passage. The father uses the idea to reflect on the end of his line. The son makes it an instrument of contrast between the ancient evil inherited from his father and the beautiful innocence of his youth. While the two can give further shape to the differences that separate them in their references to ancestral fault, the fact that they each give such prominence to it in their respective understandings of the calamity at hand further emphasises their closeness in error. Both father and son mention the idea at the moment of their first appearance following the stroke of disaster. In both cases, it defines the highly emotional, immediate perspective of the character at the height of agitation, before a revelation comes crashing through to change their entire understanding of what has happened.

One passage presents the fault in terms of pollution and the agency of avenging divinities. The other has nothing to say about either, but portrays the ancestral κακόν as something that is both linked to the *ara* of the father and moves and strikes by itself, out of the remote past. There is little doubt that one echoes the other, however, and the combination of the two is an excellent example of the extended register of ideas, words, and images that can be covered by the notion of ancestral fault in tragedy.

The two passages refer to the same idea. They don't, however, refer to the same event. The μίσημα of the Pallantid murder can't possibly be linked to the referent of τῶν πάροιθέν τινοσ in 832-833, and even less identified as the κακόν of 1382, as Theseus would hardly be described as a παλαιὸς προγεννήτωρ by Hippolytus. There is, in the play or in the mythical tradition in which it inscribes itself, no event that can be described as an ancestral fault transmitted to Theseus and Hippolytus. The idea that Hippolytus is referring precisely to the *agos* of the Pelopids, to which he would be connected through his mother Aithra, has little to redeem it.<sup>19</sup> No member of the audience could be expected to make that leap. The two references to ancestral fault do not activate a supplementary narrative thread to locate the action of the play in a larger context.

<sup>19</sup> BARRETT 1964, 407: 'He has of course no definite crime in mind (he would be wiser than Th., who speaks in 820 of a κηλὶς ἄφραστος ἐξ ἀλαστόρων τινός); it is absurd to allege that he thinks of himself as a Pelopid (through his grandmother Aithra, daughter of Pittheus son of Pelops).'

They point to an idea. What we have is a situation where characters are shown grappling in the dark, trying to make sense of a situation that has taken them by surprise and gives no hint of meaning. These references tell us nothing about the causal connections that unite events in time in the play, but they do contribute to defining the characters for the audience by the activation of a familiar concept.

Phaedra herself, interestingly enough, follows a somewhat similar pattern, when she cries that ‘from far back came my woe, not from recent times’ in line 343 (ἐκεῖθεν ἡμεῖς, οὐ νεωστί, δυστυχεῖς).<sup>20</sup> At the moment when she is about to reveal her secret to the nurse, she presents her passion as something that is linked to the terrible lust of her mother for the bull, and the destructive love of her sister for Dionysus. Some force from the past has been active through the generations, striking the females in the same destructive manner. That statement is a powerful expression of Phaedra’s helplessness and lack of responsibility before the affliction that is striking her.

It goes without saying that the theme of fault and responsibility plays a particularly fundamental role in the *Hippolytus* more generally. The word ἄμαρτία and its cognates appear thirteen times in the play.<sup>21</sup> It is, by far, the largest concentration in the extant tragic corpus. In a genre with a marked fascination for ἄμαρτία, the *Hippolytus* is more intensely interested in the identification of fault than most other plays. In a work allegedly rewritten to deflect the direct responsibility for lust away from the queen after the scandal of the first version, a play centred on the tensions of polytheism, the limited choices that individuals make in tracing their path between the overpowering forces of divinity, and the terrible toll that the gifts of the gods have on mortal desire, there are plenty of occasions to explore the nature of ἄμαρτία.<sup>22</sup> All three characters are involved in profound questions of responsibility, whether Phaedra, who struggles vainly against the compulsion of the goddess, Theseus, who realises only too late the disastrous effect of his anger, or Hippolytus himself, whose claims of a state of innocence, total purity, and radical devotion to chastity set the whole disaster in motion.<sup>23</sup> Every character of the play has a key role in the ἄμαρτία of every other. The identification of ancestral fault as a motivating factor of the situation by both father and son belongs to that wider pattern of questions.

<sup>20</sup> See BARRETT 1964, 223.

<sup>21</sup> 21; 320 (*bis*); 323 (*bis*); 464; 507; 615; 690; 916; 1334; 1409; 1434.

<sup>22</sup> See e.g. SAÏD 1978, 133-136; KARSAI 1990-1991.

<sup>23</sup> LUSCHNIG 1980.

Both are wrong in their evaluation. The mistaken mention of ancestral fault serves to create a contrast with the knowledge of the other characters, and to mark the distance that separates the perspectives of Theseus and Hippolytus from what the audience knows. It is common for tragedy to create a situation where the audience is aware of an effective ancestral fault that the characters on stage can't see, or that they learn only too late.<sup>24</sup> That pattern is reversed in the *Hippolytus*, something that can be seen as a play with conventions. Whatever the case, the belief expressed by the two male protagonists shows them misunderstanding the logic of the events in a very distinctive way.

That misinterpretation is significant, in that it calls attention to the total blindness of the characters in these moments of intense emotion, one that reveals a lot about them as father and son. Unable to form an adequate idea of the forces at work in their predicament, they portray the disaster as something that derives from an ancient transgression. That view, a staple of high wisdom literature and the privileged perspective of the dramatic chorus, a mechanism of justification that finds a reason for disaster, shows them giving a pious explanation for the calamity, one that disculpates the gods from random cruelty and indifference. When Hippolytus says: 'Zeus, do you see this?' at line 1363, he conjures a whole order of meaning to make sense of his suffering. Even at that moment of deep pain, Theseus and Hippolytus see the world as something that somehow has a discernible structure and meaning. The contrast with the apparently real, and in fact even more confusing nature of divine action related by Aphrodite at the beginning of the play and Artemis at its end creates a chilling effect of reflection on the audience, who are led to believe they know something of the simpler, much more terrible truth of the matter. Both father and son are linked in the same very specific attempt at understanding the disaster of their household as something that is intelligible. They nobly display their pain as the result of a punishment rather than random chance.

In both cases, as well as in Phaedra's mention at 337-343 of the old destructive power of ἔρως that has continued to strike her line, the reference to ancestral fault is a way for the characters to emphasise their innocence. The fact that all three main figures of the play ascribe their woes to forces that have followed their kinship group over the generations is certainly not a coincidence. In a play focused on the idea of

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<sup>24</sup> See GAGNÉ 2013, 344-445.

responsibility, the reference to a cause that is located in generations past allows the three main characters to locate the ἀμαρτία as far from themselves and their own actions as possible. If Theseus does allow for some shared participation in the event with the transitive verb ἀνακομίζομαι, he still frames the scene as the outcome of an ancient crime, a link through the generations that the messenger will rephrase differently when he says that ‘his own chariot destroyed him and the curses of your mouth which you uttered against your son to your father, lord of the sea’ at 1166-1169. Hippolytus, on his part, links the mention of ancestral fault to his very emphatic claim of innocence, something that underlies the πάθος of his suffering, while Phaedra sees her fate as another manifestation of the erotic force that has destroyed her mother and sister, something that comes from the past. By referring to the idea of ancestral fault, the two men, as well as the queen, separate themselves from responsibility for the events at hand, a position that neatly captures their misunderstanding of the myriad ways in which their actions are interlocked with their own suffering and that of others, and they unsuccessfully attempt to create a chain of explanations that involves the past of the household. Their attempt to conjure the deep past further separates them from what is right here in front of them. The activation of the notion of ancient woes functions as a contrast to the very real, tangible forces of the present. It is in large part because its conventions are so recognisable that the idea of ancestral fault functions as such an efficient tool of characterisation in the play.

It is worth noting that the scholia to the play explicitly identified the idea mentioned by Theseus in verse 833 as a reference to προγονικὸν ἀμάρτημα:

ἀμπλακίαισι· ὃ ἐστίν· οὐ δι’ ἐμὸν ἀμάρτημα τιμωροῦμαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ προγονικόν:<sup>25</sup> –NB ἀμπλακίαισι· ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις τῶν προγόνων: –Α ἄλλως· μὴ διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας τῶν ἀρχαίων μου προγόνων ἐγὼ ἀνακομίζομαι, ἀναλαμβάνω, τοιαύτην δυστυχίαν: –AB

The term προγονικὸν ἀμάρτημα found in the note is an echo of the προγονικὸν ἀμάρτημα discussed in imperial and late antique reflections on the nature of ancestral fault. An object of explicit theology in those later times, it could be clearly understood and circumscribed in

<sup>25</sup> The προρικόν of the manuscript was correctly changed to προγονικόν by Valckenaer in his 1768 edition of the play.

detailed expositions.<sup>26</sup> If the idea had less clear-cut boundaries in the earlier Athens of Euripides, and no true conceptual core, it was still fairly widespread, and every member of the audience would have encountered some of its different aspects in a variety of circumstances. This was a dynamic element of the implicit theology of the time, a diffuse idea that had a very real existence in the religious life and imagination of the contemporary polis. It could be contested, it could be understood in different ways, but it could hardly be ignored. Tragedy can zoom in on such an element of implicit theology as it can on any aspect of cult, and provoke a reconsideration of its nature and value from any number of angles. Because of the familiarity of the concept of ancestral fault, both as a recurrent theme in the tragic genre, and as a stock notion of contemporary discussions on divine causality, lines 832-833 and 1379-1383 directly challenge the immediate knowledge of the audience, and force each spectator to position himself in relation to the distinctive (and wrong) claims to knowledge made by Theseus and Hippolytus. The staging of the idea sharpens the reliefs of its implications. It doesn't simply subvert the notion, it obviously doesn't reinforce it, but there can be no doubt that it contributes to further defining its contours and experimenting with the range of its applications, language, and imagery. The implicit theology of ideas like ancestral fault, independently of any consideration of cult, is an integral element of the 'discourse of religious exploration' staged by tragedy.



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<sup>26</sup> See GAGNÉ 2013, 22-64.

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SACRED TIME IN THEOCRITUS' HYMN OF ADONIS  
(*IDYLL 15*)\*

John Petropoulos

‘To-day, to-day, to-day.’

Motto on John Ruskin’s coat-of-arms

οὐ γὰρ πῶς πάντεσσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐναργεῖς

‘for the gods do not manifest themselves in full evidence to all’<sup>1</sup>

*Odyssey* 16.161

TO SOME mortals the gods manifest themselves, as is well known from mythology. Outside myth—outside the tales of, for instance, Homer and Hesiod—the gods showed themselves regularly in the setting of divine worship, and especially cult song. When this happened, the singer or singers threw a bridge across the mythic past and *perceived* it as continuous with the present, unified with the here and now. Each succeeding generation of singers probably perceived mythic action in a different manner according to social circumstances, in effect updating it, as B. Kowalzig suggests in her study of choral songs celebrating aetiological rituals.<sup>2</sup> In cult the reality of ‘sacred time’ enabled the singer or

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<sup>1</sup> Masterly discussion in BAKKER 2005, 150. This passage is one of the theoretical (indeed theological) cornerstones of what later became the literary principle of *enargeia*; compare MURRAY 2006, 49 on *Odyssey* 8.489-91. The latter passage (quoted below) may also be correlated to the Homeric principle of *enargeia* as analysed by BAKKER 2005, esp. 157 ff.

<sup>2</sup> KOWALZIG 2007. Many of this scholar’s salient arguments about aetiology and associated rituals are relevant to the Adonia, especially because the latter celebration is based on an aetiological myth. As KOWALZIG, following Éliade (on whom see below), observes (2007, 24), ‘the beginning

singers to see in full manifestation the deity they hymned.<sup>3</sup> This was absolute *enargeia*, superior even to the unmediated clarity which Odysseus hints at, when praising Demodocus in Book 8.489-91:

λίην γὰρ κατὰ κόσμον Ἀχαιῶν οἴτον ἀείδεις,  
ὅσσ' ἔρξαν τ' ἔπαθόν τε καὶ ὅσσ' ἐμόγησαν Ἀχαιοί,  
ὥς τέ που ἦ αὐτὸς παρεὼν ἢ ἄλλου ἀκούσας.

for all too correctly do you sing of the Achaians' fate,  
all the things they did and had done to them, and all the labours  
the Achaians underwent,  
as though you were somehow there yourself, or had heard of it  
from some one else.<sup>4</sup>

This paper seeks to establish that the unnamed singer of a hymn of Adonis in Theocritus' *Idyll* 15 saw the divine events she described for the reason that she experienced them in the dimension of sacred time. The singer's experience is inscribed in, and at the same time constructed by, the text of the song; thus, it is necessary to focus on the relevant passages first and then proceed to further analysis. This basic division will structure the rest of the paper, with the second, discursive part concentrating on particular points that seem to reveal the dimension of sacred time and its concomitant experience.

### I. Theocritus' *Idyll* 15: Text (vv. 78-149) and comments

Theocritus' fifteenth *Idyll* is cast as a series of exchanges between two speakers, namely, two low-class ladies (Gorgo and Praxinoa) who decide

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has supreme authority', hence myths and rituals about beginnings capitalise on this authority. In this paper I shall extend my treatment of myth and ritual so as to embrace *any* 'applied tale' about the mythic past and its performance in ritual: the 'metaphysical' phenomena which Kowalzig connects to the performance of aetiological choral songs also occur in other songs and ritual contexts. (KOWALZIG [2007, 25] comes very close to adopting such a comprehensive position.)

<sup>3</sup> KOWALZIG 2007, esp. 24-27, 67-68 on ancient choral songs which re-enact aetiology, e.g. of the twin birth of Apollo and Aphrodite: 'continuity' with the *illud tempus* of ritual and myth abolishes history and denies 'change through time', and often does so by 'banking on the continuity of religious "place."' This is pure anachronistic pretence (32), because so much has supervened since the *aition*; aetiological myth-ritual relies on 'an illusionary strategy... to propel the participants in a ritual into a conviction, even to create belief...' (68). However, the immediacy of perception in the cult songs I shall be exploring presupposes genuine belief in the immutability of the past and in the ability to relive it; see below.

<sup>4</sup> Translation by DAWE 1993, 341. (I have indicated the verse ends in Dawe's prose translation.)

to attend the Adonia, apparently held in the palace of queen Arsinoe II and her sibling spouse, Ptolemy, in Alexandria around 275 BC.<sup>5</sup> A part of the festal activities, which were organized by the queen herself and which we are allowed to perceive through the 'eyes' of the two women speakers, appears to have involved a musical contest (the performance of a hymn) held in the presence of a cultic tableau, which displayed as its centerpiece figures of Adonis and Aphrodite.<sup>6</sup>

In the first section of the *Idyll* (1-43), Gorgo pays a visit to her friend Praxinoa and persuades her to accompany her to the Festival of Adonis at the palace of Ptolemy II (21-26). The two women set off and after various eventful encounters in the crowded streets (44-77), they arrive at the palace. Indeed, soon after the women's arrival (100 ff.), a woman singer (performing in what appears to be a singing contest) begins a ritual song in honour of Adonis with an address to the bride Aphrodite and a reference to the deification of the queen of Ptolemy I. The song describes a wedding scene (related to the tableau) and ends with an anticipation of the choral dirge to be sung on the morrow at the funeral of Adonis.

It is worth underlining that in the first relevant passage quoted below, the two women arrive at the palace, and before entering, they marvel at hanging tapestries in a makeshift structure (78 ff.). The fabrics depict the dead or dying Adonis reclining on a silver chair and surrounded by Aphrodite and other figures (78-86). Talking between themselves, the two women call attention to the fabricated—literally!—character of the scene and its gripping verisimilitude. Art is here imitating life, and does so by means of human skill, as the Greeks often reminded themselves. This *ekphrasis* dominated by breathless exclamation upholds the pretense of illusion, of pious make-believe. But the modality of perception

<sup>5</sup> On the Alexandrian Adonia see WEBER (1993, 170-171, 284) and esp. REED (2000), who on the basis of hieroglyphic texts, some of them recently published, suggests parallels between the Adonia and the cult of Osiris. Whether merely typological or overdetermined, the 'shared iconography' (as he calls it) is at times striking. REED (2000, 319-320) notes that the song of Adonis quoted in the idyll eulogises Arsinoe as a quintessential 'champion of Greek culture'; via this encomium, with its undertones of the Egyptian dynastic cult of Osiris, the song also celebrates the posthumous deification of Arsinoe's mother Berenika (106-111): REED 2000, 334 ff. and see below.

<sup>6</sup> As Gow observes, what the women see in the palace 'must be inferred from what they say and from the hymn to which they listen' (Gow 1952, 264); as it will become apparent, the hymn celebrates the cultic tableau. The reconstruction of the cultic tableau attempted by Gow will be quoted in full below pp. 206ff. and many of its details will be analyzed later on.

will change utterly the moment the ritual song commences, in verses 96 ff. Skipping over many of the song's details (some of which I relegate to a running commentary in the footnotes), I simply note that in Theocritus' text quoted below the internal monodist describes in the main body of the song (as already mentioned above) a devotional tableau in an arbour,<sup>7</sup> moving from its lesser components (the tables of food and other small objects), and culminating with the sight of the figures of Aphrodite and Adonis embracing or kissing on a couch.

*Idyll 15, vv. 78-86, 96-149*<sup>8</sup>

ΓΟΡΓΩ

Πραξινόα, πόταγ' ὦδε. τὰ ποικίλα πρᾶτον ἄθρησον,  
λεπτὰ καὶ ὡς χαρίεντα· θεῶν περονάματα φασεῖς.

ΠΡΑΞΙΝΟΑ

πότνι' Ἀθαναία, ποῖαί σφ' ἐπόνασαν ἔριθοι, 80  
ποῖοι ζωογράφοι τὰκριβέα γράμματ' ἔγραψαν.  
ὡς ἔτυμ' ἐστάκαντι, καὶ ὡς ἔτυμ' ἐνδιενῦντι,  
ἔμψυχ', οὐκ ἐνυφαντά. σοφόν τι χρῆμ' ἄνθρωπος.  
αὐτὸς δ' ὡς θαητὸς ἐπ' ἀργυρέας κατάκειται  
κλισμῶ, πρᾶτον ἴουλον ἀπὸ κροτάφων καταβάλλων, 85  
ὁ τριφίλητος Ἄδωνις, ὁ κὴν Ἀχέροντι φιληθεῖς.

... ..

ΓΟΡΓΩ

σίγη, Πραξινόα· μέλλει τὸν Ἄδωνιν αἰεῖδεν 96  
ἅ τ᾽ Ἀργείας θυγάτηρ, πολὺιδρις αἰοιδός,  
ἄτις καὶ πέρυσιν τὸν ἰάλεμον ἀρίστευσε.  
φθεγξεῖται τι, σάφ' οἶδα, καλόν· διαχρέμπεται ἤδη.

ΓΥΝΗ ΑΟΙΔΟΣ

Δέσποιν', ἅ Γολγῶς τε καὶ Ἰδάλιον ἐφίλησας 100  
αἰπεινάν τ' Ἐρυκα, χρυσῶ παίζοισ' Ἀφροδίτα,  
οἶόν τοι τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἀπ' ἀενάω Ἀχέροντος

<sup>7</sup> REED (2000, 330) perhaps more aptly uses the term 'green canopy of vegetation' apropos of the 'arbours' or 'bowers' (χλωραὶ σκιάδες) in v.119. I may add that the image conjures a canopied bed or wedding alcove; see below.

<sup>8</sup> The ancient text is edited by K. J. DOVER (1971, 45-51).

μνήϊ δυωδεκάτῳ μαλακαὶ πόδας ἄγαγον ὤραι,  
 βάρδισται μακάρων ὤραι φίλαι· ἀλλὰ ποθνεῖναι  
 ἔρχονται πάντεσσι βροτοῖς αἰεὶ τι φέροισαι. 105  
 Κύπρι Διωναία, τὸ μὲν ἀθανάταν ἀπὸ θνατᾶς,  
 ἀνθρώπων ὡς μῦθος, ἐποίησας Βερενίκαν,  
 ἀμβροσίαν ἐς στήθος ἀποστάξασα γυναικός·  
 τὴν δὲ χαριζομένα, πολυώνυμε καὶ πολύναιε,  
 ἃ Βερενικέα θυγάτηρ Ἑλένα εἰκυῖα 110  
 Ἄρσινόα πάντεσσι καλοῖς ἀτιτάλλει Ἄδωνιν.  
 πᾶρ μὲν οἱ ὥρια κεῖται ὅσα δρυὸς ἄκρα καλεῖται,  
 πᾶρ δ' ἀπαλοὶ κάποι πεφυλαγμένοι ἐν ταλαρίσκοις  
 ἀργυρέοις, Συρίω δὲ μύρω χρύσει' ἀλάβαστρα,  
 εἶδατά θ' ὅσσα γυναικὲς ἐπὶ πλαθάνω πονέονται, 115  
 ἄνθεα μίσοισαι λευκῶ παντοῖα μαλεύρω,  
 ὅσσα τ' ἀπὸ γλυκερῶ μέλιτος τά τ' ἐν ὑγρῶ ἐλαίῳ.  
 πάντ' αὐτῶ πετεηνὰ καὶ ἐρπετὰ τεῖδε πάρεσσι·  
 χλωραὶ δὲ σκιάδες μαλακῶ βρίθοισαι ἀνήθω  
 δέδμανθ'· οἱ δὲ τε κῶροι ὑπερπωτῶνται Ἔρωτες, 120  
 οἷοι ἀηδονιδῆες ἀεξομενᾶν ἐπὶ δένδρω  
 πωτῶνται πτερυγῶν πειρώμενοι ὄζον ἀπ' ὄζω.  
 ὦ ἔβενος, ὦ χρυσός, ὦ ἐκ λευκῶ ἐλέφαντος  
 αἰετοὶ οἰνοχόον Κρονίδα Διὶ παῖδα φέροντες,  
 πορφύρειοι δὲ τάπητες ἄνω μαλακώτεροι ὕπνω· 125  
 ἃ Μίλατος ἐρεῖ χῶ τὰν Σαμίαν καταβόσκων,  
 ἔστρωται κλίνα τῶδῶνιδι τῶ καλῶ ἄλλα·  
 τὸν μὲν Κύπρις ἔχει, τὰν δ' ὁ ροδόπαχυς Ἄδωνις.  
 ὀκτωκαιδεκετῆς ἢ ἐννεακαίδεχ' ὁ γαμβρός·  
 οὐ κεντεῖ τὸ φίλημ'· ἔτι οἱ περὶ χεῖλεα πυρρά. 130  
 νῦν μὲν Κύπρις ἔχοισα τὸν αὐτᾶς χαιρέτω ἄνδρα·  
 ἄωθεν δ' ἄμμες νιν ἅμα δρόσω ἀθρόαι ἔξω  
 οἰσεῦμες ποτὶ κύματα' ἐπ' αἰὼνι πτύοντα,  
 λύσσασι δὲ κόμαν καὶ ἐπὶ σφυρὰ κόλπον ἀνεῖσαι  
 στήθεσι φαινομένοις λιγυρᾶς ἀρξεύμεθ' αἰοιδᾶς. 135  
 ἔρπει, ὦ φίλ' Ἄδωνι, καὶ ἐνθάδε κῆς Ἀχέροντα  
 ἡμίθεων, ὡς φαντί, μονώτατος. οὔτ' Ἀγαμέμνων  
 τοῦτ' ἔπαθ' οὔτ' Αἴας ὁ μέγας, βαρυμάνιος ἥρωσ,  
 οὔθ' Ἔκτωρ, Ἐκάβας ὁ γεραίτατος εἴκατι παίδων,  
 οὐ Πατροκλῆς, οὐ Πύρρος ἀπὸ Τροίας ἐπανενθῶν, 140  
 οὔθ' οἱ ἔτι πρότερον Λαπίθαι καὶ Δευκαλίωνες,  
 οὐ Πελοπηιάδαι τε καὶ Ἄργεος ἄκρα Πελαγοί.

ἴλαος, ὦ φίλ' Ἄδωνι, καὶ ἐς νέωτ'· εὐθυμείσαις  
καὶ νῦν ἦνθες, Ἄδωνι, καὶ ὄκκ' ἀφίκη, φίλος ἤξεις.

ΓΟΡΓΩ

Πραξινοά, τὸ χρῆμα σοφώτατον ἀθήλεια· 145  
ὀλβία ὅσσα ἴσατι, πανολβία ὡς γλυκὺ φωνεῖ.  
ὥρα ὅμως κῆς οἴκον. ἀνάριστος Διοκλείδης·  
χώνηρ ὄξος ἅπαν, πεινᾶντι δὲ μηδὲ ποτένθης.  
χαῖρε, Ἄδων ἀγαπατέ, καὶ ἐς χαίροντας ἀφικνεῦ.

\* \* \*

GORGO

Praxinoa, come here! First of all, look at the patterned fabrics,  
How delicate and gorgeous: you would say they are clothes of the gods!

PRAXINOA

Lady Athena, what kind of female workers made this,/ 80  
What kind of artists drew lines so exact!  
How realistic they are and how realistic they move about,  
Alive, not inwoven! Isn't it amazing what human skill can do?/  
As for the youth himself, [sc. look] how admirable he is lying on his  
silver/ 85  
Couch, growing the first down on his temples,  
Deeply loved Adonis, loved even in Hades [i.e., even after death].  
... ..

GORGO

Be silent, Praxinoa. This year's Adonis song is about to be sung/ 96  
by the Argive woman's daughter,<sup>9</sup> the versatile singer/  
who last year excelled in the (Adonis) lament [*ialemos*]./  
She's going to utter something beautiful, I plainly see—she's now clear-  
ing her throat (by hawking and spitting)./

WOMAN SINGER<sup>10</sup>

Lady, who shows love for Golgoi and Mt Idalion alike,  
And sheer Mt Eryx,<sup>11</sup> Aphrodite whose love-play is golden./

<sup>9</sup> Arsinoia too is an 'Argive woman's daughter', being descended, as a Lagid, from (Temenid) Argos: REED 2000, 321.

<sup>10</sup> In my translation I have divided verses 100-117 into three end-stopped sextets, a division to which the song's lyric mode lends itself, as HUNTER (1996b, 128 with n. 61) has acutely noticed.

<sup>11</sup> The reference to Cyprus (Golgoi and Mt Idalion), Sicily, and, in verse 126, Miletus and Samos exalts by metonymy the monarchy's Greek domains: HUNTER 1996b, 131.

[It's remarkable] how Adonis has been brought to you from ever-flow-  
 ing Acheron/  
 On the twelfth month by the slack-footed Seasons,<sup>12/</sup>  
The Seasons, slowest among the blessed ones but affectionate! (For) in-  
 deed, longed-for/  
 They come, each time bringing something for all mortals./ 105  
 Cypris, daughter of Dione, you have turned Berenika from mortal to  
 deathless,  
As people say,/  
 Having poured ambrosia on the woman's breast;<sup>13/</sup>  
 Pleasing you, Lady of many names and many temples,  
 Berenika's daughter, Helen's look-alike<sup>14/</sup> 110  
 Arsinoë pampers Adonis with all (manner of) beautiful things:<sup>15/</sup>  
 Beside him lies whatever is called 'fruit of the oak' [i.e. every kind of  
 fruit known],<sup>16/</sup>  
 Beside him are tender gardens preserved in little baskets<sup>17/</sup>  
 Of silver, and golden jars of Syrian perfume,<sup>18/</sup>  
 And food women make on a kneading-tray./ 115

<sup>12</sup> The *Horai's* 'business-like' aspect arguably takes precedence in the singer's mind; see n. 36 below. But they are also sexy and hence especially appropriate in connection with Adonis, whose ἀξιοθαύμαστος ὥρα made Persephone fall madly in love with him, as Cyril of Alexandria records (*Comm. Is.* 2.3 = PG 70. 441 A).

<sup>13</sup> Berenika, by being deified and hence revived by Aphrodite (Isis), is implicitly Osiris (Adonis), who was identified by the Egyptians with their deceased pharaohs. Female and male pharaohs were interchangeable under Egyptian theology just as the posthumous assimilation of a female royal to a male deity was possible in Egyptian ritual: REED 2000, 335-336.

<sup>14</sup> The comparison to Helen may be intended to be ironical given Helen's infidelity (LAMBERT 2001, 99)—improbably in my view (see below)—or, likelier, a 'strong' compliment (DOVER 1971, 211) and/ or an imperialist appropriation of Helen's affiliations in legend and cult with Egypt (REED 2000, 334).

<sup>15</sup> πάντεσσι καλοῖς may recall the hieroglyph prescription at Dendera for an offering for Osiris' underworld voyage, 'Grande offrande de toutes choses bonnes et pures' (my italics): REED 2000, 330 with n. 51.

<sup>16</sup> DOVER (1971, 212) ad verse 112 renders δρυὸς ἄκρα, a dismantled form of ἀκρόδρυα, as 'fruit'. (REED [2000, 340 n. 99] prefers the scholiastic gloss 'nuts'.) 'The manifold beautiful things' in the preceding verse include a paradisiacal cornucopia of (presumably exotic and more ordinary) fruit, which, as HUNTER (1996a, 149-150) remarks, evokes the Ptolemaic ideal of τροφή.

<sup>17</sup> These are of course the well-known 'gardens of Adonis'. REED (2000, 330-331) notes the so-called 'gardens of Osiris', i.e. 'grain mummies' modelled after Osiris which sometimes germinate. (Note the alliteration of π and λ in the verse 113.)

<sup>18</sup> REED (2000, 332 with n. 61) correlates the jars of scented perfume to the Osiris cult in which perfume is used in embalming (and ultimately reviving) the god's effigy before burial. In the case of the living Adonis, perfume may be an appropriate ingredient of an *eromenos'* toilette: REED 2000, 332 n. 61. μύρω (< μύρον) may be a play on 'Myrrha', the name of Adonis' mother in most accounts.

Mixing all varieties of aromatic seasoning in white wheat-flour,<sup>19/</sup>  
 And food, too, made from sweet honey and in smooth olive oil./  
 Everything <edible> that flies or crawls lies beside him there.<sup>20/</sup>  
 Fresh-green bowers, laden with soft dill,<sup>21/</sup>  
 Have been built;  
 while above flutter boy Erotes,<sup>22/</sup> 120  
 Like nightingale fledglings on a tree/  
 They fly, trying out their sprouting wings from branch to branch./  
 O ebony-wood, O gold,<sup>23</sup> O white ivory/  
 Eagles carrying the boy wine-pourer up to Zeus son of Cronus,<sup>24/</sup>  
 And scarlet coverlets softer than sleep on it [the couch];/ 125  
 Milesians and Samians will say:/  
 ‘Another<sup>25</sup> couch has been spread for handsome Adonis.’/  
 Cypris holds him (sc. Adonis), and Adonis of rose arms holds her (sc.  
 Cypris)./  
 The bridegroom is eighteen or nineteen years old;<sup>26/</sup>

<sup>19</sup> ἄνθεα (116), taken by DOVER (1971, 212) and others to mean ‘colours’, more probably means ‘aromatics’, ‘seasonings’, which were added to the dough before baking or frying: REED (2000, 331-332), who also remarks that ‘scented loaves of bread accompany the Sokar figure in the Osirian mysteries described at Dendera.’ The loaves had the shape of Osiris’ body parts and were mixed with (to quote the Egyptian text) ‘every manner of aromatic substance’ (with which cf. 116, ἄνθεα...παντοῖα). In Theocritus, on the other hand, there is no suggestion that any of the baked ‘goodies’ represent Adonis.

<sup>20</sup> The array of succulent fruit (available even when out of season, see n. 16 above), baked goods, and meats and fowl will make up the royal banquet to which Gorgo and Praxinoa are clearly not invited, for they will rush off for lunch after the celebration! REED (2000, 322) suggests that such a feast is the ‘regal correlate to refreshments served at the Greek Adonia.’

<sup>21</sup> ‘Bowers’ or better, ‘a botanical canopy’; see n. 7 above. REED 2000, 330: the canopy ‘strongly recalls the leafy pavilion that surrounds Sokar’s bed-chamber: it is made of...mats of papyrus and plants, and hung inside with textiles.’

<sup>22</sup> The effigy of Sokar (Osiris’ avatar), too, is attended in Osiris’ death-festival by lesser deities, specifically two guardian gods and two other gods: REED 2000, 330.

<sup>23</sup> In the death festival mentioned the ‘bed-chamber’ of Sokar, actually a chest, is made of ebony and gold: REED 2000, 330 with n. 49.

<sup>24</sup> As DOVER (1971, 213) notes ad vv. 124 and 125, the mouldings on the leg and the horizontal member of the couch depict the rape of Ganymede (‘the eagle’s wings merging into the horizontal member of the couch and the body of Ganymede moulded on the leg’). The numerous eagles and presumably the boy in each repeated depiction are fashioned of ivory, while the rest of the couch is made of ebony and gold.

<sup>25</sup> Dover (1971, 213) ad v. 127 points out that the reading ἀμά (=ήμετέρα) instead of his ἄλλα (‘another’) is possible.

<sup>26</sup> Reed finds the hierogamy out of place in a hymn of Adonis and speculates that it was a Ptolemaic innovation suggested by the Adonia of Byblos: REED 2000, 336 and 323. Cyril of Alexandria (cited below) suggests that the hierogamy was the 1st stage of the annual rites. Whether a ritual oddity or not, this section in Theocritus 15 plays on the traditional ancient Greek conflation of nuptial and death imagery, on which see further below.

His kiss does not scratch; the down around his lips is still reddish  
 blonde./ 130  
 And now farewell to Cypris as she clasps her lover./  
 As for us, at dawn, at the dewy hour, en masse we shall carry him outside/  
 To the waves spitting [brine] on the sea-shore,<sup>27</sup>/  
 And loosing our hair and letting down the top part of our clothes to just  
 above our ankles./  
 With breasts showing we shall begin our clear-toned song,/ 135  
 O dear Adonis, you come here [=world of living] and go to Acheron  
 [=death],/  
 The only half-god, they say, [to do this]. Neither Agamemnon  
 Suffered this [sc. the fate of revisiting earth annually] nor Ajax, the  
 great, implacable hero,/  
 Nor Hektor, Hekabe's eldest of twenty sons,/ 140  
 Not Patroklos nor Pyrrhus after his return from Troy,/ 140  
 Nor the still earlier Lapiths and the Antediluvian Generation,  
 Nor the Pelopidai and the Pelasgian rulers of Argos./  
 Be favourable, O dear Adonis, next year too; [for]  
 Your coming has now brought us joy, Adonis, and when you return, you  
 will come as a 'friend'.

GORGO

Praxinoa, that woman [i.e. the singer] is very accomplished./ 145  
 Blessed is she for knowing so many things, all-blessed for singing so  
 sweetly!  
 It's time <to go> home. Diokleidas is without <his> lunch./  
 And the man is sour through and through; you can't go near him when  
 he's hungry./  
 Farewell, beloved Adonis, and on your return [sc. next year] find us well.

## II. Theocritus' *Idyll* 15: The Hymn at the Adonia festival – An analysis

### 1. CLEARING THE THROAT AND THE ARTICULATION OF TIME

Clearing the throat is a preliminary to song and oral performance in general (cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 381 ff., where a public speaker clears her throat

<sup>27</sup> This is an allusion to the *ekphora* and the (? Alexandrian custom of) immersion of the effigy of Adonis in the sea; a *pannuchis*, attested in Athens and Ptolemaic Egypt, would have preceded the seaside *ekphora*, which can perhaps be traced to mainland Greek practice: REED 2000, 323-325. He cites (REED 2000, 325-326) a similar funereal immersion of Osiris, whether connected with his ritual drowning or his mystical posthumous voyage. In many parts of Greece today the effigy of Christ Crucified is taken on a funeral bier ('Epitaphios') to the seashore or even the sea, without however being committed to the waves (see also below).

before speaking). In Theocritus this is pre-musical, ‘noisy and violent’ (in the words of Dover), but not necessarily unseemly, given the Greeks’ uninhibited enjoyment of hawking. The woman, who will shortly emit a γλυκεῖα φωνή (146, cf. 99 φθεγγεῖται τι...καλόν), implicitly calls attention to the physiology of sound-making and hence song. Physiology intrudes into structure.<sup>28</sup> The Argive singer’s hawking embodies—literally and acoustically—the message ‘Quiet! Song is about to issue forth from my throat and mouth—I am ready to sing!’ That is precisely how Gorgo has read this non-articulate sign, for she declares much like a master of ceremonies, ‘σίγη, Πραξινοά· μέλλει τὸν Ἄδωνιν αἰεῖδειν, etc.’ (96-97).

The notion of time and its implications for mortals are paramount issues in the hymn, as befits a composition that purports to be sung at the annual celebration of Adonis in spring.<sup>29</sup> The invocation of Aphrodite with which the song opens situates her beneficence towards her Cypriot haunts in a past that continues well into the present performance. As Dover remarks ad vv. 100 ff.,<sup>30</sup> ‘the aorist ἐφίλησας means “demonstrate love for”, hence...“welcome.”’ Seconds after the customary *epiklesis*, the woman singer invites Aphrodite to share her experience of time. I suggest in fact that *sacred time frames the song throughout*, underwriting it as ritual speech; yet other types and aspects of time are also detectable in the hymn. The first type—which I will term ‘the present of perception experienced by a singer during performance’—has been discussed in connection with Homeric epic by E. J. Bakker in his groundbreaking study, *Pointing at the Past* (2005).<sup>31</sup> In many instances, as in Theocritus’ hymn, a heightened ‘present tense of perception’ is none other than ‘sacred time’, as I will argue.<sup>32</sup> But I return for now to verses 103 ff.: the singer’s admiring exclamation involves Aphrodite in witnessing the *Horai* (‘Seasons’) in action, literally, [exclamatory] How.../ On the twelfth month the slack-footed *Horai* ἄγαγον, “have brought back” Adonis to you.’ The Doric aorist ἄγαγον, as the other Doric aorist at the end of the hymn (v. 144, νῦν ἦνθες), is deictic and performative, the equivalent of the augmented epic-Ionic ἤγαγον. Certainly the context suggests such a deictic force. As Bakker has demonstrated, the augmented aorist is

<sup>28</sup> Cf. DOLAR 2006, 24.

<sup>29</sup> On the spring celebration see below.

<sup>30</sup> DOVER 1971, 210.

<sup>31</sup> In what follows I am indebted to BAKKER 2005, esp. 137 ff. on *h. Ap.*, 1-13.

<sup>32</sup> Compare BAKKER 2005, 105: ‘Epic discourse, then, as *the language of myth and ritual* [my emphasis], is *to a certain degree* tenseless.’ I hold, on comparative grounds, that ritual or ‘sacred time’ is unqualifiedly tenseless or, in effect, situated in the here-and-now.

a typical epic usage arising from what may originally have been a tenseless Proto-Indo-European; the augment was 'originally a *deictic suffix used on the aorist stem*, . . . , and it would signal that *an action is completed in the speaker's presence*. . . . Thus augment was originally . . . a prefix connected with proximity . . . and has often the effect of [the] present perfect tense in English.<sup>33</sup> This distinctive force is borne out by the fact that the augmented, deictic aorist (again to quote Bakker) 'is quite frequently used by Homeric speakers in connection with *nun*, the adverb of temporal immediacy'.<sup>34</sup>

The *Horai*, then, have brought back Adonis *here and now*, in the twelfth month (μηνὶ δωδεκάτῳ 103), in spring,<sup>35</sup> in the presence of the singer: she perceives them—sees them—as she performs. These goddesses sound a leitmotif of the hymn, namely the notion of seasonality, or maturity, which by definition is both temporal and profoundly sensual in ancient Greek mentality (these divinities are, after all, themselves beautiful (ὥραῖα in ancient Greek), and they 'each time bring something for all mortals' [105]).<sup>36</sup> In an abstract sense, the 'Seasons' (the name is repeated in verses 103-104) are a metaphor for repetitive or cyclical time, which according to anthropologists is founded on the experience of periodicities, 'such as the heart beats, menstruation, the recurrence of nights and days, of the moon, and annual seasons', as here.<sup>37</sup> The seasons recur every twelve months; they occur this year, and will recur next year and the year after that *ad infinitum*. But though ever recurring, the *Horai* may at a concrete level also mark an individual's maturation, a one-off, irreversible process conceivable in terms of 'linear time', time that progresses from a beginning to an end.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, the

<sup>33</sup> BAKKER 2005, 147 (author's italics).

<sup>34</sup> BAKKER 2005, 146.

<sup>35</sup> For the spring celebration of the Adonia at Alexandria see HUNTER 1996b, 129 n. 68. ALEXIOU (2002, 77) cites a springtime parallel to the Adonia: in (modern) Thrace shallow dishes of quick-growing seedlings are displayed outside homes during the procession of the *Epitaphios*.

<sup>36</sup> Ποθεῖναι (104) does not refer to the *Horai*'s beauty as such; on the other side, they would not be desirable simply on account of the good things they bring. Cf. Hesiod, *Th.* 901-903: Themis gives birth to the *Horai*, three deified abstractions who are associated with civic 'regularity and predictability' and who together with the three Fates 'mind the works of mortal men (ὠρεύουσιν)'; so the *Horai* have a hard-nosed, mundane aspect that cuts across civic and agrarian life. See WEST 1966, 406-407 and CALDWELL 1987, 77 ad *Th.*, loc. cit.

<sup>37</sup> ESCA, 548.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. ESCA, 549 on an annual ritual of a river's regeneration in New Guinea. ὥρα (147) in Gorgo's statement ὥρα ὅμως κῆς οἶκον is banal, in effect stripped of divinity. Cf. 74 κῆς ὥρας = 'in <future> seasons, i.e. 'for all time'; but the addition of κῆπειτα banalises the expression by making it sound comic (= 'for ever and a day'), as DOVER (1971, 205) notes ad loc.

singer and her audience seem to be aware of both perceptions of time, that is, linear-finite and cyclical-infinite, as I hope to show.

Linear or calendar time may, depending on circumstances, be perceived as 'slow'—hence Adonis' worshippers must wait impatiently a full twelve months for him to marry Aphrodite, just as nowadays a child may barely be able to wait for Father Christmas to arrive!<sup>39</sup> The *Horai* truly are the 'slowest among the blessed ones' (104), their tardiness being offset by the fact that once returned, they bring 'something' (desirable) 'always' (105, αἰεί), an adverb that may at first be understood only abstractly. The ebb and flow of cyclic time is conveyed most tellingly by the epic adjective ἀένναος, 'ever-flowing', used of the river Acheron (102).<sup>40</sup> The generalising present 'They [sc. the *Horai*] come...' (105), just quoted, quite suits the perspective of repetitive time. The perspective, or dimension, of repetition across time is a way of denying closure and affirming the continuing efficacy of the Adonis song and its associated rituals for ever.<sup>41</sup> Yet the return of the Seasons is also experienced by the singer and her audience here and now, and the desirable something the *Horai* have brought is in effect the tableau (on which more anon), which is both viewed by the women and celebrated at the same time in the hymn. Hence αἰεί in αἰεί τι φέροισαι (105) may also be taken concretely in the deictic sense of 'each time' <as now>; this sense implies finite, linear time, experienced subjectively as the consequence of a slow lapse of twelve months. The desirable 'something' I just mentioned is the cultic tableau, for all intents and purposes a sacred *mise-en-scène* which Gow sums up thus:

The stage [sc. of the palace festivities] is a room, a marquee, or more probably a garden, inside the Palace precincts, hung with a tapestry representing Adonis in a silver chair, dead or dying, with Aphrodite and other figures in attendance. In unspecified relation to the tapestry are arbours of greenery, in which are hung bunches of fragrant herbs; above them are suspended flying figures of Erotes. In the central arbour is a couch of ebony and gold, the legs of which are formed of ivory groups of Ganymede carried off by an eagle. On it recline on purple coverlets figures of Adonis and

<sup>39</sup> Cf. also the impatience of the two women to get into the palace (60-61, 'Is it easy to get in there?'): their waiting time becomes banal compared with the ten years the Greeks spent in getting into Troy (61).

<sup>40</sup> For the epithet see HUNTER 1996b, 129 with n. 66.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. EASTERLING 2004, 155 (on perpetuation) and 157-158 (on certain processions in tragedy).

Aphrodite, who embrace or kiss. In front of the couch are tables bearing a lavish display of food. Other arbours are similarly furnished, but the couches are unoccupied and will remain so until the spectators depart and those invited to the feast arrive and take their places on them. The populace who come to view the show are entertained at intervals by singers, who are perhaps taking part in a singing competition.<sup>42</sup>

Verse 111, 'Arsinoia pampers Adonis with all manner of beautiful things', heralds this sacred *skenographia*, the ingredients of which will emerge line by line in the hymn in catalogue style.<sup>43</sup> These 'beautiful things' are the stuff of lush seasonal sensuality—notice especially the divers ripe fruit, the special miniature gardens, the sensuous perfumes, the fresh arbours (which also fetch to mind the vegetal décor of a Hellenistic *pastas*, or 'alcove within the *thalamos*'),<sup>44</sup> the overhanging bunches of dill, and the figures of Eros (possibly made of terracotta) flying above the arbours from one bunch of dill to another (112-122). The Erotes bring out the sensuality, indeed the sexuality of the good things conveyed by the *Horai*, agents of maturity. (The individual items in the tableau act as prompts for the overarching narrative of Adonis' marriage and death. Cumulatively they point to the myth of Adonis in the past and the present.)<sup>45</sup> There follows the penultimate ingredient, namely the polychrome wedding couch (on which more shortly) with *repeated* depictions, carved into its lower parts, of Ganymede being spirited away by an ivory eagle. The erotic atmosphere is made heady by the Trojan prince's abduction.<sup>46</sup> All of this culminates in the romantic embrace of the ensemble's key figures, Adonis and Aphrodite recumbent on the couch.

## 2. THE COUCH OF PARADOX AND THE SELF-REFERENTIAL *PARS EPICA*

The couch deserves a few words. Κλίνα (127), which as Hunter incisively

<sup>42</sup> Gow 1952.ii, 265.

<sup>43</sup> Hunter 1996b, 128: '[T]he description of the tableau at vv. 112-22 uses the simple cumulative syntax and avoidance of subordination which are a frequent mark of such astrophic lyric or verses which emulate this mode.' Cf. in particular the list of goodies in the ancient swallow song, *carmen popolare* 848 (PMG) verses 6-12 (tr. West 1993, 196): 'roll out a fruit-pack,/ a cup of wine, please,/ and a punnet of cheese;/ or a bran-loaf or pulse-loaf or so...'

<sup>44</sup> Alternatively the *skiades* ('bowers') may suggest the Hellenistic *pastos*, 'an arrangement of curtains, a sort of (ornate or dyed) bed-canopy for the nuptial pair' (which has analogues in modern Greece). On the *pastos* and the *pastas* see Petropoulos 2003, 129, 142 n. 9.

<sup>45</sup> Compare Bakker 2005, 97-99 on *Iliad* 20.344-8 (on Aineias' 'spear-without-warrior' as a 'sign pointing to the past').

<sup>46</sup> In commuting between life and death, Ganymede is analogous to Adonis and Osiris.

notes,<sup>47</sup> has the double sense of ‘wedding-couch’ and ‘funeral bier’, serves as the ‘hinge’ (as he calls it) on which the entire hymn turns.<sup>48</sup> The divine union, or marriage, culminating with an embrace, takes place on the couch amidst plant imagery appropriate to a vegetation god—albeit one of an eccentric kind—no less than to a Hellenistic wedding: in particular, the (erotically charged) σκιάδες, as noticed, call to mind a typical nuptial alcove or bed-canopy.<sup>49</sup> In keeping moreover with the topos of ‘death as marriage to Hades’, the coupling presages a death but rather atypically a resurrection withal. The funereal associations which Hunter detects in the ‘Wedding section’ (verses 100-131) arguably feminize the god,<sup>50</sup> and just as importantly, the conflation of marriage and death secures an almost seamless transition to the second part of the hymn, which treats of ‘Death and Resurrection’ (132-142).

The couch is spread with coverlets (τάπητες). As the singer states, imaginarily mimicking the craftsmen and/or craftswomen of Miletus or Samos: ‘Another couch has been spread for handsome Adonis’ (127). Dover comments that ‘another couch’ suggests ‘pride that the magnificent object is produced *year after year*’ (my italics).<sup>51</sup> Periodicity informs an action completed in the here and now. The same paradox defines the other actions or states mentioned just earlier in the song; the actions in particular are cultic *dromena*: the provision of little pots for the ‘gardens of Adonis’, the baking of special parti-coloured pastries, the construction of the (canopy-like) bowers, and most important, the spreading of ‘another couch’ with coverlets (fabricated every year) for the deity. In listing or implying these actions, the song sets them in the more ‘or-

<sup>47</sup> HUNTER 1996b, 130.

<sup>48</sup> HUNTER 1996b, 130; cf. DAVIES 1995, 156. Compare also Sappho fr. 117b V [= *inc. auct.* 24 LP] “Ἔσπερ’ ὑμήναον/ ὣ τὸν Ἀδώνιον (? referring to the wedding of Adonis) and 140a V [=140a LP], addressed to *korai*; clearly a choral lament over Adonis. (See also n. 64 below on χαίρειν.)

<sup>49</sup> For shade, particularly the dark shade of roses as associated with Aphrodite cf. Sappho fr. 2.6-7 (V), and BREMER and FURLEY 2001.ii, 114 ad loc.; see PETROPOULOS 2003, 81 with n. 65 for the erotic connotations of coolness in general.

<sup>50</sup> ῥοδόπηχης (128) is unusual for a male; cf. fr. 58.9 V (‘The Tithonus poem, now restored by OVBINK 2009, 11-12) βροδόπαχυν Αὔων (rosy-armed Dawn); for the amatory use of the epithet see PETROPOULOS 2003, 67. Perhaps ῥοδόπηχης in Theocritus already implies the god’s metamorphosis into an anemone (Ovid, *Met.* X.716 ff.) and the brevity of his earthly life, as ephemeral as the proverbially short-lived rose.

<sup>51</sup> DOVER 1971, 127, who is uncertain of the line. (I would defend it on grounds of euphony and the alliteration of κ and λ; cf. further instances of strong alliteration in vv. 85, 114, and 122.) Compare also the annual weaving of Athena’s *peplos* for the Panathenaia (and the metaphor of weaving implicit in the term *hymnos*): NAGY 2002, esp. 88 ff.

dinary' present of cult practice and décor; this present is experienced finitely yet repeated every year, ideally *ad infinitum*. More crucially for our understanding of the perception of time in the hymn, the women experience, year after year, the rich, delicious ripeness of Adonis, the end-product of a linear process: Adonis is the handsome young γαμβρός of 18 or 19 years (another time-conscious allusion), and his newly attained maturity is evoked especially through his prickly fledgling beard, itself as young, I might add, as the nightingales in the simile in verses 121-122. But this bridegroom is a youth frozen, most tellingly, in mythic time, for as one scholar has observed with psychological insight, 'Adonis is the Jungian *puer aeternus*'.<sup>52</sup> Year after year, worshippers will experience him as such (though without the Jungian theoretical trappings!). Like Ganymede and Zeus disguised as an eagle, like Aphrodite and the Erotes, *Adonis inhabits the eternal present of mythic time*. This means that in describing the god and his deeds, the singer and, by extension, her audience see him as present not only in the centrepiece, but also during the performance of the cult song.

On first impression, the dotting description of the sensuous, synaesthetic centrepiece of the tableau, occupying a full half of the hymn (111-131) and culminating in the divine couple's embrace (128), may be read as a characteristically Alexandrian example of *ekphrasis*. But why would an *ekphrasis* be included in what purports to be a cult hymn? This section is atypical, as others have also noticed. Hunter,<sup>53</sup> for example, remarks that 'the muthos of the royal house and the *ekphrasis* of the tableau have replaced any narrative of, presumably, the story of Aphrodite and Adonis.' This 'abnormal' mythic narrative ushers in what I regard as the myth proper of the song: namely the *ekphrasis* of the tableau.

In classifying the description as a whole as myth, I am taking into account two interlocking facts: 1) a (literary) hymn may feature an *ekphrasis* 'of the god, his haunts, actions' in the past and/or present, and 2) because the technique of description frequently merges with narration, *ekphrasis* in a hymn may amount to a narrative, whether short or long, of the object(s) or individual(s) or god(s) described.<sup>54</sup> Theocritus' hymnic *ekphrasis* is concerned cursorily if suggestively with the story of

<sup>52</sup> SEGAL 1991, esp. 73 ff.

<sup>53</sup> HUNTER 1996b, 129.

<sup>54</sup> On *ekphrasis*, frequently self-referential, as here, in the second part of a typical hymn (the so-called *eulogia*, viz. 'praise'), see BREMER and FURLEY 2001.i, 59-60; also HUNTER 1996b, 129. On the narrative aspects of *ekphrasis* see, e.g., PETROPOULOS 2013, 352.

Ganymede, but more spectacularly with the tale of Adonis' and Aphrodite's marriage; moreover, the purely decorative mythic allusions—the Erotes attached to the bowers and fluttering in mid-air—as well as the cultic actions and accoutrements, to wit, the laying out of the 'gardens' and the dainties—serve merely to complement visually the pivot of the song, which, as M. Davies and others have remarked, is, obviously, 'the idealized and romantic love of Adonis and Aphrodite'.<sup>55</sup> If Theocritus' portrayal of the divine tableau functions as the standard middle section of a hymn—as the *pars epica* of a prayer, in effect narrating a sacred story—it may be instructive to consider how the poet handles the modality of time in this and the ensuing parts of the hymn of Adonis.

### 3. THE ETERNAL NOW OF A HYMN AND THE ABSENCE OF ILLUSION

In order to do this, I will revert to Bakker's key findings, outlined earlier, regarding the use of tenses: in Homeric direct speech, similes, *gnomai*, and even formulae introducing direct speech, the augmented aorist usually connotes not so much time as perceived *presence*, or in other cases, *quintessence* and even *relevance* to the present.<sup>56</sup> The same applies to the present tense in epic similes and the Homeric hymns. The deictic register of epic speech in particular—its focus on the here (or near) and the now which the speaker perceives—may, I suggest, be directly comparable with the register of sacred song and other religious speech-acts across many periods and cultures. For example, Eastern Christianity treated liturgical time in a manner that regarded *a past religious event as never really having passed but rather as continuing into a non-ending present*. What is striking about liturgical practice, or performance, is that it does not ignore temporality. It accepts the profanity of time if only to sublimate it. In the words of contemporary Orthodox Christian theologians who, in their discussion of the status of the past in Orthodox ritual today, interpret St John Chrysostom's comments on the Eucharist: '...the vertical dimension of *eternity* breaks into *linear time*'.<sup>57</sup> Theocritus, as I have already implied in my discussion of the earlier part of the hymn, articulates an analogous awareness of linear, or profane, time and, in particular, its vertical intersection with eternity during a

<sup>55</sup> DAVIES 1995, 156.

<sup>56</sup> BAKKER 2005, esp. 122-123 ('staging formula'); 131-133, 146-149.

<sup>57</sup> *Lenten Triodion*, 57; my italics.

ritual and its accompanying song. His hymn seems to me to move convincingly from the profane here and now to the 'eternal now'—indeed, in a fashion that redresses Mircea Éliade's analysis of the pre-Christian conception of sacred time as cyclical, as 'ontological, Parmenidean,' cosmogonic, and unconnected to historical time.<sup>58</sup> Bakker<sup>59</sup> and Murray<sup>60</sup> rightly dismiss (each for different reasons) the possibility of an epic singer's metaphysical 'clairvoyance' of past events as suggested by J.-P. Vernant (who was probably influenced by Éliade).<sup>61</sup> The events of epos are not primordial in Éliade's sense of dating from the Creation of the cosmos; and their recollection in song or poetry outside ritual is scarcely metaphysical. In fact, the recovery of the past in epic convention is, I submit, inherently different from the periodic 'reversal' of time enacted in rituals and festivals.<sup>62</sup>

Let us look at the verses following on from the embrace of Aphrodite and Adonis (128) which is, as remarked, the climax, or 'summit' of the song; after verse 131, as Dover puts it, the song 'begins the downhill journey.'<sup>63</sup> This movement presages Adonis' journey below the earth; the double-edged 'couch' is, after all, already redolent of death: the 3rd person imperative 'Farewell' addressed to Cypris in verse 131 explicitly includes her paramour as well. The verses immediately ensuing intimate that it is mainly Adonis whom the women are bidding good-bye.<sup>64</sup> The

<sup>58</sup> See e.g. ÉLIADE 1949 and 1959, 68 ff., esp. 72, 90-92, 95, 109 ff. (sacred, i.e. mythical time was created during Creation and hence is primordial; unlike the Christian conception of time, it lies outside historical or profane time). S. ILES-JOHNSTON (2012, 51-68) has traced the formation of Éliade's views of divine and human interaction to what she sees as his idiosyncratic use of Plato's theory of Forms and his non-literal, theurgic interpretation of the *Timaeus*. As Iles-Johnston also notes, Éliade acutely posited an 'archaic notion' of ritual time by which it was possible to experience—to participate in—the divine sphere and which Plato supposedly (in Éliade's distorted reading of the philosopher) had refined into his theory of Forms. For the 'eternal now' see n. 72 below.

<sup>59</sup> BAKKER 2005, 141.

<sup>60</sup> MURRAY (n. 1 above).

<sup>61</sup> VERNANT 1990, 109-136.

<sup>62</sup> See n. 72 below.

<sup>63</sup> DOVER 1971, 214 ad 131.

<sup>64</sup> M. Alexiou, R. Hunter, and others have noticed in the portrayal of the embracing gods the 'powerful fusion of the language of weddings and funerals'—which I have already touched on in connection with the κλίνα (127); in particular, the ambiguity of the expression χαίρειν in 131, which is used conventionally in weddings and funerals alike, suggests that 'the first kisses of the wedding night' are also, as in Bion's *Lament for Adonis* (11-14, 45-50 [Reed]), 'the farewell kisses of the dirge', as HUNTER (1996b, 130-131) observes; see also ALEXIOU 2002, 55-57 (Bion's *Lament*), 66-67 (in the *Epitaphios Lament* the chorus and the Virgin Mary eroticise Christ in lamenting his death). See PETROPOULOS 2003, 29-31 on wedding salutations across Greek traditions.

downhill course to lamentation takes us visually and aurally to the sea-shore at dawn—a liminal period—on the next day (132); presumably a typical *pannuchis* of the women will have preceded this stage.<sup>65</sup> These verses (132-135) contain stage directions, so to speak, that may seem out of place in a monody. Verses 132 ff. (which also mark the start of the funereal section) look ahead not only to the time—the linear time of ritual progression—but also to the venue and the mode of dress, or rather undress, of the performers. At the shore tomorrow at dawn, the swell will ‘spit out’ brine (132-133) as audibly, we might suppose, as the singer when she self-consciously cleared her throat. There the nearly bare-breasted chorus will have carried the god in effigy—almost certainly on his funeral bier—and will sing a lament. These self-reflexive allusions may rather appear to be the result of an artificial attempt by the poet to evoke ‘the full compass of the festival’, as R. Hunter urges.<sup>66</sup> Alternatively, such stage instructions, at first sight the trademark of *choral* lyric, may equally be at home in a monody the performer of which consistently signals, as already shown, the sequence of rituals celebrating the cycle of Adonis’ passion (for the latter theme compare 138, τοῦτ’ ἔπαθε).<sup>67</sup>

Here I may cite a parallel from the Orthodox observance of Holy Week; given the rich syncretism of Christ as the archetypal universal lord—and in view of the fact that the name ‘Adonis’ derives from the West Semitic title *Adon*, or ‘(my) Lord’<sup>68</sup>—it is not an unjustified temptation to draw a parallel between the Passion of Christ and that of Adonis.<sup>69</sup> At Vespers on Good Friday afternoon the cantor or the choir sings

<sup>65</sup> See n. 27 above.

<sup>66</sup> HUNTER 1996b, 128.

<sup>67</sup> Compare DOVER 1971, 209: ‘...the actual Adonis-song at the Alexandrian festival would have been in lyric metres, not in dactylic hexameters.’ (He considers the hymn a ‘sly parody’ ridiculing the bad taste of audiences that included the likes of Gorgo and Praxinoa.) HUNTER (1996b, 128 with n. 63 – cf. 127 n. 56) does not commit himself to either astrophic lyric or hexameters—though he seems to incline slightly to lyric hexameters. As noted in n. 43 above, the cumulative syntax in the beginning of the hymn may suggest astrophic lyric.

<sup>68</sup> WEST 1997, 57, who further notes that Adonis’ father was the king of Cyprus contemporary with the Trojan War according to Homer.

<sup>69</sup> The modern Greek poet Angelos Sikelianos does this exquisitely and with uncanny anthropological acumen especially in the first two stanzas of his poem ‘At St Luke’s Monastery’. KOWALZIG (2007, 68) cites without elaboration the theatrical ‘tricks’ (her term) exemplified in Orthodox ‘Easter ceremonies’ in arguing for a comparable transcendence of time achieved in Delian cultic (aetiological) songs of Apollo’s and Artemis’ birth. Her Christian comparanda bring to the fore the same general principles I am invoking, but may be even more apposite for the death and resurrection cult of Adonis.

the following: 'How shall I bury Thee, O my God? How shall I wrap Thee in a winding sheet?... And what song shall I sing at Thy departure (*exodos*), O Compassionate One?' The passage anticipates outright the *dromena* of the next morning, namely the carrying out of the Crucified Christ on the Bier, or *Epitaphios*, followed by his burial (these ritual actions actually take place by convention on the same evening). In similar fashion Theocritus' solo hymnist may be flashing forward to the next day's events.

There is a further similarity between the Adonis song and the Church hymns of the Passion. Both in the Good Friday services—as indeed in services throughout Holy Week—and in the hymn of Adonis, worshippers seem to be in two minds whether to mourn the Lord as dead or to reiterate the certitude of his imminent resurrection. Theocritus' singer, as she goes downhill as it were, interweaves allusions to her lord's suffering and death and his return to life. It is equally interesting to remark that Good Friday Vespers conclude with a negation of death: '*I magnify Thy sufferings and I hymn Thy burial and Resurrection, crying, O Lord, glory to Thee.*'

However we interpret the Argive singer's mention of the next day's choral lament, this *prolepsis* lends to the hymn a tragic note suited to a god who soon after his marriage to Aphrodite 'here' (ἐνθάδε, 136) and 'now' (compare *vũn*, 144) is 'dying' (κῆς Ἀχέρωντα, 136). Verse 136, '...you come here and go to Acheron' is cast in the present; and it is a literal present—for in the paradox of religious language Adonis is married and alive and dead at once.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, the present is 'perceptual', which, as seen, Bakker describes as a special usage in epic and the Homeric hymns: in Theocritus the present tense similarly conveys *quintessence* no less than *presence*, and, I would add, telescopes past, present, and future.<sup>71</sup> The only difference—and it is major—however between the epic 'perceptual' present and the one in verse 136 is that epic narrative never loses sight of dramatic illusion, as Bakker reminds us;<sup>72</sup> *whereas an actual*

<sup>70</sup> This paradox is concretised in the wedding-and-funeral couch, recalling the affecting fiction, evidenced in inscriptions, that death occurred during the marriage rite; on this exaggerated claim see PETROPOULOS 2003, 66 with n. 41.

<sup>71</sup> BAKKER 2005, 148-149 (who does not implicate the future aspect because he is discussing *epos*).

<sup>72</sup> BAKKER 2005, 102-103: '... it [sc. the past] never fills the present entirely; just as in other rituals and performances, such as the theater, the performer and his public remain aware of a *distance between themselves and the event, no matter how vividly it is represented...*' (my italics). Here Bakker seems to assume that ritual or religious time does not differ qualitatively from time as embodied in *epos* and other literary genres. EASTERLING (2004, esp. 155-160), on the other hand,

*cultic hymn, precisely because it evokes sacred time, makes no dramatic pretences.* A hymn, especially when it accompanies a ritual, reaches back to ontogeny, not to mere re-enactment or re-cognition, which are characteristic rather of the epic mode.<sup>73</sup> Cultic time is in reality condensed time; a hymn does not only commemorate an event, it also places us in that event, merging the past and future with the present.<sup>74</sup> The worshipper's perception of the mythic past is therefore real, not licenced by the intellectual process of epic illusion. In evoking the literal experience of time and in other aspects (see below), the hymn of Adonis appears to be rather a plausible rendition of a cultic hymn than a purely literary *paignion* detached from religious practice.

#### 4. 'TODAY' AND BELIEF IN THE *MYSTERIUM TREMENDUM*

'The women discuss the events [of Holy Week] in the present or perfect tense as they would the local gossip at other times.'

CAMPBELL 1964, 347

Perhaps, then, the most important point to emerge from my discussion so far of Theocritus' song is its focus on the *present* and on the god's very *presence*, both of which are conditioned by the (mythic) past. The interlacing of past and present in this purported cult song can also be matched in Orthodox Christian worship, where we note the 'paradoxical coincidence of the past and present' in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist and, as remarked, in other 'commemorative' services such as the so-called Lenten offices. This paradox, again to quote contemporary theological views, 'is expressed in the liturgical texts above all through the word Today.'<sup>75</sup> Here are two examples which, I suggest, may

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adds the corrective insight that ritual time differs from dramatic time, and that by drawing on ritual time, ancient dramatists in certain instances superimposed the notion of 'forever' (on which see below) onto the sense of 'now'.

<sup>73</sup> Again BAKKER (2005, esp. 102-104) on the epic as a mode of re-enactment. KOWALZIG (2007, 68) speaks of choral performance as 'an illusionary strategy to make things real...even to create "belief" in the way postulated by Plato's Athenian in *Laws* [sc. 887c-e]'. I may add that such performance is 'illusory' only from the (emic) viewpoint of an outsider; but from the (etic) viewpoint of an insider, it constitutes 'reality' thanks to his or her 'belief', on which see below.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. PATTON 2009, 17: Cultic time is 'a *kind of parallel time* in which the mythical past and ritual present collapse' (her emphasis). Also EASTERLING 2004, esp. 160: In tragedy 'now', when modelled on the language or imagery of mystical or other ritual experiences, subsumes past, present, and future; the present may in fact be visualised as a vanishing point between the past and the future (esp. p. 154).

<sup>75</sup> *Lenten Triodion*, 57.

cast comparative light particularly on verses 131 ('And *now* [emphatic] farewell to Cyprus as she clasps her lover') and 143-144 ('...well-disposed/ You *now* [emphatic] have come'): on Palm Sunday the congregation affirms, '*Today* Christ enters the Holy City', and on Great (Good) Friday, '*Today* He who hung the earth upon the waters is hung upon the Cross'. The word *Today* 'embodies a specific spiritual experience',<sup>76</sup> that of condensed time, and arguably the description of the divine embrace in Theocritus' hymn presupposes a similar experience of sacred time—a subjective experience of the past as extending into the present.<sup>77</sup> As remarked, the past is not being merely re-enacted or recalled. The women in Arsinoë's palace are contemporaries with a sacred event, the love-making/wedding of Adonis and Aphrodite. Encapsulated in the closing joyous asseveration καὶ νῦν ἦνθεες (144), this is moreover an experience as contemporaneous as the living out of the Resurrection on Easter midnight, an experience that worshippers register jubilantly through another 'present aorist', Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ('Christ is risen!').<sup>78</sup>

Suspended in the 'eternal today', the god has come (144). But the sacred drama has in a sense ended, for the god 'will come' next year (143). This drives home the inevitability of closure of the rite and its song; yet, as noted, the repeatability of Adonis' return in twelve months serves to deny complete closure and to assert the enduring power of the song.<sup>79</sup> As Easterling states apropos of the conception of time in ritual, the "now" must merge with "forever".<sup>80</sup> The song finished, Gorgo steps out of sacred time ('for ever and ever'), which exists in a supra-sensible, parallel reality.<sup>81</sup> Through her *makarismos* of the singer, she

<sup>76</sup> *Festal Menaion*, 28.

<sup>77</sup> 'Now' in vv. 131 and 143-144 also implies *reception* in the sense of the emotional and imaginative experience by which a ritual is perceived by participants, as in *Iliad* 19.301-2, where the keeners 'read' their own sufferings into their ritual song ('...to it the women added their laments./ Patroclus indeed they mourned, but each one her own sorrows.'). Likewise in the performance and reperformance of Greek drama in antiquity, the dramatic 'now' was perceived by the audience of a play, as also happens in theatres today, according to historical or even personal circumstances. Reception in the sense of 'memory of the past as the present' can be further seen, e.g., when Sarakatsan women attending Holy Week services comment on each episode and grow anxious at each stage, although they well know what happened in the past. Further see EASTERLING 2004, 151-153 (citing CAMPBELL 1964).

<sup>78</sup> For the (hypothetical) choral ritual cry or sung refrain 'We have found him [sc. Adonis]' or 'He [sc. Adonis] is alive!'; see n. 87 below.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. EASTERLING 2004, 155, 157-158.

<sup>80</sup> EASTERLING 2004, 157.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. again PATTON 2009, 17.

cushions us momentarily against the shock of anticlimax. Then Gorgo moves from, in effect, the (eternal) cycle of the *Horai* to the finite, bathetic *hora* of lunchtime in verse 147.<sup>82</sup> Her final words—which bring the poem to an end—are modelled closely on the conventional closing of hymns in which the verb *χαίρειν* is applied to both the god honoured and his worshippers.<sup>83</sup> If Gorgo sounds like a hymnode herself, this is in part because, as Hunter has observed, the poet has contrived this interplay between the singer's voice and that of the two women,<sup>84</sup> but also, I might add, because Gorgo is speaking realistically. In a manner typical of colloquial usage, she seems to have internalised a conventional prayer formula. We may compare the ease with which even unsophisticated speakers of modern Greek draw on the register of sacred speech.<sup>85</sup>

Scholars have questioned whether Theocritus' hymn bears any resemblance to actual songs that accompanied the Adonia; one of the factors that usually tip the balance in favour of doubt is the attribution of humour and parody to our poet.<sup>86</sup> In my view, at least three features have been copied from cultic reality. The beginning and the close are highly plausible;<sup>87</sup> and except for the toadyish acknowledgement of the two Ptolemy females, the middle section, consisting as it does of an *ekphrasis* that does duty as a sacred narrative and a celebration of a cultic locus, is also realistic in conception.<sup>88</sup> The penultimate segment (137-

<sup>82</sup> See again n. 36 above.

<sup>83</sup> See e.g. BREMER and FURLEY 2001.i, 62-63.

<sup>84</sup> HUNTER 1996b, 116 ff.

<sup>85</sup> E.g. 'και του χρόνου να μας έχει καλά η Παναγιά' is an all too natural expression, loosely modelled on concluding liturgical formulae, and not uncommon on the Feast of the Dormition on 15th August.

<sup>86</sup> HUNTER (1996b, 131-132) detects 'teasing play with the apotheosis of the Queen Mother' in verses 106-108 and deflation in verses 136-137, *ὡς φαντί* (on which see below); also n. 67 above. Of course the possibility of parody and humour does not rule out the existence of true-life elements. The hexameters in the hymn are more epicising than those in rest of the poem; alongside this, other rhythmic and formal features lend plausibility to the hymn: HUNTER 1996b, 158. Yet the content is atypical of an actual hymn of Adonis according to HUNTER (1996b, 159).

<sup>87</sup> To revert to the closing *νῦν ἦνθες* (144), it is comparable with the ritual or hymnal asseveration that Cyril of Alexandria (*Comm. Is.*, 2.3, PG 70. 441B) seems to be paraphrasing: Προσεποιοῦντο...λυπούμενη τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ...θρηνεῖν. Ἀνελθούσης δὲ ἐξ Ἄιδου, καὶ μὴν καὶ ἠύρησθαι λεγούσης τὸν ζητούμενον, συνήδεσθαι. That is, when Aphrodite fetched Adonis to earth from Persephone, she joyfully declared to her devotees that 'she had found him whom she was seeking' (ἠύρησθαι λεγούσης τὸν ζητούμενον). This may suggest that Alexandrian Adoniazousai, in partaking of the goddess' joy, performed the ritual cry or song refrain 'ἠύρομεν/ἠύρηκαμεν Ἄδωνιν'. See REED (2000, 323 n. 18) who extrapolates 'he lives' from the ostensible paraphrase *ζῶειν τέ μιν μυθολογεῖσιν* in Lucian, *Syr. dea* 6.

<sup>88</sup> The anonymous iambic hymn of Diktaian Zeus (now re-edited by BREMER and FURLEY 2001.ii,

142), which treats of Adonis' extraordinary nature and pertinence, is in essence a priamel worthy of a Homeric hymn; compare, for example the priamels in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, verses 19-29, 207-215 (West). Scarcely a fierce warrior (unlike Ajax), far less a near-implacable god such as Osiris in his military guise, Adonis—the puerile anti-hero—outdoes at least his contemporary Greek epic heroes.<sup>89</sup> He is superior even to antediluvians such as Deucalion, much as Christ superseded Adam and other figures from the earliest stages of human history when he liberated this primeval mortal at his Resurrection.<sup>90</sup> Most important and striking, finally, is the handling of the modality of time. The poet's integration of time in the hymn is, as I have suggested, a telltale sign of a considerable degree of verisimilitude. Throughout the song, and especially in the narrative section, Theocritus' singer renounces epic illusion and evokes the continuous present and the presence of the two gods she is celebrating. This is not, as remarked, the 'pseudo-immediacy' that epic narrative strives for, but the here and 'eternal now' of sacred time.<sup>91</sup>

It is because of a number of beliefs and assumptions that the singer and her audience of female worshippers experience the very action of the myth commemorated by the tableau. The first is the belief in the numinous, the *mysterium tremendum*: the encounter with the numinous is the building material of belief in the gods or a particular deity, as Plato famously implies in the *Laws*.<sup>92</sup> Yet it must be stressed that this primary belief is not the product of ritual and practice, as some scholars have argued; rather, ritual and practice only serve to reify, clarify, and deepen a worshipper's belief. That is, belief is reified and made mature through practice, as here: see verses 107, ὥς μῦθος,<sup>93</sup> and 137, ὥς φαντί. Second,

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1-3) is a sub-literary comparandum (composed ca ? 300 BC). Performed on Mt Dikte (E.Crete) on the adolescent Zeus' birthday, it lays emphasis in its refrain on annual recurrence and, in its short narrative, on the original arrival of the *Horai*. The first stanza (vv. 7-10), as BREMER and FURLEY (2001.ii, 12) note ad loc., is self-referential, inasmuch as the singers 'sing about their singing'. The refrain (occurring seven times in vv. 5 ff., 15 ff., etc.) includes the imperatives 'To Dikta on this New Year's Day (εἰς ἐνιαυτόν)/ come and take delight in the music' (Δίκτην εἰς ἐνιαυτόν/ ἔρπε καὶ γέγαθι μολπῆ). The *pars epica* (vv. 17-20, resumed at 37-40) probably recounts that shortly after the god's birth the *Horai* 'began to teem with fruit each year' (Ἵωραι δὲ βρ|ύον κατῆτος).

<sup>89</sup> Contra REED (2000, 328), who suggests that Osiris' military prowess somehow rubs off on Theocritus' Adonis. The poet is at pains to stress that here at least the parallel to Osiris does not apply.

<sup>90</sup> The liberation of the primeval couple by the resurrected Christ is standard in Byzantine iconography.

<sup>91</sup> See BAKKER 2005, 96 on epic vividness or *enargeia*; also nn. 1 & 71 above.

<sup>92</sup> *Laws* 887c-e, a passage KOWALZIG (2007, passim) also discusses in a different vein.

<sup>93</sup> With DOVER 1971, 211 ad loc.

there is the associated belief that a singer and his or her audience can *see and generally experience* a god during the rehearsal of his myth in cult song: such immediacy of perception in turn entails genuine belief in the immutability of the mythic past and in the ability to uncover, to adumbrate through performance, the past immanent in the here-and-now.<sup>94</sup>

Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* states some of these assumptions outright, and may therefore serve as a comparandum and a coda to this study of Theocritus' hymn. First, the narrator's statement *ὡπόλλων οὐ παντὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὅτις ἐσθλός* (9), 'Not on everyone, but only on the noble shines Apollo' (where 'shines' may also mean 'appear'). The god has not, it seems, yet made his epiphany, as F. Williams and A. Henrichs also note.<sup>95</sup> Indeed, two lines later the poet predicts, 'We will see you, Lord who shoots from afar!' (*ὀψόμεθα, ὦ Ἐκάεργε*, 11). But when and how will this metaphysical experience of seeing the god take place? The god will take up residence in his temple—*ἐπιδημεῖν*—and will be seen (cf. *φαίνεται*) while the imaginary chorus of boys sing and dance their song, perhaps a paean: the generic situation which Callimachus evokes in the opening of this hymn shows that a god may appear to his worshippers in the course of the 'sacred time' of ritual song and dance. In the event, Apollo appears to the spirited speaker, not his apostrophised (fictional) chorus, even as the narrative unfolds. Henrichs remarks that the epiphany transpires 'in the narrative parts of the hymn, not the rousing epiphanic opening.'<sup>96</sup> This is exactly what happens in Theocritus' hymn of Adonis, and for the selfsame reason: it is mainly the narrative of myth that returns the singer and her audience to 'sacred time'.



<sup>94</sup> BAKKER 2005, 92 and 150-151 on the metaphysical 'cognitive faculty', also connoted by the terms *νοεῖν* and *νοῦς*, that makes something present. (Bakker does not stress the feigned belief in the immutability of the past, unlike Kowalzig; see n. 73 above.)

<sup>95</sup> WILLIAMS 1978, 23-24 ad loc.; HENRICHS 1993, 144-145.

<sup>96</sup> HENRICHS 1993, 145. See PETROVIC 2012, esp. 289-290 on the opening, which authoritatively—and realistically—stresses that the recipient of the epiphany must be ritually pure, or *ἐσθλός* (9).

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# 9

## TRAGEDY, GREEK RELIGION, AND STRAVINSKY'S *OEDIPUS REX*

Michael Anderson

RELIGION formed a core element in the creation, performance, and experience of Greek tragedy, as Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood's work has forcibly and copiously demonstrated.<sup>1</sup> However, much of the religious apparatus of ancient Greek tragedy does not translate accurately or easily into modern productions. The contemporary stage lacks the Dionysian festival context, today's spectators share neither the original audience's beliefs about the gods and heroes of drama nor the emotions these figures once aroused, and we no longer recognize the relevance of the ancient rituals evoked in tragedy to our daily religious experience. Yet several modern artists, recognizing the frequent importance of the sacred dimension in the dramas, have inventively and successfully reimagined and reworked the religious thoughts and emotions of the plays in revivals and adaptations. Despite the loss of culture-specific details and nuances, modern adaptations can recreate a spiritual ethos akin to that of Greek tragedy, and like their ancient predecessors, they serve as a vehicle for examining the nature of humanity vis-à-vis the divine and exploring the role of the sacred in human experience. Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex* is one such modern work. It embraces and emulates the religious elements of the Sophoclean model while recreating the drama in a new medium for a new age.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See especially SOURVINOU-INWOOD 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Despite the proliferation of reception studies in recent decades, surprisingly little direct attention has been focused on the treatment of ancient religious elements in this or other modern adaptations of Greek tragedy. Lauriola's recent work on the reception of *Oedipus Tyrannus* (LAURIOLA

A two-act opera-oratorio composed in the mid 1920s and first performed in May of 1927 in Paris, the *Oedipus Rex* belongs to Stravinsky's so-called neoclassical period; though unmistakably contemporary in many of its tonal qualities, it is also heavily indebted to musical ideas and sounds from the baroque period forward.<sup>3</sup> The hybrid musical style provides an ideal medium for a modern adaptation of Classical drama. Stravinsky produced the opera in collaboration with the prolific author and filmmaker Jean Cocteau, who first wrote the libretto in French and then had it translated into Latin. Cocteau had already demonstrated his interest in Greek tragedy with a French version of *Antigone*, and a decade later he would write *la Machine infernale*, a dramatic expansion of the Oedipus story bordering at times on comedy. Unlike the latter work, the script Cocteau wrote for Stravinsky remains largely faithful to the outline and spirit of Sophocles' drama. Apart from some simplification and occasional omissions, the opera's plot follows Sophocles throughout, beginning with the Sophoclean sequence of the plague, the consultation of the oracle, and the condemnation of Laius's murderer, and culminating in Jocasta's suicide and Oedipus' self-blinding. All the principal characters are retained, including the Corinthian messenger and Theban servant instrumental in the recognition. And while Sophocles' choral odes have been heavily condensed, the chorus of plague-suffering Thebans remains a powerful counterpart for the principals throughout, beseeching Oedipus to rescue them at the start and lamenting his precipitous fall at the close.

One notable departure is the condensation of Sophocles' language. The Latin libretto is a mere skeleton, relying on the audience's knowledge of the original drama to fill in the gaps in logic here and there. Much of the poignant verbal irony is lost, and the rhetorical wrangling is removed. This severe pruning of the verbal text, however, allows for an intense musical concentration on notable elements of the myth: the *oracula* and the *trivium*, for example, the oracles that Jocasta urges Oedipus to ignore, and the crossroads where, Oedipus eventually realizes, he has murdered his father. Such words and phrases, repeated obsessively, provide the verbal foundation for monumental arias and

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2017) discusses Stravinsky's adaptation in a perceptive way but does not comment on its religious dimension.

<sup>3</sup> General background information on the opera and the circumstances surrounding its composition and earliest performances can be found in STRAVINSKY 1975, 126-141; STRAVINSKY and CRAFT 1963, 3-16; WALSH 1993, *passim*; WALSH 1999, 420-465; and WHITE 1979, 327-339.

choruses. A complementary innovation is the introduction of a narrator who introduces each scene with a brief plot summary in the language of the performance location, French, English, Japanese, as appropriate, the original French summaries having been the work of Cocteau. The summaries, however, do not adequately explain the plot for the audience that fails to understand the Latin; in fact, knowledge of the myth or of Sophocles' original is indispensable for a clear understanding of the opera. Rather, the use of a familiar, secular language in the summaries may serve to remind the audience that the drama presents us with something sacred and remote.<sup>4</sup>

Stravinsky's interest in what might loosely be termed religious music was of some duration. Noteworthy parallels to the *Oedipus* are his earlier *Rite of Spring*, a ballet suite based on a fantastic reimagining of pagan rituals, and his later *Symphony of Psalms*, a choral symphonic work incorporating the Latin Vulgate text of Psalm 105. When asked by his long-time friend and biographer Robert Craft whether his *Oedipus Rex* was a religious work, Stravinsky expressed some reservations about the meaning of the word *religious* and noted that he had certainly not attempted to 'Christianize' Sophocles' play.<sup>5</sup> But in his lengthy and weighed response to this question he indicates a clear intent to impart some sacred character to his opera. He observed that the work was composed during his 'strictest and most earnest period of Christian orthodoxy'.<sup>6</sup> In fact, in 1925 he had experienced what he thought to be the miraculous healing of one of his fingers just prior to a piano performance, a healing he associated with having prayed before a holy icon in Nice.<sup>7</sup> His choice of Latin for the libretto of the *Oedipus*, 'the language of the Western church' as he says, was inspired partly by his reading of a biography of St Francis, who was said to have employed his mother's Provençal dialect as a kind of sacred language.<sup>8</sup> Of the *Gloria* chorus, which hails Jocasta at her entrance, Stravinsky reports that it is influenced by Russian church ritual and has an 'ecclesiastical' character.<sup>9</sup> And he refers in passing to Sophocles' play as 'the archetypal drama of purification'.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Compare WALSH 1993, 12-15 for a discussion of the framing of the drama.

<sup>5</sup> STRAVINSKY and CRAFT 1963, 9.

<sup>6</sup> STRAVINSKY and CRAFT 1963, 9.

<sup>7</sup> STRAVINSKY and CRAFT 1963, 9.

<sup>8</sup> STRAVINSKY and CRAFT 1963, 3-4 and 9.

<sup>9</sup> STRAVINSKY and CRAFT 1963, 9-10.

<sup>10</sup> STRAVINSKY and CRAFT 1963, 9.

In a series of lectures delivered at Harvard in 1939 and 1940, Stravinsky describes successful musical composition as the subjugation of the Dionysian forces of creativity to Apollonian law.<sup>11</sup> One might suppose that, whereas the *Rite of Spring* falls toward the more primitive, dithyrambic end of Stravinsky's creative spectrum, the Apollonian law is imposed more heavily in the neo-Classical *Oedipus Rex*.<sup>12</sup> To what degree Nietzsche's thinking was influential specifically in his creation of *Oedipus Rex* Stravinsky did not say, nor is it clear that he was heavily influenced by contemporary scholarship on the ritual dimensions of Greek tragedy.<sup>13</sup> What is clear, however, is that Stravinsky approached Sophocles' play as a work of religious art and intended to recreate a religious atmosphere in his own *Oedipus Rex*. The Latin text and the music contribute an air of ecclesiastical solemnity. To be sure, many musical influences have been perceived in the work, not all of them distinctly religious, but in addition to Stravinsky's acknowledged borrowings from the Russian church service for his Gloria, musicologists have noted the influence of requiem and mass formulae of the baroque and classical periods.<sup>14</sup> When compared with a work like Leoncavallo's 1920 *Edipo Re*, which belongs much more clearly to the mainstream Italian opera tradition of Verdi or Puccini, the sacred music of Stravinsky's *Oedipus* stands apart as something musically and aesthetically distinctive. For a discerning audience, I suspect that the variety of musical echoes Stravinsky created produces an effect not unlike the many echoes of sacred ritual that an ancient audience might have perceived in the music and rhythms of Sophocles' original.<sup>15</sup>

Staging and costuming decisions have also helped present the work as a sacred performance. Because of limitations of time and finances, the work premiered as an oratorio rather than opera, without substantial staging or costuming, the lack of spectacle probably contributing to the less than enthusiastic initial public reception. Stravinsky himself

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<sup>11</sup> STRAVINSKY 1947, 80-81.

<sup>12</sup> I thank my Trinity College colleague Katherine Lahti for her insights on the dithyrambic development in early twentieth-century Russian drama.

<sup>13</sup> Stravinsky's reference to the 'life-sap' in connection with Dionysian inspiration suggests more than a passing familiarity with Classical scholarship; see STRAVINSKY 1947, 80. Another promising line of inquiry, suggested by Fritz Graf in conversation, is whether Stravinsky is reacting to Wagner's development of Germanic mythological opera.

<sup>14</sup> WALSH 1993, 36-37.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. e.g. SWIFT 2010 who argues that tragic lyric parts are replete with echoes of sacred lyric. On the musical richness of Sophocles' tragedies see recently POWER 2012.

had hoped for a slightly more engaging tableau, a hooded seated chorus reading from scrolls, and masked, statuesque principals with very limited motion, a visual tableau that would have evoked an air of antiquity and solemnity.<sup>16</sup> In a lavish 1992 performance of the work, conducted by Seiji Ozawa at the first Saito Kinen festival and starring Jessye Norman as Jocasta, director Julie Taymor extended this notion of still solemnity with spectacular costuming and puppetry and a troupe of dancers complementing the chorus and the singers.<sup>17</sup> Masks reminiscent of Cycladic statues sat above the faces of the principals, lending to each singer an iconic appearance and transporting the entire production into a primitive, pre-classical world. These larger than life figures process in a ceremonial manner that corresponds well to the ritual-like movements commonly performed in ancient Greek drama.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to clothing the tale within an atmosphere of sacrament and sanctity, providing visual elements of religion, Stravinsky shaped the music and drama to highlight specific religious ideas and issues. Oedipus' singing, for example, gives an impression of overt self-assurance without inspiring confidence in his actual abilities, a pervasive reminder perhaps of his human intellectual fallibility contrasting with the omniscience of the divine oracle.<sup>19</sup> Oedipus's tenor voice, not a powerful heroic tenor, but a lighter, lyric tenor, contrasts sharply with the powerful bass voice of the seer Tiresias. Taymor's production visually underscores this contrast between mortal blindness and divine omniscience with a symbolic stage device, an enormous shield-like disk that descends repeatedly over the stage. The curtain opens with an image of Oedipus in the womb, the Oedipus dancer suspended by a red sash in front of the womb-like disk. When Oedipus recalls his victory over the sphinx, the Oedipus dancer stands at the top of the disk, golden this time, and triumphs over an enormous sphinx puppet. The same disk is positioned behind Creon as he reports the oracle from Delphi, now looking like an enormous eye or an all-seeing sun; and it makes its final appearance as Oedipus reaches his full self-recognition. The recurrence of this sun-like symbol at various key points in Oedipus' life lends a mysterious sense of unity to the tragic course of events, reminding us

<sup>16</sup> STRAVINSKY and CRAFT 1963, 5-7.

<sup>17</sup> Available on disk, *Stravinsky: Oedipus Rex* (TAYMOR 2005).

<sup>18</sup> For the pervasive appearance of ritual movement in Greek drama, particularly processional movement, see KAVOULAKI 1996/97.

<sup>19</sup> See the discussion in WHITE 1979, 334-335.

that Apollo understands the interconnectedness of these moments from the start while Oedipus himself can perceive the connections only after stumbling blindly into parricide and incest.

Stravinsky explores this contrast between the frailty of human understanding and the potency of the divine also in his development of Jocasta, who closely resembles Sophocles' model in her self-reliance and her disregard for things divine. Jocasta, of course, is responsible for one of the greatest ironies of the drama. To allay Oedipus' fears about Tiresias' accusation, she reassures him that oracles cannot be trusted: Laius, so the oracle claimed, would die by his own son's hand, but instead his son was exposed as a child, and Laius died at the hands of strangers at a crossroads (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 707-25). Paradoxically, however, this attempt at reassurance suddenly reminds Oedipus of his own encounter with an old man at a crossroads, a recollection which leads him inevitably to his self-recognition as the parricidal and incestuous son. Just as Oedipus demonstrates only an illusory control over the effects of his deeds and the meaning of his words, Jocasta's ironically alarming reassurance further exemplifies the inability of mortals to bring their intentions to completion, or to see clearly the true import of their speech and actions. Stravinsky's Gloria chorus, a powerful laudatory fanfare accompanying the queen's entrance, would seem to underscore this disparity between human perception and reality. Adapted from the Russian church service, and containing triple repetitions that for Stravinsky symbolized the Holy Trinity, the Gloria properly belongs not to members of the royal family, but to divinities.<sup>20</sup> Without necessarily implying that Jocasta somehow deserves the calamitous reversal of fortune that ensues, the improper application of this sacred music to a mortal ironically underscores the gulf between the true, all-knowing divinity and the human ruler whose elevated social status and authority will soon vanish. Only the former, the divinity, truly deserves the praise conferred by the Gloria chorus.

Jocasta's dismissive attitude toward the oracle, or at least toward the mortal agents who manage it, appears as a disturbing potential impiety in both the Classical drama and the modern opera. Though less disconcerting than many of the religious violations in Greek tragedy—the threatened removal of a supplicant from an altar, for example—Jocasta's contempt as designed by Sophocles generates a religious unease characteristic of the genre, and one which presents a complex counterpoint to

<sup>20</sup> STRAVINSKY and CRAFT 1963, 9-10.

the pity the audience will naturally feel for this tragic character. Sophocles mitigates Jocasta's offense soon after it occurs by having her bring offerings to the altars as she begins to recognize her error and now desperately turns to the gods for help (Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* 911-23). Stravinsky omits this act of atonement, but he too further develops the emotional complexity surrounding Jocasta and her condemnation of the oracle. As his Jocasta recalls the oracle's warning that Laius was to be killed 'by her son'—*nato meo*—her outburst of grief implicitly condemns the oracle for robbing her of this child and condemning her to a childless marriage. Emotionally scarred, still grieving bitterly over the child exposed so many years ago, she resembles the Creusa of Euripides' *Ion*, who comes to Delphi with angry accusations against the god who wronged her.<sup>21</sup> To build a character both regal and vulnerable, self-assured yet deeply grieved and bitter, Stravinsky endows Jocasta with some of the most arresting and intriguing music of the opera, beginning with a magisterial rebuke of the quarreling princes—*nonn' erubescite, reges?* ('are you not ashamed, princes?')—then moving to a haunting, sensual melody punctuated with poignant expressions of anger, fear, and pain as she delivers to Oedipus her fatal words of comfort. Moments later, when she at last realizes the truth of all the oracles, she attempts to deter Oedipus from discovering this truth by repeating her warning against dishonest oracles in increasingly desperate tones—*Cave oracula quae semper mentiantur* ('beware of oracles, which always lie'). The extraordinary musical richness of her performance paints a frightening and distressing picture of a grief-stricken queen powerless in her quarrel with the divine, who suffers as much in recognizing her child as she did when she first lost him.

Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* lends itself more easily to overt religious treatment than most Greek tragedies. *Antigone*, for example, is frequently adapted as a political statement with little attention to the religious pollution resulting from Creon's unholy edict.<sup>22</sup> The prominence of Apollo's oracle in the story of Oedipus, by contrast, renders religious

<sup>21</sup> The emphasis on Jocasta's maternal grief may be a contribution of Cocteau. In his *Machine infernale* Jocasta still keeps the child's crib in her bedroom years after the exposure.

<sup>22</sup> Jean Anouilh's *Antigone*, for example, dispenses entirely with Tiresias. But contrast Tengiz Abuladze's 1984 film *Repentance*, which implicitly likens the tyrannical Soviet assault on Georgian religious traditions to Creon's conflict with Antigone. See COLAKISZ 1999 on the complex relationship between Sophocles' drama and Abuladze's film.

issues all but unavoidable in modern revivals of Sophocles' drama.<sup>23</sup> Yet Stravinsky's adaptation goes further than most in bringing the religious dimension to the foreground and creating a sacred atmosphere that accords with the spirit of the original.<sup>24</sup> He carefully manipulates the drama, the spectacle, and the music to recapture the Sophoclean collision between mortal and divine, highlighting the confusion and suffering of the mortals against a background of divine inscrutability, all within a sacred, ritualistic context that honors both the human sufferers and the unknowable divine forces.



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<sup>23</sup> Adaptations, of course, can take substantial liberties with the divine machinery. Cocteau, for example, introduces Anubis as a companion for the Sphinx in *la Machine infernale*.

<sup>24</sup> A noteworthy parallel is Lee Breuer and Bob Telson's *Gospel at Colonus*, although the Christianizing elements of this work mark a notable departure from the Classical model.

# 10

## GOD OF MANY NAMES: DIONYSUS IN THE LIGHT OF HIS CULT EPITHETS

Anton Bierl

### *The fifth stasimon of Sophocles' Antigone*

THE fifth stasimon of Sophocles' *Antigone* marks a turning point: after a long and obdurate refusal to heed Tiresias' warnings, Creon has declared himself ready to bury Polyneices' body and to free Antigone from the cave tomb in which she has been imprisoned. At that decisive moment the chorus perform a song in the form of a cletic hymn (*hymnos kletikos*), invoking Dionysus 'to come with purifying foot' (μολεῖν καθαρσίῳ ποδὶ 1143):<sup>1</sup>

πολυώνυμε, Καδμείας  
νύμφας ἄγαλμα  
καὶ Διὸς βαρυβρεμέτα  
γένος, κλυτὰν ὄς ἀμφέπεις

1115 {στρ. α'}

<sup>1</sup> Cf. GRIFFITH 1999, 313-322; further BIERL 1989, 50-54; 1991, 127-132; HENRICHS 1990, 264-269; FURLEY and BREMER 2001.II, 272-279; RODIGHIERO 2012, 152-165 (with further bibliography); Bierl 2017; on *Ant.* 1146-1152 see also HENRICHS 1994/95, 77-78; BIERL 2011a, 323-324; FORD 2011, 345, 347-348. On the idea of the purifying foot in the sense of a cathartic-ecstatic dance, see SCULLION 1998. On purification concepts in the cultic epithets see Appendix 'Ἄτρος, 'Ἥσιος, Λύσιος and Παιώνιος. FORD (2011) and VERSNEL (2011) have inspired important ideas for this paper. It is dedicated to the memory of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood; her keen interest in Sophocles' *Antigone* (SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1987-88; 1989a; 1989b; 1990) as well as in Greek gods and religion hardly need any recommendation. In her memory I have also tried to systematize the material of Dionysian epithets and to present here an indicative selection (see Appendix). The first part of this contribution consists to great extent of a translation of BIERL 2013a into English; I cordially thank Athena Kavoulaki for encouraging me to include this material in the volume, for producing an elegant translation and for editing the text.

- Ἴταλίαν, μέδεις δὲ  
παγκοίνοις Ἐλευσινίας 1120  
Δηοῦς ἐν κόλποις, ὦ Βακχεῦ,  
Βακχᾶν ματρόπολιν Θήβαν  
ναιετῶν παρ' ὕγρον  
Ἴσμηνοῦ ῥέεθρον, ἀγρίου τ'  
ἐπὶ σπορᾶ δράκοντος. 1125
- σὲ δ' ὑπὲρ διλόφου πέτρας {ἀντ. α'}  
στέροψ ὄπωπε  
λιγνύς, ἔνθα Κωρύκιοι  
στείχουσι Νύμφαι Βακχίδες  
Κασταλίας τε νᾶμα. 1130  
καί σε Νυσαίων ὀρέων  
κισσῆρεις ὄχθαι χλωρά τ' ἀ-  
κτὰ πολυστάφυλος πέμπει  
ἀμβρότων ἐπέων  
εὐαζόντων Θηβαίας 1135  
ἐπισκοποῦντ' ἀγυιάς.
- τὰν ἐκ πασᾶν τιμᾶς {στρ. β'}  
ὑπερτάταν πόλεων  
ματρὶ σὺν κεραυνίᾳ·  
νῦν δ', ὡς βιαίας ἔχεται 1140  
πάνδαμος πόλις ἐπὶ νόσου,  
μολεῖν καθαρσίῳ ποδὶ Παρνασίαν 1143  
ὑπὲρ κλειτὺν ἢ στονόεντα πορθμόν. 1145
- ἰὼ πῦρ πνεόντων {ἀντ. β'}  
χοράγ' ἄστρων, νυχίων  
φθεγμάτων ἐπίσκοπε,  
Ζηνὸς γένεθλον, προφάνηθ',  
ᾧναξ, σαῖς ἅμα περιπόλοις 1150  
Θυΐαισιν, αἶ σε μαινόμεναι πάννυχοι  
χορεύουσι τὸν ταμίαν Ἴακχον.
- You of many names, 1115  
glorious image of the Cadmeian bride,  
son of loud-thundering Zeus  
you who watch over renowned  
Italy and rule

in the folds of Eleusinian 1120  
 Deo that are open to all, o Baccheus,  
 dwelling in Thebes, the mother-city of the Bacchae  
 beside the liquid  
 stream of Ismenus and over  
 the seed of the savage dragon. 1125

You the flashing, smoky flame  
 has seen over the twin peaks  
 of rock where Corycian Bacchic  
 nymphs move (in dance),  
 and the spring of Castalia (has seen you). 1130  
 And you, the ivied slopes  
 of Nysean mountains and the green shore  
 with many grape clusters escort,  
 while immortal words  
 shout out their *euoi*-cry, as you are 1135  
 overseeing the streets of Thebes,

that of all cities you  
 honour as preeminent, together  
 with your mother who was struck by lightning.  
 Now, since the city and its entire people 1140  
 are held fast under wild sickness,  
 come with purifying foot across the slope  
 of Parnassus or the moaning strait. 1145

Io, chorus leader  
 of stars breathing fire, overseer  
 of voices in the night,  
 child, offspring of Zeus, appear in an epiphany,  
 lord, together with your attendant 1150  
 Thyiads, who in maddened frenzy the whole night long  
 set you in dance, the dispenser Iacchus.

(Trans. A. Bierl)

In order to attract the attention of the god,<sup>2</sup> the chorus of Theban elders address Dionysus with a direct and strong invocation as ‘god of many names’ (πολυώνυμε S. *Ant.* 1115).<sup>3</sup> In accordance with the style

<sup>2</sup> A god who is characterized with the epithet ἐπήκοος, i.e. ‘the listener’, in Aegina (*SEG* IV 4).

<sup>3</sup> Also in Orph. *H.* 52,1. In E. *Ion* 1074-1075 Dionysus is associated with πολύυμνον.

characteristic of hymns, their song abounds in substantives and relative sentences, participial constructions and appositions, all piled one on another. In this hymnal way the god is connected with various possible places of residence (1118-1130), from which he is now summoned to come and appear at his birthplace Thebes (προφάνηθ' 1149).<sup>4</sup> The Dionysian landscape is to send the god in a procession (πέμπει 1133) to his homeland Thebes; its divine patron oversees the streets (ἐπισκοποῦντ' ἄγυιάς 1136) where the god himself is about to arrive, while shouts of divine and inarticulate words escort him on his way with their *euai*, *euoi*-cries (ἄμβρότων ἐπέων / εὐαζόντων 1134-1135).<sup>5</sup> The extended preliminary section where all possible routes of arrival are imagined, culminates in a fervent appeal to the god to make his epiphany, dancing with cathartic foot (μολεῖν καθαρσίῳ ποδὶ 1143).<sup>6</sup> Finally, addressing Dionysus-Iacchus as ἰὼ πῦρ πνεόντων / χοράγ' ἄστρων, νυχίων / φθεγμάτων ἐπίσκοπε ('io, chorus leader of fire-breathing stars, overseer of nocturnal cries,' 1146-1148), the chorus calls on the god to appear as chorus leader of both the actual chorus and of the maenadic-mystic chorus projected simultaneously onto the chorus of stars, as overseer of the nocturnal cries, particularly of the Iacchus-shouts, which his ecstatic group of Thyiads in Delphi or initiates in Eleusis also let out. Thus, they call upon Iacchus the dispenser (τὸν ταμίαν Ἰακχον 1152), who, as overseer, becomes the leading figure of the furious movement. And the women—in their madness (μαινόμεναι) and all-night (πάννυχτοι 1149) long cries—set him in choral movement, by themselves dancing (χορεύουσι 1152) as well. Dionysus is envisaged as a virtual divine *choregos* (χοράγ' 1147) or *exarchos*,<sup>7</sup> the chorus leader of his wild dancing chorus which projects its performance onto the natural environment.

In the course of a single choral song the whole of Dionysus' power is revealed. The localities invoked consist of idyllic bays and springs; the slopes of Nysa are 'ivy-grown' (1133), the shore is 'lush green' and 'vine-rich' (1132-1133),<sup>8</sup> but the straits are 'groaning' portending disaster (1145). Inarticulate cult cries, processions of the incoming god and

<sup>4</sup> On formal elements in hymnal language cf. NORDEN 1913, 143-177; FURLEY and BREMER 2001.I, 50-64.

<sup>5</sup> The acoustic song and speech elements are seen as active instances that do something, i.e. they utter *euie*, *euie*. See GRIFFITH 1999, 320 *ad* 1131-1136.

<sup>6</sup> See SCULLION 1998.

<sup>7</sup> See BIERL 2001, 42; 144 n. 101; 145; 147-148 (Engl. 2009, 29; 120 n. 101; 122-124).

<sup>8</sup> The attributes are projections of the natural energy, that is expressed through various epithets connoting growth, ivy and wine.

musical performances (associated with the very action taking place in the orchestra) combine to provide a living image of this deity, an image which is also reflected in his multiple epithets.

### *Many names and alterity*

One might assume that Dionysus as ‘god of many names’ (πολυώνυμος) would stand out among the other gods in the Greek pantheon by virtue of his distinct diversity. However, all Greek gods seem to be endowed with a large number of *epikleseis*, i.e. divine names and cultic epithets, since they are all considered to be manifold and with many different aspects. In the *Banque de Données des Epiclèses Grecques* of the University of Rennes II CRESCAM (<<http://www.sites.univ-rennes2.fr/lahm/crescam/recherche-generale.php>>)<sup>9</sup> Dionysus has 501 entries, while Zeus has 2698, Apollo 1210, Artemis 982, Hera 337 and Poseidon 216; and names can appear over and over again. From this point of view Dionysus seems to occupy only a middle position *vis-à-vis* other gods. Even in a single Attic deme such as Erchia, Apollo can appear with six different names in the local calendar (*LSCG* 18). Nonetheless, an important problem that is posed with regard to the numerous *epikleseis* of the god is whether Dionysus of many names was conceived as a unified god or as many Dionysi. Scholars are not unanimous on this point. Henk Versnel probably comes close to the truth of the matter, when he argues that according to the context one or another perspective was highlighted.<sup>10</sup>

Since Dionysus figured prominently in dramatic and literary contexts, in his case epithets attested from literature are more than from inscriptions. Karl Bruchmann has collected a little more than thirty-three book columns in this category, each column with about twenty entries.<sup>11</sup> Dionysus’ diversity is distinguished for its particularly contrasting aspects—and that is why Plutarch characterized him as ‘god of many kinds and forms’ (πολυειδῆ καὶ πολύμορφον, *de E apud Delphos* 389b). The specific fluctuation and oscillation of perspectives can be discerned even in the ambiguity of some of his epithets. For example, in the case of epithets such as *Enorches* and *Choiropsalas*, it is the aspects of dance and sexuality that come to the foreground, while in such cases as

<sup>9</sup> The results mentioned here were retrieved in May 2018. The material of the data base is constantly enriched and updated.

<sup>10</sup> VERSNEL 2011.

<sup>11</sup> BRUCHMANN 1893, 78-94.

*Eleuthereus* and *Laphystios*, it is the toponym as well as the etymological association ('free,' 'gorging') that stand out.<sup>12</sup>

Interestingly, a hymn in the *Anthologia Palatina* is composed solely on the basis of Dionysiac epithets (*AP* 9,524): in the context of an exhortation to praise in song 'the king who loves the *euios*-cry, the he-goat' (ll. 1 and 26), the unknown poet produces twenty-four hexameters with epithets in alphabetical order from alpha to omega (many of which are also found in the appendix below):

Μέλπωμεν βασιλῆα φιλεύιον, εἶραφιώτην,	1
ἀβροκόμην, ἀγροῖκον, ἀοίδιμον, ἀγλαόμορφον,	
Βοιωτόν, βρόμιον, βακχεύτορα, βοτρυοχαίτην,	
γηθόσυνον, γονόεντα, γιγαντολέτην, γελόωντα,	
Διογενῆ, δίγονον, διθυραμβογενῆ, Διόνυσσον,	5
Εὔιον, εὐχαίτην, εὐάμπελον, ἐγρεσίκωμον,	
ζηλαῖον, ζάχολον, ζηλήμονα, ζηλοδοτῆρα,	
ἦπιον, ἥδυπότην, ἥδύθροον, ἠπεροπῆα,	
θυρσοφόρον, Θρήικα, θιασώτην, θυμολέοντα,	
Ἰνδολέτην, ἰμερτόν, ἰοπλόκον, ἰραφιώτην,	10
κωμαστήν, κεραόν, κισσοστέφανον, κελαδειόν,	
Λυδόν, ληναῖον, λαθικηδέα, λυσιμέριμον,	
μύστην, μαινόλιον, μεθυδώτην, μυριόμορφον,	
νυκτέλιον, νόμιον, νεβρώδεα, νεβριδόπεπλον,	
ξυστοβόλον, ξυνόν, ξενοδώτην, ξανθοκάρηνον,	15
ὄργιλον, ὄβριμόθυμον, ὀρέσκιον, οὔρεσιφοίτην,	
πουλυπότην, πλαγκτῆρα, πολυστέφανον, πολύκωμον,	
ῥηξίνοον, ῥαδινόν, ῥικνώδεα, ῥηνοφορῆα,	
σκιρτητήν, Σάτυρον, Σεμεληγενέτην, Σεμελῆα,	
τερπνόν, ταυρωπόν, Τυρρηνολέτην, ταχύμηνιν,	20
ὑπνοφόβην, ὑγρόν, ὑμενήιον, ὑλήεντα,	
φηρομανῆ, φρικτόν, φιλομειδέα, φοιταλιώτην,	
χρυσόκερων, χαρίεντα, χαλίφρονα, χρυσεομίτην,	
ψυχοπλανῆ, ψεύστην, ψοφομηδέα, ψυχοδαϊκτῆν,	
ὦριον, ὠμηστήν, ὠρείτροφον, ὠρεσίδουπον.	25
μέλπωμεν βασιλῆα φιλεύιον, εἶραφιώτην.	

One might think that this is proof of Dionysus' uniqueness with respect to naming—at least in literary contexts. Nonetheless, the next poem

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also the playful use of the epithet *Μεθυμναῖος*, which points both at wine and drunkenness as well as at an origin from Methymna in Lesbos (*Μηθυμναῖος*).

in the collection (*AP* 9,525), dedicated to Apollo this time, displays the same technique which seems to form an exercise in literary style. Certainly, Apollo and Dionysus constituted complementary deities already in Delphi, and as is well known, out of this complementarity Nietzsche conceived a contrast fundamental for modern intellectual history.

Notwithstanding, one has to admit that Dionysus is different: as Henk Versnel has argued, he is the first Classical god to be characterised as *heis* (εἷς ‘one’), to assume, thus, henotheistic traits.<sup>13</sup> Already in Euripides’ *Bacchae* he is constantly drawn as a god who is unique and claims superiority over the rest of the pantheon. Accordingly, in the Gurob papyrus of early Hellenistic times (*P.Gurob* 1.23 = *OF* 578.23b) he is addressed as εἷς Διόνυσος.

### *Dionysian Characteristics*

The collection of Dionysian epithets (appended below) allows us perhaps an emic view on the god, suggesting possible Dionysian aspects considered to be central. Admittedly, the sources are scattered over many centuries, so that the general outcome is to a certain extent artificially produced on the basis of names available.

At all events, a certain picture does seem to emerge,<sup>14</sup> according to which Dionysus turns out to be a creative, multi-faceted and transgressive god, full of energy and vitality who—notoriously—resists clear-cut and simple definitions.<sup>15</sup> Like a kaleidoscope he constantly oscillates between manifold manifestations. Therefore, it is perhaps most suitable to call him a figure of ‘the Other’, following Vernant (whose definition goes back to L. Gernet).<sup>16</sup> At the same time, however, it is methodologically problematic to overemphasize his dissimilarity, since he shares features of otherness with all other Greek gods. As regards Dionysus’ otherness (which is perhaps only one of degree), Vernant has highlighted the moment of the transgressive, the mimetic element and the mask, in other words the dynamic play of illusion.<sup>17</sup> Other possible features of difference (relating to myth mainly) are the following (according to Susanne

<sup>13</sup> VERSNEL 1990; 2011, 40-44.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. BIERL 2011a, 316.

<sup>15</sup> On Dionysus in general, see HENRICHS 1982; 1996a, and as a different god, see now the volume by SCHLESIER (ed.) 2011.

<sup>16</sup> VERNANT 1965, 358 (‘l’Autre’); 1981, 18; 1983, 42-43; 1985, 246; 1986, 291-292. Cf. also GÖDDE 2011, 85-88.

<sup>17</sup> On mimesis cf. VERNANT 1981, 17-24, and 1983, 41-42. Cf. BIERL 1991, 15-17; GÖDDE 2011,

Gödde this time):<sup>18</sup> 1. He has a mortal mother, Semele; 2. he is born twice; 3. he experiences death and suffering, whereas other gods are typically immortal; 4. he drives his entourage mad and is himself characterized as manic (μαινόμενος); 5. being different, he is met with resistance by the people, since he allegedly threatens civic order.

In a paradoxical manner Dionysus seems to bridge dichotomies. Thus, we can discover already on the Orphic bone tablets of the fifth century BC from Olbia: ΒΙΟΣ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ ΒΙΟΣ ('life–death–life'), ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ ('peace–war'), ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ ΨΕΥΔΟΣ ('truth–lie') and ΣΩΜΑ ΨΥΧΗ ('body–soul').<sup>19</sup> He oscillates between further antitheses: man–woman, god–hero, man–animal, light–darkness, polis–countryside, inside–outside, abroad–home, Greek–barbarian, civilization–nature, cosmos–chaos, idyll–violence, happiness–suffering, laughing–lament, order–destruction, tranquility–*mania*, chastity–sexuality, and festivity–ecstasy. Euripides summarizes this tension, marking him δεινότητας, ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἠπιώτατος ('most terrible, but to the people most gentle and kind', *Ba.* 861), while Plutarch later pins the Dionysiac paradox down to the opposition between his epithets ἀγριώνιος and μελιχίος (*Plut. Ant.* 24); this tension was later resumed by Friedrich Nietzsche and Walter F. Otto, who defined him as the god of polar oppositions.<sup>20</sup>

Yet Dionysus stands neither for pure and abstract dualism nor for the frequently quoted *coincidentia oppositorum*. Rather both sides, understood as energetic forces in dynamic reciprocation, tend to fuse under his influence. Thus, the dichotomies should not be seen as fixed, structural terms but experienced in the cult and myth of a lived religion. Accordingly, Dionysus is not only a wild, violent and destructive power, but also a central polis-god who stabilizes order in the city. Scenarios of violence tend to occur in myth, while phenomena of group cohesion are mostly situated in cult.<sup>21</sup>

Moreover, Dionysus is a god on the move and in constant change, and he also exposes others to the transformations seen in the above-mentioned range of categorical oppositions. He abounds in vital energy, making everything grow and sprout. Most of all, he always wishes to be

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85–88; further on difference cf. GÖDDE 2011, 88–92.

<sup>18</sup> See GÖDDE 2011, 92–103.

<sup>19</sup> *OF* 463–465 Bernabé.

<sup>20</sup> On Dionysus as the god of polar oppositions, see OTTO 1933; HENRICH 1982, esp. 158 with 233 nn. 193–196; HENRICH 1984, 236–237 n. 88; 1990, 271 n. 57 with the references to Nietzsche. Cf. also BIERL 1991, 14–20 and *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> BIERL 2011a, 315.

present. Thus, we encounter him as arriving from afar or even from the realm of the dead, and he manifests himself in his manifold forms as an epiphanic god *par excellence* (ἐπιφανέστατος θεός).<sup>22</sup> His main features and spheres of influence include: 1. wine and drunkenness; 2. wild nature, vegetation and animality; 3. madness and ecstasy; 4. underworld and death; 5. mysteries and afterlife; 6. sex, eros and love; 7. dance, music and performance; 8. mask and costume; 9. fiction, imagination, vision and miracle.<sup>23</sup>

With respect to the last three items (7-9) mentioned above, Dionysus became the god of the theatre. The θέα of a procession<sup>24</sup> becomes a θέατρον, where 'the coming god' celebrates his arrival and epiphany.<sup>25</sup> Dionysus is a θεατής (spectator), actor and even leader of his chorus of female maenads and male satyrs who love to sing and dance. Last but not least, his choral *thiasos* is the mythic model of the dramatic χορός whose members appeal to the god to assume notional leadership. The chorus of citizens who dance in the god's honour in the theatre create a link to the spectator who thus becomes a participant. Through mutual oscillations between interior and exterior, between cult and myth, the theatrical event becomes a comprehensive multimodal performance under the aegis of the god.<sup>26</sup>

### *The god as personification of the ecstatic performance*

It is remarkable that for Dionysus, the god of exuberant vitality, a whole range of cult epithets are derived from inarticulate, ecstatic cries. These names (*Iakchos* Ἰακχος, *Bakchos* Βάκχος, *Bakcheus* Βακχεύς, *Bakcheios* Βακχεῖος, *Bakchebakchos* Βακχέβακχος, *Iobakchos* Ἰόβακχος, *Euios* Εὔιος, *Euas* Εὔας, *Eusios* Εὔσιος, *Eleleus* Ἐλελεύς, *Ieios* Ἰήιος,

<sup>22</sup> See the inscriptions of Antiochia CIG III 3979 und CIG 1948; on Dionysus' particular presence and tendency to show himself in an epiphany, see OTTO 1933, esp. 70-80; HENRICH 2008, 19; 2011.

<sup>23</sup> See HENRICH 1982, esp. 139; HENRICH 1996a, esp. 479; HENRICH 2008, esp. 23; SCHLESIER (ed.) 1997 (esp. C: 'Wirkungsbereich'; Engl.: Dionysus. *Brill's New Pauly*. Brill Online, 2013. Reference. Universitaetsbibliothek Basel. 29 January 2013 <<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/dionysus-e320270>>).

<sup>24</sup> See KAVOULAKI 1996.

<sup>25</sup> See OTTO 1933, esp. 74-80; on the 'kommende Gott' as a Romantic concept (G. F. Creuzer, F. Hölderlin), see FRANK 1982.

<sup>26</sup> On the role of Dionysus in all three dramatic genres, see BIERL 2011a, especially 315-316, and BIERL 1991, 13-20. On some basic ideas about Dionysus as the personification of the ecstatic performance, see now BIERL 2013a and FORD 2011. On Dionysus in tragedy, see BIERL 1991; on the chorus, also often in a Dionysiac context, see BIERL 2001.



As was the case in the fifth Stasimon of *Antigone*, Dionysus is once again called upon—here only as a hero—by use of the intense infinitive (which stands for the imperative) and in the manner of wild ecstatic body movement. His arrival must take place on foot (ποδί), an indication that stands again as *pars pro toto* for dancing.<sup>29</sup> Here the hero is at the same time an animal; Dionysus fluctuates, as is well known, between beast (here, bull and cow), hero and god. The final repetition makes the call particularly strong, so as to acquire a relative independence, similar to the exclamation *Iakch' o Iakche* (Ἰακχ' ὦ Ἰακχε), in the *Frogs* of Aristophanes (325, 340). Verbal articulation and movement go hand in hand and complement each other.

According to Andrew Ford (2011) these ritual cries, as well as the cultic names derived from them, show a lack of propositional meaning. Ford associates the epithet 'of many names' (πολυώνυμος) with the abundance of sonority, the excess of sound and movement during a performance which forfeits any particular meaning; he combines it with such adjectives as *polythroos* (πολύθροος) 'with much noise / shouting' and *polyglossos* (πολύγλωσσος) 'often repeated' or 'loud, multi-tongued'.<sup>30</sup> Already in Antiquity Diodorus Siculus (4,5,1-2) had also tried to explain some cultic names such as *Bakcheios*, *Lenaios*, *Bromios*, *Pyrrigenes* and *Thriambos* (all unintelligible by that time), but he eventually gave up.

At this point, it is worth noting that the lack of propositional meaning seems to entail an instantiation of what Roman Jakobson called 'poetic function'. I have already applied this general approach to the rituality of traditional and literary choreutics (choral poetics), showing that ritual and literature do not stand in opposition but are mutually dependent.<sup>31</sup> In the intense emotional atmosphere of enthusiasm and

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ὕμνοῦσαι παρακαλοῦσι βοέω ποδί παραγίνεσθαι πρὸς αὐτάς; ἔχει δ' οὕτως ὁ ὕμνος:  
 'Ἐλθεῖν, ἦρ', ὦ Διόνυσε,  
 ἄλιον ἐς ναὸν  
 ἀγνὸν σὺν Χαρίτεσσι  
 ἐς ναὸν τῷ βοέω  
 ποδί δύων.'

εἶτα δις ἐπάδουσιν 'ἄξιε ταῦρε'. Cf. SCHLESIER 2002, and esp. 161 with notes 4-7 on the textual issue.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. also θρασεῖ δ' ἐγκατακρούων / ποδί (Ar. *Ran.* 330-331).

<sup>30</sup> FORD 2011, 348.

<sup>31</sup> JAKOBSON 1960, especially 358 [= *Selected Writings* III, 27]. See TAMBIAH 1985, 165 and BIERL 2001, 287-299 (especially 293 with n. 503) and 331-346 (especially 335 with n. 92) (Engl. BIERL 2009, 254-265, mainly 259-260 with n. 503, 296-310 and mainly 299 with n. 92). For understanding literature and ritual in a dynamic-dialectical way cf. BIERL, LÄMMLER and WESSELMANN 2007, and especially BIERL 2007.

ecstasy the fusion of word, music and rhythmic movement results in gradual loss of signification. In order to bring the god of epiphany to the point where he finally manifests himself, one sings and dances in wild movements. Above all, one enters the state of mania through ecstatic and inarticulate cries, delivered in short and iterated combinations such as *iakch-*, *bakch-*, *eu-*, *eui-*, *ie-*, *iy-*.<sup>32</sup> The personified cry becomes then the designation of the god himself, which signifies no more than the manic performance itself.

Manifesting himself in performative terms, i.e. in wild cries, aulos music and ecstatic choral movement, the god of the theatre stands out in Dionysian scenes of surviving drama, such as the fifth stasimon of Sophocles' *Antigone* discussed in the first part of this paper. There are many more examples, however.

The *parodos* of Euripides' *Bacchae* (64-166) is a notable case, a scene which I have (elsewhere as well) interpreted in these performative terms.<sup>33</sup> The epiphanic arrival of the god is acted out and experienced as choral multimediality in the context of an incoming procession (Διόνυσον κατάγουσαι 85, Βρόμιος ὅστις ἄγει θιάσους 115; cf. πομπός 965, 1047). Whoever performs in this fashion is conceived as enthusiastic, filled with the god and blessed, because the performer's life fuses with the sacred group, the *thiasos* (θιασεύεται ψυχάν *Ba.* 75).<sup>34</sup> The Lydian worshippers praise him in *eúōi*-cries, the *Euios*, i.e. the divine embodiment, so to say, of the ecstatic shout (*Ba.* 157). The maenads project themselves onto Mount Cithaeron in a wildly iterated cry ἴτε βάκχαι, ἴτε βάκχαι (83, 152-153) and simultaneously lead the god 'from the Phrygian mountains' (Φρυγίων ἐξ ὀρέων 86) into the city of Thebes, i.e. 'into Hellas' broad streets for dancing' (Ἑλλάδος εἰς εὐ-/ρυχόρους ἀγυιάς 86-87).

In the typical manner of total fusion and reciprocity between performance and locality, the territory in which he comes in is often witnessed in a state of frantic dance (αὐτίκα γὰρ πᾶσα χορεύσει *Ba.* 114).<sup>35</sup> I call this phenomenon *performative transference* to the natural environment.<sup>36</sup> A similar totalizing effect, the projection of chorality onto nature, coun-

<sup>32</sup> Cf. also VERSNEL 1970, 27-34.

<sup>33</sup> See BIERL 2011b and 2013. See also KAVOULAKI 1999.

<sup>34</sup> See SCHLESIER 1998.

<sup>35</sup> See BIERL 2001, 147-148 (Engl. 2009, 123) on Ar. *Thesm.* 995-1000, then KOWALZIG 2007.

<sup>36</sup> After HENRICHS 1996b, 61 n. 49, I used 'pathetic fallacy' for this phenomenon (BIERL 2013b, 218), with reference to COPLEY 1937.



δέσποτ'· ἐγὼ δὲ κώμοις σε φιλοχόροισι μέλψω	990
τεῦιον ὦ Διὸς σὺ Βρόμιε καὶ Σεμέλας παῖ, χοροῖς τερπόμενος κατ' ὄρεα Νυμ- φᾶν ἐρατοῖς ἐν ὕμνοις, ὦ Εὐί' Εὐί' εὐοῖ, (ἠδόμενος) ἀναχορεύων.	991 994a 994b
ἀμφὶ δὲ συγκτυπεῖται Κιθαιρώνιος ἠχῶ, μελάμφυλλά τ' ὄρη δάσκια πετρώ- δεις τε νάπαι βρέμονται· κύκλω δὲ περὶ σε κισσὸς εὐπέταλος ἔλικι θάλλει.	995 1000

Now come, leap, whirl with rhythmic foot! Turn the whole song! But you yourself be our leader, ivy-bearing Bacchic lord! And we shall honor you in dance and song in chorus-loving *komoi*. O Euius, Bromius, son of Zeus and Semele, you who delight in choral dances and dance in chorus over the mountains to the lovely hymns of the nymphs, o Euius, Euius, euoi, o Euius! All about you the echo from Cithaeron sounds, and the dark-leafed bushy mountains and rocky glens rumble, and spiraling around you in a circle sprouts leafy ivy. (Trans. A. Hollmann)

Dionysus is fascinated by the round dance of the 'here and now,' while being himself projected onto the Dionysiac landscape of the mountains. After the chorus' appeal to take the lead, he dances (ἀναχορεύων 994b) as chorus leader among the nymphs, who set him in wild whirling motion with their ecstatic cries of εὔιον εὔιον εὐοῖ, which tend to merge with the god.<sup>41</sup> The ecstatic sound effects of voices, *tympana*, and *auloi* resound from the mountains and valleys all around Dionysus (περὶ σε 1000), who becomes the central ἐξάρχων on the acoustic level. In

<sup>41</sup> This is the transmitted reading for 994a in manuscript R. With Wilson, for reasons of resonance, I adopt Hermann's conjecture ὦ Εὐί', Εὐί', εὐοῖ.

the end (999-1000), the ivy, highlighted through its association with his epithet *κισσοφόρος*, is projected onto his cyclic dance. Around Dionysus as imaginary *choregos*, this sacred plant, just like his musical group, winds in a circle (*κύκλω*) and shoots up in spiral form (*ἔλικι*) as choral performers are often portrayed in their whirling motion of a round dance as *εἰλίσσοντες*.<sup>42</sup>

Finally, it is worth having a brief look at the *parodos* of the *mystai* with their famous *Ἰακχ' ὦ Ἰακχε / Ἰακχ' ὦ Ἰακχε* cry in Aristophanes' *Frogs* (316-317).<sup>43</sup> Initially, Dionysus does not seem to recognize that the apparently meaningless and inarticulate shout of iterated syllables is the divine name understandable only for the initiates, whereas his servant Xanthias solves the enigmatic riddle: *τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖν', ὦ δέσποθ'· οἱ μεμυημένοι / ἔνταῦθά που παίζουσιν* ('This is what it is, o master, the initiates are playing and dancing somewhere,' 318-319).<sup>44</sup> Then the song starts again with the *Ἰακχε*-shout.

<i>Ἰακχ' ὦ πολυτίμητ' ἐν ἔδραις ἐνθάδε ναίων,</i>	323-24
<i>Ἰακχ' ὦ Ἰακχε,</i>	325
<i>ἐλθὲ τόνδ' ἀνὰ λειμῶνα χορεύσων</i>	
<i>ὀσίους εἰς θιασώτας,</i>	
<i>πολύκαρπον μὲν τινάσσω</i>	
<i>περὶ κρατὶ σῶ βρύνοντα</i>	
<i>στέφανον μύρτων, θρασεῖ δ' ἐγκατακρούων</i>	330
<i>ποδὶ τὴν ἀκόλαστον</i>	
<i>φιλοπαίγμονα τιμὴν,</i>	
<i>χαρίτων πλεῖστον ἔχουσαν μέρος, ἀγνὴν,</i>	333-34
<i>ἱερὰν ὀσίοις μύσταις χορείαν.</i>	

Iacchus, here abiding in temples most reverend, Iacchus, O Iacchus, come to dance in this meadow; to your holy mystic bands shake the leafy crown around your head, brimming with myrtle, boldly stomp your feet in time to the wild fun-loving rite, with full share of the Graces, the holy dance, sacred to your mystics.

(Trans. M. Dillon)

<sup>42</sup> On *εἰλίσσω* as an expression of circular dance, particularly in Euripides, see among others E. *Tro.* 2-3, *El.* 180, 437, *IA* 1055-1057, *HF* 690, *Phoen.* 234-236, 313-316. According to WILAMOWITZ-MOELLENDORFF (1895.3, 158), it is a 'favorite word' ('Lieblingswort') of Euripides. See also CSAPO 1999/2000, 419-422 and TSOULAKIDOU 2012, 39-40.

<sup>43</sup> GRAF 1974, 40-51, 51-66; FORD 2011.

<sup>44</sup> On the initiatory dimension of *τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖν'* in the sense of an "aha" experience' of insight, see FORD 2011, 353, with 348 and 346 (Dikaios' recognition of the mystic nature of the cry in *Hdt.* 8.65).

The song is once more a *hymnos kletikos*, in which the chorus refers to its notional chorus leader Iacchus-Dionysus in a highly self-conscious manner. The divinity is constantly invoked as a dancer, permanently shifting between ‘function’ in the orchestra and dramatic ‘character.’<sup>45</sup> Playing (παίζειν, φιλοπαίγμονα 334) goes together with dancing (χορεύσων 326, χορεία 336)<sup>46</sup> and the cultic rite (τιμάν 334) is explicitly and emphatically explained as *choreia* (335), the quintessential action of Dionysus. The long *parodos* self-referentially revolves around the choral activity, i.e. the chorus’ παῖσαί τε καὶ χορεῦσαι (‘sporting and dancing’ 388, 407).<sup>47</sup> In Eleusis Demeter serves as *paredros* preserving and protecting the chorus, but Iacchus as Dionysus is the real master, ‘deviser of our festal song most sweet (μέλος ἑορτῆς ἥδιστον εὐρών)’ (398-399).<sup>48</sup> He is invoked as ‘lover of the dance’ (402, 413) to lead the mystic dancers in a procession (an allusion to the renowned Eleusinian procession) onto the dramatic locus of the mystic underworld meadow and the actual orchestra in the ‘here and now’ (Ἰακχε φιλοχορευτά, συμπρόπεμπέ με 402, 413; cf. προβάδην ἔξαγ’ 351). In the numerous instances of choral self-reference, the Initiates’ voices in their dramatic role merge with the performative function of the chorus and its *choregos*. When the god of drama does this in comedy, dancing will be mixed with poking fun at people (σκώπτειν 492, 417). Finally, and in a way reminiscent of Sophocles’ *Antigone* 1146-1148, Iacchus proves to be ‘the light-bringing star of the nocturnal rite’ (νυκτέρου τελετῆς φωσφόρος ἀστήρ 342); thus, the god is envisaged as leader of a projected astral chorus guiding ‘the youth that makes the chorus’ to the mystic meadow, ‘the flowering marshy ground’ (ἐπ’ ἀνθηρὸν ἔλειον / δάπεδον χοροποιόν, ..., ἦβην 351-352).

We encounter again this strange tendency to project the totalizing feeling onto mythical choral groups or even onto the cosmos, the stars, onto the entire environment. Under Dionysus’ influence everything fuses. The entirety of nature is envisaged in frenzied motion, namely the sky, the earth, the mountains, the whole of the land; he stands in the middle and the surrounding objects revolve around him in a circular

<sup>45</sup> See DOVER 1993, 57-60, and on the fluidity of choral voices see BIERL 2001, Index, ‘Chor/Fluktuation (Ambiguität der Instanzen und Rollen)’ (Engl. 2009), *passim*.

<sup>46</sup> See BIERL 2001, esp. 86-96 (Engl. 2009, 67-75), and BIERL 2006.

<sup>47</sup> On choral self-referentiality, see HENRICH 1994/95, who draws on BIERL 1991, e.g. 35-36, 83-84, 99, 106-107, 129, 155, 164, 190-191, 224 and 242-243 (where he associates Dionysus with self-referential and metatheatrical utterances).

<sup>48</sup> On the Eleusinian elements of the *parodos*, see GRAF 1974, 40-51.

dance. In the end, Dionysus becomes identified with the underlying substance, the abstraction of ecstatic, inarticulate cries, of signs with a lack of propositional meaning which crystallize into strange *epikleseis* of the god responsible for that extraordinary experience. As a hypostasized expression of ecstatic performance, Dionysus is present for the insider, i.e. the initiates—hence his association with mysteries; whereas for the outsider it is purely insane behavior without any meaning.

### *Association with Mysteries*

From such inarticulate cries and fragmentary signification there emerged at an early stage an association with Mysteries, as Herodotus' description (8, 65) makes clear regarding the *iacchus*-sound before the battle of Salamis: an exiled Athenian named Dikaios ('the righteous') explains it as the 'mystical *iacchus*-cry', but the deeper sense of these words remains undisclosed to his Spartan interlocutor Demaratus.<sup>49</sup> It is precisely in the Orphic-Dionysian mystery contexts that such enigmatic and repeated catchphrases (*synthemata* or *symbola*) always recur. Compare the gold plate from Pherae dated to the fourth century BC (*OF* 493):

σύμβολα· Ἀν(δ)ρικεπαιδόθυσον. Ἀνδρικεπαιδόθυσον. Βριμῶ.  
Βριμῶ. εἴσιθ(ι) ἱερόν λειμῶνα. ἄποινος γὰρ ὁ μύστης.

Guiding Phrases: Man-child Thyrsus. Thyrsus. Brimo. Brimo. Go into the holy meadow. For free from punishment is the mystes.

Dionysus is the emblem and personification of exuberant energy and manic performance, which, because of the lack of signification, remains enigmatic and meets with resistance. Those who do understand the ecstatic expressions can abandon themselves and merge in their worship with the god and thus become his initiates. For them the inarticulate cries can transform into poetry and the entire frenzy into 'deeper' religion, a religion which would soon lay its own claims.




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<sup>49</sup> Cf. FORD 2011, 346.

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APPENDIX — *Dionysian epithets*I. *Attempt at classification of epithets*

If one wishes to bring a certain order into the numerous epithets and aspects of the god (see List below), I propose the following divisions:

## 1. Structuralist schema on the antitheses and their mediations

Cult		Myth
Wine, festive joy	Ecstasy	Maenadism, omophagy, Sparagmos, blood
Light		Darkness
Life	Mysteries	Death and Hades
Romance		Violence
Order		Primeval chaos
Inside (Greek)		Outside (foreign, barbaric)
Polis		Wild Countryside
Athens		Thebes
Polis-stabilizing Functions	Delphi	Subversion of Order in Myth
Discipline		Signs of Mania, Ecstasy
Art, Theatre, Music, Choral dancing		Subverted world in theatre Mania-generating music Ecstatic dancing
God		Animal
Link with Apollon	Hero-Man	Link with Ares and other chthonic powers

Peace	War
Old	Young
Mild	Wild

## 2. Division of *epikleseis*, from the higher to the lower

### a) Otherness/ alterity:

Vitalistic power, animality: *Antheus* Ἄνθεός, *Bassareus* Βασσαρεύς, *Breiseus* Βρεισεύς, *Bromios* Βρόμιος, *Eiraphiotes* Εἰραφιώτης, *Enorches* Ἐνόρχης, *zamenes* ζαμενής, *problastos* πρόβλαστος, *Protrygaios* Προτρύγαιος, *Tauros* Ταῦρος, *Phleos* Φλεός, *Phleus* Φλεύς, *Psilax* Ψίλαξ.

Special presence and special inclination to epiphany: *epiphanestatos theos* ἐπιφανέστατος θεός.

Performance, dance, stumbling: *Bromios* Βρόμιος, *Enorches* Ἐνόρχης, *Kathegemon* Καθηγεμών, *Iyngies* Ἴυγγίης, *polemokelados* πολεμοκέλαδος, *Sphaltes* Σφάλτης, *Sphaleotes* Σφαλεώτης, *choreios* χορείος, *choroitypos* χοροϊτύπος.

Inarticulate cry: *Bakchos* Βάκχος, *Dithyrambos* Διθύραμβος, *Eleleus* Ἐλελεύς, *Euios* Εὔιος, *Euas* Εὔας, *Iakchos* Ἴακχος, *Ieios* Ἴήιος, *Iyngies* Ἴυγγίης.

Frenzy/ Mania, ecstasy: *Dyalos* Δύαλος, *Thyoneus* Θυωνεύς, *Lenaios* Ληναῖος, *Lysios* Λύσιος, *mainomenos* μαινόμενος.

Wine, ivy, smoke, vegetation: *Antheus* Ἄνθεός, *auxites* αὐξίτης, *Dasyllios* Δασύλλιος, *dendreus* δενδρεύς, *eukarpos* εὐκαρπος, *Eustaphylos* Εὐστάφυλος, *Hemerides* Ἡμερίδης, *Kisseus* Κισσεύς, *Laphystios* Λαφύστιος, *Leibenos* Λειβήνος, *Setaneios* Σητάνειος, *Sykeates* Συκεάτης, *chlookarpos* χλοόκαρπος, *Liknites* Λικνίτης.

Sexuality, phallicity: *aroeus* ἀροεύς, *arsenothelys* ἀρσενόθηλυς, *gynaimanes* γυναιμανής, *eurybalindos* εὐρυβάλινδος, *Orthos* Ὄρθός, *Orsigynaika* Ὀρσιγύναικα, *Paideios* Παιδεῖος, *problastos* πρόβλαστος, *Sykeates* Συκεάτης, *Phallen* Φαλλήν, *Phleus* Φλεύς, *Choiropsalas* Χοιροψάλας, *Pseudanor* Ψευδάνωρ.

Death and overcoming of death (often euphemistically): *Eubouleus* Εὐβουλεύς, *Euergetes* Εὐεργέτης, *Hemerides* Ἡμερίδης, *Isodaites* Ἴσοδαίτης, *Meilichios* Μειλίχιος, *ploutodotes* πλουτοδότης.

Resolution of order, wildness, omophagia, sparagmos: *agrionios* ἀγριώνιος, *anthroporrhaites* ἀνθρωπορραίστης, *Bromios* Βρόμιος, *Zagreus* Ζαγρεύς, *Omadios* Ὠμάδιος.

Theater, illusion, Masks: *Apatenor* Ἀπατήνωρ.

## b) Self/ identity:

Polis/Order: *aisymnetes* αἰσυμνήτης, *demosios* δημόσιος, *Kathegemon* Καθηγεμών, *Mesateus* Μεσατεύς, *patroos* πατρῶος, *Polites* Πολίτης, *proestos tes poleos theos* προε[σ]τῶς τῆ[ς] πόλεως θεός, *prokathegemon tes poleos theos* προκαθηγεμ[ὼν τῆς πόλεω]ς θεός.

House: *Oikouros* Οἰκουρός, *patroos* πατρῶος.

## c) Individual aspects:

Animal-man-hero-god: *Bassareus* Βασσαρεύς, *Bougenes* Βουγενής, *Eiraphiotes* Εἰραφιώτης, *Tauros* Ταῦρος, *Theos megas* Θεός μέγας.

Man-Woman: *Androgynos* Ἀνδρόγυνος, *arsenothelys* ἀρσενόθηλυς, *thelymorphos* θηλύμορφος, *Pseudanor* Ψευδάνωρ.

Light-darkness: *Lampter* Λαμπτήρ, *Nyktelios* Νυκτέλιος, *Phausterios* Φαυστήριος.

Peace-war: *doratorphoros* δορατοφόρος, *Enyalios* Ἐνάλιος, *polemokolados* πολεμοκέλαδος.

Music: *Auloneus* Αὐλωνεύς, *Bromios* Βρόμιος, *Melpomenos* Μελπόμενος, *Mousagetes* Μουσαγέτης.

Healing: *Iatros* Ἴατρός, *Ieios* Ἴήιος, *katharsios* καθάρσιος, *Lysios* Λύσιος, *Hygiates* Ὑγιάτης.

Vegetation, harvest: *Antheus* Ἄνθεύς, *aroeus* ἀροεύς, *auxites* αὐξίτης, *eukarpos* εὐκαρπος, *eurybalindos* εὐρυβάλινδος, *problastos* πρόβλαστος, *Protrygaios* Προτρύγαιος, *Sykeates* Συκεάτης.

Wine: *akratophoros* ἀκρατοφόρος, *Botrys* Βότρυς, *eukarpos* εὐκαρπος, *Laphytios* Λαφύστιος, *Methymnaios* Μεθυμναῖος, *Morychos* Μόρυχος, *Omphakites* Ὀμφακίτης, *polygathes* πολυγαθής, *Setaneios* Σητάνειος, *Skyllitas* Σκυλλίτας, *Staphylites* Σταφυλίτης, *Hygiates* Ὑγιάτης, *charidotes* χαριδότης.

Sacrifice: *anthroporrhaistes* ἀνθρωπορραίστης, *aigobolos* αἰγοβόλος, *Omestes* Ὀμηστής.

## d) Space (exterior, mountain, swamp, lake):

*Akroreites* Ἀκρωρείτης, *aktaios* ἀκταῖος, *halieus* ἄλιεύς, *Kolonatas* Κολωνάτας, *Limnaios* Λιμναῖος, *Oreios* Ὀρειος, *pelagios* πελάγιος.

e) Toponym: *Auloneus* Αὐλωνεύς, *Briseus* Βρισεύς, *Eleuthereus* Ἐλευθερεύς, *Kadmeios* Καδμείος, *Kalydonios* Καλυδώνιος, *Kresios* Κρήσιος, *Mesateus* Μεσατεύς, *Nyseus* Νυσεύς, *Phigaleus* Φιγαλεύς.f) Cult: *akratophoros* ἀκρατοφόρος, *amphietes* ἀμφιετήτης, *amphiteros* ἀμφιέτηρος, *Phyllophoros* Φυλλοφόρος, *Perikionios* Περικιόνιος, *polygathes* πολυγαθής.

Mysteries, purifier: *katharsios* καθάρσιος, *Lysios* Λύσιος, *Mantis* Μάντις, *Mystes* Μύστης, *Saotas* Σαώτας.

Competition: *Enagonios* Ἐναγώνιος.

- g) Myth: *alocheutos* ἀλόχευτος, *dimetor* διμήτωρ, *dissotokos* δισσότοκος, *Thyoneus* Θυωνεύς, *Semelios* Σεμελήιος, *Sphaltes* Σφάλτης, *Melanaigis* Μελαναιγίς.
- h) Exterior (s. cult): *Dasyllios* Δασύλλιος, *Kissokomes* Κισσοκόμης, *Paideios* Παιδεῖος, *Morychos* Μόρυχος.

## II. Select List of Epitheta

(in German, Indentations in Small Characters as Citations)<sup>50</sup>

*Banque de Données des Epiclèses Grecques* der Universität Rennes II CRESCAM, <<http://www.sites.univ-rennes2.fr/lahm/crescam/recherche-generale.php>>.

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PRELLER, L. 1894. *Griechische Mythologie* I, 4. Aufl. bearb. von C. ROBERT. Berlin.

WENTZEL, G. 1890. *Ἐπικλήσεις sive de deorum cognominibus per grammaticorum graecorum scripta dispersis*. Göttingen, Kap. VII, 50.

ἄγριος 'der Wilde' *Iberoia* 56.

ἀγριώνιος 'der Wilde, von den Agrionia', Bezeichnung des dionysischen Frauenfests der Agrionia im dorischen und äolischen Bereich, das im Frühling gefeiert wurde. In dazugehörigen Mythen werden die Frauen als mänadenhafte Wesen gezeichnet (Proitiden in Tiryns zerreißen die eigenen Kinder [Hes. fr. 37,10-15 M.-W.], in Orchomenos werden die Minyastöchter in Wahnsinn und Kindsmord getrieben [Plut. *quaest. Graec.* 299e; Paus. 9,20-21]). Rituell ausgespielt wird der Sagenkomplex in Chaironeia (Plut. *quaest. conv.* 717a). Zentrale Merkmale des Fruchtbarkeit- und Totenfestes sind Wahnsinn, Sparagmos, Omophagie und das Ausleben der Geschlechteragonistik (C. Auffarth, *DNP*, s.v. Agrionia <<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/der-neue-pauly/agrionia-e108780>>).

<sup>50</sup> I am grateful to Ann-Kathrin Stähle for typing the names from KERN 1905 and PRELLER 1894, adding the citations from CHANTRAINE 2009 and FRISK 1960, 1970.

αἰγοβόλος 'der Ziegen-Treffer, -schlächter', bei Potniai in Boiotien Paus. 9,8,1. Vgl. CHANTRAINE, 154, z. B: "ταυροβόλος «qui comporte un sacrifice d'un taureau» (inscriptions)".

Αἰθιοπίης παῖς 'der Sohn der Sonnenverbrannten (s.c. Erde), der Personifikation von Aithiopien, der Frau mit sonnenverbranntem Gesicht, von Aithiopien'; der fremde, barbarische Gott. Vgl. CHANTRAINE, 31; FRISK 1960, 37-38 αἶθω.

αἰσυμνήτης 'der Kampfrichter, Inhaber eines administrativen Amtes, der für ausgleichende Gerechtigkeit sorgt, Herrscher', in Patrai Paus. 7,20,1; wohl vorderasiatische Lehnbildung, die volksetym. mit αἶσιμος 'schicklich, was den richtigen Teil, die geziemende Fügung hat', von αἶσα 'Teil, Schicksal'; vgl. CHANTRAINE, 38 und FRISK 1960, 46 αἰσυμνάω. Vielleicht chthonische Vorstellung eines Unterweltrichters, der die Lose der Gerechtigkeit zuteilt.

ἀκρατοφόρος 'der Bringer, Träger des ungemischten Weins, Gefäß mit reinem, ungemischtem Wein', in Phigaleia, Paus. 8,39,6.

Ἀκρωρείτης 'der Bewohner der Bergkämme', in Sikyon Apollod. fr. 43,4 ap. Steph. Byz. Ἀκρόρεια.

ἀκταῖος 'der an der Küste gelegene, zur Küste, zum Ufer gehörige', neben Apollon ξένιος auf Chios *CIG* II 2214e und *I.Ch.* 53; vgl. CHANTRAINE, 49-50; FRISK 1960, 61 ἀκτή.

ἄλιεύς 'der Seemann, Fischer', nach Philochoros *FGrHist* 328 F 191, zum Delphin und zum "Fisch-Advent" vgl. BURKERT <sup>2</sup>1997, 218-226, 227-235.

ἄλόχευτος 'nicht geboren, nicht natürlich geboren', Doura Europos, Syrien *SEG* XVII 772.

ἀμφιετής, ἀμφιέτηρος 'der Alljährliche, der um das ganze Jahr Wirksame, der in Jahresfesten Gefeierte, Orph. *H.* 53.

Ἄνδρόγυνος 'der Mann-Weibliche, Hermaphrodit', Suda.

Ἄνθεός 'der Blühende, der in Blüte Stehende', in Patrai Paus. 7,21,6.

ἄνθιος 'der aus Blumen Bestehende, Stammende, Blumige', Attika *IG* II<sup>2</sup>

1356; in Phyla zusammen mit den *Nymphai Ismenides* und der Ge Paus. 1,31,4.

Ἀνθιστήρ ‘der das dionysische Blumenfest der Anthesteria Feierende’, auf Thera, *IG XII* 3,329; zu den Anthesteria, ein überall in Ionien, schon uraltes vor der Ionischen Wanderung gefeiertes Frühlingsfest, Thuk. 2,15,4: “die ältesten Dionysien”; Totenfest und karnevaleskes Jahresfest mit verkehrter Ordnung, vgl. BURKERT <sup>2</sup>1997, 236-273. Vgl. CHANTRAINE, 85; FRISK 1960, 108-109 ἄνθος.

ἄνθος n. ‘Blume’, oft übertragen (seit Il.). – Sehr zahlreiche Ableitungen. 1. Substantiva [...] Ἀνθεστήρια n. pl. ‘Blumenfest, Frühlingsfeier’ (ion. att. vgl. Chantraine, 63, Schwyzer 470:7) mit dem Monatsnamen Ἀνθεστηριών. [...] 2. Adjektiva. ἄνθινος ‘aus Blumen bestehend, stammend, blumig, bunt’ (ι 84, Hp., Arist. usw.); ἄνθηρός ‘blumenreich’, vorw. übertr. ‘frisch, glänzend, üppig’ (S., E., Ar., Isok., X. usw.) [...] davon ἀνθηρότης (Sch.). Die übrigen Adjektiva sind vereinzelt und spät: ἀνθήεις ‘hellfarbig’, ἀνθίμων ‘blumenreich’ (vgl. auch ἀνθέω), ἀνθικός ‘mit Blumen versehen’, ἄνθιμος ‘aus Blumen stammend’; [...] (FRISK 1960, 108-109).

ἄνθος «pousse, fleur» (Hom., ion.-att., etc.), cf. Aitchison, *Gl.* 41, 1963, 272 sqq.; δ’où «éruption» (Hp.), «broderie, éclat, fleur de la jeunesse», etc. (ion.-att.). [...] Dérivés : [...] Ἀνθεστήρια «fête des fleurs» (à Athènes et dans des cités ioniennes), fête de Dionysos et des morts (Nilsson, *Gesch. der Gr. Rel.* 1,561, etc.; pour le suff. -τήριον, cf. Chantraine, *Formation* 63); δ’où le nom de mois Ἀνθεστηριών. [...] Il a été tiré de ἄνθος un certain nombre d’adjectifs: ἄνθινος [...] *Od.* 9,84, pour la nourriture des Lotophages, [...] le sens dérivé de «brillant, coloré comme des fleurs» est tardif; [...] (CHANTRAINE, 85).

ἀνθρωπορραϊστής ‘der Menschenzerschmetterer, -zertrümmerer, -zerstörer’, auf Tenedos Ael. *NA* 12,34, nicht identisch mit Menschenopfer an ὠμάδιος in Tenedos und Chios, vgl. GEORGOUDI 2011, 47-59, bes. 49-50.

Ἀπατήνωρ ‘der Täuscher’, Euphorion, *POxy.* 19,2219, fr. 418, I, 25.

Ἄρειος ‘der Kriegerische’, Pantikapaion *IosPE* IV 199 = *CIRB* 15.

ἀροεύς ‘Pflüger, Zeuger’, in Patrai Paus. 7,21,6.

ἀρσενόθηλος ‘der Hermaphrodit, der Mannweibliche’, vgl. CHANTRAINE, 111. Dionysos steht zwischen den Kategorien von Mann und Frau.

Ἀρχαγέτας τᾶς πόλιος ‘Gründer der Stadt’, in Teos *LBW* 76.

ἀρχέβακχος ‘der Führer der Bakchoi’, Kulttitel im Mysterienzusammenhang; in Seleukeia in Kilikien TAM Suppl. 22, Sel 62 und Jaccottet 160 (II, 266-267); Titel im Mysterienverein, der wie der des Mysten, Schatzmeisters auch auf D. selbst übertragen werden kann.

Ἄτης ‘der Verderben schickt’, EM 163,54.

Ἄττις synkretistische Verbindung mit Attis, des phrygischen Hirtenjüngling, der durch Selbstkastration ums Leben kommt, nachdem er von Kybele in Wahnsinn versetzt worden ist; mythische Projektion kastrierter Mysterienpriester der Galloi.

Αὐλωνεύς ‘von Aulon, der in höhlenartigen Gegenden, rohrartigen Schluchten, Tälern und Gräben Weilende’, in Athen IG II<sup>2</sup> 5078; nur indirekt mit dem dionysischen Instrument der Flöte zu tun, αὐλών Abl. von αὐλός ‘Röhre, röhrenartiger Körper, Flöte’; im attischen Aulon (IG III 193) und vielleicht in Naxos. Vgl. CHANTRAINE, 134 und FRISK 1960, 186 αὐλός.

αὐξίτης ‘der Mehrer, der Wachstum bringt’, in Heraia in Arkadien neben D. πολίτης Paus. 8,26,1; vgl. FRISK 1960, 187, CHANTRAINE, 134-135 αὔξω. αὔξω erweitert αὐξάνω [...] ἀέξω (poet. seit Il.) αὐξύνω (Aesop.) [...] – Mehrere Ableitungen. Nomina actionis: αὐξησις (ion. att.), αὐξησία (personifiziert; Hdt. u.a.) αὐξημα (Hp., E.) [...] ‘Vermehrung, Wachstum’ Nomen agentis αὐξητήης m. ‘Vermehrer’ (Orph.), außerdem als Bez. der Göttin des Wachstum Αὐξώ (Paus., Poll.; zur Bildung Schwyzer 478, Chantraine, *Formation* 115ff.). (FRISK 1960, 187-188).

αὔξω [...] Dérivés nominaux: [...] Le nom d’agent αὐξητήης est très tardif et rare, de même que l’adj. verb. αὐξητός. Mais on a à partir d’Hp. et Arist. αὐξητικός, soit au sens intransitif «qui croît», soit au sens transitif «qui fait croître». [...] (CHANTRAINE, 134-135).

### Bakchos (Βάκχος) und Ableitungen

**Βάκχος** m. N. des Dionysos und seiner Diener, auch des Zweiges, den die dem Gotte Geweihten tragen (Xenoph., S., E. usw.). Davon Βάκχη f. ‘Bacchantin’ (A., S., E. usw.) βακχεύω, Βακχεύς, Βακχεῖος und mehrere andere Ableitungen (vgl. Boßhardt Die Nomina auf -εύς § 71), wie das Grundwort vorwiegend poetisch. Zu βακχάω (von Βάκχος, A.) s. Schwyzer 726 A.2. – Fremdwort unbekannter Herkunft. Mit Βάκχος hängt irgendwie zusammen lyd. *Baki* in *Bakivalis* = Διονυσικλέους, wohl eher Entlehnung aus dem Griechischen als (mit v. Wilamowitz Glaube 2,63) umgekehrt. Nach v. Windekens Beitr. Z. Namenforschung 4, 125ff. zu βαβαί, βαβάκτης usw. (FRISK 1960, 212).

**Βάκχος** : m. nom de Dionysos (S. *OR*, etc., surtout en poésie); désigne aussi l'adorateur de Bacchos et même parfois toute personne inspirée; une branche portée par les initiés; le vin parfois (E., *IA* 1061, etc.). Féminin Βάκχη «Bacchante» (déjà chez Aesch.) et Βακχίς, -ίδος (S.). Doublet Βακχεύς (Aesch., S., etc.). Nombreux dérivés divers: Βακχεῖος, plus rarement.

Βάκχιος qui appartient à Bacchos, bachique» (trag., etc.) et -ικός (Arist.), Βακχείον n. et Βακχεία f. «fête bachique»; avec le suffixe familier -ᾶς (Björck, *Alpha impurum* 268 sqq.), Βακχᾶς «participant à la fête de Bacchos» (S., *fr.* 674).

Dénominatef: βακχᾶω «être déchaîné comme une bacchante» (Aesch., *Sept.* 498) s'insère dans une série de verbes comme λυσσαῖν, κισσαῖν, κυναῖν, etc. Mais Βακχισταί «adoreurs de Bacchos» (Théra), cf. Βακχιάζω, ne prouve pas l'existence d'un verbe βακχιζειν.

Sur le thème Βακχευ- ont été constitués le dénominatef βακχεύω (Hdt., trag.), βάκχευμα (E.), βάκχευσις (E.), -εὔσιμος (E.), -ευτής (Orph., *A. Pl.*), fém. -εὔτρια (*AB* 225, *AP* 11,64) avec -ευτικός (Arist.) et -εὔτωρ (*AP* 9,524).

Du thème Βακχιο- on a les dénominatifs βακχιάζω (E.) et au sens factitif βακχιόω (S.); en outre βακχιακός (Orph.), βακχιάς, -άδος f. (*AP*), βακχιώτης, -ου (S.), βακχιών, -ῶνος nom d'un mois à Mykonos (*SIG* 1024). [...]

(CHANTRAINE, 151).

Βακχᾶς 'Bakchas', S. *fr.* 674 R. aus dem Satyrspiel *Hydrophoroi*.

Βακχέβακχος 'Bakchebakchos', Kultnamen, abgeleitet von Βάκχος, Herod. *Gr.* 3,2,259 (und *Ar. Eq.* 408 βακχέβακχον ἕσαι 'das Lied B. anstimmen, das mit Βάκχε Βάκχε beginnt'); der Name beinhaltet den typischen Zustand der Raserei und des Wahnsinns; hier Doppelung als Steigerung.

Βακχεῖος 'Bakcheios' in Aegina *IGP* I 558,20, in Korinth *IGP* I 558,30 und Paus. 2,2,6, Sekyon, Rhodos *IG* XII I Index, p. 234.

Βακχειώτας 'Bakcheiotas', Sappho *fr.* 147 Bergk?, *Lyr. Adespota* (*SLG*) S318.

Βακχεύς 'Bakcheus', in Erythrai *LSAM* 25, in Naxos Andriskos und Aglaosthenes *FHG* IV 304 = *Ath.* 78c und Mykonos *LSCG* 96; vgl. S. *Ant.* 1121; E. *Ba.* 145; Orph. *H.* 45,2.

Βάκχιος 'Bakchios', in Amphipolis *SEG* LI 788; S. *Ant.* 154; E. *Ion* 550, 552, 553; *IT* 953; *Cyc.* 9; E. *fr.* 896 K.; *TrGF* I 97 F 6,24; *TrGF* II 397.

Βάκχιος ὁ δημόσιος 'Bakchios der Öffentliche', in Tralles *LSAM* 75.

Βακχιώτης 'Bakchiotas', S. *OC* 679.

Βάκχος 'Bakchos', in Brisa auf Lesbos *SEG* XLV 1094; Knidos *LSAM* 55; S. *OT* 211; E. *Hipp.* 560f.; *IT* 164; E. *fr.* 477 K.; *TrGF* II 204.

Βασσαρεύς 'der Fuchs-Bakchos, der im Wahnsinn sich wie ein Fuchs Gerierende, der Bakchante im Fuchsfell', Corn. *ND* 30; vgl. Hor. *Od.* 1,18.

Βάσσαρος 'der Fuchs-Bakchos', Orph. *H.* 45,2.

**Βασσάρα** f. 'Fuchs' (Sch. Lyk. 771), 'Tracht der Bacchantinnen' (*EM*, *AB*, *H.*), wohl eig. 'Fuchsbalg' (metonymisch); 'Bacchantinnen' (Sch. Lyk. 771, *EM* 191), im Plur. Titel einer Tragödie des A. (Sch. Ar. *Th.* 135); 'Dirne' (Lyk. 771, 1393, *EM*) – Davon βασσάριον 'Fuchs' (Hdt. 4, 129; Libyen), βασσαρίς 'Bacchantin' (Anacr.), 'Fuchs' (H.), βασσαρεύς Beiname des Dionysos (Hor. Corn.), βάσσαρος = βάκχος (Orph.); βασσαρικός = βακχικός (*AP*); denominatives Verb ἀνα-βασσαρέω (mit Tmesis) 'im Taumel aufjubeln' (Anacr.). – Näheres bei Pisani Stud. itfilcl. N.S. 11, 217ff.; s. auch Boßhardt Die Nomina auf -εύς 76f. (FRISK 1960, 224).

**Βασσάρα** f. «renard» selon la sch. Lyc. 771, «vêtement» des bacchantes thraces, fait de peaux de renard (*AB* 222, Hsch.), «bacchante» (Sch. Lyc. 771, *EM* 191), au pluriel titre d'une tragédie d'Aesch. sch. Ar. *Th.* 142; «femme de mauvaise vie» (Lyc. 771, 1393).

Dérivés : βασσάριον «renard» (Hdt. 4,192 dans une description de la Libye; Hsch. donne le mot comme «libyen»);

βασσαρίς, -ίδος f. «bacchante» (Anacr., *AP* 6,74) [...]

βασσαρεύς surnom de Dionysos (Horace, Corn.); βάσσαρος = βασσαρεύς (Orph.) mais aussi glosé par «renard», cf. Hsch. βάσσαρος· ἀλώπηξ παρὰ Κυρηναίους, cf. *EM* 191,1; βασσαρικός = βακχικός (*AP* 6,165.) [...]

Ét. : Ce groupe de mots est étroitement lié au culte de Dionysos et c'est ce qui explique les développements sémantiques divers («bacchante», «sauter de joie»); à l'origine il doit y avoir un nom du renard. Les noms du renard, en raison en partie d'un tabou linguistique, sont nombreux et divers.

Βασσάρα a l'aspect d'un mot d'emprunt, p.-ê. arrivé avec le culte de Dionysos. L'origine libyenne indiquée par Hsch. n'est guère probable.

Hypothèses chez Pisani, *St. It. Fil. Class.* 11, 1934, 217-224; Kretschmer, *Anz. Ak. Wien* 1950, 548-550, critiqué par Heubeck, *Praegraeca* 81, n. 10. (CHANTRAINE, 160).

Βότρυς 'Traube', in Philippi *I.Philippi* 535 und Jaccottet 30 (II, 68-69).

Βουγενής 'der Rindsgeborene', in Argos vgl. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 234f. βούκερω 'Ochsengehörnte' A. *Prom.* 590.

Briseus 'vom Berg Brisa, der Wuchtige, Starke'

Βρεισεύς, Βρησεύς, Βρισεύς (Aristid. 41(4),5), Βρησαγενής (*IG* XII 2,478,2), Βρισαῖος, in Lesbos und Smyrna Βρεισεύς *SIG* 851 und *EM* 210,5, Βρησεύς (*CIG* 3160); etym. unklar, wohl von βρι 'wichtig, stark' (FRISK 1960, 267-268) oder βρίζω 'schläfrig sein, einnicken'.

Βρόμιος 'der Lärmende, Rauschende, Tosende, Donnernde', im Hieron von Epidauros *IGP* I 1031; z. B. A. *Eu.* 24, E. *Ph.* 649; Ar. *Th.* 991.

**Βρέμω** nur Präsensstamm 'brummen, brausen, rauschen' (Poet. seit Il.). – Davon mehrere Verbalnomina: 1. βρόμος 'Geräusch' (poet. seit Il., sp. Prosa) mit βρόμιος 'rauschend' (Pi.), gew. Βρόμιος als Beiname des Bacchos (A., Pi. usw.) auch 'bacchisch' (E. usw.; vgl. v. Wilamowitz Eur. Her. 366); fem. Βρομιάς (Pi. u. a.); in derselben Bedeutung βρομιώδης (AP), fem. βρομιώτις, auch 'Bacchantin'; denominatives Verb βρομιάζω = βακχεύω (AP) [...] (FRISK 1960, 264-265).

[...] Dérivés : βρόμιος employé par Pi. pour la lyre, mais surtout épithète des Bacchos en raison du caractère bruyant du dieu (fêtes, musique, etc.) (Aesch., Pi., etc.) d'où «bachique» (E., etc.) sur l'emploi du terme chez E. cf. Wilamowitz, *Euripides Herakles* 366: le mot est un substitute de Dionysos; avec fem. βρομιάς, -άδος (Pi., etc) ou βρομιώτις «bacchante» (Opp.); adj. βρομιώδης (AP); verbe dénomiatif: βρομιάζομαι = βακχεύω (AP). (CHANTRAINE, 185).

Γέρων 'der Alte', auf Samos IG XII, 6, 1, 535.

Γοργυρεύς 'von Gorgyra, unterirdisches/schreckliches Gefängnis?, von unterirdischem Gewässer?', auf Samos Steph. Byz., s. v. γόργυρα.

**γοργός** 'furchtbar, schrecklich' vom Blick oder Anblick (A., E., X. usw.), später auch 'kräftig, lebhaft, behende' (auch als Stilbegriff). – Davon γοργότης 'Kraft, Lebhaftigkeit' (Hermog. u.a.); γοργία = agilitas (Gloss.) und die Denominativa γοργόομαι 'unbändig sein', vom Pferde (X.), γοργεύω 'sich lebhaft benehmen, sich emsig bemühen' (Pap. Sm., H.) (FRISK 1960, 321-322) und vielleicht γόργυρα 'Gefängnis' Hdt. 3,145 'unreirdischer Abzugskanal, Gefängnis' (FRISK 1960, 322).

γυναιμανής 'Frauen rasend machend, verrückt nach Frauen', *Hom. Hym.* 1,17 in Zusammenhang mit dem geilen 'Bock', Εἰραφιῶτα γυνομαινές.

Δασύλλιος 'der Bärtige' und 'der die Weinstöcke dichtbelaubt macht', in Megara Paus. 1,43,5 nach EM 248,50 παρὰ τὸ δασύνειν τὰς ἀμπέλους; in Kallatis SEG XLV 914 = *I. Callatis* 47.

Unter **δασύς** [...] δασυλλίς f. Kosenamen des Bären (EM 248,55), [...] Δασύλλιος Bein. des Dionysos (Paus.; nach EM l. c. παρὰ τὸ δασύνειν τὰς ἀμπέλους). (FRISK, 1960, 351).

**δασύς**: «à la surface hérissée, touffue», etc., d'où «poilu» (*Od.*, ion.-attique), «au feuillage touffu» en parlant de plantes, de lieux, etc. (*Od.*, ion.-att.), «enroué, sifflant» (médecins) par une métaphore qui se retrouve dans le sens grammatical d'«aspiré» (Arist., etc.), [...] Parmi les dérivés nominaux, deux présentent une certaine importance: [...] en outre δασυλλίς f. «la petite

velue», hypocoristique de Iours (EM 248,55), cf. pour le suffixe Leumann, Gl. 32, 1953, 218 sq.; avec Δασύλλιος épithète de Bacchos (Paus.) en tant que barbu, mais selon EM 248,50 παρὰ τὸ δασύνειν τὰς ἀμπέλους (?). [...] (CHANTRAINE, 243).

δενδρεὺς 'der Baumige, Buschige'

δενδρίτης 'zum Baum gehörig', 'der gut zum Wuchs für Bäume ist, der sich am Baum rankt', Plut. *quaest. conv.* 675f, Zeichen eines Baum- und Vegetationskults.

δένδρεον n. (Hom., Hdt., Pi.), auch δένδρον (att., auch Hdt.); Kompp. l. subst. καρύ-, λιθό-, ῥοδό-, σταφυλό-; 2. [...] – Mehrere Ableitungen, vorw. spät. Deminutiva: [...] δενδρίτης, - δενδρίτις 'zum Baum gehörig', auch N. eines Steins (Thphr., D.H. usw.; vgl. Redard Les noms grecs en -της [s. Index]) [...] (FRISK 1960, 365).

δένδρεον [...] Substantifs dérivés: δενδρίτης avec un suffixe fournissant des termes techniques divers: épithète de fruits (Thphr.), d'une pierre précieuse semblable au corail venant de l'Inde (*Cyran.*, etc.), de Dionysos (Plu.), etc.; avec le fém. δενδρίτις (γῆ) «terre bonne pour les arbres» (D.H.), etc., avec préverbe ἀναδενδρίτις ἄμπελος «vigne poussant contre un arbre» (*Geop.*) masc. ἀναδενδρίτις οἶνος «vin de cette vigne» (Plb.). (CHANTRAINE, 252).

δημόσιος 'dem Volk oder Staat gehörend, öffentlich', in Tralles Βάκχιος ὁ δημόσιος LSAM 75, Polisgott; vgl. dazu BIERL 1991. Zum ganzen vgl. FRISK 1960, 380 und CHANTRAINE, 262.

Δημοτελής 'auf Staatskosten lebend, öffentlich' Poliskult, in Athen Dem. 21,53 und W. Dittenberger, *Hermes* 26, 1891, 474; in Karystos IG XII 9, 20.

Διθύραμβος 'Dithyrambos', in Lampsakos Athen. 1,30b, EM 274,44; vgl. Pratinas *TrGF* I 4 F 3,16 (S.) θριαμβοδιθύραμβε, κισσόχατ' ἄναξ; für Etymologien vgl. IERANÒ 1997, 159-167.

διθύραμβος m. N. eines bei den Dionysosfesten gesungenen Liedes (seit Archil., Epich., Hdt., Pi., ion.-att.), vereinzelt auch auf den Gott übertragen (E. Ba. 526 [Iyr.]. [...]) Schon die Bedeutung läßt darauf schließen, daß διθύραμβος ebenso wie die gleichgebildeten ἴαμβος, θρίαμβος ein vorgriechisches LW ist; vgl. Chantraine *Formation* 260, Schwyzer 61f. [...]. (FRISK 1960, 391-392).

διθύραμβος [...] Dérivés: διθυραμβώδης (Pl., etc.), -ικός, (Arist., etc.) Διθυράμβιος nom de mois à Gonnoi en Thessalie. Verbe dénominatif διθυραμβέω «chanter un dithyrambe» (Philoch.). [...] (CHANTRAINE, 270).

διμήτωρ 'von zwei Müttern, zweimal geboren', *TrGF* II 21, Alexis 285 K.-A., *Orph. H.* 52,9.

δισσότοκος 'zweimal geboren' *Nonn. D.* 1,4.

Δύαλος 'der Tobende', Hesych. bei den Paioniern.

Δύαλος ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ Παίωνιν Η. – Illyrisches Wort, mit θύελλα (s.d.) am nächsten verwandt [...] (*FRISK* 1960, 422).

θύελλα f. 'Sturmwind' (poet. seit II., Arist. usw.); θυελλό-πους (*Nonn.*) nach ἀελλό-πο(υ)ς (Θ 409 u.a.); θυελλώδης (*Sch. S.*) wie ἀελλώδης (*Sch. II.*) – Bildung von θύω 'toben, stürmen', wahrscheinlich nach Muster von ἀελλα (s.d.), wo das *l*-suffix altererbt war [...]; zu bemerken jedoch illyr. Δύαλος (s.d.) dazu noch Specht Ursprung 328. (*FRISK* 1960, 690).

δορατοφόρος 'der Speerträger', Nähe zu Ares vgl. E. *Ph.* 784-800 und *Bierl* 1991, 154-156.

Εἰραφιότης 'der Bock, der Gott mit dem Wollflöckchen oder der Eingenähte?' Hesych. und *Suda*.

Εἰραφιότης, -ου, m. (*H. Hom.* 1,2; 17; 20, *Kall. Fr. anon.* 89 u.a.), Ἐρραφεώτης (*Alk.* 90) Beiname des Dionysos. Daneben der Monatsname Εἰραφίων (*Amorgos III<sup>e</sup>*). Bildung auf -ιώτης (*Chantraine, Formation* 311) von \*εἶραφος, \*εἰράφιον, vgl. ἔλαφος, -ιον und andere Tiernamen; somit wahrscheinlich auf die Tiergestalt des Gottes bezüglich. Da Dionysos am liebsten als Stier auftritt, denkt man in erster Linie an aind. *rsabhá* 'Stier', eine Erweiterung auf *-bha-* des in ἄρσιν 'von männlichem Geschlecht' vorliegenden alten *n*-Stamms [...]. Auszugehen wäre von einer hochstufigen Form wie ἔρσιν aber mit Schwund des σ und Ersatzdehnung wie in lak. εἰρήν 'Jüngling' (s.d.; Erklärung unsicher), κείραι usw. (zum Lautlichen Schwyzer 285f., *Lejeune Traité de phonétique* 107f.) Anknüpfungen an ἔριφος 'junger Bock' (s.v. *Wilamowitz, Glaube* 2,67 A.1), obwohl sachlich ebenfalls möglich, ist lautlich schwieriger zu begründen. – Anders *Bechtel Dial.* 1, 128f. (mit *Fick*): zu εἶρος, \*εἰράφιον 'Flöckchen'; dagegen *Solmsen IF* 7,47 A.1. – Näheres über Bildung usw. bei *Fraenkel Nom. Ag.* 2,208 A.2 mit *Lit.*, außerdem *Redard les noms grecs en -της* 9 und 13. (*FRISK* 1960, 464-465).

Εἰραφιότης, -ου : m. (*H. Hom.* 1, v. 2,17,20; *Call., Fr. anan.* 89 [*Schneider*] et quelques autres) [...]. Surnom de Dionysos. Cf. le nom de mois Εἰραφίων (*Amorgos III<sup>e</sup> s. av.*). Les interprétations antiques très diverses rattachent toutes le mot à quelque détail du culte ou de la légende du dieu, cf. *Allen-Sikes, Homeric Hymns*, 102: on évoque ἐφέρω, ἐρράφθαι, ἔριον, ἔριφος; cette dernière explication par un rapprochement avec le nom du chevreau est

acceptée par Wilamowitz, *Glaube* 2,67, n. 1; elle trouve un appui trompeur dans le surnom de Dionysos ἐρίφιος à Métaponte (Hsch.) et dans la glose Εἰραφιώτης· ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ τὸ ἐρράφθαι ἐν τῷ μηρῷ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ ἔριφος παρὰ Λάκωσιν (Hsch.).

En fait, l'épithète est un dérivé en -ιώτης (Chantraine, *Formation* 311) d'un \*εἶραφος, \*εἶραφιον, cf. ἔλαφος, -ιον, etc., et d'autres noms d'animaux; doit se rapporter à une forme animale du dieu. Comme Dionysos apparaît volontiers sous la forme d'un taureau, on rapproche skr. *rsabhá-*, formation en *-bha-* issue du thème en *n* représenté dans ἄρσην, ion. et dial. ἔρσην (v. ce mot). Il faut alors poser un vocalisme *e* et le traitement de *-ρσ-* avec chute de *s* et allongement compensatoire (cf. Lejeune, *Phonétique*, § 109 sq.). On évoquerait aussi lac. εἰρήν [...] (CHANTRAINE, 308).

Ἐλελεύς 'der Wehruf, Leidzufüger, der Erschütterer', in Samos Hesych. s. v. Ἐλυφεύς oder Ἐλιγεύς· Διόνυσος ἐν Σάμῳ.

ἐλελεῦ Wehruf (A. Pr. 877), Kriegsruf (Ar. Av. 364 ἐλελεεῦ), Ausruf im Allgemeinen. (Plu. *Thes.* 22). – Davon 1. ἐλελίζω, Aor. ἐλελίξαι 'einen Wehruf oder Kriegsruf (ἐλελεῦ) erheben' (Ar., E., X. u.a.); auch ἐλελύσδω (Sapph. 44, 31 LP; v.l. ὀλολύσδω). Primäre Interjektion, vgl. ἀλαλά, -άζω (m. Lit.) und ὀλολύζω; dazu Schwyzer 716; Schwyzer Debrunner 600f. 2. ἐλελίζω (*h. Cer.* 183, Pi. u.a.), [...] 1. 'erschüttern', Med.-Pass. 'zittern, erschüttert werden', 2. 'herumdrehen, sich drehen' (ep. poet. seit Il.). – Als Vorderglied (vgl. Schwyzer 444: 3) in ἐλελί-χθων 'erderschütternd' (Pi. P. 6,50), des Dionysos (S. *Ant.* 153); auch in ἐλελί-σφακος, -ον s. bes. (FRISK 1960, 488).

ἐλελεῦ : cri de douleur (Aesch., Pr. 877), exclamation dans la cérémonie des ὠσχοφόρια (Plu., *Thés.* 22); cri de guerre (Ar., *Ois.* 364 ἐλελεεῦ). [...] (CHANTRAINE, 319).

Ἐλευθερεύς 'der Gott aus Eleutherai, der befreit' (Anspielung auf ἐλεύθερος 'frei'), Paus. 1,38,8 etc., in Athen z. B. SEG XIV 12, IG III 1397 und in Eleutherai (Grenzort zwischen Attika und Boiotien), Stiftungsmythos Schol. Ar. *Ach.* 243.

Unter ἐλεύθερος [...] Fremden Ursprungs aber vielleicht nach ἐλεύθερος umgebildet und mit oppositivem Akzent der ON Ἐλευθεραί, woraus Ἐλευθερεύς als Beiname des Dionysos; (FRISK 1960, 490-491).

ἐν Λίμναις s. u. 'der in den Sümpfen', in Athen, bes. wichtig für die Anthesterien, Thuk. 2,15,4.

Ἐναγώνιος 'im Wettkampf stehend, dem Wettkampf vorstehend', in Magnesia am Maiandros *IMagnesia* 213a.

Ἐνδενδρος ‘im Baum befindlich’, Hesych., s. o. zu δενδρεύς, δενδρίτης.

Ἐνόρχης ‘Bock, mit Hoden stehend, durch Tänze geehrt’, auf Samos, Hesych. s. v; in Phigalia Lyc. 212.

Zu ὄρχις, -εως, [...] m. ‘Hoden’ [...]: Kompp. [...] ἔν-ορχις ‘mit Hoden versehen, unverschnitten’ (Hdt., Luk.), auch ἔν-ορχος (Ψ 147, Hp. u.a.; zur Stammbild. Sommer Nominalkomp. 111f.), ἐν-όρχ-ης auch ‘Bock’ (Ar., Arist., Theok.; -ης substantivierend, Schwyzer 451) [...] (FRISK 1970, 433).

Ἐνυάλιος ‘Enyalios’, Name eines Kriegsgottes, Nähe des. D. zu Ares vgl. BIERL 1991, 154-156.

Ἐνυάλιος [...] alter Kriegsgott, mit dem Kriegsgeschrei ἐλεεῦ verbunden und mit Ares identifiziert (seit Il.). Davon Ἐνυαλία N. einer Phyle in Mantinea (*IG* 5 (2), 271); Ἐνυάλιον N. eines Tempels auf der Insel Minoa (Th. 4,67). [...] Vorgriechischer Name mit unklarer Bildung und unbekannter Etymologie. [...] Zu Enyalios s. Nilsson *Gr. Rel.* 1,519 m. Lit. (FRISK 1960, 526).

Ἐνυάλιος : nom d’un dieu de la guerre, souvent associé au cri de guerre, et dont les Anciens se demandaient déjà s’il faut le confondre avec Arès: il s’agit certainement à l’origine de deux divinités différentes (Hom., etc.). [...] En outre Ἐνυαλία, nom d’une tribu à Mantinée (*IG* V 2,271), Ἐνυάλιον nom d’un temple (Th. 4,67). Autres noms de dieux ou de personnes: Ἐνυώ f. déesse guerrière (*Il.*, etc.), p.-ê. hypocoristique et Ἐννεύς roi de Scyros (*Il.* 9,668).

Ét. : Pas d’étymologie. Nom de divinité probablement préhellénique. (CHANTRAINE, 336).

ἐπήκοος ‘der Aufmerksame, der gute Zuhörer’, auf Ägina *SEG* XI 4.

ἐπιφανέστατος θεός ‘der sehr epiphane Gott’, in Antiochia *CIG* III 3979 und *CIG* 1948 (mit D. Eubouleus).

Ἐρίφιος ‘zum jungen Bock, zur jungen Ziege gehörig’, in Metapont Apollod. fr. 43,4 ap. Steph. Byz. Ἀκρόρεια; in Sparta Hesych.; vgl. das Goldblättchen von Thurii *OF* 487,4 B. ἔριφος ἐς γάλα ἔπετες und 488,10.

ἔριφος m. und f. ‘junger Bock, junge Ziege’ (ep. poet. seit Il., Kreta); im Plur. Benennung eines Gestirns (Demokr., Theok. u.a.; s. Scherer *Gestirnnamen* 124f.). – Davon das hypokoristische Deminutivum ἐρίφιον (Athenio Kom., *Ev. Matt.* 25,33 u.a.) [...] Adj. ἐρίφιος ‘zu ἔριφος gehörend’ (Kom., X); Ἐρίφιος Bein. des Dionysos in Metapontum (Apollod.) [...] (FRISK 1960, 560).

ἔριφος : m. et f. «chevreau, chevette» (Hom., Alc., Crète); au pluriel constellation (Démocr., Théoc.), cf. Scherer, *Gestirnnamen* 124. Dimin. ἐρίφιον (Athenio

Com. 1,30, *Ev. Matt.* 25, 33, pap., etc.), δ'οὐ ἐριφήματα· ἔριφοι. Λάκωνες (Hsch.), mais Latte corrige ἐριφήματα, cf. Chantraine, *Formation* 178. Adj. ἐρίφειος «de chevreau» (Com., X.). Enfin deux formes isolées: Ἐρίφιος surnom de Dionysos à Métaponte (Apollod. ap. St. Byz.), ἐριφέας (faute pour ἐριφίας)· χίμαρος (Hsch.). [...] (CHANTRAINE, 355).

Εὐανθής 'der Schönblumige, -blütende' Athen. 465ab.

Zu ἄνθος, Ἀνθεστήρια (vgl. FRISK 1960, 108 s. o.).

Εὐβουλεύς 'der Wohlratende' (von εὐβουλεύω), euphemist. Bezeichnung des D. in seinem chthonischen Unterweltsaspekt, Orph. *H.* 30,6, 70,4; Plut. *quaest. conv.* 714c; Macr. Sat. 1,18,12; vgl. das Goldblättchen von Thurii OF 491,2 B.; auch 488,2, 489,2 und 490,2.

Εὐεργέτης 'der Wohltäter', s. o. Hesych. s. v.

Εὔιος, Εὔας 'Euios, Euas', z. B. E. *Ba.* 566; Hesych.; Schrei schon auf einem Spiegel in Olbia aus dem 6. Jh. v. Chr. gefunden; vgl. WEST 1983, 156.

εὐαστής 'Gott des Euoi-Rufes', in Pergamon Jaccottet 91 (II, 171-172).

Εὔιος, Εὔιος (EM) Bein. des Dionysos, auch Adj. 'dionysisch, bakchisch' (S., E. u.a.) mit εὐιακός, f. εὐιάς (AP u.a.), εὐιώτης, f. -τις (Lyr. Alex. u.a.); lat. LW *Euhius*. – Aus dem Ruf εὐαί (-αῖ), εὐοί (-οῖ) usw. (FRISK 1960, 588).

εὐάζω εὔιος, etc. : Le verbe εὐάζω signifie «crier εὐα, εὐαί» (S., E., AP etc.) δ'οὐ les dérivés n. pl. εὐάσματα (E., *Ba.*), εὐασμός (hell. et tardif); noms d'agent: εὐαστής, εὐαστήρ (poésie tardive) avec le fém. εὐαστειρα (Orph.) et le dérivé εὐαστικός (A.D., Hsch.). A l'origine de ces dérivés, l'interjection εὐα-ἐπιφημισμός ληναϊκός καὶ μυστικός avec les variantes εὐαί (Ar.), εὐάν (E., etc.), εὐοί (Ar., S.): il s'agit d'une exclamation de joie poussée dans les fêtes de Bacchos. [...] C'est également de cette interjection qu'est tiré εὔιος (εὔιος EM 391,15) surnom de Dionysos, aussi comme adj. au sens de «bachique» (S., E., etc.); δ'οὐ l'adj. εὐιακός (A. Pl.), fém εὐιάς, -άδος (AP); εὐιώτης, -τις (lyr. alex.). [...] Tout ce groupe repose évidemment sur une onomatopée rituelle. (CHANTRAINE, 366).

εὐκαρπος 'der Schönfruchtige' (D. in seinem Vegetationsaspekt) AP 6,31 und in Thrakien *IGBulg* I<sup>2</sup>, 351.

εὐρυβάλινδος, wohl der 'Breiteichelige, -feigige', Hesych., s. v., wohl obszön. βαλῖς = σίκυς ἄγριος, soit «concombre sauvage, momordique»; dérivé βαλιδικός, dans l'expression κάρυα βαλιδικά (*PPetrie* 3, p. 332). (CHANTRAINE, 153).

Εὔσιος *EM* 391,12 wohl zu εὔσιος, aus dem Epithagma Εὔσοι καὶ Εὐοῖ, in Sparta.

Εὐστάφυλος ‘der Guttraubige’, in Lebadaiia *IGS I* 3098.

**σταφυλή** f. ‘Weintraube’ (seit Il.), übertr. ‘geschwollenes Zäpfchen, Zäpfchenentzündung’ (Hp., Arist. usw.) [...] -ίτης m. Bein. des Dionysos (Ael.; Redard 212); (FRISK 1970, 778-779).

Ζαγρεύς ‘Zagreus’, urspr. eine autonome Gottheit, von den Orphikern mit D. identifiziert, A. fr. 5, 228 R.; E. fr. 472,11 K. und BIERL 1991, 236-237.

**Ζαγρεύς** m. N. eines alten Gottes, wahrscheinlich der Unterwelt, später mit Dionysos identifiziert (Alkmaionis *Fr.* 3, A. *Fr.* 228, E. *Fr.* 472,11 u.a.) auch Ζαγραΐος (Orph. *Fr.* 210, Lit. bei Kern z. St.). Wenn zum Gebirgsnamen Ζάγρος (Kleinasien), ist Ζαγρεύς ohne Zweifel vorgriechisch. [...] Vgl. andererseits ζάγρη- βόθρος, λάπαθον (‘Fallgrube für Tiere’) H., das sich als Rückbildung aus dor.-nordwestgr. \*ζαγρέω = ζωγρέω [...] allenfalls erklären ließe. [...] Ein überzeugendes Benennungsmotiv für den Gott Ζαγρεύς bleibt indessen bei dieser Anknüpfung noch zu finden; ein Versuch in dieser Richtung bei Boßhardt *Die Nom.* auf -εύς 99f. [...] Zu Ζαγρεύς noch Nilsson *Gr. Rel.* 1, 686 A.1. (FRISK 1960, 607).

ζαμενής ‘der sehr Kräftige, - Mutige’

Ἦβων ‘der Jugendliche, der in der Jugendblüte Stehende’, in Neapel *Macr. Sat.* 1,18,9; vgl. *IG XIV* 716 und 717.

Ἠμερίδης ‘der Milde, Zahme, der den zahmen, kultivierten Weinstock (ἡμερίς) geschaffen hat’ (Plut. *de esu carn.* 994a).

**ἡμερος**: dorien ἦ-, cf. *Tables d'Héracl.* 1,172 (l'ἦ- chez Pi. et Aesch. est une faute ou un hyperdorisme), «domestique» (en parlant d'animaux), «cultivé» (en parlant de terres ou de plantes), «civilisé» (en parlant d'hommes), attesté depuis *Od.* 15,162, ion.-att., grec tardif, etc. Avec la particule privative, ἀ- «sauvage», dit de contrées ou d'hommes (Aesch., hellén., etc.) [...].

Dérivés : ἡμερίς (sc. ἄμπελος) «vigne cultivée» (*Od.*, Ar., etc.), δῶν ἡμερίδης m. épithète de Dionysos et du vin (Plu.); noms de qualité: ἡμερότης «fait d'être cultivé», dit d'un pays, «gentillesse, douceur» (ion.-att.), [...]  
(CHANTRAINE, 395).

Ἠρικεπαῖος ὁ Διόνυσος ‘Erikepaios, vom Frühling’, der D. in der rhapsodischen Theogonie der Orphiker, bisexuelle Urgottheit, Protogonos, *OF* 241,1 B. Hesyeh.; in Hierokaisareia *TAM V* 2, 1256 und Jaccottet 110 (II,

199-200); vielleicht 'der Frühschlucker, früh an der Krippe steht' von κάπη 'Krippe' von κάπτω 'schlucken, schnappen' (FRISK 1960, 780, 783-784).

κεμήλιος 'Rehkitz', Alk. fr. 129,8 V.

Κρυπτός 'der Verborgene', in Beroia *IBeroia* 56.

Θεοδαΐσιος 'der Gottzuteiler', Hesych. s. v.; nach dem Fest Thesodaisia, kretisch für Dionysia Call. *Aet.* fr. 43,86 Pf.

θεόινος 'Gott des Weines', A. fr. 382 R. nach Schol. Lyc. 1247, Theoinia, att. Weinfest, Dionysia (Lyc. *or.* 7 fr. 3,3 Con.).

Θεὸς μέγας 'der große Gott', in Pamphylien und Portus Traiani *IG XIV* 925.

θηλύμορφος 'der von weiblicher Gestalt', E. *Ba.* 353; vgl. CASADIO 1987, 227-228.

Θρίαμβος 'der Thriambos', in Lampsakos Diod. 4,5,2; vgl. *Trag. adesp.* fr. 140 N. = fr. 109d [1027d] *PMG* Ἰακχε θρίαμβε, σὺ τῶνδε χοραγέ; vgl. Pratinas *TrGF* I 4 F 3,16 (S.) θριαμβοδιθύραμβε, κισσόχαιτ' ἄναξ. Vgl. VERSNEL 1970, 16-38 (aus dem Kultschrei θρίαμβε).

**Θρίαμβος** m. N. eines bei Dionysosfesten gesungenen Liedes (Kratin. 36), auch auf den Gott übertragen (*Trag. Adesp.* 140 u.a.); hell. und spät Übersetzung von lat. *triumphus* (Plb., D.S. u.a.); [...] Bildung wie διθύραμβος, ἴαμβος (s. dd.) und wie diese wahrscheinlich Fremdwort. Oft (nach Sommer Lautstud. 58ff.) mit dem Zahlwort 'drei' verknüpft ('Dreischritt' od.ä.) [...] (FRISK 1960, 682-683).

**Θρίαμβος** : m., hymne chanté en l'honneur de Dionysos (Cratin.); mais cet hymne n'a pas donné comme διθύραμβος naissance à un genre littéraire; épithète du dieu (*Trag. Adesp.* 140, etc.); hellén. et tardif comme traduction de lat. *triumphus* (Plb., D.S., etc.), avec les dérivés θριαμβικός = *triumphalis*, θριαμβεύειν = *triumphare*. Emprunté dans le lat. *triumphus*, probablement avec passage par l'étrusque (v. Ernout-Meillet s.u.).

*Ét.* : Ignorée. Fait évidemment penser aux mots de sens voisin qui comportent la même finale, διθύραμβος, ἴαμβος cf. Brandenstein, *IF* 54, 1936, 34-38. On a pensé, ce qui est plausible, qu'il s'agit d'un emprunt et le mot a été annexé par les théoriciens du pélasgique: notamment v. Windekens, *Orbis* 2, 1953, 489-493, de façon d'ailleurs arbitraire; critique détaillée chez Hester, *Lingua* 13, 1965, 354 sq. Autres hypothèses incertaines résumées chez Frisk. (CHANTRAINE, 424).

Θυλλοφόρος ‘der Zweig-, Blätterträger’, auf Kos SIG 1012,7.

Θυωνεύς, Θυωνίδας, ‘der Sohn von Thyone = Semele, der Rasende, Opferer?’, auf Kos bzw. Rhodos Hesych.; Θυωναῖος Opp. C. 1,27.

Ἰακχος ‘Iakchos, der auf den ekstatischen Ἰακχε-Ruf hört’, die Personifikation davon, z. B. Ar. *Ran.* 316-317; S. *Ant.* 1152, fr. 959,3 R.; E. *Ba.* 725. Vgl. GRAF 1974, 51-66 und nun FORD 2011.

Ἰακχος m. Beinamen des Dionysos aus dem Ruf (Ἰακχε) entstanden, mit dem die Gemeinde an den Lenäen den Gott begrüßte, auch N. des Festgesanges selbst (Hdt., S., Ar. u.a.); vom Tyrannen Dionysios im Sinn von χοῖρος gebraucht (wegen des ἰαχεῖν der Ferkel; Wackernagel KZ 33,48 = Kl. Schr. 1,727); danach Ben. des pudendum muliebre (s. H. Diels bei Kretschmer *Glotta* 1,385). – Davon Ἰακχαῖος ‘iachisch, bakchisch, dionysisch’ (hell.), Ἰακχεῖον ‘Iakchos-Tempel’ (Athen.; Plu. u.a.), ἰακχάζω ‘Iakche rufen’ (Hdt. [...]) Aus ἰαχή, ἰάχω (s. d.) mit expressiver Geminatio, zunächst im Vok. Ἰακχε entstanden. – Näheres zu Ἰακχος bei Nilsson *Gr. Rel.* 599f., 664; Auch Wilamowitz *Glaube* 2,161. (FRISK 1960, 703).

Ἰακχος : m., nom sous lequel Dionysos est invoqué à Athènes et à Eleusis, notamment aux Lénéennes; désigne aussi le chant en l’honneur du dieu (Hdt., S., Ar., etc.); employé par le tyran Denys pour désigner le porcelet, à cause du cri de l’animal (Ath. 98 d), cf. Wackernagel, KZ 33, 1895, 48 = Kl. Schr. 1,727, d’où l’emploi pour désigner le sexe de la femme (H. Diels chez Kretschmer, *Gl.* 1, 1909, 385). Sur Ἰακχος, voir Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.* 1, 599, 664. Dérivés : Ἰακχαῖος «de Iacchos, dionysiaque» (hell.), Ἰακχεῖον sanctuaire de Iacchos à Athènes (Plu., etc.), ἰάκχα «couronne parfumée» à Sicyle (Hsch., Philet. ap. Ath. 678a).

Verbe dénommatif : ἰακχάζω «crier Ἰακχε» (Hdt. 8,65 et Longus 3,11 [...]) (CHANTRAINE, 435).

Ἰατρός ‘der Arzt’, den nach Mnesitheos von Athen das delphische Orakel zu ehren befiehlt Athen. 22e.

Ἰήιος ‘Ieios’, s. λυαῖος, von dem Paian-Schrei ἰή or ἰή παιών (v. ἰή), ἰήϊε παιάν, oft mit Apoll verbunden, Pi. *Pae.* 2,35 = fr. 52d; vgl. A. *Ag.* 146 und S. *OT* 154; und Verbindung mit D. Εὔιος.

ἰά, ion. ἰή f. ‘Geschrei, Klage, Stimme’ [...]

ἰήιος Beiwort des Apollon, ‘der mit ἰή (παιών) angerufene’; außerdem von βοά, γοός, κάματοι ‘aus Wehrufen bestehend, von Wehrufen begleitet’ (Pi., Trag. in lyr., A.R. u.a.) [...] vgl. ἦε und Εὔιος. (FRISK 1960, 702, 714).

ἰήιος : épithète d'Apollon invoqué par le cri ἰή παιών, ἰήε παιάν (Pi, Aesch.); ἰήιος se trouve dans la trag. comme épithète βοά, γόος, κάματοι.  
 L'interjection ἰή (Aesch., Ar., Call.) est à l'origine de l'adjectif; il existe un doublet exprimant un cri de joie: ἰαί (Ar.); enfin, elle a fourni un subst. ἰά, ἰή «cri» (Oracle ap. Hdt. 1,85, trag.), δ'οὐ ἰάζω «crier» (Theognost.). Glose d'Hsch. ἰήιος· δασέως μὲν ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἀπὸ τῆς ἀφέσεως καὶ τῆς τοξείας, ψιλῶς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰάσεως [...] (CHANTRAINE, 441).

Ἰόβακχος Ἰοβακχος, Verbindung mit Bakchos, AP 16,289, Hesych.

Ἰσοδαίτης 'der Zuteiler von Gleichem, der allen das Gleiche zuteilt', Plut. *de E ap. Delph.* 389a, auch für Pluton.

Ἰυγγίης 'der Wendehals, Wender', Hesych.

ἰυγξ, ἰυγγοσ f. N. eines Vogels, 'Drehhals, Wendehals, Iynx torquilla' (Arist., Ael.), der unter Zaubergesängen auf ein in Bewegung gesetztes Rad gebunden wurde, um eine verlorene Liebe wiederzugewinnen; daher 'Zauberrad, Liebeszauber' (Pi., Ar., X. usw.; vgl. Gow *JournofHellStud.* 54, 1ff.; dazu Kretschmer *Glotta* 26, 63); auch (meist im Plur.) Ben. gewisser chaldischen Gottheiten (Prokl., Dam.). – Davon Ἰυγγίος Monatsname in Thessalien (IG 9: 2, 258,5; zu Ἰυγγίης; ὁ Διόνυσος H. ?, vgl. zu ἰύζω); ἰυγγικός zu den ἰυγγες gehörig' (Dam.). Bildung wie πῶυγξ, στρίγξ, σύριγξ und andere Benennungen von Vögeln und Musikinstrumenten (Chantraine, *Formation* 3 u. 398), somit von ἰύζω nach dem Geschrei (z. B. Osthoff *MU* 4, 185A. 2), evtl. als ursprüngliches Fremdwort (so Bq) an ἰύζω u. Verw. angeglichen. (FRISK 1960, 744).

ἰυγξ : f. «torcol», oiseau qui porte ce nom à cause du mouvement de torsion qu'il peut donner à son cou (Arist., Ael.); utilisé en magie amoureuse précisément en raison de ce mouvement, attaché à une roue que l'on fait tourner pour retenir la personne aimée (Pi., Ar., X., Théoc.), voir Gow, *JHS* 54, 1934, 1-13, et son édition de Théoc. 2, p. 41; J. de la Genière, *R. Et. Anc.* 60, 1958, 27-35; enfin, en grec tardif (Procl. et Dam.) désigne certaines divinités chaldéennes; avec ἰυγγικός (Dam.). Pour Ἰυγγίος, etc., voir le suivant.

Ét. : Formation expressive comme dans certains noms d'oiseaux ou d'instruments de musique: πῶυγξ, στρίγξ, σύριγξ. Ou bien tiré de ἰύζω, d'après le cri de l'oiseau, ou bien en a été rapproché par étymologie populaire si l'origine est différente. (CHANTRAINE, 455).

Καδμείος, Κάδμος 'der Kadmische, der Kadmos', in Theben Paus. 9,12,4, SEG LIV 518 und IG IV 682.

Κάλλων ‘von Kallon’, wohl von καλός ‘schön’ abgeleitet, in Byzanz SEG XVIII 279, 280, 282-284.

καθάρισος ‘der Reinigende’, s. S. *Ant.* 1144 μολεῖν καθαρσίω ποδί ‘komme mit reinigendem Fuß’; zur Reinheit der eingeweihten Seelen in den orphisch-bakchischen Goldblättchen vgl. *OF* 488,1; 489,1; 490,1; 491,1 B.

Καθαρός dor. (herakl. u.a.) καθαρός äol. (Alk.) κόθαρος ‘rein, frei von, unbefleckt, ungemischt, weiß’ (von Brot, Leinwand) (seit Il.); [...]

καθάρισος [...] ‘zur Reinigung gehörig, reinigend, sühnend’ (Hdt., Trag. usw.) (FRISK 1960, 752).

Καθηγεμών ‘der Führer’, in Teos *CIC* II 3067 und 3068 und Προκαθ[η]-γεμών ‘Anführer’, in Attouda SEG XXXI 1102; vgl. προκαθηγεμ[ών τῆς πόλεως] θεός, in Teos *LSAM* 28.

καλλικαρπος ‘der Schönfruchtige’, in Mopsuestia in Kilikien, identifiziert mit Domitian *Jahresh.18 Beibl.* 55 (Anazarba).

Καλυδώνιος ‘der Kalydonier’, in Patrai Paus. 7,21,1 (Kultbild aus Kalydon nach Patrai gebracht).

Κάρπιος ‘der Fruchtige, Fruchtbringende, Nieswurz’, evt. der an der Handwurzel Befindliche (zum Tanz) ?, in Larissa *IG* IX 2, 573.

1. καρπός m. ‘Frucht, Feldfrucht, Ertrag’ (seit Il.), myk. *karpō?* Zahlreiche Kompr., z.B. καρπο-φόρος, ἄ-καρπος. – Ableitungen. Deminutivum καρπίον (Thphr., Pap.); Adjektiva: κάρπιμος ‘fruchtbringend’ (Trag., Kom., hell. usw.; [...]) [...] Denominative Verba: 1. Καρπόομαι ‘Früchte einernten, ausbeuten’ (ion. att.), -όω ‘Frucht tragen, hervorbringen’ = (Brand)opfer darbringen’ (A., LXX, Inschr.) mit κάρπωμα ‘Frucht, (Brand)opfer’ und κάρπωσις ‘Nutzung, Nießbrauch, (Brand)opfer’, καρπώσιμος (Hermipp. Hist.); [...] 2. καρπίζομαι [...] ‘als Frucht pflücken, ernten’ (E., hell. u. spät), -ίζω ‘befruchten’ (E. in lyr.); davon καρπισμός ‘Gewinn usw.’ (Arist., Thphr.) [...] (FRISK 1960, 792-793).

καρπός : m. «fruit», notamment chez Hom. et Hés. toujours au sg., fruits de la terre, céréales, récoltes, mais également d’autres fruits, raisin, olive, etc., attesté en mycénien à propos d’olives (Chadwick-Baumbach, 208); le mot, toujours usuel en ionien-attique, a pu prendre au figuré le sens de «profit, avantage», etc. [...] (CHANTRAINE, 481).

2. καρπός m. ‘Handwurzel’ (seit Il.). Als Vorderglied in καρπόδεσμον, -δεσμιος, -δέσμιον ‘Armband’ (Pap., Luk. u.a.), Hypostase ὑπο- κάρπιος ‘unter der Handwurzel befindlich’ (Aristaenet.). [...] u. a. als Zeichen der Freilassung, ἐπὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ, = ‘adseror in libertatem’ (Gloss.), mit καρπιστής ‘Freilasser,

emancipator' (Arr.) καρπισμός, -ιστία 'vindiciae' (Gloss.) [...]. (FRISK 1960, 793).

**καρπός** : m. «poignet» (Hom., ion.-att., etc.). Rarement comme premier terme de composé: καρπόδεσμος «bandage pour le poignet» [...]. Il n'existe pas de composés où καρπός «poignet» fournisse le second terme; on a en revanche avec une préposition comme premier terme des composés en -καρπιο-, notamment: μετακάρπιον «os de la main» (méd.), περι- «bracelet», ὑποκάρπιος «qui se trouve sous le poignet».

Dérivés : καρπωτός «qui atteint le poignet», dit d'une tunique (LXX); καρπίζομαι «être pris au poignet» comme signe de l'émancipation (Gloss.) avec les dérivés καρπιστής «celui qui émancipe» (Épictète), καρπισμός, καρπιστία «vindiciae» (Gloss). (CHANTRAINE, 481).

Κεχηνώς 'mit offenem Maul', Euphorion, fr. t 19-20 Powell.

Κισσεύς 'der Efeuige', A. fr. 341 R.

Κισσοκόμης oder -ας 'der Efeuhaarige, -laubige', auf Amorgos i XII 7, 80.

Κισσός 'der Efeu', in Acharnai Paus. 1,31,1.

κισσοχαίτης 'der Efeuhaarige', Pratinas TrGFI 4 F 3,16 (S.) θριαμβοδιθύραμβε, κισσόχαιτ' ἄναξ, vgl. Cratinus fr. 361 K.-A. εὖτε κισσοχαίτ' ἄναξ χαῖρ', ἔφασκ' Ἐκφαντίδης.

**Κισσός** att. κίττος 'Efeu, Hedera helix' (ion.-att.). Oft als Vorderglied, z.B. κισσοφόρος 'efeutragend' (Pi., Ar. u.a.); auch als Hinterglied, z.B. κατά-κισσος 'mit Efeu bekränzt' (Anacreont.). – Ableitungen: Deminutivum κισσίον = ἄσκληπιός (Ps.-Dsk.); κισσίνος 'aus Efeu' (Pi., E. u.a.) [...]

Κισσεύς Beiname des Apollon (A. Fr. 341; Boßhardt Die Nom. auf -εὺς 43f.);

Κισσών 'Efeuhain' (Hdn. Gr.). Denominatives Verb κισσώω, -ττ- 'mit Efeu bekränzen' (E., Alkiphr.) mit κίττωσις (Attika). (FRISK 1960, 860).

**Κισσός** att. κίττος «lierre, *hedera helix*» (ion.-att.). La plante est souvent mentionnée en poésie et figure ainsi dans de nombreux composés. Au premier terme: κισσίρης (S.), κισσοδέτας (Pi., fr. 75), -κόμης (H. Hom.), -πλεκτος (Antiph.), -στέφανος (AP), -τόμος nom d'une fête à Phlionte (Paus.), -φόρος épithète de Dionysos (Pi., Ar., etc.), avec -φορέω et φορία, -χαίτης (Iyr.), etc. Au second terme κατά-κισσος «couvert de lierre» (Anacreont.) et un ou deux noms de plantes, comme χαμαί-κισσος «lierre rampant». Dérivés: κισσίον «sauge» [?] (Ps. Dsc.), κισσίνος de lierre» (Pi, E., etc.), κισσίεις *id.* (Nic., Nonn.), κισσώδης (Nonn.), κισσεύς épithète d'Apollon (Aesch), κισσών, -ώνος m. «bosquet de lierre» (Hdn. Gr.), κισσαρος = κισσός (Gl.).

[...] Des dérivés de Κισσός existent dans la toponymie et l'anthroponymie. (CHANTRAINE, 515).

Κολωνάτας ‘der Hügelige’, in Sparta, wo sein Tempel in Limnai auf einem Hügel lag; Paus. 3,13,7.

**Κολώνη** f. (Il., Pi., S. u. a.), κολωνός (*h. Cer.*, Hdt., X., A.R. u.a.) ‘Hügel, Anhöhe, Stein-, Grabhügel usw.’, auch als ON (Stadt in Troas, att. Demos); als Hinterglied in Καλλι-κολώνη Hügel bei Ilios (Il.; Schwyzer 453 A. 5) [...] –Davon κολωνία [...]; vom Demosnamen Κολωνέται pl. (Hyperid.; Fraenkel Nom. ag. 2, 128 A. 1). (FRISK 1960, 906).

**Κολώνη** : f. «colline, tertre», etc. (*Il. Pi, S., etc.*), également toponyme, ville de Troade, comme second terme dans Καλλικολώνη colline près d’Ilion (*Il.*), à côté de κολωνός m., même sens (*H. Déméter*, Hdt., X., A.R., etc.), avec le nom de dème att. Κολωνός, mais l’adv. Κολωνήθεν (*D. 21,64; IG II<sup>2</sup> 650*). D’où Κολωνεύς (inscr.) et Κολωνέται (*Hyp., fr. 8*). [...] (CHANTRAINE, 538).

Κρήσιος ‘der Kretische’, E. *Tr.* 119, *Hipp.* 372, in Argos Paus. 2,23,7 und 8.

Λαμπτήρ ‘der Leuchter, die Fackel, Laterne’, in Pellene in Achaia Paus. 7,27,3 vgl. FRISK 1970, 79 und CHANTRAINE, 592-593 **λάμπω**.

Λαφύστιος ‘vom Berg Laphystion, der Schlucker, Schluckspecht, Schlemmer’, Schol. Lyc. 1237.

**λαφύσσω** [...] ‘einschlürfen, gierig verschlucken’ (ep. poet. seit Il., sp. Prosa). – Davon λαφυγμός (Kom., *AP*), λάφυξ (Ath.), λαφύγματα (Epigramm) ‘Verschlucken, Schlemmerei’; λαφύκτης ‘Schlemmer’ (Arist.); auch λαφύστιος ‘verschluckend, verschluckt’ (Lyk.), im Anschluß an Ζεύς Λαφύστιος (Hdt. 7, 197; von Λαφύστιον ὄρος Böotien), bei dessen Kult Menschenopfer vorkamen. (FRISK 1970, 91).

**λαφύσσω** : f. -ξω, aor. -ξα «avalier gloutonnement» (*Il.*, E., poètes, prose tardive). Noms d’action λαφυγμός (Ar. *Nuées* 52, Eur., *AP*), λάφυξ (Ath.) «fait d’avalier, gloutonnerie»; en outre, pl. λαφύγματα dit de maladies (*IG XIV*, 1363). Nom d’agent λαφύκτης «goinfre» (Arist.). Dérivé inverse λάφυξ-δάπανος ἢ βορός (Hsch.). On rattache à cet ensemble l’épithète de Ζεύς Λαφύστιος en Phthiotide (Hdt. 7,197), dont le culte est lié à des sacrifices humains, v. Hdt. *l. c.* et Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.* 1,371. Il existe un mont Laphystion en Béotie et Dionysos porte l’épithète Λαφύστιος en Béotie (*EM* 557,51), cf. Nilsson, *l. c.* Le mot est employé pour les Ménades (Lyc. 1237). Cf. encore Lyc. 215, 791. [...] (CHANTRAINE, 599).

Λειβήνος ‘der Gießler, Weingießler, Trankoper-Ausgießer, der führt?’, Hesych.

**λείβω** [...] ‘träufeln, gießen, Trankopfer ausgießen’ (vorw. poet. seit Il.). – Ableitungen. A. λειβήνος-ὁ Διόνυσος H. [...] (FRISK 1970, 96).

λείβω [...] Dérivés: A. Avec vocalisme *e*, rares et apparemment peu anciens: Λειβήνος· ὁ Διόνυσος (Hsch.), mais un rapport avec λείβω est douteux; λειβήθρον· ρεῖθρον, ὄχετόν, κροῦνον, καὶ τόπος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ: (Hsch.) attesté au sens d'endroit humide (Eur. 428), λειβήν «en tombant goutte à goutte» (EM 781,26). [...] (CHANTRAINE, 602).

Λευκυανίτης 'der am Fluss Leukyantias, weiß und schwarz?'; in Elis Paus. 6,27,5.

Λήθης παῖς 'Sohn des Vergessens', zum dionysischen Vergessen E. Ba. 188-189 and 282-283, S. *Ant.* 150-154, *P.Köln* 242 A,17 sowie *TrGF* II 636 fr.a,1-5, bes. die Formulierung ... ποιεῖ λήθην (V. 5).

Ληναῖος 'der Lenäer, Rasende', D.S. 3,63,4 und *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2854.

Ληνεύς 'der Lenäer, der für die Lenäen Verantwortliche, der Rasende', in *Mykonos SIG* 1024,24 = *LSCG* 96.

Λήναι f. pl. 'Bakchanten' (Heraklit., Str. u. a.), nach H. [...] sg. Λήνα als PN (Ambrakia, Aitolien); ληνίς 'Bakchantin' (Eust., Suid.). – Daneben Λήνια n. pl. N. Name eines Festes in Athen und anderswo mit Ληναίων, -ῶνος m. Monatsname in Ionien (Hes. *Op.* 504 [dazu Wackernagel *Unt.* 179 und v. Wilamowitz *Glaube* 2, 61] *Inscr.*), Λήναιον n. N. eines dem Dionysos geweihten Bezirks in Athen (Ar., Pl. a. u.), ληναϊκός 'zu den Lenäen gehörig' (hell. und sp.) [...] ληναῖζω 'die Lenäen feiern' (Heraklit.); PN Ληναῖος, Ληναῖς. – Ληνεύς (*Mykonos*) und Ληναῖος (D. S.) Beinamen des Dionysos. (FRISK 1970, 117).

Λήναι : f. pl. «Bacchantes» (Héraclite, Str., etc.), cf. la glose d'Hsch. λήναι· βάκχαι. Ἀρκάδες; l'*Id.* 26 de Théoc. a pour titre Λήναι; δ'οὐ ληνίς f. «Bacchante» (Eust., Suid.). Sur λήναι, etc., voir Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.* 1,575. Dans l'onomastique Λήνα (Epire, Etolie), Ληνίς (Milet), Ληνεύς épithète de Dionysos (*Mykonos*). Composé Ληναγέτας «chef des Bacchantes», épithète de Dionysos (Halicarnasse III<sup>e</sup> s. av.). Dérivés probables : Λήνια n. pl., nom d'une fête de Dionysos célébrée en divers lieux, notamment à Athènes en janvier, où elle était l'occasion d'un concours comique (att.), cf. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* 22-39, avec Λήναιον emplacement où cette fête était célébrée à Athènes (Ar., Pl., etc.); Ληναίων, -ῶνος nom du mois de janvier en Ionie (*inscr.*), l'attestation chez Hés. *Tr.* 504 a surpris, cf. Wackernagel, *Spr. Unt.* 179, Wilamowitz, *Glaube* 2,61; autres dérivés ληναῖτης m. «des Lénéennes» (Ar. Cav. 547), ληναϊκός (hellén., etc.). Dans l'onomastique Ληναῖος (également épithète de Dionysos), Ληναῖς. Verbes dénommatifs: ληναῖζω «célébrer les Lénéennes» (Héraclite) et ληνεύουσι· βακχεύουσι (Hsch.). Il est difficile de rapprocher (avec prothèse) ἀληνής· μαινόμενος (Hsch.).

Ét. : Il semble que λῆναι (cf. le titre de Théoc. 26) comporte un *éta* ancien, ce qui invite à séparer, malgré la ressemblance, λῆναι de ληνός «pressoir». D'ailleurs les Λήνιαα ne sont pas des fêtes du pressoir. La seule relation admissible serait une étymologie populaire.

Λῆναι n'a pas d'étymologie. Vaine hypothèse lydienne de Wilamowitz, *Glaube* 2,63. (CHANTRAINE, 612).

ληνός dor. λανός f. (zum Genus Schwyzer-Debrunner 34 A. 2) 'Trog (zum Keltern), Kelter, Sarg, Standloch des Mastes usw.' (seit *h. Merc.* 104; Zumbach Neuerungen 11). (FRISK 1970, 117).

ληνός : dor. λανός f., nom de divers objets creux; Hsch. a ɤainsi les gloses ληνοῖσοροί, πύελοι, καὶ τῶν ἀρματείων δίφρων αἰ κοιλότητες et ληνός· ὄπου σταφυλῆ πατεῖται. On a par ex. «abreuvoirs où le bétail peut aussi se baigner» (*H. Hermès* 104), «pressoir» (Théoc., pap., hellén., etc.), «emplature du mât» (Asclep. Myrl. ap. Ath. 474 f), «sarcophage» (Phérecr. 5, inscr.), etc. Rares composés tardifs; ληνο-βάτης «l'homme qui écrase le raisin», -πατέω (Hsch.); πρωτόληνα n. pl. «vin de la première cuvée» (pap.), ἄ-ληνον «non pressé» [?], dit d'huile d'amande (Aét.). [...] (CHANTRAINE, 612).

Λικνίτης 'der mit der/in der Getreideschwinge' Plut. *de Is. et Os.* 365a; Hesych.; Mysterienvorstellung der Wiedergeburt in der Getreideschwinge, die als Wiege dient.

λικμάω Aor. λικμήσαι 'Getreide schwingen, worfeln', übertr. 'zerstreuen' (*E* 500, B., X., LXX, Pap. u. a.). Davon λικμητήρ m. 'Getreideschwinger, Worfler' (*N* 590), f. λικμητρίς (Pap., -τηρίς Poll.) 'Getreideschwinge', auch λικμητήρ (LXX) und λικμητής (Pap., Aq., Sm. u. a.); -ητήριον 'Getreideschwinge, Worfelschaufel' (Sm., Thd.); -ητός 'das Worfeln, Zerstreuen' (*AP* u. a. [...]), -ητικός 'zum Worfeln gehörig' (Eust.). Auch, wohl Rückbildung, λικμός m. 'Getreideschwinge' (LXX, *Sammelb.* u. a.) mit λικμαία f. Beiname der Demeter (*AP*). – Daneben λικνον n. 'Getreideschwinge' (Arist.), 'heiliger Korb mit Erstlingsfrüchten im Demeterkultus usw.' (S., *AP*; vgl. Nilsson *Gr. Rel.* 1, 128; λικνο-φόρος D., Kall.), auch 'Wiege' (*h. Merc.*, Kall. u. a.), mit dem Demin. λικνάριον (Gloss.), λικνίτης Bein. des Dionysos (Orph., Plu.; Redard 210, v. Wilamowitz *Glaube* 2, 376f.) (FRISK 1970, 122-123).

Λικμάω [...] Substantif suffixé en -vov: λικνον n. «van» (Arist.) corbeille sacrée où sont les prémices dans le culte de Déméter, Dionysos, etc. (S., *AP*), cf. Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.* 1,128, d'ou λικνο-φόρος «qui porte cette corbeille» (D., Call.); désigne aussi un berceau (*H. Herm.*, Call., etc.); d'ou λικνίτης épithète de Dionysos (Orph., Plu.), cf. Redard, *Noms en -της* 210 et Wilamowitz, *Glaube* 2,376; f. -ίτις épithète de τροφή «soins d'un enfant au berceau» (S. *Ichn.* 269); le diminutif λικνάριον est très tardif.

Verbe dénominal λικνίζω «vanner»(pap.), cf. encore p.-ê. dat. pl. λιγνοῦσι de λικνώω (*Ostr. Strasb.* 748). [...] (CHANTRAINE, 615).

Λιμναγενής 'der Sumpfggeborene, der in Limnai Geborene'.

Λιμναῖος 'der Sumpfige, der im Teich, Sumpf Lebende', bes. in Athen Call. *Hec. fr.* 305 Pf.; zur λίμνη Μναμοσύνας 'dem See der Erinnerung' in den orphisch-bakchischen Goldblättchen vgl. *OF* 474,6,12,14; 475,8,17; 476,4; 477,4.

λίμνη f. 'stehendes Wasser, Teich, See, Sumpf' (seit Il.) Λίμναι pl. Platz in Athen, in Sparta usw. (att. u.a.); [...] Zahlreiche Ableitungen: [...] λιμναῖος 'in Seen usw. lebend, zum See, zu den Λίμναι gehörig' (ion.att.) [...] (FRISK 1970, 98).

Λυαῖος 'der Lösende, Befreier', Athen. 363b.

Λύσιος 'der Lösende, der Auflöser der Ordnung' der für eininnere Katastrophe verantwortliche', in Korinth Paus. 2,2,6 und in Sikyon, wohin sein Kult auf Befehl des Phanes aus Theben importiert wurde, Paus. 2,7,6; in Theben, Paus. 9,16,6; vgl. Corn. *ND* 30, Orph. *H.* 50,2; vgl. das Goldblättchen von Pelinna *OF* 485,3 Βάκχιος αὐτὸς ἔλυσε mit Parallelstellen.

λύω [...] Ableitungen: 1. λύσις 'Lösung, Befreiung' (seit Ω 655 u. ι 421; vgl. Krarup *Class. et Med.* 10, 4f., Benveniste *Noms d'agent* 77, Holt *Les noms d'action en -σις* 71ff., Porzig *Satzinhalte* 196), [...] auch λύσιος 'Lösung bringend', Bein. der Götter, bes. des Dionysos (Pl., Plu. u. a.). [...] 3. äol. dor. λύα (Alk., Pi.), λύη (Hdn. Gr.) 'Auflösung, Entzweiung, στάσις'; davon, in der Bed. allerdings abweichend, Λυαῖος Bein. des Dionysos bzw. der Großen Göttin (*Anacreont.*, *IG* 5: 2, 287 [I-II<sup>f</sup>]; *Tim. Pers.* 132), vgl. Danielsson *Eranos* 5, 52 und Sandsjoe *Adj. auf -αιος* 11 m. A. 1, lat. *LW Lyaeus*. (FRISK 1970, 149).

λύω [...] *Noms d'action*: 5. λύσις [...] δ'ου l'adjectif λύσιμος «qui peut être délivré, racheté» (Aesch., Pl.), avec les préverbes: ἀπο- (Antiphon, pap.), κατα- (*S. El.* 1247); avec dérivation exceptionnelle λύσιος «qui délivre», épithète de dieux, notamment de Dionysos (Pl., Plu., etc.). [...] 7. éol., dor. λύα f. «sédition, division» = στάσις (Alc., Pi.), avec λύη cité par Hdn., l'adj. λυήεις (Hdn., 1,59); les dénom. λυάζει· φλυαρεῖ, μωρολογεῖ, στασιάζει et λυάω «être en lutte» (Call. *fr.* 43,74); c'est de λύα qu'a été tiré avec un sens différent λυαῖος «libérateur» épithète de la Grande Mère (*Tim. Pers.* 132) et de Dionysos (*Anacreont.*, *IG* V, 2,287), cf. Danielsson, *Eranos* 5,52. Emprunté dans lat. *Lyaeus*. [...] (CHANTRAINE, 626-627).

Λυθίραμβος 'Lythirambos', s. Dithyrambos *EM* 274,51 (von Λῦθι ῥάμμα, 'löse das Eingenähte', Ausschrei von Zeus bei Dionysos' Schenkelgeburt).

Μάντις 'Seher, Begeisterter', A. fr. 341 R. ὁ κισσεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ βακχειόμαντις, bei Nauck ὁ κισσεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ βακχεύς, ὁ μάντις.

**μάντις** [...] Jedenfalls gehört μάντις zu μάινομαι, μανῆναι (ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαινεται Hdt. 4, 79; ablehnend v. Wilamowitz *Glaube* 1, 40); semantisch stimmt dazu das auch formal verwandte aber anders gebildete aind. *muni-* m. ‘Begeisterter, Seher’; im Westen dafür ein anderes Wort (lat. *vates* usw.; Porzig *Gliederung* 127). (FRISK 1970, 172-173, hier 173).

**Μάντις**, -εως : ion. -ιος, m. et f. «devin, prophète, personne qui prédit l’avenir» (Hom., ion.-att., etc.), également nom d’une plante (Nic.), espèce de chou, voir André, *Lexique* s.u.; et d’animaux, une grenouille *rana arborea* (Hsch.) ainsi appelée parce qu’elle annonçait le temps, cf. Strömberg, *Pflanzennamen* 79, de la mante religieuse (Théoc. 10,18, Dsc., etc.), cf. Gil Fernandez, *Nombres de insectos* 188-190 et le Théocrite de Gow *ad locum*. [...]

**Ἐτ.** : Le suffixe masc. en -τι- embarrasse: on ne peut guère rapprocher que μάρπτις «ravisser», hapax chez Aesch. *Suppl.* 826; πόρτις n’est pas un nom d’argent et le nom de peuple Σίντιες à Lemnos n’est pas nécessairement issu de σίνομαι. L’hypothèse qu’on ait dans μάντις le suffixe f. de nom d’action -τις/-σις est improbable; E. Benveniste, *Origines* 83, pose à l’origine un neutre \*μαντι qui serait attesté dans le composé μαντιπόλος. Il serait affecté d’un élargissement *t* suffixé en *i*. Le radical est le même que celui du verbe μάινομαι, ἐμάνην, cf. ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαινεται (Hdt. 4,79) malgré Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen* 1,40, le prophète est possédé par la divinité. Le terme est donc apparenté à tous les mots évoqués à propos de μάινομαι. Avec une toute autre formation, vocalisme et suffixe, on a rapproché pour le sens skr. *muni-* m. «possédé, prophète», mais ce rapprochement est écarté avec raison par Mayrhofer, *Etym. Wb. des Altind.* 2,654. Par le relais de μάινομαι, μάντις, relève donc de la racine \*men-, sans avoir aucun rapport direct avec le thème en -ti- de lat. *mens*. (CHANTRAINE, 640-641).

**Μεθυμναῖος** ‘Rauschtrinker, Weinbeschwerter’, *OF* 773 B.

**μέθυ** Gen. -υος (Pl. *Epigr.*, Nik. u.a.) n. ‘Rauschtrank, Wein’ (ep. poet. seit II) [...] Davon zahlreiche Verbalnomina: [...] μεθυμναῖος Bein. des Dionysos (Plu. u.a.); scherzhafte Umbildung von Μηθυμναῖος (von Μήθυμνα) nach H. Bein. des Dionysos (Wackernagel a.a.O.). (FRISK 1970, 191-192).

**μέθυ** : gén. rare -υος n., boisson alcoolisée [...], «vin» (Hom., poètes). Le mot a dû exister en mycén., mais *metuwonewo* reste obscur, cf. L. Baumbach, *Studies in Mycen. Inscr. and Dial.* 1953-1964, 190. [...] Dérivés nominaux: [...] 6. Μεθυμναῖος «dieu de l’ivresse» épithète de Dionysos (Plu., Orph., Ath., *EM* 575,46); pourrait être une déformation plaisante de Μηθυμναῖος, cf. la glose d’Hsch. Μηθυμναῖος, ὁ Διόνυσος et Wackernagel, *l. c.* [...] (CHANTRAINE, 650-651).

**Μειλίχιος** ‘der Sanfte, Milde, Freundliche’, auf Naxos wegen des Feigen-geschenks Athen. 78c = Aglaosthenes *FGrHist* 499 F 4; Plut. *de esu carn.*

994a, insges. euphemistischer Gebrauch für den chthonischen Aspekt. **μείλιχος**, [...] 'sanft, mild, freundlich' (ep. poet. seit Il., auch sp. Prosa) [...] **Μειλίχιος** Bein., bes. des Zeus [...], mit **Μειλιχειῶν** 'Tempel des Zeus M.' (Halaesa). (FRISK 1970, 194).

**μείλια**, **μείλιχος**: I. **Μείλια**: n. pl. [rarement sg. Call.] «dons destinés à amadouer», dit des dons proposés à Achille s'il épouse une fille d'Agamemnon (*Il.* 9,147,289); avec un sens religieux «offrandes à un dieu» (Call. *H. Artémis* 230, A.R. 4,1549, *AP* 6,75).

II. **Μείλιχος**, éol. **μέλλιχος** (Sappho), «doux, aimable, favorable» toujours dit de personnes chez Hom., sauf *Od.* 15,374 où le mot est épith. de ἔπος et ἔργον, attesté en outre, *H. Hom.*, Hés., Xénoph., Pi., A.R.; autre forme **μειλίχιος**, dit de paroles chez Hom., surtout comme épithète de Zeus (*Th.* 1,126, etc.), écrit **μιλίχιος** par iotacisme, cf. **χίλιοι** (*IG* I<sup>2</sup> 866), même graphie à Thespies, **μηλίχιος** en dor., en Crète (Collitz-Bechtel 5046), à Théra (Schwyzer 223), arcad. **μελίχιος**, parfois épithète d'autres divinités. Noter **Μειλιχειῶν** sanctuaire de Zeus Meilichos (Halaesa). Sur Zeus Meilichios, voir Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.* 1,411 sqq. [...] (CHANTRAINE, 652).

**Μελαναιγίς** 'mit der schwarzen Aigis', in Athen gefeiert am Apaturienfest, Schol. *Ar. Ach.* 146; in Eleutherai; in Hermione Paus. 2,35,1.

[**Μελανθίδης**, irrötlich statt **Μελαναιγίς**], Phot. cod. 186, 138b B.

**Μελπόμενος** 'der im Chor singt und tanzt', *CIA* III 20, 274 und 278, Gentilgott der Euneiden in Athen, vgl. *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 5056; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 5060; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1348; in Attika Paus. 1,2,5 und 1,31,6. D. Melpomenos ist identisch mit D. Kissos in Acharnai, Paus. 1,31,6; vgl. BURKERT 1994.

**μέλω**, [...] 'mit Gesang und Tanz feiern, singen, tanzen' (ausführliche Behandlung von Bielohlawek *WienStud.* 44, 1ff., 125ff.). (FRISK 1970, 204).

**μέλω**, -ομαι: Hom., poètes, dans les parties lyriques chez les trag.; l'aor. **μέλωαι**, -ασθαι, le f. **μέλωω**, -ομαι, sont post-homériques; signifie proprement «chanter et danser» notamment dans un chœur, cf. *Il.* 16,182, mais peut signifier «chanter» en général, notamment avec l'accompagnement de la cithare (cf. *Od.* 4,17, *H. Hermès* 476); au sens de «chanter» peut s'employer absolument ou avec un complément d'objet interne [...], ou avec le nom du dieu ou de la personne que l'on célèbre; voir les articles de Bielohlawek, *Wien. Stud.* 44, 1924, 1 sqq. et 125 sqq. Le mot implique souvent la notion de jeu, cf. *Od.* 6,101 et le dérivé **μέληθηρα**. Voir encore Pagliaro, *Ric. Ling.* 2, 1951, 13. [...] (CHANTRAINE, 658).

**Μεσατεύς** 'vom Kap Mesate, der Mittler', in Patrai Paus. 7,18,4 und 7,21,6; vgl. **αἰσυμνέτης**.

**μέσος** [...] ‘in der Mitte befindlich, mittlerer’ [...]; Ableitungen: [...] μεσίτης m. ‘Vermittler, Mittler, Schiedsrichter (Redard 25f., 260 A. 1), mit -τεύω, m. sein, ‘ausgleichen’, auch ‘verpfänden’ (Plb., Pap., NT usw.), -τρεία ‘Vermittlung, Ausgleichung, Verpfändung’ (J., Pap. u. a.). (FRISK 1970, 214).  
**μέσος** : hom., éol., Sappho, etc., parfois chez Pi. ou dans les parties lyr. de trag., μέσσοσ, béot. (*IG* VII 2420) et crétois (cf. Bechtel, *Gr. Dial.* 2,697) [...] Dérivés : [...] B) Substantifs : [...] μεσίτης m. «médiateur, arbitre» (*NT*, D.S., pap.), f. μεσίτις employé au figuré (Luc.), d’où μεσιτεύω «être arbitre, négociier», parfois «mettre en gage» (hellén. et tardif), avec -τρεία «arbitrage, négociation, mise en gage» (J., pap., etc.); 3. μέσης m. vent qui se situe entre l’ἀπαρκτίας et le κακίας, c’est-à-dire N.N.E. (Arist.), avec le doublet μεσεύς (Stéph. *in Hp.* 2,351); 4. μεσότης f. «milieu, juste milieu», [...] (CHANTRAINE, 662-663).

μηροραφής ‘der in den Schenkel Genähte’ für μηροτραφής in Eust. ad D.P. 1153,22.

-τραφής ‘der im Schenkel Ernährte, Aufgezogene’ *AP* 11,320.

Μόρυχος ‘der Beschmierte, mit Weinlese Geschwärzte, unwohl’, in Sizilien Sophr. 94 und Polemon, fr. 73b (*FHG*, III, p.136).

**μορύσσω** nur im Ptz. Pf. μεμορυχμένος [...] ‘beschmutzt, geschwärzt’ (v 435, Nik., Q. S., Opp.), auch Opt. Aor. 2. sg: μορύξαις ‘man soll beschmieren’ (Nik. *Al.* 144) [...] Μόρυχος Bein. des Dionysos in Sizilien (Sophr. 94; weil sein Gesicht bei der Weinlese mit Hefe beschmiert wurde). (FRISK 1970, 257).

**μορύσσω** : au part. pf. μεμορυχμένος (avec la variante -γμένος) «sali, barbouillé» (*Od.* 13,435 [...] Nic. *Al.* 318,330 [...]; Q.S. 5,450, [...]); à l’actif 2° opt. aor. μορύξαις «tu dois barbouiller» (Nic. *Al.* 144). Il existe un adj. correspondant connu par le comparatif adv. μορυχώτερον «plus sombre» (variante chez Arist. *Métaph.* 987 a); Μόρυχος est une épithète de Dionysos en Sicile, parce qu’il était barbouillé de lie de vin (Sophr. 94); c’est aussi le nom d’un personnage cité par les com. (Ar. *Ach.* 887, *Paix* 1008, etc.), réputé pour sa gourmandise (est-ce un sobriquet parce qu’il se barbouille de nourriture?), Pl. *Phdr.* 227 b, connaît une Μορυχία οἰκία, cf. Praechter, *Hermes* 42, 1907, 647. Bechtel, *H. Personennamen* 495, cite les anthroponymes Μορυχίδας à Tanagra et Μορυχίων à Ténos.

*Ét.* : Μόρυχος entre dans une série de dérivés expressifs en -χος, cf. Chantraine, *Formation* 402 sq., et μορύσσω présente un suffixe verbal également expressif. Μορύσσω semble être un dénominatif de μόρυχος (il serait moins facile, mais non impossible de voir dans μόρυχος un dérivé inverse de μορύσσω). [...] (CHANTRAINE, 686).

Μουσαγέτης ‘Führer der Musen’, auf Naxos *IG XII 5,46*, üblich ist es das Beiwort für Apollon.

Μύστις ‘der Myste, der Eingeweihte, der Augen und Mund verschließt’, in Korytheis bei Tegea, Paus. 8,54,5 in der Nähe eines Demeterheiligtums; vielleicht Bezug zu Telephos; vgl. auch das Goldblättchen von Hipponion *OF 474,16 B.*, in dem die Seelen in der Unterwelt als *μύσται καὶ βάκχοι*, also Verkörperungen des Gottes selbst, bezeichnet wurden; vgl. *OF 493,2, 496b,c,d,e* und *493a,1 B.*

unter *μύω* [...] ‘sich schließen, zusammengehen’, bes. von den Augen. ‘die Augen schließen [...] μύστις m. wohl eig. ‘der die Augen schließt’, ‘der (in die eleusinischen Mysterien) Eingeweihte’ (Heraklit., Ar., E. usw.) im Gegensatz zum *ἐπόπτης* ‘dem Zuschauer’, der zum höchsten Grad gelangt ist. (FRISK 1970, 279-280).

νέος ‘neu’, auf Aegina *SEG XI 4* und im ägyptischen Philae *SEG XXIV 1125*.

Νυκτέλιος ‘der nächtlich seine Riten feiert’, in Megara Paus.1,40,6 und in Delphi Plut. *de E ap. Delph.* 389a; *AP 9,524,14*.

*νύξ* [...] *νυκτέλιος* Beiw. des Dionysos (*AP, Plu., Paus.*) haplogisch für \**νυκτιτέλιος* als Hypostase von *νύξ* und *τέλος* (*τελέω*) vgl. *νυκτελείν· ἐν νυκτὶ τελεῖν* H. und Schwyzer 483. (FRISK 1970, 327).

*νύξ* [...] Autres dérivés isolés : [...] Avec apparemment un suffixe en -λ-, *νυκτέλιος* épithète de Dionysos (*AP, Plu., Paus.*), où Frisk voit une haplogie pour \**νυκτιτέλιος*, en évoquant la glose d’Hsch. *νυκτιτελείν· ἐν νυκτὶ τελεῖν*, mais le suffixe -ιος surprend; [...] (CHANTRAINE, 730-731).

Νυσεύς ‘der vom Berg Nysa’, verschiedene dem D. geheiligte Berge gleichen Namen; vgl. auch *Νυσήιος Δ.* Ar. *Ran.* 215.

Οἰκουρός ‘der Hauswächter’, Schol. Lyc. 1246.

*οἶκος* : [...] Très nombreux composés de *οἶκος* [...] *οἰκουρός* «qui garde la maison» avec -ουρέω, -ουρία, etc. [...] (CHANTRAINE, 753).

Ὀμφακίτης ‘die unreife, saure Weintraube, der saure Wein’, Ael. *VH 3,41*.

*ὄμφαξ*, -ακος f. (spät auch m.) ‘Herling, unreife saure Weintraube’ (seit η 125), auch von Oliven (Poll.); übertr. von einem jungen Mädchen, einer unentwickelten Brustwarzen usw. (poet.). – Davon 1. *ὄμφακίον* n. ‘Saft von unreifen Trauben od. Oliven’ (Hp., Pap. u.a.); 2. *ὄμφακίς*, -ίδος f. ‘Kelch gewisser Eichenarten’ (Paul. Aeg.; wegen des zusammenziehenden herben Geschmacks); 3. *ὄμφακ-ίας* (οἶνος) ‘Herlingwein’ (Gal.), übertr. = ‘sauer, unreif’ (Ar., Luk : vgl. Chantraine *Form.* 94f.); -ίτης (οἶνος) m. ‘ds’, auch

N. eines Steins (Gal.; codd. -τίτης) -ίτις f. von ἐλαίη (Hp.) 'Art Gallapfel' (Dsk., Gal.; Redard 58, 98, 75, 114); 5. ὄμφακίζω 'd., d.h. unreif, sauer sein', auch von anderen Früchten (LXX, Dsk. usw.), -ίζομαι 'saure Weintrauben pflücken' (Epich.). (FRISK 1970, 392).

ὄμφαξ, -ακος : f. (m. parfois en grec tardif) «raisin vert» (*Od.* 7,125, ion.-att., etc.), dit aussi d'olives (Poll. 5,67), au figuré dit d'une très jeune fille (poésie tardive), s'applique à l'aigreur de la colère, notamment dans l'expression ὄμφακας βλέπειν (com.), cf. Taillardat, *Images d'Aristophane* § 360, [...] Dérivés : [...] 4. ὄμφακίτης [οἶνος]= ὄμφακίας, aussi nom d'une pierre ainsi nommée pour sa couleur (Gal.), f. -ίτις, épithète de ἐλαίη (Hp.), aussi nom d'une noix de galle (Dsc., Gal.), cf. pour le suffixe, Redard, *Noms grecs en -της* 58, 98, 75, 114 [...]

Ét. : Obscure. On a pensé que le mot se rattachait à ὄμφαλός etc., p.-ê. avec un suffixe nasal vocalisé (?), le sens serait en «forme de nombril», cf. Pokorny 315. Douteux. Le suffixe familier ακ- peut aussi déceler un terme d'emprunt. (CHANTRAINE, 772-773).

Ὅρειος 'der in den Bergen wohnt', er wie sein Gefolge sind berühmt für die Oreibasie, in Ephesos *IGSK XIV 1267*.

ὄρειφοίτης 'der in den Bergen schweift', Phanocl. 3.  
οὐρεσιφοίτης, *AP 9,524,16*.

Ὅρθός 'der Aufrechte, phallisch Erigierte', Philochoros *FGrHist 328 F 5b* (in Athen. 38cd); vgl. auch Semos *FGrHist 396 F 24* = fr. 851a,3 *PMG BIERL 2001, 325-330*; zum vulgären Sinn vgl. HENDERSON <sup>2</sup>1991, 112.

ὄρθός 'aufrecht, gerade, richtig, wahr' (seit Il.). [...] Ableitungen: 1. ὄρθ-ιος (-ιο- formal erweiternd) 'aufrecht, steil, in die Höhe gehend, hell, laut, in Kolonnen geordnet' (vgl. FRISK 1970, 415).

Ὅρσιγύναικα Akk. 'der Frauen erregt', Lyr. adesp. fr. 85 *PMG*, aus Plut. *de E ap. Delph.* 389b.

Παιδεῖος 'der Knabenhafte, der Tänzer', in Athen *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2979*.

παῖς : [...] B. Adjectifs: [...] 2. παιδειος (ου -εῖος, Hdn. 1,135), «d'enfant» (Pi., trag., Pl. dans les *Lois*) avec παιδήιος (Nonn.) et τὰ παιδήια nom d'une fête de la phratrie à Delphes (Schwyzer 323 A, 25); [...] (CHANTRAINE, 818-820, 819).

Παῖς Αἰθιοπίτης 'Kind von Aithiopien' s. o.

Παῖς Λήθης 'Kind der Lethe, des Vergessens', zum dionysischen Vergessen E. *Ba.* 188-189 and 282-283, S. *Ant.* 150-154, *PKöln* 242 A,17 sowie *TrGF II 636 fr.a,1-5*, bes. die Formulierung ... ποιεῖ λήθην (V. 5).

Παιώνιος 'der den Paian Betreffende, Paiansinger', Hesych. s. v.

παιάν: FRISK 1970, 60; CHANTRAINE, 817; wahrscheinlich aus dem Kultruf ἰὴ παιήων, ἰὼ παιάν herausglöste Namensbezeichnung, nach Schwyzer zu παιῶ 'schlagen'.

Παραβόλος 'der Opferer wider Norm, der Fischfänger mit der Lanze, mit dem Steinwurf', in Byzanz Jaccottet 40 (II, 84-85).

Παραπαιζών 'der Spieler, der im Rausch provoziert und verspottet, der Übertänzer', in Eleusis *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4787.

πάρεδρος χαλκοκρότου Δημήτερος, 'Beisitzer der erz/zymelschlagenden Demeter', Pind. *Isthm.* 7,3-5; zur Verbindung von D. und Demeter vgl. auch E. *Ba.* 274-285 mit SEAFORD 1996, 174-176; vgl. auch *OF* 492,2 und 493a,2 B und *P.Derv.* col. 22.

πατρῶος 'der väterlichen Sippe zugehörig', in Megara von Seher Polyeios gegründet Paus. 1,43,5, dabei auch ein Agalma des δασύλλιος; auch in Kallatis *ICallatis* 48.

Zu πατήρ 'der väterlichen Sippe gehörend, väterlich' (FRISK 1970, 481-482, hier 482), vgl. auch CHANTRAINE, 832-833.

πελάγιος 'zum Meer gehörig, der im Meer Lebende', in Pagasai nach Theopomp *FrGrHist* 115 F 352.

Zu πέλαγος 'zum Meer gehörig' (Trag., Th., X., Arist. usw.) (FRISK 1970, 493 und CHANTRAINE, 841).

Περικιώνιος 'der mit Säulen Umgebende, das Säulenidol, der Pfeiler', in Theben Orph. *H.* 47,1 und Mnaseas 18; die Geburt des Gottes ist Aition seines Kults in Theben als *Perikionios*, ein von Efeu bedeckter Pfeil; vgl. BLECH 1982, 188.

πλουτοδότης 'der Reichtumgeber', euphemist., im Jubelruf an den athen. Lenäen Σεμελήι' Ἰακχε πλουτοδότα Schol. *Ar. Ran.* 479 = fr. 879 *PMG*.

πλοῦτος : m. (aussi n. en grec tardif, *NT*, cf. ἔλεος, etc.), «richesse, abondance de biens» (Hom., ion.-att., etc.), cf. Arist., *Rh.* 1361 a; s'oppose à πενία, etc., cf. s.u. πένομαι avec la bibliographie; se distingue de ὄλβος qui est d'ailleurs un terme poétique, voir ce mot; employé au figuré (p. ex.: Pl., *Euthphr.* 12 a); parfois personnifié (Hés., *Th.* 969, cf. la note de M.L. West, *Ar.*, etc.), cf. Πλούτων.

Composés : au premier terme, p. ex. πλουτοδότης «qui donne la richesse» (Hés., etc.), à côté de -δοτήρ et -δότειρα, -κρατία (X.), -φόρος, -χθων (Aesch., *Eu.* 947), etc.; composé copulatif πλουθυγεία «richesse et santé» (Ar.). [...] (CHANTRAINE, 885).

πολεμοκέλαδος 'der Kriegstösende', Nähe zu Ares s. o.  
zu πόλεμος und κέλαδος 'Getöse, Lärm, scharfer Laut' (vgl. FRISK 1960, 813).

Πολίτης 'der Bürger', im Sinne des D. als Polisgott (vgl. BIERL 1991, 49-54)  
in Heraia Paus. 8,26,1.

πολυαθής 'der viel Erfreuende', Hes. *Th.* 941.

Πρίαπος 'Priap', synkretist. Verbindung wegen Dionysos' phallischer Qualität,  
in Lampsakos Athen. 30ab.

Πρίαπος ion. Πρίηπος m. phallischer Gott, der die Gärten schützte (Mosch., D.S. usw.; böot. Priaposherme aus d. Ende V<sup>a</sup>, s. Nilsson *Gr. Rel.* 1, 594 A.4) [...] Wie der Gott aus dem nordwestlichen Kleinasien stammt (vgl. Πρίαπος Stadt an der Propontis), ist auch der Name gewiß kleinasiatisch. Lit. bei Herter P.-W. 22, 1915. (FRISK 1970, 594).

Πρίαπος : ion. -ηπος dieu phallique qui protège les jardins (Moschos, D.S., etc.), mais le dieu est connu dès le v<sup>e</sup> s., cf. Nilsson, *Gr. Rel.* 1,594, n. 4.

Dérivés : πριαπίσκος dans le vocabulaire médical, par exemple, sorte de suppositoire; nom de diverses orchidées aphrodisiaques, notamment = σατύριον; d'où πριαπισκωτός «de la forme du sexe de l'homme» (médec.); -ίδιον «petite image de Priape» (Délös); adj. -ειος «de Priape» (*AP*), avec πριαπήιον n. = πριαπίσκος; -ώδης «qui ressemble à Priape, lascif» (tardif); verbe dénommatif πριαπιζω «être lascif» (*AP*), avec -ισμός (Gal.), -ισταί n. pl. «adorateurs de Priape» (Crète, I<sup>er</sup> s. av.).

Ét. : On a supposé que ce dieu était originaire du Nord de l'Asie Mineure en évoquant Πρίαπος nom de ville de la Propontide. Voir Herter, *RE* 22, 1915. Pas d'étymologie. (CHANTRAINE, 904).

Πρινοφόρος 'Träger der Steineiche', Jaccottet 58 (II, 55-56).

πρόβλαστος 'der Vorsprießer', Schol. Lyk. 577.

s. auch πρόκλαστος

προε[σ]τὼς τῆ[ς] πόλεως θεός, 'der Stadtvorsteher', auf Teos *CIG* II 3108.

Προπάτωρ 'Gründervater, Vorfahre', in Erythrai *IGSK* 1, 132 und Jaccottet 129 (II, 225-226).

πρὸ πόλεως ‘vor der Stadt’, in Magnesia, in Melos *IG XII 3,1669*.

Προτρύγαιος ‘Vorernter, Vorweinleser’, Ach. Tat. 2,2, Ael. *VH 3,41*;  
vgl. FRISK 1970, 935 und CHANTRAINE, 1099 **τρυγᾶω**.

Πυθόχρηστος ‘durch das Pythische Orakel bestimmt’, in Erythrai *SIG 1014,145*.

Πυριγενής ‘Feuergeboren’ Str. 13,4,11; vgl. zum Feuer *OF 492,3 B*.

Σαβάζιος ‘Sabazios, der Weichling’, aus Phrygien und Thrakien, dort ist er auch unter den Namen Σαυάζιος, Σαοουάζιος und Σαάζιος bekannt, die eine urspr. Form *Sawazis* (oder *Savazis*) wahrscheinlich machen; literarisch ist S. oft mit D. verbunden und ab der 2. Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts bezeugt (Ar. *Vesp.* 8-10, Av. 875-876, *Lys.* 388-390). Berühmt ist die Kultbeschreibung von Dem. 18,259-260, die Parallelen zum D.-Kult aufweist. S. Takacs, DNP <<http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/der-neue-pauly/sabazios-e1026280>>.

**σαβακός** : «en mauvais état, défectueux» (Hp.), cf. σαβακός, ὁ σαθρός. Χίοι (Hsch.); «efféminée» dit d’une courtisane (*AP 7,222*), mais on a mis cet emploi en rapport avec le nom du dieu phrygien Σαβάζιος, voir sur ce mot Luck, *Philol.* 100, 1956, 275-276. La glose d’Hsch. σαβακῶς, αὐστηρῶς, ξηρῶς, τραχέως est déconcertante. [...]

*Ét.* : Termes expressifs sans étymologie; σαβακός présente le même suffixe que μαλακός, etc. Ce serait une amulette que d’essayer de tirer ces mots du nom du dieu phrygien Σαβάζιος. Hypothèses de Cop, *Ziva Antika* 9, 1959, 100-103. (CHANTRAINE, 949).

[Σαβάζιος, ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός] ‘der Gott durch den Busen’, Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2,16.2.

Σαώτας ‘der Retter’, in Trozen Paus. 2,31,5; 2,37,2; *AP 9,603*.

Σεμελήιος ‘der Semelesohn’, s. ο. πλουτοδότας; zur Verbindung von D. mit Semele im Kult vgl. E. *Ba.* 6-12 mit SEAFORD 1996, 150 ad loc.; in Erchia (Attika) sind beide auf demselben Altar verehrt: *LSCG 18,A44-51, Δ33-40*.

Σητάνειος ‘der Heurige, der Getreidegott, Gott der neuen Ernte’, auf Teos *IGR IV 1567* und Jaccottet 131 (II, 227-228).

**τήτες** (att. Kom. u.a.) ion. σήτες (*EM*) [...] Adv. ‘heuer, in diesem Jahr’. – Davon [...] σητ-άν(ε)ιος (ion. hell. u. sp.) [...] ‘ds.’ (von Feldfrüchten). (FRISK 1970, 895).

**τήτες** : com. attiques, σήτες ion. (EM 711, 44), [...] Autres dérivés: τητινός (Luc. *Lex.* 1, Hdn. Gr., Phryn., Poll.), σατινός (*Pap. Cair. Zen., EM*) «de cette année» avec le suff. d'adj. temporels en -ινός; aussi σητάν(ε)ιος (ion., hellén. et tardif), σατ- (Sch. Ar. *Nuées* 624), τητ- (var. chez Poll.) «de l'année», dit de produits de la terre et notamment de blés de printemps, blés trémois, cf. André sur Pline XXII,139; [...] (CHANTRAINE, 1076).

**Σκυλλίτας** 'Gott der Weinsprösslings, -setzlings, -zweigs', auf Kos SIG 1025,58 und 63.

Hesych. σκύλλις· κληματίς H. (Strömberg) Pfl.namen 31 [...] (FRISK 1970, 741).  
**σκύλαξ**, -ακος : m., f. «jeune chien, chiot» (*Od., Hés., ion.-att., etc.*), parfois opposé à κύων;  
 ... aussi σκυλλίς· κληματίς (Hsch.), cf. Strömberg, *Pflanzennamen* 31; enfin, sans *a-* initial; κύλλα· σκύλαξ· Ἡλείοι (Hsch.). [...] (CHANTRAINE, 988).

**Σμίνθιος** 'der Sminthische, der Mäuseverseucher, -verpester', üblich für Apollon H. *Il.* 1,39; Nähe zu Apollo, auf Rhodos (Lindos) IG XII 1,762.

**σμίνθος** m. Maus (A. *Fr.* 227 = 380 M., Lyk., Str., AP). [...] Davon Σμινθ-εύς (A 39, Str.) -ιος (Ael.) m. Bein. des Apollon, der in der Troas und auf den Inseln als Abwehrer der verheerenden Feldmäuse verehrt wurde; dazu Σμίνθιος als Monatsn. auf Rhodos und τὰ Σμίνθια Festname (Troas, Lindos); s. Nilsson *Gr. Rel.* P 213 u. 534f. m. Lit. (FRISK 1970, 750).

**σμίνθος** : m. «souris» (Aesch. *fr.* 380, Lyc., Str., AP), aussi σμίνθα· ὁ κατοικίδιος μῦς (Hsch.), avec *α* plutôt que *ᾱ*, discussion chez Solmsen, *Beiträge* 66.

Dérivés : Σμινθεύς (*Il.* 1,39, Str.), -ιος (Ael.); déjà en mycén. *simiteu* = Σμινθεύς comme anthroponyme (Killen-Olivier, *Cambridge Coll. Mycenaean St.* 66); chez Hom. épiclese d'Apollon qui, en Troade et dans les îles, était adoré comme destructeur des mulots; δ'οὐ Σμίνθιος, nom de mois à Rhodes, et τὰ Σμίνθια, nom de fête en Troade et à Rhodes.

*Ét.* : D'après la scholie de l'*Iliade* 1,39 mot mysien. Il doit bien s'agir d'un mot d'Asie Mineure d'après sa localisation et sa forme. Hypothèses douteuses et diverses, cf. Kretschmer, *Gl.* 20, 1932, 221; 30, 1943, 133; Hester, *Lingua* 13, 1965, 365, voir encore Dressler, *IF* 74, 1969, 232. La glose σμῦς· μῦς (Hsch.) doit être corrigée en σμῖς à cause de sa place alphabétique; peut-être hypocoristique de σμίνθος avec influence de μῦς. (CHANTRAINE, 993).

**Σταφυλίτης** 'der Traubenproduzent, Beschützer der Trauen', Ael. *VH* 3,41.

**σταφυλή** f. 'Weintraube' (seit *Il.*), übertr. 'geschwollenes Zäpfchen, Zäpfchenentzündung' (Hp., Arist. usw.) [...] -ίτης m. Bein. des Dionysos (Ael.; Redard 212); (FRISK 1970, 778-779).

**σταφυλή** : f. «grappe de raisin» (Hom., ion.-att., etc.), distingué de ὄμφαξ et de σταφίς, au figuré «luette», inflammation de la luette (Hp., Arist.), avec

un autre accent (cf. κανθύλη, κοτύλη), σταφύλη «plomb d'un niveau» (*Il.* 2,705, *Call. fr.* 512, qui distingue le mot de μολυβδίδς, Hsch.). [...] Dérivés : [...] -ίτης épithète de Dionysos (Ael.), cf. Redard, *Noms grecs en -της* 212 [...] (CHANTRAINE, 1009).

Συκεάτης 'zur Feige gehörig', Hesych.

Συκίτης der Feigenproduzent, vom Feigenbaum, Feigenwein, der Feigenzeiger, der den Feigenwein hervorbringt, in Sparta Sosibios *FrGrHist* 595 F 10 (bei Athen. 78c).

σῦκον (seit η 121), böot. (Stratt.) -τύκον n. 'Feigé', auch übertr. 'Feigwarze, Geschwulst, *pudenda muliebria*. [...] Ableitungen: -ίτης m. (οἶνος) 'vom Feigenbaum, Feigenwein' (Dsk.), spartan. Bein. des Dionysos (Sosib.). (FRISK 1970, 818).

σῦκον : n. «figue» (*Od.* 7,121, ion.-att., etc.), béot. τύκον (Strattis 47), aussi au figuré pour une excroissance, une verrue, une tumeur (Ar., médec.), pour le sexe de la femme (Ar., etc., cf. Taillardat, *Images d'Aristophane* § 113). Dérivés: [...] 6. συκίτης m. «de figue» épithète de οἶνος (Dsc., Pline), cf. Redard, *Noms grecs en -της* 100, épithète de Dionysos à Sparte (Sosib.), cf. *ibid.* 212; [...] (CHANTRAINE, 1032).

Σφάλτης 'der zum Fallen, Straucheln bringt', Lyk. 207 mit Schol.

Σφαλεώτας, in Delphi *SEG* XIX 399;

vgl. FRISK 1970, 827 und CHANTRAINE, 1037-1038.

*Tasibastenus*, Beiname des Liber Pater in Philippi, Makedonia.

Ταῦρος, 'Stier', Paian des Philodamos, v. 2 und Plut. *quaest. Graec.* 299ab;

vgl. elisches Kultlied *PMG* 871, Goldblättchen aus Pelinna *OF* 485,3

ταῦρος εἰς γάλα ἔθορες, auch *OF* 486,3;

θεὸς Ταῦρος thesp. Inschrift *IG* VII 1787 = *I. Thesp* 72;

Ταυρόκερος 'stierhörnig' *E. Ba.* 100, Euphorion 14 P.;

ταυρόμορφος 'stierförmig', Athen. 11,476a;

ταυροφάγος 'Stierfresser' *S. fr.* 668 R., auf Kratinos *Ar. Ra.* 357;

vgl. FRISK 1970, 860.

Υγιάτης 'der Gesundmacher', auf Befehl der Pythia so benannt, Athen. 36b, s. ἱατρός und παιώνιος.

ύγιής : acc. sg. et nom.-acc. n. pl. ύγιᾶ et parfois ύγιῆ, etc. «sain, en bonne santé, en bon état», dit aussi d'objets, ou d'opinions, de paroles, aussi d'un magistrat intègre, cf. L. Robert, *Hellenica* 4,40, etc. (*Il.* 8,524, dit de paroles, ion.-att., etc.); [...] Dérivés : [...] 4. Υγιάτης m. épiclèse de Dionysos (Ath., Eust.), fait

d'après Ἀγυιάτης, cf. Redard, *Noms grecs en -της* 206. [...] (CHANTRAINE, 1110-1111).

Ἰης 'der Beregner, der Befeuchter', Euphorion 14 P., in Ar. fr. 908 K.-A. unter den *xenikoi theoi*.

Φαλλήν 'Phallen, aus Olivenholz. der Phallische?', in Methymna auf Lesbos, Paus. 10,19,3.

Φαλληγός 'Phallenos', Orac. ap. Eus. *PE* 5,36.

φαλλός [...] Davon Φαλλήν, -ῆνος m. Bein. des Dionysos (Paus. 10,19,3; codd. Κεφαλήνα). (FRISK 1970, 987).

φαλλός, -οῦ : m. «pénis» surtout en érection (inscr. att., *IG I<sup>2</sup>* 45,13, Hdt., Ar., etc.); autres formes: φαλής, -ῆτος m. (S., Ar., etc.), φάλης, -ητος m. (Sophr., Luc., avec accent dorien), φάλης, -εω m. (Hippon., d'après μύκης, gén, -εω et -ητος?). Désigne presque toujours un *fascinum erectum*, représentation matérielle du pénis, spécialement pour les fêtes de Dionysos (inscr. att., Hdt., etc.), très rarement l'organe lui-même (Hippon., Ar. *Lys.* 771), sens qui est pourtant le plus ancien. Φαλής (Ar. *Ach.* 263) et Φάλης (Luc.) sont aussi le nom du φαλλός divinisé; Φαλλήν, -ῆνος (Paus., Orac. ap. Eus.) est connu comme épiclese de Dionysos à Lesbos, v. Herter, *RE* s.v. *Phallen*. [...] (CHANTRAINE, 1133).

Φαυστήριος 'der Anzünder, Beleuchter', von den Fackeln in seinen Orgien, Lyc. 212.

Φιγαλεύς 'der aus Phigaleia, in Arkadien', Lyc. 212.

Φλεός in Priene *SIG* 1003,1 und *I.Priene* 162 B.

Φλεύς 'der Strotzende, der Überfließende', auf Erythrai *LSAM* 26 und Chios Herodian 3,1,400 27 L., vgl. GRAF 1985, 283-284.

Φλεών Ael. *VH* 3,41.

Φλοῖος 'der in voller Kraft Strotzende, der Schwellende', Plut. *quaest. conv.* 683f (als *v.l.*).

φλέω 'überfließen, überfluten, strotzen' [...] Daneben φλύω (Φ 361 u. a.) [...] 'sprudeln, überwallen', vom Wasser (Φ 361, Hp., Pap.), von einer reichen Vegetation (Ael.), von einer strömenden Rede (A., A.R., AP) usw., auch von einem sengenden Blitz (Ar. *Nu.* 396) [...] Davon: [...] Bein. des Vegetationsgottes Dionysos in wechselnder Form: Φλεύς (Chios nach EM), Φλέως (Inscr. Ephesos), Φλεών (Ael.), Φλοῖος (Plu.) mit Φλοιά f. Bein. der Kore (lak. nach H.), Φλοιώ f. N. einer Bacchantin (Nonn.). Einzelheiten bei Fraenkel *Nom. ag.* 1, 19 A.1, Hanschke *RhM* 90, 211f. (FRISK 1970, 1025-1026).

φλεύς : surnom de Dionysos (Hdn. Gr.) à Erythrées (inscr.II<sup>e</sup> s. av.) et à Chios (EM 796,43). Avec simplification de l'initiale : Φλεύς (EM 189,41); pour le fait, cf. φαῦρος, s.u. φλαῦρος. Autres formes : Φλέος (inscr. Priène, II<sup>e</sup> s. av.), Φλειός (Plu. *Mor.* 683 f, avec *v.l.* Φλοῖος; EM 539,34); Φλιοῦς (Sch. A.R. 1,115); Φλεών, -ώνος (Ael. *VH* 3,41). Dans la glose Φλέω· Διονύσου ἱερόν (Hsch.), Φλέω est-il un génitif tiré d'une locution \*ἐν Φλέω *vel sim.* mal interprétée? Le génitif Φλέω est sûrement attesté à Ephèse (inscr.). En corrigeant Hésychius, on a supposé un nom. \*Φλέω<ς>, gén. Φλέω, flexion du type ionien ἱέρεως, gén. ἱέρεω, voir Bechtel, *Gr. Dial.* 3,114 sq. (mais Wilamowitz, *Glaube*<sup>3</sup>, 367, n. 2, refuse de lire \*Φλέως chez Hésychius). Φλειώ, -οῦς f. (Nonn. 21,80) est le nom d'une bacchante.

Ét. : Selon l'EM 796,43, Φλεὺς ὁ Διόνυσος ἐν Χίῳ ὀνομάζεται παρὰ τὸ εὐκαρπεῖν; Plu., *l. c.*, rapproche expressément Φλειός de φλύειν «être gonflé de sève» et de φλόος «exubérance de la végétation». Bien que le détail de certaines formes échappe, le rapport avec φλέ(F)ω (voir s.u.) est en effet certain car Dionysos est le génie de la végétation exubérante. Voir J. Schmidt, *RE* 20 (1941), 290; J. Roux, *Euripide, les Bacchantes* 1,56 sqq. (CHANTRAINE, 1167).

χαριδότης 'der Freudenspender', Plut. *Ant.* 24,4, s. ἀγριώνιος.

χαριδώτας 'der Freudenspender', in Kyrene *SEG IX* 103.

Zu χαιρω, χάρις, -ιτος f. 'Reiz, Anmut, Gefallen, Wohlgefallen, Gunst, Dankbarkeit, Dank', auch personifiz., bes. im Plur., 'die Chariten' (seit Il.). Kompp., z.B. χαρι-δότης, dor. (Kyrene) -ας m. Beiwort des Hermes, des Dionysos, des Zeus (*h. Hom.* u.a.), PN Χαρι-γένης, χαριτο-βλέφαρος 'mit anmutigen od. charitenähnlichen Augen(lidern)' (Eub., att. Epigr.); (FRISK 1970, 1063).

χάρις [...] En composition, premier élément non élargi rare; χαρι-δότης «qui donne la joie», pour Hermès ou Dionysos (*H. Her.*, Plu., Jul.), var. -δότης (mss. de Plu., jul.), dor. -δώτας, pour Dionysos (Cyrene, *SEG* 9, 103, I<sup>er</sup> s. av.); fém. -δῶτις (Orph.)[...] (CHANTRAINE, 1202-1203).

χθόνιος 'der Chthonische'.

vgl. FRISK 1970, 1098 und CHANTRAINE, 1213 χθών.

χλοόκαρπος 'der junge, grüne Ernte, frischgrüne Ernte hervorbringt' (meist für Demeter; z. B. Orph. *H.* 40,5).

χλόη [...] 'junges Grün, junges Gras, junge Saat' (ion.-att.) (FRISK 1970, 1104-1106).

χλόη : f, ion. χλοίη (Hp., pap. hell.), dor. χλόα (E. [lyr]); [...] Sens: «verdure naissante, pousse nouvelle d'un vert clair». Sert tel quel d'épithète pour Déméter: Χλόη (Ar., inscr.), Χλοίη (inscr.), avec ou sans le nom de Déméter. [...] χλοό-καρπος «qui produit des récoltes verdoyantes» à propos de Déméter (Orph.); [...] (CHANTRAINE, 1218)

Χοιροψάλας ‘der die weibliche Scham betastet, berührt, erregt, rupft, der Vergewaltiger, der den Chor erregt?’, in Sikyon Polemon in Brief an Attalos, Polem. Hist. 72 (FHG 1,135); Schol. A. Pers. 1033.

χοῖρος : m., f. «porcelet» (*Od.*, Alc., Hdt., etc.), bête toute jeune (voir sous δέλφαξ) offerte en sacrifice (att.), voir Benveniste, *Institutions indo-européennes* 1,32; «porc» en général (Cratin., Plu.); [...] C’est aussi, avec plusieurs diminutifs et composés, le terme le plus usité chez les comiques pour le sexe de la femme (*Ar. passim*); sur ces emplois voir Taillardat, *Images d’Aristophane* § 108. Enfin, nom d’un poisson du Nil (Str., Ath., *Geop.*), soit par adaptation populaire d’un mot nubien (Thompson, *Fishes* s.u.), soit pour des analogies d’aspect et de moeurs (Strömberg, *Fischnamen* 101). [...] En valeur équivoque ou franchement obscène: χοιρό-θλιψ m., f. «tripoteur de χ.» (*Ar. Guêpes* 1364); χοιρο-ψάλας (dor.) épith. de Dionysos (Polém. Hist. 72); [...] (CHANTRAINE, 1221).

χορειός ‘der Tanzende, der zum Chor Gehörige’, in Athen SEG XXI 507 und auf Paros IG XII 5,134; Plut. *quaest. conv.* 680b, *de cohib. ira* 462b, *Ant.* 24.

χορός [...] Dazu Ableitungen: -εῖος ‘zum Chor usw. gehörig’ (A.R., sp.), metr. = τροχάϊος, τριβραχὺς (Cic., D.H. u.a.) (FRISK 1970, 1112).

χορός [...] Dérivés : concernent tous la danse : 1. χορειός adj. «qui concerne les chœur» (Mén., A.R., Plu., Ael., inscr.); masc. Nom d’un mètre: «trochée», ou «chorée», ou sa contrepartie en brèves : «tribraque» (Cic., Plu.); n. «lieu de danse» (LXX); n. pl. «monument chorégique» (inscr. inscr. III<sup>e</sup> II<sup>e</sup> s. av.) (CHANTRAINE, 1224).

M. Meier-Brügger, dans *Novalis Indogermanica* (2002) 297-303, tente un rapprochement avec la racine \*g<sup>h</sup>er- «se réjouir» en voyant dans χορός à la fois un nom d’action en disant il fait de se réjouir [...] (CHANTRAINE, 1367).

χοροϊτύπος ‘den Boden im Reigen, Chor, schlagend, stampfend’, Pind. fr. 156.

χρυσόκερως ‘mit Hörnern aus Gold’.

Ψευδάνωρ ‘der falsche Mann’, in Beroia *IBeroia* 56.

Ψίλαξ ‘der Kahle, Nackte, Glatt, Entblöbte’, in Amyklai Paus. 3,19,6.

ψιλός ‘kahl, nackt, glatt, entblöbt’ (seit I 580), m. ‘leichtbewaffneter Soldat’ (ion.-att.). [...] -αξ, -ακος m. ‘der Kahle’ (*Ar. Fr.* 891), auch als Bein. des Dionysos in Amyklai (Paus.; Björck *Alpha impurum* 48 u. 264). (FRISK 1970, 1138).

ψιλός : adj. «chauve, glabre, pelé, à poil ras» (*Od.* 14,437, ion.-att.) d’où «dégarni» dans de nombreuses acceptions (*Il.* 9,580, ion.-att.), notamment pour des

troupes légères, dépourvues d'armement défensif, avec emploi substantif (ion.-att.). [...] Dérivés [...] ψίλαξ, -ακος «le chauve» (Ar.), mais pour l'épithète de Dionysos, voir sous πτίλον et sous ψίλον. [...] (CHANTRAINE, 1245).

Ὠμάδιος 'der Rohe, der Rohfleischesser', von ὠμός auf Chios *PLondon* 273, Orph. *H.* 30,5; auf Tenedos Euelpis von Karystos (fr. 1, *FHG* IV, p. 408) ap. Porphyr. *de abst.* 2,55.

Ὠμηστής 'der Rohe, Wilde, Grausame', in Lesbos, Alk. fr. 129,9 Voigt; nach Plut. *Them.* 13,2-5 = Phainias fr. 25 Wehrli<sup>2</sup> werden vor der Schlacht von Salamis 3 pers. Jünglinge ihm geopfert, HENRICHS 1981, 208-224; *AP* 9,524 und Plut. *de cohib. ira* 462b, *Ant.* 24,5; Plut. *Arist.* 9,2, *Pelop.* 21,3. ὠμός 'roh, ungekocht', übertr. 'hart, grausam' (seit Il.). Sehr oft als Vorderglied, z.B. ὠμ-ηστής, dor. -τάς m. 'Rohes fressend', ὠμο-φάγος, 'blutgierig, unmenschlich' (ep. poet. seit Il.), Zusammenbildung aus ὠμός und ἔδω mit τα-Suffix und alter Kontraktion [...] (FRISK 1970, 1149).

ὠμός : adj. «cru, non cuit», δῶν «non mûr, prématuré» au propre et au figuré [fruits, naissance, vieillesse], et «cruel, brutal, inhumain» (Hom., ion.-att., hell., tardif). Au premier membre d'une quarantaine de composés, dont plusieurs sont anciens : surtout ὠμ-ηστής «qui dévore tout cru, sauvage» (Hom., poètes) et son doublet -ηστήρ (Opp.), voir s.u. ἔδω; [...] (CHANTRAINE, 1255).

**GREEK INSCRIBED DISCS:  
ATHLETES, DEDICATIONS, AND TOMBSTONES\***

Mika Kajava & Elina M. Salminen

*Introduction*

In this paper we shall examine a number of inscribed disc-shaped artefacts and, more particularly, round objects which, in one way or another, may be associated with athletes: dedications to deities, commemorative objects belonging to athletic funerary monuments, or just works of art somehow inspired by the athletic world and appearing in funerary contexts or elsewhere. Most of the evidence is datable from the late Archaic to the early Classical period and may come not only from Attica but from many parts of the Greek world. The present study is not self-contained: it derives from our ongoing work on ‘Greek Inscribed Discs’, a topic which we shall briefly introduce below (Section I); and at the same time it stands in dialogue with previously published work (by one of the authors) on a disc from Kyme (to which we shall also refer below in Section II). Our main focal point, however, remains the analysis of athletic disc-shaped artefacts (Section III).

It is our hope that this contribution may fittingly commemorate the remarkable scholarly efforts of Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood. Some of the arguments presented below have benefited greatly from her acute observations.

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\* Useful information on a number of details concerning athletic discuses and other types of disc was kindly provided by Angelos Chaniotis, Kirsten Dzwiza, Christopher Faraone, Klaus Hallof, Italo Iasiello, Daniela Marchiandi, Stephen Miller, Fred Naiden, Jari Pakkanen, Andrej Petrovic, Heikki Solin, Chiara Terranova and Marja Vierros.

### I. *Inscribed Discs – An Overview*

Inscribed disc-shaped objects are documented in a multitude of forms from Archaic times onwards. Materials, types, and sizes can well vary, while the text inscribed on them can run in a spiral or in circles (or, at times, vertically), whether retrograde or from left to right. Some of the discs are pierced in the centre for fastening with nails (or for other reasons). Over time, especially during the Hellenistic and Roman times, the typology of inscribed discs increased considerably, especially as regards the shape and function of the objects, as well as the interplay between disc and text. It is therefore necessary to define which types of objects are included in our study project and which are not.

Our focal interest lies on athletic discuses, but our overall study will also include what may be labelled as ‘documentary’ discs. These are bronze round-shaped artefacts, bearing various kinds of administrative documents, such as decrees concerning citizenship, proxeny and *theorodokia*. Significantly this evidence, dated broadly to the Classical period, comes from a restricted region in western Peloponnesos: Lousoi in Arkadian Azania, Triphylia south of Elis, and Olympia.<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy, however, that some ‘documentary’ objects that have often been considered as discs are not such at all, their circular form resulting apparently from reuse of rectangular plaques.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to athletic and documentary discs, our typology includes several other categories. Among these are shields or shield-like objects with circular writing, which are typologically close to inscribed discs, such as those dedicated to various gods by Rhodian *stratagoi* on leaving office in the Hellenistic and Roman times.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, the category of ‘discs’ can, in broad terms, be applied to discoid objects such as bronze voting ballots (like those known from Elis and Olympia, in particular), various sorts of inscribed tags and tokens, coins when used to stamp funerary discs, and even disc-shaped silver ingots dedicated to gods (from

<sup>1</sup> See, in particular, *IG V 2*, 387 (Lousoi, proxeny decree); *SEG XL 392* = *MINON 2007*, no. 29 (Triphylia; bestowal of citizenship); *MINON 2007*, no. 16 = *N.I.Olympia 5A* = *RUTHERFORD 2014*, App. B2 (citizenship and *theorodokia*).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *IG XIV 954* and *IG XIV 955* (= *IGUR 4*), both honorific decrees from the late Republic. For further discussion, see now *KAJAVÄ 2014*.

<sup>3</sup> *Tit. Cam.* 65-78c, *Suppl.* 78d (Kamiros); *SUSINI, Suppl. epigr.* 218 (Kasos); *I.Rhod.Peraia* 781-782, 784 = *HTCarie* 62-63, 65; *I.Knidos* 801 (from Kamiros?); *IG XII 4*, 2, 568, 570-578 (Kos). Cf. also the series of funerary discs from Kasos: *IG XII 1*, 1044-1059; *Suppl. epigr.* pp. 219-224.

Poseidonia).<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the use of discs as well as of painted circles and circular writing is well documented in the world of magic, and round-shaped magical gems and similar objects are known from many parts of the ancient world. It is true that magical amulets and curses were less frequent on discs or round tablets, yet there are some noteworthy instances.<sup>5</sup>

By contrast, in our project we have omitted stamped discs such as those of terracotta used as loom weights<sup>6</sup> as well as the innumerable circular inscriptions engraved, scratched or painted on a wide range of round-shaped artefacts, in particular on the bases, feet or rims of various sorts of vases (aryballoi, hydriai, phialai, skyphoi, etc.). On the other hand, there are some interesting cases of vase bases which have been reused as writing material, with the text proceeding in circles as if on real discs.<sup>7</sup>

Besides the inscriptions on them, the appearance of the objects themselves also comes under scrutiny, in consideration of the contexts in which the discs were originally used, as far as this is possible: there

<sup>4</sup> Elis and Olympia: BAITINGER and EDER 2001; ROY 2006; cf. *N.I.Olympia* 246-249 (with pp. 243-244). — For tags, cf. a small Lakonian bronze disc (diam. 4 cm) from the first half of the sixth century BC, with central hole and an inscribed dedication to Apollo, perhaps originally appended to a votive: SEG XI 890 (Μέλας μ' ἔνικε· Πυθαίει), better J. and L. ROBERT, *BE* 1950, 113 (ἔνικε = ἦνικε), accepted by KRITZAS 1985, 715-716 and L. DUBOIS, *BE* 1987, 621. This case will be discussed in more detail in another article. — Poseidonia: JEFFERY <sup>2</sup>1990, 252 = *IGASMG IV* 19 = *IGDGG* 18; *IGASMG IV* 20 = *IGDGG* 20. — Discs with the impression of a coin: e.g., SEG XLVII 826 (Thesprotia, second century BC); SEG LV 647 (Phoinike, Illyria; Trajan's time).

<sup>5</sup> Cf., e.g., the curses of judicial content written on both sides of an early fifth-century lead tablet from the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinous in Sicily: JEFFERY <sup>2</sup>1990, 277 no. 38a ('500-475?') = *IGDS* 37 = GAGER 1992, no. 51 = *IGASMG I*<sup>2</sup> 61 = VAN EFFENTERRE and RUZÉ 1994-95.I, no. 5 = BETTARINI 2005, no. 20; also in JACOBSTAHL 1933, 30 (fig. 22). At least two further curses on lead discs from the Malophoros sanctuary are known: *IGASMG I*<sup>2</sup> 65 = BETTARINI 2005, no. 21, of judicial character (spiral script on recto; first half of the fifth century BC), and ROCCA 2012 from around 500 BC (of difficult interpretation; cf. p. 405 for the possible presence on the disc of σόλος used in Homer in reference to discus-throwing).

<sup>6</sup> The considerable evidence from Taras and environs, often misleadingly labelled as *oscilla*, is now discussed by L'ERARIO 2012. Inscribed loom weights from Sicily (circular, also conical or pyramidal): SEG L 988, 1029. Circular loom weights are also well known from mainland Greece and Asia Minor.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the well-known graffito from the Athenian Agora scratched in Megarian script in two concentric circles on the base of a skyphos of Corinthian shape, perhaps dating around, or shortly after, the middle of the sixth century BC (*Agora XXI B* 1 = *CAVI* 540): [---] : κάθες : ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰοδῶι τᾶς θύρας τῷ κάπο : πρίου(α), 'Put the saw under the threshold of the garden door!' A sort of occasional message, in other words, incised on a vase base, which both the sender and the receiver may well have conceptualized as an actual disc with circular writing.

is frequently little or no information concerning the exact provenance of an object. On the whole, while the materials make up a rather heterogeneous group, most of the objects obviously relate to public life and ideals, regardless of their find context.

The number of documented inscribed discs is trivial when compared with what we know about inscriptions on rectangular plaques, slabs and tablets, whatever the materials used. That this proportion reflects to some extent the situation in antiquity is beyond any doubt. Despite their restricted and unimpressive number, inscribed discs are significant for various reasons. In particular, it was probably both the decorative aspects and the symbolic meanings attached to the circular form that partly contributed to the introduction of this specific method of displaying written texts or other visible messages in an attractive and inspiring way. Writing in spiral is mentioned in Greek literature, the most famous recorded case being perhaps the bronze disc of King Iphitos of Elis, inscribed with the terms of the Olympic truce and kept in Hera's sanctuary in Olympia (Pausanias 5.20.1: ἐξ κύκλου σχῆμα περίεισιν ἐπὶ τῷ δίσκῳ τὰ γράμματα).<sup>8</sup> Circular writing, whether on discs or elsewhere, is also well documented for non-Greek cultures: cf., e.g., the Minoan clay disc from Phaistos,<sup>9</sup> the Etruscan lead disc of Magliano, or the early Faliscan Ceres inscription from Civita Castellana,<sup>10</sup> all showing symbols or text running in spiral.<sup>11</sup> From a technical and visual perspective, writing in spiral was close to writing *boustrophedon*,<sup>12</sup> in that the objective of both styles was to continue uninterruptedly from start to finish. In this regard, texts engraved in separate rings represented a different type. However, any circular writing could also play a role in the context of sacred texts because of its symbolic value, and this was duly noted by Paul Jacobstahl in his still useful article on 'Diskoi'

<sup>8</sup> Cf. MADDOLI and SALADINO 1995, 199-200; SIEWERT 2002, 363 (with nn. 27-28 on p. 369) and, especially, CHRISTESEN 2007, 59-62.

<sup>9</sup> Which is, of course, not accepted by all as authentic.

<sup>10</sup> This text is spiralling downward around the shoulder of a vase: BAKKUM 2009, 393-406. Also spiralling downward is the Duenos inscription from Rome, written in three units on the sides of a kernos. There are many other examples.

<sup>11</sup> For clay discs (and matrices) of a very particular type, perhaps related to ritual activities, cf. those of Hellenistic date from Taras and nearby Heracleia and Metapontion as well as from Luceria, with ideographic symbols (possibly) corresponding to divisions within the civic population: LOPRETE and BINI 1989.

<sup>12</sup> Or 'false *boustrophedon*', that is, with letters or a whole line written 'upside down': JEFFERY <sup>2</sup>1990, 49-50 (characterized as 'Schlangenschrift' by ZINN 1950).

from 1933: ‘Daß die Wahl des Rundes zur Aufzeichnung sakraler und öffentlich-rechtlicher Texte tiefer begründet ist als durch ästhetisches Belieben, läßt sich durch einen Blick auf einige entlegenere griechische und italische Denkmäler wahrscheinlich machen.’<sup>13</sup> This symbolic value must have been recognized by practitioners of ancient magic as well.

Jacobstahl touched upon many relevant questions in that work but often in passing; since then, disc-shaped artefacts have never been the object of systematic research.<sup>14</sup> Nonetheless, their detailed study as a group allows in-depth analysis of numerous issues, including epigraphic corrections and new readings of the texts inscribed.

## II. *The Kyme Disc*

The impulse for the Greek Inscribed Discs project reaches back to a recent analysis of a much-debated inscribed bronze disc from Italy by one of the present authors.<sup>15</sup> That study, however, did not take into account the appearance and function of the object. It seems useful to use the opportunity now to complete the discussion of that particular disc; by doing so, we can introduce some of the main arguments lying at the centre of our research interest in this paper too.

The artefact in question is a small bronze disc (diam. c. 8 cm), possibly from Kyme and perhaps dating as early as the 7th century BC (Fig. 1). The text in Euboic lettering is incised in a retrograde spiral along the edge and is usually agreed to read as follows: *ἠέρε οὐκ ἔᾱι* {1} *ἐπιμαντεύεσθαι*,<sup>16</sup> that is, ‘Hera does not allow further prophecy.’ The

<sup>13</sup> JACOBSTAHL 1933, 31 (inscriptions are discussed on pp. 23-32). The evidence has increased since by many remarkable exemplars.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. KAROUZOS 1951, 98, in his stylistic analysis of Classical marble discs with reliefs: ‘But though several scholars have made excellent detailed observations about them, these monuments have not yet been systematically studied and little light has been thrown on their evolution either as cult objects or as works of art.’

<sup>15</sup> KAJAVA 2010, with full bibliography and a survey of interpretations.

<sup>16</sup> Regarding the expression οὐκ ἔᾱι, there may be a parallel engraved in Parian alphabet on a sixth-century tile fragment from Thasos (GHALI-KAHIL 1960, 122 no. 19, Pl. 51, 19), perhaps reading as follows: [---]EPA ωὐκ ἔᾱι / [---]N αὐτῶ, and probably with an infinitive depending on the phrase of prohibition. Although it would be attractive to see here the name of Hera, on sixth- or early fifth-century Thasos one would expect not only an ‘Ionic’ form for the theonym but also its initial being written with either Θ or rather Η (*hē* would be somewhat surprising). So EPA probably belongs to a word ending in -ερα. The expression θεὸς οὐκ ἔᾱ also occurs in relation to dice oracles in some inscriptions of the second century AD from Asia Minor (*TAM* II 1222, Lycia; *CIG* 3956c, Phrygia).



Fig. 1. Bronze disc (Kyme). From MAIURI 1911, 2  
(cf. GUARDUCCI 1987, 66).

text has been commonly interpreted as a lot with an oracular response that was handed over to a consultant. However, as was argued in the above-mentioned article (n. 15), such an interpretation encounters significant difficulties: there are no explicit parallels for *sortes* forbidding re-consultation,<sup>17</sup> and the verb ἐπιμαντεύεσθαι always means ‘to prophesize’, ‘to give a response’, and never ‘to ask for a response’ or ‘to consult an oracle’ (moreover, to express iteration and succession of oracular

<sup>17</sup> Some Latin texts from the Late Republic might be remotely comparable, but they derive from a completely different context (e.g., *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2185 = *ILLRP* 1084: Nunc me rogitas, nunc / consulis? Tempus abit iam; *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2189 = *ILLRP* 1087a: Qur petis postempus consilium? / Quod rogas non est).

consultation one would expect ἀναμαντεύεσθαι instead<sup>18</sup>). Furthermore, the disc would be the only proof in favour of the idea that the Kymean oracle originally belonged to Hera and only later to Apollo; if, on the other hand, Apollo was the local oracular god from the beginning, explaining Hera's interference in the Apolline consultations would require unnecessary speculations. Finally, while surely possible, a Kymean origin for the disc is by no means certain.

As a solution to the various problems concerning the 'oracular' content of the prohibition, it has now been proposed (n. 15) that the infinitive may be read as ἐπιμαστεύεσθαι (cf. ἐπίμαστος ἀλήτης, [probably] 'vagabond mendicant', said of Odysseus in Homer, *Odyssey* 20.377 with schol.),<sup>19</sup> which could mean that we are dealing with a ban on begging and related activity within an area sacred to Hera, perhaps implemented in the wake of problems concerning the upkeep of the sanctuary. Various sorts of disciplinary prescriptions were commonly implemented in Greek sanctuaries, and they are well documented.<sup>20</sup>

If, nonetheless, the bronze disc should be associated with oracles, the likeliest alternative is that it forbade independent diviners from practising their business in Hera's sacred area. This is definitely a regulation rather than a divine response.<sup>21</sup> In other words, whatever the correct

<sup>18</sup> As was also observed by PUGLIESE CARRATELLI 1979, 223; 1986, 17-18.

<sup>19</sup> See KAJAVA 2010, 15-18, for language, literary evidence and palaeography, and the fact that the incisor first wrote ἐπιματεύεσθαι, the supposed *sigma* between α and τ being a later addition either by the man himself or by another hand. The existence of the prefixed forms ἐπιμαστεύω : \*ἐπιματεύω is certainly conceivable beside the well-known pair μαστεύω : ματεύω ('seek', 'search after', 'crave', 'need', etc.), and the same must apply to the middle voice forms as well.

<sup>20</sup> Besides the collections by SOKOŁOWSKI (*LSAM*, *LSS*, *LSCG*), see LUPU 2005 and CARBON and PIRENNE-DELFORGE 2012 (on the problematic term 'sacred law' and with a review of earlier research). For non-metrical and non-oracular prohibitions by divine authority, cf. *SEG* XXXVI 267, 7 = LUPU 2005, no. 4 (Marathon, Cave of Pan; 61/60 BC): ἀπαγορεύει ὁ θεός; *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1289, 9-10 (with *SEG* LII 132; early third century BC): ἀπαγορεύει δὲ καὶ ἡ θεὸς κ[αὶ] ὁ προφήτης / Καλλίστρατος, etc. (related to the settlement of a lawsuit involving *orgeones* of an unknown goddess). See also *SEG* XXVI 1084 = LUPU 2005, no. 25 (Megara Hyblaea; first half of the sixth century BC), though the reading is under dispute: Πᾶσι : ἀρὰ : τὸ [θ] / [ε]δ̄ : ἡδάδε, etc. ('This is the imprecation of the god for all, Lupu); *SEG* XXXVIII 421 = LUPU 2005, no. 7 (Megalopolis, Arkadia; c. 200 BC): Στάλα ἴσιος Σαράπιος, suggesting divine interest in the inscription listing the regulations for entry into the sanctuary. A god's disapproval might also be conveyed by phrases like οὐ θέμις (ἔστι). For the rare use of ἀπαγορεύειν in sacred contexts (and the more common formulaic expression οἱ νόμοι ἀπαγορεύουσιν), see HITCH 2011, 120. As for oracular and metrical inscriptions, the prohibitions are usually expressed in more implicit terms such as 'god dislikes / hates / will punish'.

<sup>21</sup> Thus also DILLERY 2005, 225-226, following RENEHAN 1974, though building on earlier research, with a different interpretation of the content (ἤρι μαντεύεσθαι, i.e., 'Hera forbids

reading of the verb, what we have here is most likely a sacred disciplinary regulation related to a cult of Hera either in Kyme or elsewhere in Campania. This observation brings us closer to some of the main arguments of the present article. If indeed a sacred regulation (or, for that matter, any text with some degree of public relevance) was intended to communicate effectively to an audience, how was this goal achieved using a tiny disc showing the divine prescription in circular writing? Although accessibility and readability of inscribed legal documents may not always have been a primary concern for Archaic Greek communities, the question of communication certainly deserves attention.<sup>22</sup> Regarding the item in question, though not incised by a practised hand, the text could presumably have been read without difficulties by those few who were familiar with inscriptions; but the situation might have been different if the text was considerably longer. This is especially true of discs affixed to a wall or a door. Reading through a lengthy text written in spiral on an immovable disc is not quite the same thing as consulting something engraved (*boustrophedon* or not) in horizontal lines on a rectangular plaque. The text on the Kyme disc is so short that it could have been read with ease even if displayed on a wall, but the curious thing is that there is nothing to suggest that the disc was ever attached to a wall or any other foundation (there are no holes, and nothing is reported concerning fastenings on the reverse). If the disc was not mounted in order to be consulted, where and how was it stored?

If the small disc was kept somewhere at the entrance to the *temenos* with the inscribed text conspicuous on it, it would be interesting to know what the visitors' reactions were when confronted with the regulation. Would they think that the goddess would know if they broke her proscription? Was it a warning to be taken seriously? What really was the

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oracular consultations in the morning'), but cf. KAJAVA 2010, 9. For further arguments against regarding the disc as a lot (*sors*), see BUCHHOLZ 2013, 127-129, showing, moreover, that none of the handful of allegedly oracular discs with Etruscan or Oscan (or Latin) writing known from Italy is likely to be a *sors* (*ibid.* 138-140). If, occasionally, oracular responses appear on discs, then we are dealing with reused vase materials; for an interesting case from the early fifth century BC, cf. *IGDOLbia* 48, scratched on both sides of the foot of a lekythos, showing the reply of Achilles on one side and the subsequent dedication by a consultant to the hero, on the other. The use of ostraka in oracular consultations is also otherwise well attested (in Egypt and elsewhere).

<sup>22</sup> See the evidence collected by GAGARIN 2008 (Ch. 2), esp. 64-65, discussing a group of texts from Tiryns (*SEG* XXX 380) inscribed not only in a dim location (on the walls of a covered passage), but also in a 'serpentine' fashion (see further Z. PΑΡΑΚΟΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ, in a review of Gagarin's book, *BMCR* 2009.06.49).

communicative function of the disc? Did it have any? This communicative function may have been indirect if the disc was an (archive?) copy reproducing the text appearing on a stone inscription set up at the gate of the sacred area.<sup>23</sup> However, if indeed the disc was a copy of a lapidary inscription, it might also conceivably have served as a kind of badge that was shown to disorderly visitors as needed. All the same, considering that the disc format may not have been the obvious choice for any kind of copy, one may wonder whether the object was originally manufactured to be used for purposes other than writing (as part of the wardrobe of a statue, for example) or for a different type of text, e.g. a dedication. Finding this sort of material for re-use may have not been difficult, if we consider that anepigraphic small-size discs of bronze or other material have been discovered in large quantities in Greek sanctuaries, with the most conspicuous materials perhaps coming from the Argive Heraion and from the votive deposit of Hera Limenia at Perachora.<sup>24</sup>

### III. *Athletes and Discuses*

While it may be incidental that the Kymean text was inscribed on a disc, there are other inscriptions in which the circular form served a specific function. In particular, texts engraved on athletic discuses seem to have been inherently linked to the shape of the object, so that it was both the artefact and the writing together that referred to athletic activity.<sup>25</sup> We know of a number of inscribed discuses mostly from the Archaic and Classical periods that are related to discus throwing or may at least be associated with athletic discuses. Similarly-shaped discuses without text but with illustrations of athletes (some of them including concentric guidelines like those seen on inscribed discuses) further reinforce the link between such objects and athletics.<sup>26</sup> In one interesting case (*Catalogue A*, No. 18), the inscription in circular form is actually not on a

<sup>23</sup> The copying of sacred regulations is well documented from later times; cf. PETROVIC and PETROVIC 2006, 174-175 (also on the placement of such texts and their integration into the sacred space).

<sup>24</sup> Those with a hole in the centre, either plain or ornamented, could have been pierced for stringing on fibulae, or they were used as ear-rings, buttons, or pinheads. Others having holes near their edges may have been sewn on dedicated dresses. Argos: DE COU 1905, 267-269, Pls XCIX-CI, also referring (p. 267 n. 2) to Olympian evidence for plain discs with central hole on edge of quiver. Perachora: DUNBABIN 1940 (bronzes); STUBBINGS 1962 (ivories). Cf. also BAUMBACH 2004, 36-37.

<sup>25</sup> For a survey of Greek athletic discuses and discus throwing, see MILLER 2004, 60-63.

<sup>26</sup> E.g., JACOBSTAHL 1933, Pls I-II; see below n. 81.

discus, but the context strongly suggests that it may be associated with athletic discuses.

The relevant material is listed for convenience in the following two-part *Catalogue*.<sup>27</sup> The order is geographical, as in the *SEG*,<sup>28</sup> with a typological organization for the Athenian material, while the subsequent discussion partly proceeds thematically. References to photographs or drawings, if any, are at the end of the entries. Although the evidence presented and discussed below does not claim to be complete, it affords a substantial overview that allows drawing some reliable conclusions.

### Catalogue A (Archaic / Classical)

1) *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1394*: Τελεσάρχο ἐκ τῷ ἐρί[ο]. – Marble discus (diam. 28.9 cm; th. 5.9 cm [centre]); late 6th cent. BC; Athens (precise provenance unknown). – Photograph: JACOBSTAHL 1933, 18 no. 2 (fig. 9); <<https://metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/255826>> (with erroneous measures, confusing in. with cm.).

2) *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1395*: ἐκ τῶν ἐρί[ο]ν (rather than ἄ[θλ]ον, ‘utrumque legi potest’ *IG*, but the crucial letter seems to be E). – Marble discus (diam. 28.4 cm; th. 6.13 cm [centre]) with remains of painted decoration in the centre, ‘fortasse equitis’ (*IG*); late 6th cent. BC; Athens (precise provenance unknown). – Photograph: JACOBSTAHL 1933, 18 no. 1 (fig. 8); <<http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/discus-130164>>, (with ‘overall (on mount)’ measures, differing from those of the discus itself).

3) *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1397*: ἐχ τῶν ἐρίον εἰμῖι (EINI stone). – Marble discus (diam. 27.8 cm; th. 5.5 cm [centre], ‘crassior medio quam in marginibus’ *IG*; lett. ht 4.5 cm); late 6th cent. BC; Athens (‘angeblich aus einem Grab bei Anavyssos’: JACOBSTAHL 1933, 19 no. 4). – Photograph: STUPPERICH 1990 (Pl. 16, 6.7); <<https://www.museum-digital.de/westfalen/singleimage.php?imagenr=334&inwi=1&w=1040&h=768>>.

<sup>27</sup> Disc-like objects serving as architectural elements and with no obvious connection with authentic discuses are omitted, e.g., *IG I<sup>3</sup> 872* (‘discus’, Acropolis) = *CEG 275* (perhaps part of a tripod dedication); 888 (‘discus’ from the Acropolis, supporting some dedicated object(s)). The small bronze disc *IG I<sup>3</sup> 547* from the Acropolis (‘discus parvulus’, ‘small discus’ [DILLON 2002, 17]), which Lysilla dedicated to Athene as a first-fruits offering in the early fifth century BC, is perhaps a bronze cymbal (see Z. D. PAPAPOPOULOU, *ThesCRA II*, 353 no. 69, with further evidence for inscribed votive cymbals), unless it was from a fibula. On the other hand, we have included No. 11 from Eretria, a funerary disc that may at least be compared with some Athenian exemplars.

<sup>28</sup> Note that No. 11 from Eretria is listed under Athens, as the epitaph concerns an Athenian.

4) *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1396*: Ὁἔθεν ἄθλα. – Poros discus (diam. 28 cm; th. 6 cm; lett. ht 1 cm); late 6th cent. BC; Athens (‘angeblich Vari’: JACOBSTAHL 1933, 19 no. 3). – Photograph: BROMMER 1975, 181-182 (Pl. 63, 1).

5) *IG I<sup>3</sup> 989*: Αἰσι[μίδες μ’ ἀνέθε]κεν. – Fragment of marble discus (width 24+ cm) with inscription along edge; ‘600-550?’ (*IG*, from Jeffery), but perhaps somewhat later; from Eleusis. – Photograph: JEFFERY 1949, 25 (fig. 1).

6) *IG I<sup>3</sup> 860bis*: Δεμ[όφι]λο[ς] μ’ ἀ[νέθεκεν ---] (‘suppl. exempli gratia’). – Three fragments of marble discus (diam. 30+ cm; th. min. 4 cm); ‘470-450?’ (*IG*); from the Acropolis. – No photograph available.

7) *SEG LV 71* (Athens): Δικαῖος ἀνέθεκεν. – Marble discus (the original publication [ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΑΚΟΥ 2005, 41] does not give measurements); probably before 403/2 BC (because of spelling); excavated some fifteen years ago in Agios Andreas (Nea Makri). – No photograph available.

8) *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1398*: ἡαγνι. – Marble discus (diam. 13 cm; th. 4.5 cm); latter half of the 5th cent. BC; from the Acropolis. – Drawing: RAUBITSCHKE 1949, 417.

9) *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1393 = CEG 62*: Μνῆμα τόδ’ Αἰνέο σοφίας ἱατρῶ ἀρίστο. – Marble discus (diam. 27 cm; th. 3.5 cm) with flat back and convex front and with painting representing a bearded man sitting in a chair to right, two holes in the centre with traces of iron nails; late 6th cent. BC; Athens (precise provenance unknown, but it was at the Piraeus in 1899: DAUX 1972, 520). – Drawing: BERGER 1970, 157 (figs 164-165).

10) *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1210 = CEG 37*: Γνάθονος : τόδε σῆμα : θέτο δ’ αὐτὸν : / ἀδελφῆ : ἠελίθιον : νοσελεύσα : / σα. – Marble discus with bevelled edge (diam. 27 cm; th. 3.5 cm), writing in rings; late 6th cent. BC; Athens (precise provenance unknown). – Photograph: JACOBSTAHL 1933, 26 (fig. 19).

11) *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1516* (Eretria): Χαίριον / Ἀθηναῖος / εὐπατριδῶν / ἐνθάδε κεῖ / τὰ<ι>. – “Discus lapidis caerulei” (diam. 49 cm; th. 5 cm) with inscription in horizontal lines; “546-525?” (*IG*). – Photograph: BLINKENBERG 1919, 8 (fig. 2).

12) *SEG XI 670* (Sparta): ἄε<θ>λον Ἀμυκλ{ι}αῖοι. – Bronze discus (diam. 19 cm; weight 3.28 kg) with inscription on the flat side (the other side slightly convex); 6th cent. BC (LAZZARINI 1976, no. 834); from the Amyklaion. – Photograph: PROSKYNIΤΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 2004, no. 94.

13) *SEG LVII 398 = N.I.Olympia 33B*: Ἡερμέσιος : μ’ ἐποίησε : Λακεδαιμ[ό]νι[ο]ς : Αἰγιναῖ / [---]οἱ ἀνέθεσαν : [---] (for a new reading

of the text, see below). – Bronze ‘discus’ (diam. 19.7 cm) with flat reverse and rectangular hole in the middle, decorated with twenty-four incised crescents (whirling motif); inscription on rim; second half of the 6th cent. BC; ‘Gefunden südlich der Westthermen 19.6.1941 Raum in der NO Ecke’ (PATAY-HORVÁTH 2007, 124). For a completely different interpretation of the object’s function (SIEWERT 2010 and *N.I.Olympia* 33B), see below. – Photograph: PATAY-HORVÁTH 2007, Pls 4-5; <[http://www.bollettinodiarcheologiaonline.beniculturali.it/documenti/generale/1\\_PATAY-HORVATH.pdf](http://www.bollettinodiarcheologiaonline.beniculturali.it/documenti/generale/1_PATAY-HORVATH.pdf)>.

14) SEG XLIV 424 (Boeotia?): Σῆμος μ' ἐποίφεισε. – Bronze discus (diam. 18.6-18.9 cm; th. max. 1.9 cm; weight 3.75 kg) with inscription incised in a semi-circle along the rim; ca. 525-500 BC; assigned to Boeotia on the basis of writing. – Photograph: NEILS (ed.) 1992, 166 no. 33; ORTIZ 1996, no. 128; <<https://www.georgeortiz.com/objects/greek-world-cont/128-discus-archaic/>>.

15) IG IX 1<sup>2</sup> 4, 1566 = CEG 391 (Kephallenia): Ἐχσοῖδα<ς> μ' ἀνέθεκε Διφὸς φόροιν μεγάληο : / χάλκεον ἠδὲ νίκασε Κεφαλάνας μεγαθύμος. – Bronze discus (diam. 16.5 cm; th. 0.4 cm) with spiral inscription; mid-6th cent. BC; ‘said to have been found in Cephallenia’ (JEFFERY <sup>2</sup>1990, 231). – Photograph: JACOBSTAHL 1933, 18 (fig. 12); <[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=365012001&objectid=399627](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?partid=1&assetid=365012001&objectid=399627)>.

16) TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU 2004, 159 (Akanthos, Chalkidike): marble discus (diam. 14 cm; weight 978 gr) found inside a late Archaic tomb (no. 11075). Most unfortunately, no text is given, but the artefact is said to have been inscribed spirally and in insular lettering with reference to the inglorious death of the buried person, obviously in the first person singular as the text is on a ‘speaking object’.<sup>29</sup>

17) *I.ScM* I 102 (Histria on the Black Sea): (A) Τέλονος ἐμί. (B) Τέλονος ἐμί. – Opisthographic granite discus (‘disc de granit de formă elipsoidală, aproape rotund, scris pe amindouă fețele’; diam. 36 cm; lett. ht. 10 cm) with hollow in the middle of one of the sides (the text on this side is only partly readable on the photograph in *I.ScM*); latter half of the 6th cent. BC; from east area of the Thermae. – Photograph: *I.ScM*.

<sup>29</sup> TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU 2004, 159: ‘Η πολύ σύντομη επιγραφή του βου, πιθανώς, αι. π.Χ., που είναι χαραγμένη σε νησιωτικό αλφάβητο και σπειροειδώς στον δίσκο, αναφέρεται στον άδοξο χαμό του αθλητή με τη γνωστή φόρμουλα του «ομιλούντος αντικειμένου». Cf. DESPINIS 2009, 8.

**18)** *I.Délos* 5 = *CEG* 404: πεντέροντα π[όδας πήδη]σέ μοι ἐ<ν>θάδ' [---]. – Flat marble fragment (28 × 19 cm) with spiral inscription; 7th cent. BC? (JEFFERY <sup>2</sup>1990, 304 no. 8). – Photograph of squeeze with drawing: EBERT 1963, 42 (Pl. 2).

**19)** JACOBSTAHL 1933, 23 = TUCHELT 1970, 115 (Didyma): [--- ἀνέ-]θηκεν Ε(?)[---]. – Fragment of marble discus (diam. 32-34 cm [Wiegand, *apud* Tuchelt], c. 28 cm [Jacobstahl]; th. 0.8 cm [edge; W.], 5.3 cm [centre; J.]); late 6th cent. BC (JEFFERY <sup>2</sup>1990, 343 no. 35). – Photograph: JACOBSTAHL 1933, 19 (fig. 13).

### Catalogue B (Hellenistic / Roman)

**20)** *SEG* XIV 312 (Sikyon): Μηνόδοτος (Μηνοδότου) γυμνασιάρχων Ἐρμαῖ Ἡρακλεῖ, ἔτους ἐ[β]δομηκοστοῦ. – Bronze discus (diam. 21 cm) with inscription in two rings, one close to centre and the other along edge; AD 39. – Drawing: ORLANDOS 1951, 190-191 (fig. 5).

**21)** *I.Olympia* 240: Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ, ἀλυτάρχου Φλ(αβίου) Σκρεβωνιανοῦ, συγγενοῦς / συνκλητικῶν καὶ ὑπατικῶν, Ὀλυμπιάδος υνς'. – 241: Εὐχαριστήριον Διεὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ, Πόπλ(ιος) Ἀσκληπιάδης Κορίνθιος πένταθλος, / Ὀλ(υμπιάδι) σνε' (word order according to EBERT 1987, 13). – Opisthographic bronze discus (diam. 34 cm) decorated on both sides with concentric circles with the inscriptions incised in between; AD 241 (no. 241; 240 is earlier). – Drawings (of both sides): CHRISTESEN 2007, 511. – For a photograph, see, e.g., <[http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/4/eh430.jsp?obj\\_id=11141](http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/4/eh430.jsp?obj_id=11141)>.

### Discussion

Let us start from a group of three marble discuses from Athens (Nos 1-3), all dated to the late 6th century BC approximately and inscribed along the edge with the phrase ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων or a variation of it. The meaning of this expression has been widely discussed. Since ἡρίων is traditionally translated as 'mound, barrow, tomb', it has been a popular interpretation since Jacobstahl that 'from the grave-mound(s)' is a reference to funeral games commemorating individuals and that the preserved discuses were those awarded as prizes to winners at such games.<sup>30</sup> Since one of the discuses (No. 3; Fig. 3) was reportedly found in (or near) a grave, Jacob-

<sup>30</sup> JACOBSTAHL 1933, 22; see, e.g., IMMERWAHR 1967, 263-264; ROLLER 1981, 3-5; STUPPERICH 1990, 73-75 no. 65 (= Catal. No. 3). KYLE (1987, 19) was reasonably cautious. GARDINER (1930, 156) argued, implausibly, that the barrow might have been the tomb of the hero in whose honour the games were held. JÜTHNER (1935, 41-42) regarded all these texts as modern forgeries. For

stahl assumed that the others, too, could have been buried together with successful athletes at their death.

Various objections may be raised to this view. Firstly, the term ἡρία (or ἡρίον) is not otherwise known to have been used for funeral games. Secondly, ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων is not what one would expect for prize inscriptions, which were normally construed with partitive genitive (e.g. τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἄθλων, '(one) of the prizes from Athens', which is often mistranslated as 'from the games at Athens').<sup>31</sup> At most, one could think of (τῶν) ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων (ἄθλων), though one wonders why, then, the somewhat ambiguous phrase was not written out in full. Thirdly, and most importantly, as Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood demonstrated, ἡρίον actually does not mean 'mound', but denotes 'grave monument' independently of its precise appearance.<sup>32</sup> This also seems to have been the specific meaning of ἡρίον when candidates entering office in Athens were traditionally asked whether they had family tombs and where these were located (ἡρία εἰ ἔστιν καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα).<sup>33</sup> Later on, the term began to cover the broad concept of 'tomb', occurring in funerary epigrams and various other sources,<sup>34</sup> but in the Archaic period it must have meant 'grave monument'. In our material, this should be evident already from No. 1, which is in the singular form (Τελεσάρχο ἐκ τοῦ ἐρί[ο]) and thus clearly marks the grave monument of Telesarchos;<sup>35</sup> reference to various games and contests was as a rule made in the plural. Finally, it is noteworthy that all these discuss, as well as some others of the same date

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prizes won at public games in Athens in memory of war victims, see MARCHIANDI 2010, 223.

<sup>31</sup> Also, τῶν Θεβαίσις αἰθλων (JEFFERY <sup>2</sup>1990, 95 no. 16, prize hydria from Thebes, c. 470 BC); τῶν ἐπὶ (τοῦ) δεῖνα) αἰθλων ἐμί, and sim. (*ibid.* 91, Archaic Boeotian prize objects); παρ' ἡέρας Ἀργείας ἐμί τῶν ἀφέθλων (SEG XXIX 652 = XXX 648, bronze tripod in Argive lettering from Vergina, mid-fifth century BC; cf. below n. 89; the same phrase in IG I<sup>3</sup> 1386bis, bronze *lebes* from a grave in Attica, c. 440-420 BC).

<sup>32</sup> SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1995, 126-128 (analysis of Hom. *Il.* 23.126, the only Homeric passage where the term occurs, in relation to the monument that Achilles planned for Patroklos and himself), 152-158 (on the late sixth- or early fifth-century epitaph of the Selinountian Archedamos from Delphi [SEG<sup>3</sup> 11 = IGDS 67 = IGASMGI<sup>2</sup> 33], with ἐρίων inscribed on the back of the stele. The reason for uniquely adding this designation seems to be that the epitaph itself most untypically did not refer to the grave monument or burial: 157-158).

<sup>33</sup> Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 55.3. The question is also known from fourth-century BC orators.

<sup>34</sup> Note that the inscription ΗΡΙΑ from Aegina that is usually read ἡρία and taken as a boundary marker of a necropolis (IG IV 1593; IMMERWAHR 1967, 263 n. 19; ROLLER 1981, 4 n. 28) is actually of Byzantine date; see IG IV<sup>2</sup> 2, 1075.

<sup>35</sup> ROLLER (1981, 5) who regarded the ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων discs as prizes from funerary games, thought that in this case the contests were connected with one individual, admitting that 'the anonymity of the other two makes this interpretation tenuous'.

from Athens (Nos 4, 9-10), were almost identical in diameter (c. 28-29 cm), as if designed for similar use—or, perhaps more accurately (see below), to *imitate* artefacts of similar use.

A different explanation of the ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων phrase was proposed by Lilian Jeffery.<sup>36</sup> She argued that the discuses featuring this phrase formed part of the superstructure of funerary monuments, their main purpose perhaps being to ‘ensure that such a useful and portable object was not snapped up by some passing Autolyclus.’ The term ‘portable’ was a necessary addition, for if the discuses were of considerable weight the reminder would not have made sense. The preposition ἐκ is also quite apposite here, as it could denote origin and belonging to a category or a group. Protection from theft seems, indeed, a credible interpretation: inscribed on a disc, the phrase ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων could probably remind passers-by that the object was part of the grave monument and that it should be left where it was affixed. The proper epitaph, of course, was engraved on the stele or another type of monument. This would have been the case also with No. 1 which names the deceased. As we shall see, when the epitaph was written on the disc itself (Nos 9-10), there was no need for additional designation as ‘(belonging to) grave monuments.’

Before turning to other discuses and to the issue of how all these objects were associated with athletes and their world, we should comment on an artefact that relates to the question raised about the phrase ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων. One of the inscriptions on a small clay ball from Athens of about 500 BC has been read as follows: ἵλιος ἔοικεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρίων ἔναι{αι}, with the translation ‘(The boy is handsome), who seems to be from the mounds, that is, from the funeral games.’<sup>37</sup> The reference would be to the standard *ἡο παῖς καλός* also scratched on the ball, which, in turn, may describe one of the youths appearing in the athletic scenes of the central frieze. However, as we have seen, ἐρία means ‘grave monuments’, and not contests of any kind. In fact, the ball comment should probably be understood in a completely different way, and thus it cannot possibly under-

<sup>36</sup> JEFFERY 1962, 147 no. 64, accepted by SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1995, 157.

<sup>37</sup> IMMERWAHR 1967 (figs 1-7) = SEG XXIV 73. Note that IMMERWAHR (1967, 264 n. 12) objected to Jeffery’s idea about the funerary function of the discs with ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων: ‘Her explanation seems unlikely, since two of Jacobsthal’s discuses are anonymous and since the statement “from the tombs” would make sense only after the object had been removed from the tomb.’ But the anonymous discs would naturally have been accompanied by epitaphs. The second objection remains partly opaque. ROLLER (1981, 4) also missed the point when referring to anonymity, which would have made the use of the discs ‘as burial markers or votives improbable’.



Fig. 2. Bronze discus. Courtesy of *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung* (Inv. Fr. 1273). Photograph: Ingrid Geske.

mine the interpretation of the Athenian discuses inscribed ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων.<sup>38</sup>

The actual purpose of Nos 6 and 8 (Fig. 4) from the Acropolis is uncertain, though both might be dedications (the former surely is, if the proposed restoration is correct), perhaps made by athletes.<sup>39</sup> The dedication No. 7 by Dikaios to an unknown deity from Agios Andreas

<sup>38</sup> For a detailed discussion, see now SALMINEN and KAJAVA 2013.

<sup>39</sup> No. 8: ἡαγνι(άδες) s. ἡαγνι(ας) s. genetivus' (HILLER, at *IG I<sup>2</sup>* 738). RAUBITSCHKE (1949, 416-417 no. 388) took the discus as a dedication by an athlete called Hagnias (= KYLE 1987, 216 P79: 'He may be related or identical to Ἀγνίας Ἰ Βουσέλου whose family had wealth above the minimal liturgical status'). If 6 is restored as Δεμ[όφι]λο[ς] μ' ἀνέθεκεν ---] (*IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1398), it could start a verse in hexameter.



Fig. 3. Marble discus (Athens). Courtesy of *Archäologisches Museum der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität Münster* (Inv. 2071).

(deme of Probalinthos or of Phegaia) poses a challenge, as we are very poorly informed about the appearance of the discus. However, one may not be wrong in guessing that Dikaios was an athlete, as perhaps was also Aesimides, who dedicated a marble discus at Eleusis towards the end of the 6th century BC (No. 5),<sup>40</sup> and the same concerns the dedicant of No. 19, a late 6th-century marble discus from Didyma (Fig. 5), perhaps offered to the local Apollo, the estimated diameter of which (c. 28

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1206* (‘ca. 530?’), gravestone of an Aesimides who was commemorated by his mother. D’ONOFRIO (1998, 110) thought that this man may be identical with the dedicator of Eleusis (cf., concerning the discus, ‘allusion probable à un contexte agonistique’).



Fig. 4. Drawing of marble discus (Athens). From RAUBITSCHER 1949, 417.

cm) makes it equal in size to many other exemplars (see *passim*).<sup>41</sup>

Regarding No. 4 (Ὁἴθεν ἄθλα), although there is nothing to suggest that the discus derived from a funerary context, the possibility exists that it somehow commemorated an athlete at his death, having perhaps been buried together with him (Fig. 6).<sup>42</sup> The fact that it is made of limestone (poros), while the other discuses known from Athens are of marble may not be significant. What seems more striking is that this discus and the funerary ones are very close in diameter (cf. Nos 1-3, 9-10). Another noteworthy detail is the use of the form ἄθλα for a prize discus, in this case won at some contest in the deme of Oe (the reading seems correct: JACOBSTAHL 1933, 19 no. 3; BROMMER 1975, Pl. 63, 1). Perhaps this is a rare variant of '(one) of the prizes', as if amalgamating the nominative singular and the genitive plural (the latter is normal on prize amphorae, e.g., τῶν Ἀθένεθεν ἄθλων, '(one) of the prizes from Athens').<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> This inscription, which by a slip Rehm did not include in his *I.Didyma*, is one of the relatively rare dedications of Archaic age from the sanctuary. For an update and a new dedication to Apollo from the latter half of the sixth century BC, see GÜNTHER 2012, 255-257.

<sup>42</sup> Any association with burial was denied by ROLLER 1981, 4.

<sup>43</sup> The surprising form ἄθλα was one of the reasons that led JÜTHNER (1935, 42) to take this disc as non-authentic (as he did concerning Nos 1-3: see above n. 30). DOW (1963, 169-170) also had suspicions ('lost and dubious'), but he did not know Jacobstahl's publication and, moreover,



Fig. 5. Fragment of marble discus (Didyma). From JACOBSTAHL 1933, 19.

What we may take for granted on the basis of these considerations is that discuses were not only given as dedications to gods, but they were also used in funerary contexts. Those who dedicated discuses to gods may well have been athletes even if this was not stated in the inscription (sometimes it was: see below No. 15), and this should be equally true of those whose graves were marked by discuses. On the other hand, lacking contrary evidence, funerary discuses such as those inscribed ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων may well have been used by any Athenian, though they perhaps appealed more to men than to women. Conceivably, they may have imitated real athletic discuses, perhaps occasionally even associating the

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cited the text as Οαθεν αθλον according to W. WREDE, *RE* XVII (1937), 1673, s.v. Oa; cf. also BROMMER 1975, 181. Note, incidentally, *SEG* XLV 1334 (Phaistos, Crete): [ἐκ τῶν Ἀ]θήνηθε[ν ἄθλων], where the preposition is superfluous.



Fig. 6. Poros discus (Athens). From BROMMER 1975, 181-182 (Pl. 63,1).

deceased with athletic prowess.<sup>44</sup> That the use of discuses in funerary art seems to have been confined to a relatively short timespan in the late Archaic and early Classical periods might point to an emerging trend inspired by contemporary athletic culture. It may not be a coincidence that the *diskobolos* also began to appear frequently from the last quarter of the 6th century in black- and red-figure art.<sup>45</sup> In any event, the use of standard-type discuses in non-athletic funerary contexts is actually confirmed by the following two artefacts.

The first (No. 9; Fig. 7) is a remarkable late Archaic marble discus (diam. 27 cm) that bears a painted representation of a seated bearded

<sup>44</sup> See below, esp. nn. 52-53.

<sup>45</sup> KYLE 1987, 180-181. If we may trust Pausanias (2.29.9), the use of funerary discuses could also be inspired by myth: on the tomb of Phocus on Aegina, beside the shrine of Aeacus, there was a *mnema* in the shape of a rough stone (λίθος τραχύς), recalling the fatal one, a substitute for a discus (οὗτος γὰρ ἀντὶ δίσκου σφίσιον ἦν), that was hurled by his brother Peleus during a pentathlon contest.



Fig. 7. Marble disc (Athens). From BERGER 1970, 157.

man and is inscribed with an epigram praising the wisdom of the physician Aeneas (unless Aeneios): Μνῆμα τόδ' Αινέο σοφίας ἱατροῦ ἀρίστο. A look at the commentary of *IG I<sup>3</sup> 1393* shows that opinions on whether this was a dedication or part of a funerary monument are strongly divided, the question being left unanswered by some.<sup>46</sup> However, even if a hero-doctor with the name Aeneas is known from later

<sup>46</sup> For example, KAROUZOS (1951, 98) opted for a votive in the form of a painted *pinax* (but cf. JEFFERY 1962, 147 n. 16: 'the inscription is against this'). CLAIRMONT (1970, 17-20 no. 3) argued, implausibly, that the disc was perhaps dedicated in a sanctuary of a hero (cf. DAUX 1972, 519-520). Further, HILLERT 1990, 66 (either a votive given to a hero or a funerary relief); D'ONOFRIO 1998, 110: 'votive ou funéraire'; SAMAMA 2003, 109 n. 1: 'votif ou funéraire'.

Thessalian dedications of *pinakes*,<sup>47</sup> and even if the text does not refer explicitly to Aeneas' death, this is evidently a memorial for the ἰατρὸς ἄριστος, whether Athenian or foreigner, who is characteristically praised on account of his σοφία.<sup>48</sup> That the discus was attached to a grave monument may be further suggested by the two holes in the centre of it. Another question is how and where exactly it was fastened, on a stele or somewhere else. In any case, it should have been plainly visible to the passers-by. Two further points are of interest. The first is, as has often been noted, that the great-uncle of Hippocrates of Cos was called Aineios. Whether this is anything more than incidental remains uncertain. Secondly, the doctor's figure on the discus is astonishingly similar to the one represented on a presumably contemporary funerary relief now in Basle.<sup>49</sup>

The inscription on the second discus (No. 10; Fig. 8; diam. 27 cm), incised in two rings (with σα, lacking space, written inside the interior ring), shows the funerary epigram of Gnathon who died from some illness, set up by his sister who tried in vain to tend to him: Γνάθονος : τόδε σῆμα : θέτο δ' αὐτὸν : / ἀδελφὴ : ἠελίθιον : νοσελεύσα : / σα.<sup>50</sup> As no holes are reported, the discus may have been set on a grave without fastenings, or perhaps it could close an opening for offerings, or the mouth of a funeral vase, or it would serve as the covering of an urn.<sup>51</sup> In theory, Gnathon may have been an athlete; his discus, however, was probably modelled upon authentic sporting equipment.

One wonders, likewise, whether the funerary discus (?) bearing the epitaph of Chairion, an Athenian who probably died in exile during the Peisistratids and was buried in Eretria on Euboea, manifests Athenian

<sup>47</sup> *JG* IX 2, 1064 (first century BC); *SEG* XVI 381 = XXIII 443 (21/20 BC); *SEG* XVII 299 (second/first century BC).

<sup>48</sup> On doctors' epitaphs, see SOURVINOU-INWOOD 1995, 376-385, and p. 377, concerning Aeneas, 'Given the typology of the object and the formulations of the inscription, the grave monument interpretation is by far the most likely to be correct'. Cf. HANSEN, *CEG* 62: 'Vix dubitare licet quin hic titulus sepulchralis sit'; VAN STRATEN 1992, 256: 'almost certainly...a sepulchral monument'; WICKKISER 2008, 18: 'designed for a funerary context'; DESPINIS 2009 (funerary context, cf. *SEG* LIX 79).

<sup>49</sup> BERGER 1970, *passim* and 155-158 (Aineios). Judging by Berger's analysis, the Basle monument perhaps comes from one of the Dodecanese islands or from the opposite mainland coast between Knidos and Halikarnassos.

<sup>50</sup> Unhappy translation in FRIEDLÄNDER and HOFFLEIT 1948, no. 161: 'after nursing him in mental disease' (*ἠελίθιον*), adopted by DILLON and GARLAND <sup>2</sup>2000, 402 (13.38): '...in mental illness'.

<sup>51</sup> See MARSHALL 1909, 153-154; KAROUZOS 1951, 98-99 n. 6; JEFFERY 1962, 147 no. 64; HILLERT 1990, 68-69 n. 8; RIDGWAY <sup>2</sup>1993, 236.



Fig. 8. Marble discus (Athens). From JACOBSTHAL 1933, 26.

style with athletic connotations (No. 11; Fig. 9). He is described as one of the *eupatridae*, a fact which may suggest belonging to anti-tyrannical elite rather than denoting Eupatrid genos.<sup>52</sup> Would an athletic (?) discus be ideologically compatible with partisan status?<sup>53</sup> Untypically for contemporary discuses, however, the inscription is engraved in horizontal lines and the disc format might simply derive from the object's use for closing a funerary pithos, although Blinkenberg observed that the grave could also have been crowned by a superstructure.<sup>54</sup>

Let us now leave Athens and have a look at some characteristic examples from other sites. We start with No. 17 (Figs 10a-b) from the Mile-

<sup>52</sup> FIGUEIRA 1984, 454. DUPLOY (2003, 11-12) argued that, in the Euboean context, *eupatrides* may have served to underline that Chairion was an anti-tyrannical Eupatrid.

<sup>53</sup> OSBORNE'S 1998 article on the importance of aristocratic display in the form of athletic and military feats on Archaic funerary markers suggests that the answer is 'yes'.

<sup>54</sup> BLINKENBERG 1919, 10 n. 1: 'Muligt er det dog også, at graven kan have været en almindelig jordgrav, kronet af overdelen af en pithos.'

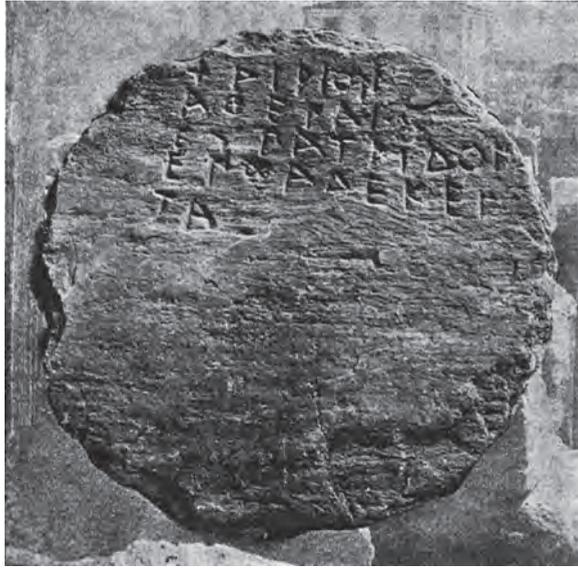


Fig. 9. Marble disc (Eretria). From BLINKENBERG 1919, 8.



Fig. 10a. Opisthographic marble disc (Histria). From *I.ScM* I 102.



Fig. 10b. Opisthographic marble disc (Histria). From *I.ScM* I 102.

sian colony of Histria on the Black Sea, as this item seems typologically close to the Athenian material discussed above. It is a late sixth-century BC marble disc bearing an identical text on both sides: Τέλονος ἐμί. The central hollow on one of the sides perhaps served to fix the object to a grave monument,<sup>55</sup> unless it results from (considerably?) later re-use for other purposes. If originally attached to a monument, the disc

<sup>55</sup> JEFFERY <sup>2</sup>1990, Suppl. 479 J: 'marble disc marking the grave of Tel(l)on'.



Fig. 11. Bronze discus (Sparta). From PROSKYNITOPOULOU 2004, no. 94.

would have been set up in such a way as to have both sides visible. If Telon were an athlete, as he may well have been, the discus could perhaps have both agonistic and funerary character.<sup>56</sup>

The 6th-century bronze discus found in the Amyklaion at Sparta (No. 12; Fig. 11) bears a dedication to Apollo Amyklaios (ἄε<θ>λον Ἀμυκλ{ι}αίοι). Considering that discuses used by athletes are known to have been biconvex, this particular example (diam. 19 cm) could hardly have been used in a contest.<sup>57</sup> It could probably be a prize awarded to or commissioned by the winner, who afterwards dedicated it to the divine protector of the games. What is peculiar, though, is the mason's work, which is somewhat inaccurate for a prize inscription. In any case, the anonymous discus-thrower must have known the story about Hyakinthos' unhappy end at Amyklai, according to which he was acciden-

<sup>56</sup> Regarding the name *Tel(l)on*, note, incidentally, the boxer Tellon from Oresthasion in Arkadia, Olympic winner in 472 BC (the base of his statue, recorded by Paus. 6.10.9, is preserved: *I.Olympia* 147-148 = *CEG* 381; cf. MORETTI 1959, 92 no. 231).

<sup>57</sup> As already pointed out by JÜTHNER 1935, 40 n. 23.

tally killed when hit by a discus thrown by his lover Apollo.<sup>58</sup> In fact, it is a reasonable guess that the prize was won at the three-day festival of the Hyakinthia, the second day of which was dedicated to Apollo.

The next discus (No. 15; Fig. 12) is also concerned with athletic contests, but its inscription is much more eloquent. The text is engraved in spiral on a thin bronze discus (diam. 16.2 cm), perhaps from Kephallenia and datable around or after the mid-6th century BC, which records and praises the achievements of Exoidas: Ἐχσοίδα<ς> μ' ἀνέθεκε Διφῶς φόροιν μέγαλοιο : / χάλκεον ἠῶι νίκασε Κεφαλλᾶνας μεγαθύμος. As the epigram tells, Exoidas dedicated to the Dioscuri this bronze version of the discus with which he had won a contest in Kephallenia.<sup>59</sup> In other words, this was a bronze imitation of an original in stone, which would have been somewhat larger in diameter.<sup>60</sup> Exoidas himself was perhaps from Kephallenia, for otherwise he might have mentioned his own native city. On the other hand, the reference to the victory over the “magnanimous Kephallenians” might suggest that he came from some other place to participate in a festival on the island. This issue is complicated by the fact that the provenance of the discus is not absolutely certain.

At this point it is worth adding a methodological reminder. A closer look at the appearance of the Exoidas discus reveals that without the reference to the Kephallenian event we might not recognize that we are dealing with an authentic discus. This is because the artefact shows an upwardly projecting rim, making the thin bronze discus look like a platter or plate. A comparison with two 6th-century bronze plates from the Argive Heraion may illustrate the point (DE COU 1905, 336 no. 1877: Θαμόφιλος με ἀνέθεκε τᾶι ἡέραι : τᾶς Καρνείας; no. 1878: Νικασίας με ἀνέθεκε τᾶι ἡέραι). Both bear a dedication to Hera,<sup>61</sup> inscribed in spiral writing along the border. These plates show considerable similarity to the Exoidas discus, even if they are slightly depressed (significantly, while 1877 is bordered by a rim, 1878 is not, which makes this plate even more disc-like). The Argive plates are relatively small (diam. 10.7 cm and 6.85 cm, respectively), but size is not decisive here: as we have

<sup>58</sup> For the dangerously erotic and even deadly aspects of discus-throwing in mythology (besides Hyakinthos, cf. Akrisios, Phokos, Krokos, Thermios), see MOREAU 1988 and above n. 45.

<sup>59</sup> The ending of line 2 is Homeric (*Il.* 2.631: Κεφαλλῆνας μεγαθύμους); for the Dioscuri, cf. *Hymn. Hom. Diosc.* 9: Διὸς κούρους μέγαλοιο. Cf. BOWIE 2010, 325.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. JÜTHNER 1935, 38; MORETTI 1953, 12-13 no. 6; GUARDUCCI 1967, 276 no. 3.

<sup>61</sup> No. 1877 may have been a prize won at the (local?) Karneia festival that was subsequently dedicated to the goddess: LAZZARINI 1976, 142. Or perhaps it was just a dedication recording a victory.



Fig. 12. Bronze discus. © Trustees of the British Museum (BM No. 1898,0716.3).

seen (Kyme disc, Exoidas disc, etc.) and will see, discs could differ significantly in size. Although it is true that a plate seems a likely gift to Hera, while athletic discuses seem to be fitting for Dioscuri, the similarity of these objects is certainly significant.

No. 13 (Figs 13a-c; diam. 19.7 cm) from Olympia, inscribed in Aeginetan script of the second half of the sixth century BC, has been identified as a discus once held by a now lost *diskobolos* statue measuring c. 1.20 m in height.<sup>62</sup> The text is here given after *N.I.Olympia* 33B:

Ἡερμέσιος : μ' ἐποίησε : Λακεδαιμ[ό]νι[ο]ς : Αἰγίναϊ-[ca. 4-5]  
 →  
 οἱ ἀνέθεσαν [ca. 10] vac.  
 ←

<sup>62</sup> PATAY-HORVÁTH 2007. In an earlier publication, he opted for a miniature shield (PATAY-HORVÁTH 2006, cf. DUBOIS, *BE* 2009, 231). The whirling motif is well attested for shields. — For the reading of the inscription, see now also KAJAVA 2016.



Fig. 13a. Bronze discus (Olympia). Inv. no. B 1956. From PATAY-HORVÁTH 2007, Pl. 4. Courtesy of András Patay-Horváth.

The inscription seems to mention the artisan, *Hermesios* of Sparta (who may well have been of Ionian origin<sup>63</sup>), and the Aeginetans who made the dedication (but see below), while any possible information regarding the winner and his success would have been recorded on the statue base.

This interpretation was recently challenged on morphological grounds in favour of the hypothesis that the object might instead be the wheel of a miniature four-horse chariot dedicated by the Aeginetans who commemorated their victory with the inscription.<sup>64</sup> According to this reconstruction, the necessary mention of the winner would have been made

<sup>63</sup> Thus, plausibly, CATLING 2010, 44–53, discussing the name *Hermesios*, which probably points to East Greece, and the mixture of Doric and Attic-Ionic elements (accepted by DUBOIS, *BE* 2011, 279, cf. also *SEG* LXI 315).

<sup>64</sup> SIEWERT 2010, 234, points out that neither squared central holes nor sickle-shaped radii are otherwise attested for discuses. See now also *N.I.Olympia* 33B.

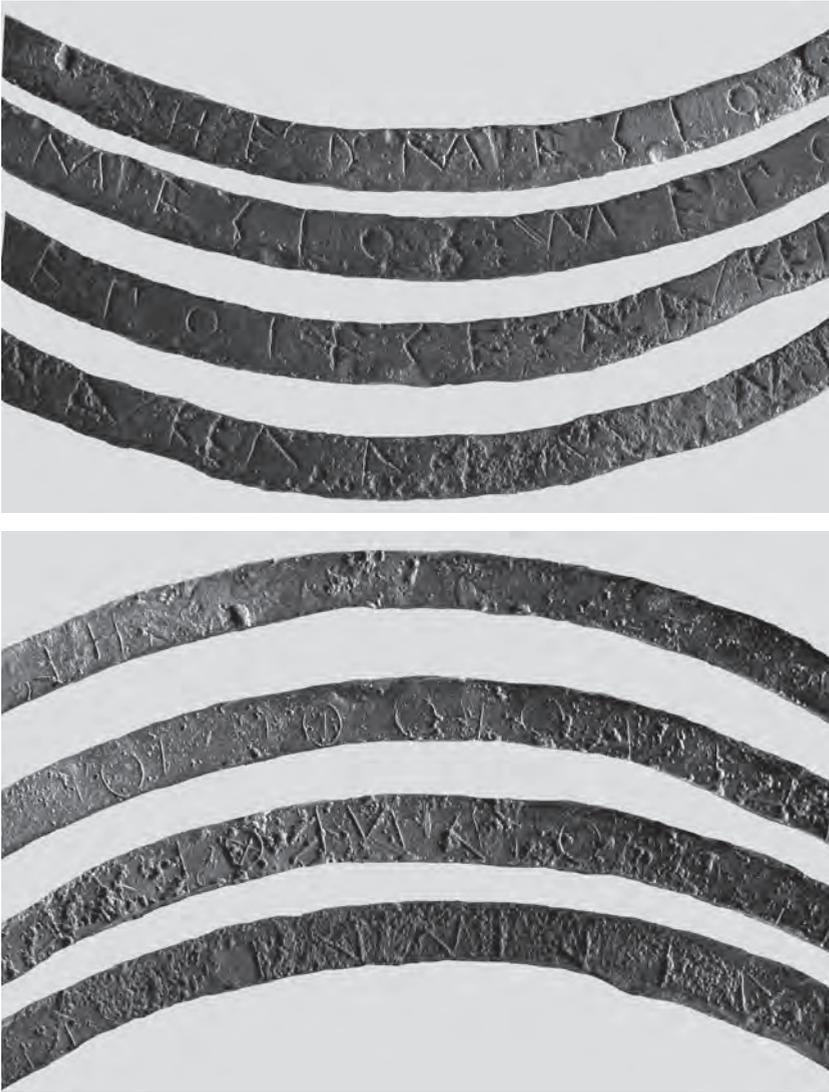


Fig. 13b-c. Bronze disc (Olympia). Courtesy of Archiv der IG (Berlin).  
 Photograph: Klaus Hallof.

collectively by recording ‘the (victorious) Aeginetans’ as dedicators. In principle, this seems possible, and if the technical arguments concerning the type of the central hole and the decoration of the object are valid (see n. 64), then the wheel hypothesis may well prove true.

However, the context of the dedication needs reconsideration, as the standard reading of the inscription is problematic. There seem to be several letters between ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙ and ΟΙ, and the final word is followed by many more letters. The former have been dismissed as nonsense ‘Vorzeichnungen für die Buchstaben’,<sup>65</sup> which is hardly true. Moreover, recent and accurate analysis correctly points out that not only Αἰγινᾶται in place of ‘Αἰγινᾶι/[vacat]οι’ would be normally expected, but a mention of Zeus Olympios as the recipient of the dedication might also be anticipated, although the name of the deity could certainly be omitted.<sup>66</sup> The denomination Αἰγινᾶιοι, while frequently referring to Aeginetan coinage or to goods, and occasionally to Aeginetan women (i.e. Αἰγινᾶια as a rare alternative to the common ethnic Αἰγινῆτις), seemingly never occurs as a collective term for the Aeginetans and their state, a male Aeginetan being constantly known as Αἰγινῆτης/Αἰγινάτας.<sup>67</sup>

Since Αἰγινᾶιοι is hardly acceptable in the present context and because what remains of the text does not possibly allow reading the standard Αἰγινᾶται,<sup>68</sup> it seems to us that the most likely solution is the locative Αἰγίναι, the use of which in similar contexts is paralleled by other evidence.<sup>69</sup> From a palaeographic perspective, one may observe that no interpunctuation is marked after the point where the direction of the script changes: the first five words are inscribed from left to right, while the rest runs from right to left. Understandably, inscribing along the edge of a circular object that has to be rotated during the writing process may affect the script direction. Here the change of direction coincides with a natural break, i.e., with the transition from one sentence to another.

Close inspection of the photographic evidence makes a long *vacat* between ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙ and ΟΙ rather unlikely, and indeed it should be here that the subject of ἀνέθεσαν, probably ending in -ιοι, is recorded. While

<sup>65</sup> PATAI-HORVÁTH 2007, 124 (referenced in *N.I.Olympia* 33B): ‘einige schwach eingeritzte Linien, ... die möglicherweise Vorzeichnungen für die Buchstaben gewesen sein dürften. Sie ergeben auf jeden Fall keinen Sinn und unterscheiden sich auch aus technischer Sicht so eindeutig von der eigentlichen Inschrift, daß sie bei der Lesung unbeachtet bleiben dürfen.’

<sup>66</sup> CATLING 2010, 46, 49.

<sup>67</sup> Evidence collected and discussed by CATLING 2010, 46. He records only one exception in a late text (*IG IV<sup>2</sup> 2, 772, 3: ἡ ἱερὰ πόλις Αἰγινέων*; AD 244-249).

<sup>68</sup> Thus tentatively in CATLING’s drawing (2010, 44), where the ending ΑΙ appears immediately after ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙ at the beginning of the alleged *vacat* (note, however, that the inscription has ΑΙΓΙΝΑΙ).

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *N.I.Olympia* 33A (statue commissioned and dedicated by Byzantians; late sixth century BC): Πελανίδας ἐποίησ’ Αἰγίνα, etc., perhaps another early case of the weakening of the iota in -ᾶι (unless it is a stonemason’s error); *FD III 1, 500: [--- ἐ]ποίη : Αἰγίναι* (early fifth century BC), and the discussion in HALLOF, HERRMANN and PRIGNITZ 2012, 224-225.

-ιοι is fairly well discernible, the other letters are much more difficult: after a possible *vacat*, there might just possibly be a circular letter (O, Θ) followed by I (or Λ?) and E. One should stress, however, that the reading of this part of the text is problematic to the extent that some curves and strokes that give the impression of being parts of letters may actually be abrasions. The dedicatory verb, then, is followed by a series of some ten further letters, many of which look like either I or O (the first letter following the verb has the shape of an *alpha*, but might also be Λ, or even Δ; the second one is probably O, less likely a *theta*, as in that case it would differ from the one in ἀνέθεσαν; the fifth letter seems an Aeginetan *phi*, etc.). It is possible that one or more of the following items were recorded here: the dedicated object, perhaps either specified<sup>70</sup> or simply labelled as ἄθλον, the deity receiving the *anathema*, and the context occasioning the dedication.

In sum, the text should probably be understood as follows (note, however, that many of the underdotted letters are more or less bold guesses):

ἡερμέσιος : μ' ἐποίησε : Λακεδαιμόνιος : Αἰγίνοι  
 →  
 vac.(?) +|E|[c. 2]|O| ἀνέθεσαν ΑΟ!ΟΦ!+!O! vac.  
 ←

Thus, it seems to us that those who made the dedication at Olympia were not the Aeginetans; on the other hand, it was Hermesios (apparently an itinerant craftsman of Ionian derivation and a naturalized citizen of the Lakedaimonian state) who manufactured and inscribed the object on the island of Aegina. This would not conflict with the dialectical mixture of the inscription<sup>71</sup> nor with the observation that the script and the interpunctuations are of the Aeginetan type. If correct, this conclusion supports the notion that the object was dedicated at Olympia (most likely to Zeus Olympios) as a gift commemorating a victory, be it in chariot racing, in battle, or something else, but it still leaves open the identity of the victorious dedicants.

<sup>70</sup> In view of the present case, cf. the dedication of a bronze wheel on Rhodes: *Tit. Cam. Suppl.* 237, 115a (second half of the fifth century BC): τροφὸν ἄρματος.

<sup>71</sup> *ἡερμέσιος*, ἀνέθεσαν instead of Dor. *ἡερμάσιος*, ἀνέθεν, and the other way round, not quite unexpectedly, Αἰγίνοι *pro* Att.-Ion. Αἰγίνηι. The language may suggest, on one hand, that Hermesios was a first generation immigrant in Doric-speaking territory, and on the other, that Ionicisms could be tolerated on Aegina. Cf. *CATLING* 2010, 49.

The bronze discus No. 14 (Fig. 14; diam. c. 19 cm), assigned to Boeotia and dated to the late 6th century BC, is problematic insofar as it shows only the signature Σῆμος μ' ἐποίησε. It has been implausibly suggested that this perhaps indicated a dedication by the manufacturer.<sup>72</sup> At most, the discus could be part of a dedication with other information having been recorded on some lost object(s). Its weight of 3.75 kg might not be excessive for an authentic throwing-discus, for which the most common size was about 21 cm in diameter.<sup>73</sup> In any case, the dedicator may well have been an athlete, but it is equally possible that the artefact was placed in someone's burial, whether the deceased was an athlete or not.

That discuses were indeed buried with athletes may be shown by No. 16, a marble discus from a late Archaic tomb in Akanthos (Chalkidike). Although nothing particular may perhaps be revealed by the 'speaking' inscription, athletic associations are suggested by the grave goods that included not only the discus but also an iron strigil (and a bronze signet ring). According to the excavation report, the discus would have been originally fixed to a wooden coffin with an iron nail.<sup>74</sup> What is remarkable is that the artefact may have been reused inside the burial, since it was probably originally meant to be viewed and its inscription read by passers-by. Was it first designed to mark the outside of the same tomb but eventually placed inside it, or had it been used in some other context? On the other hand, one could hypothesize that, if attached to a coffin, the discus was publicly visible before being buried with the corpse. (For the question of a possible reuse of discuses, see below in the section 'Use and Social Context'.)

No. 18 (Figs 15a-b) is a 7th-century(?) BC Delian marble fragment that, judging by the content and the spiral form of its inscription, may well imitate a throwing-discus. The Naxian script suggests that the unofficial athletic record mentioned in the epigram belonged to a Naxian who had perhaps participated in some contest on Delos: πεντέφοντα π[όδας πήδη]σέ μοι ἐ<ν>θάδ' [---].<sup>75</sup> This reconstruction is suggested by a well-known epigram praising Phayllos of Kroton, who was not only a famous athlete, but also came to help the Greeks in the Battle of Salamis: Πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα πόδας πήδησε Φάυλλος, / δίσκουσεν

<sup>72</sup> T. ŠELOV-KOVEDJAJEV (*apud* ORTIZ 1996, no. 128). For (the relatively rare) dedications by artisans, see LAZZARINI 1976, 293-295.

<sup>73</sup> MILLER 2004, 60.

<sup>74</sup> TRAKOSOPOULOU-SALAKIDOU 2004, 159.

<sup>75</sup> Thus restored by PEEK 1957, 572 no. 18; similarly EBERT 1963, 42-43 and HANSEN, CEG 404.



Fig. 14. Bronze discus (Boetia). Photograph: <<https://www.georgeortiz.com/objects/greek-world-cont/128-discus-archaic/>> (The George Ortiz Collection, Geneva).

δ' ἑκατὸν πέντ' ἀπολειπομένων.<sup>76</sup> The result of fifty-five feet in long jump (c. 17 m), which actually may have been the cumulative result of five jumps,<sup>77</sup> would seem to offer a plausible parallel to the 50 feet on Delos (c. 15.40 m). For obvious lack of space, the Delian inscription hardly made a reference to both jump and throw, but suppose that instead of the former it recorded only the latter. The substitution of δίσκε-]σε for πῆδη]σε might not be a problem,<sup>78</sup> except perhaps for the 50 feet, which seems a poor result in discus-throwing (Phayllos' 95 feet equates

<sup>76</sup> PREGER, *JGM* 142 (Schol. *Ar. Ach.* 214, etc.), perhaps once engraved on the base of a victory statue; see EBERT 1963, 35-39. For a dedication on the Acropolis by Phayllos himself, recording both Salamis and his athletic achievements, see *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 823. Salamis: Hdt. 8.47. Cf. MORETTI 1953, 27-29.

<sup>77</sup> See EBERT 1963, 42-43, 62.

<sup>78</sup> Note δίσκε] vs πῆδη]: in archaic Naxian, while the original long *ā* was typically rendered by η (θ), ε stood for both the original and the secondary *ē* (there is some fluctuation, though; cf. *I.Delos* 3 = *CEG* 402 [seventh century BC?]). Δισκέω is Homeric, and cf. *IG V* 1, 828 (Sparta, sixth century BC?) with αἱ τῆς δισκίοι, though the text is suspect; cf. JEFFERY <sup>2</sup>1990, 184. While the Phayllos epigram may well go back to the fifth century BC, the spelling δίσκευσευ seems later.



Fig. 15a. Squeeze of inscription on marble fragment (Delos).  
From EBERT 1963, 42 (Pl. 2).



Fig. 15b. Drawing of inscription on marble fragment (Delos).  
From EBERT 1963, 42 (Pl. 2).

to c. 30 metres).<sup>79</sup> Was the discus used on Delos of the heavier sort? (We know that there was local variation in the weight and size of discuses, and while the common weight was about 2 kg, the same as the modern discus, some excavated examples weighed almost 6 kg.<sup>80</sup>) Or perhaps the athlete was a young boy. At any rate, this might have been a personal and unofficial result, which should not be put on a par with that of the legendary Phayllos. On balance, however, the above results make it more likely that the sport of the anonymous Naxian athlete that was recorded in the inscription was the long jump. Moreover, πῆδησε suitably saves the triple alliteration in the verse, and examples of long jumpers engraved on discuses show that there were few qualms about entangling references to multiple sports in a single artefact (see Fig. 2).<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> If the feet were of the Aeginetan standard, the results would be slightly better.

<sup>80</sup> MILLER 2004, 60-61, pointing out that athletes may also have competed with a graduated set of discuses, using larger and heavier ones as the competition advanced.

<sup>81</sup> See, e.g., JACOBSTAHL 1933, 3-15 (Pls I-II), a bronze discus (diam. 21 cm) from Aegina (now in Berlin), with a long jumper on one side and a javelin-thrower on the other (c. 465-455 BC?). A bronze discus of equal size from Sicily decorated with similar motifs is in the British Museum (JACOBSTAHL 1933, 6-17, figs 3-4; c. 470 BC?). The Aegina discus was found in a burial, and the same may well be true of the Sicilian one, although its find context is unknown.

As has already been pointed out, the habit of inscribing and dedicating athletic discuses seems to have been more typical of the Archaic (and early Classical) periods, which partly reflects the importance accorded to athletic culture and victory memorials in those eras.<sup>82</sup> Certainly discuses continued to be given to gods, but the preserved evidence suggests that the phenomenon became proportionally less frequent over time. In fact, we have only two exemplars to offer from later periods. The first is a bronze discus from Sikyon (No. 20), which the gymnasiarch Menodotos son of Menodotos dedicated to Hermes and Heracles jointly in AD 39. Whether this discus was actually thrown by someone in a contest is uncertain, even if its diameter (21 cm) corresponds to the standard one for throwing-discuses.<sup>83</sup> At least there is no mention of a victory, and the dedication was made by the gymnasiarch. An office-holder's involvement also appears in No. 21, a well-preserved bronze discus (diam. 34 cm) from Olympia, which the pentathlete Poplios Asklepiades of Corinth dedicated to the Olympian Zeus as a thanksgiving offering in AD 241. It has been suggested, as an explanation of the different dating systems appearing on the two sides of the discus, that the inscription engraved on the reverse, recording the alytarch Flavius Scribonianus, may be several years earlier (and not contemporary with Asklepiades' dedication). This would probably mean that, during his office, Scribonianus had a series of similarly inscribed discuses prepared to be handed over to future Olympic winners for use as dedications to gods.<sup>84</sup> However, recent analysis seems to make it more likely that Scribonianus had produced the discus specifically as a gift to the next winner of the pentathlon, who could thus immediately dedicate it to Zeus.<sup>85</sup>

### *Use and Social Context*

For most of the athletic discuses there is limited or non-existent information about the archaeological and historical context in which they were found. This fact poses serious challenges to any attempt at a synthesis, but some tentative observations can be made regarding their use and the social context to which they belonged.

<sup>82</sup> NICHOLSON 2005.

<sup>83</sup> SCHÖRNER (2003, 71 n. 498) claimed that the discus was an authentic sportive article. The artefact does not seem to be recorded in LOLOS 2011.

<sup>84</sup> Thus EBERT 1987, 13-15; cf. ZOUMBAKI 2001, 146-148.

<sup>85</sup> CHRISTESEN 2007, 510-513. See further GARDINER 1930, 156 no. 1; JACOBSTAHL 1933, 22 (victory dedication); JÜTHNER 1935, 38 (votive gift in the form of a decorated disc); MORETTI 1959, 173 no. 930 (victory dedication). SCHÖRNER (2003, 456 no. 883) implausibly thought of a real throwing-discus.

The discuses cluster strongly in the late 6th and early 5th centuries BC, and there is no clear pattern to be detected in terms of diachronic change in morphology or geographical spread over time. On the basis of possible use and function, however, the discuses may be divided into two broad categories: those dedicated to gods protecting contests by successful *diskoboloi* or other athletes, and those marking the tombs of either athletes or other males. If associated with non-athletes, the discuses might still have suggested athletic prowess or implied that the deceased lived up to the ideal of a male citizen more generally. While the discuses commemorating athletes in various funerary contexts could be just works of art, it is not unlikely that some of them might have actually been thrown at contests.

The inscribed Akanthos disc (No. 16) as well as other (uninscribed) finds from Aegina, Paros and Rhodes prove that some of the discuses were placed inside tombs, either loose in the grave or attached to walls or even used as urn lids.<sup>86</sup> Moreover, one of the ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων discuses (No. 3) was reportedly found in a burial. In fact, given the relatively good preservation of most of the discuses—especially in the case of the bronze ones—one suspects many of them survived because they were enclosed in burials. If so, various questions about the reuse of discuses can be raised, given that many of them might have been originally either deposited in sanctuaries or somehow displayed outside tombs where they could be read by passers-by. This applies not only to ‘speaking objects’ such as the Akanthos one<sup>87</sup> but probably also to many others listed in the *Catalogue (passim)*. As a concrete piece of evidence for reuse one may cite the Paros discus of the Classical period which was found in a Hellenistic burial (n. 86).

The eventual placement of a Classical discus in a tomb long after it was made invites us to contemplate how an artefact would have been perceived not only in the Classical period but even much later. Recalling, for example, the mid-5th-century bronze prize tripod from the Argive games which was found in Tomb II of Vergina,<sup>88</sup> one might argue that,

<sup>86</sup> Aegina: above n. 81. — Paros: fifth-century BC marble discus (diam. 32.7 cm) with two suspension holes and showing a painted discus-thrower, reused as an urn lid in a Hellenistic burial (ZAPHEIROPOULOU 1984 [1989], 295; BRINKMANN 2003, no. 343; ZAPHEIROPOULOU, KOURAYIOS and DETORATOU 2004, 180 [‘votive discus’]; DESPINIS 2009, 5). — Rhodes: marble discus (diam. 22.5 cm) decorated with a painted *diskobolos* from a fifth-century BC cist grave: JACOPI 1929, 252 (fig. 248 on p. 251); JACOBSTAHL 1933, 17 (fig. 7); DESPINIS 2009, 5.

<sup>87</sup> For the possibility that this discus remained visible for some time before the actual burial, see above at No. 16.

<sup>88</sup> SEG XXIX 652 (cf. XXX 648): παρ’ ἡέρας Ἀργείας ἐμὶ τῶν ἀφέθλων. Cf. above n. 31.

rather than old junk, it was placed in the tomb precisely because it had a long life-history associated with it, and that furthermore its placement was a very conscious act, either to show respect by removing a precious heirloom from circulation or to seal up an artefact that could potentially be used for (undesirable perhaps) propaganda purposes.<sup>89</sup> Similarly, it is interesting to ponder how those placing the discuses inside burials might have perceived them. If deposited long after manufacture, the discuses must have been marked as old; their text might have lost its comprehensibility, or in other cases some folklore connection about the context might have survived. At all events, the perceived age, history, and connection to people long past might have invested the discus with special weight or even with magical properties particularly suitable for a funerary context.

Besides the occasional funerary contexts, other factors also make it appealing to view the texts inscribed on discs both as material objects and as linguistic structures approached through philological methods. The question of the practicality of spiral writing has already been brought up. Especially those discuses attached to something else would not have been easy to read. Given the contested but presumably low literacy rates of the Archaic period,<sup>90</sup> one wonders if the viewer was meant to read the text or merely to admire the aristocratic erudition conveyed through the text. Combined with the aristocratic overtones associated with athletics, the ‘message’ would have been clear even without reading the inscription.

It is perhaps not surprising that all discs found at Athens or in nearby regions are of marble or poros stone. If the scanty evidence allows for valid comparisons, Peloponnesians seemed to favour bronze, although in making such generalizations we must remember that bronze was even more likely to end up recycled than marble. Differences in size, however, offer further evidence for two traditions of athletic discuses. The Athenian ones are from 27 to 29 cm in diameter (with two fifth-century exceptions, namely Nos **6** & **8** of the Catalogue). Peloponnesian discuses (if No. **13** is truly a discus) and the one Boeotian discus listed above (No. **14**) range from 18 to 21 cm in diameter (cf. also No. **20** from Sikyon, with a diameter of 21 cm). Following Miller, the latter group would be

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<sup>89</sup> For the tripod, see, e.g., ANDRONIKOS 1984 or, more recently, KOTTARIDI 2011. See also SALMINEN 2017, who discusses the various ways in which identity was communicated in Tomb II, including heirlooms.

<sup>90</sup> HARRIS 1989, 49. This topic has been thoroughly rediscussed during the past two decades.

closer in size to discuses actually used at competitions.<sup>91</sup> In sculpture and vase-painting, the discuses seem to measure closer to thirty centimeters than twenty.<sup>92</sup> Needless to say, the depictions on vases were predominantly produced in Attic workshops, and one wonders if instead of mere artistic liberty we should here detect evidence of an Attic standard that was larger than that of the more southern areas. Regarding the discuses from Kephallenia (15), Akanthos (16) and Histria (17), their respective measures are hardly close to any standards.



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<sup>91</sup> MILLER 2004, 60. He does not mention his sources however.

<sup>92</sup> See, e.g., the illustrations in JACOBSTAHL 1933 and, of course, the *Diskobolos*.

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## EXCURSUS



## WHAT IS THE POINT OF RELIGION?

Michael Inwood

ONE ANSWER to the above question might be that religious claims, or some privileged set of religious claims, are true, and that it is therefore incumbent upon us to endorse them and to adopt and maintain whatever practices they require of us. However, this is not the answer I shall give. Even if materialism is a bold hypothesis and there may be more to the universe than meets the eye or the microscope, it seems most unlikely that any detailed religious beliefs are true, especially in view of the many contenders for this privileged position. Rather, I shall be concerned with the benefits, if any, that religious beliefs and practices confer upon us.

To assess thoroughly the benefits and costs of religion seems a dauntingly large undertaking. What would the world be like if the human species had never had any religion? Would it be better, or worse, or about the same? Religionless humanity looks too counterfactual for us to handle, almost on a par with asking: What would the world be like if the human species had never had any language? In either case there might have been no wars or pogroms, but perhaps no science either and no recognisable human beings. So it is better, initially, to approach the question more gingerly and consider some of the results of religion piecemeal. According to Émile Durkheim, early hunters and gatherers formed structured and cohesive societies in terms of religious symbols and categories.<sup>1</sup> They did not, as we might, consciously opt for a supernatural view of things, in contrast to a naturalistic view. No such alternative offered itself to them. The natural and the supernatural were

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<sup>1</sup> DURKHEIM 1912; 2008.

closely intertwined. Something similar, though to a lesser degree, is true of the Greek polis. It was a religious institution as much as a political one, binding a people together in virtue of their common worship. We owe our organised societies originally to religion. Another thing that we owe, in large part, to religion is philosophy, the rational reflection on the world and on the nature of human beings. Some of the inspiration of philosophers stems from their *combat* with traditional religion. Greek philosophers such as Xenophanes and Plato criticised the religious ideas transmitted by Homer and other poets. But that religion provided a sparring partner for nascent philosophy should be counted to its credit. Without such a stimulus rational thought would not have got as far as it has. Conversely, later philosophers, especially Christian philosophers such as Thomas Aquinas, honed their conceptual equipment in their attempts to clarify and defend their religious beliefs. What could be more absurd, we might wonder, than the doctrine of one God in three Divine Persons? Would it not be better if such a monstrosity had never polluted the human intellect? But for all its supposed absurdity, the doctrine stimulated some people to *think*, to refine such concepts as those of substance and of relations in order to defend it—or conversely to refute it. It is mistaken to suppose that complex rational thought is the default condition of humanity, a condition that would have ruled unchallenged without any opposition, had there been no such thing as religion. The same can be said of religion's relationship with its other great rival—science. Accounts of this relationship, such as Bertrand Russell's *Religion and Science*,<sup>2</sup> tend to focus on *conflicts* between science and religion, over Galileo, Darwin, and various medical matters. Science is viewed as the common-sense default position, that only needs to be left alone by religion so that it can proceed without interference. This neglects the question: How did science arise in the first place, and why did it arise primarily in Christendom (with some help from the pre-Christian Greeks)? By contrast, Anthony Quinton argues that 'the unique Western achievement of theoretical science ... reflects and has been significantly influenced by the Christian religion.'<sup>3</sup> Quinton identifies two features of Christian cosmology as the 'foundation stones' for 17th century Western science:

<sup>2</sup> RUSSELL 1935. For a similar account, see also DIXON 2008.

<sup>3</sup> 'Religion and Science in Three Great Civilisations', in QUINTON 1998, 5. The other great civilisations are those of China and India, whose scientific achievements, in Quinton's view, compare unfavourably with those of the Christian West.

First, there is the idea of God as a rational intelligence setting his creation to work in accordance with a unitary scheme of intelligible laws. Secondly, there is the idea of God as something behind the perceptible surface of the world but constantly involved with it. Under these assumptions the world is neither a chaos nor autonomous. It works in accordance with unobvious laws and the ultimate cause of what happens is also unobvious, hidden behind its perceptible surface. The scientific revolution naturalises these two notions: the underlying causes of what is perceived are not absolutely or metaphysically transcendental, but simply beyond the reach of straightforward observation and the fundamental laws in accordance with which the perceptible world works are not perceptible regularities, but laws of the behaviour of hidden explanatory factors.<sup>4</sup>

Along similar lines, Ernest Gellner suggests that ‘it was the exclusiveness of jealous Jehovah, together with a Greek mathematisation of nature, leading eventually to the puritan refusal to see God as stooping to impress his creation with petty conjuring tricks, which led to the surprisingly successful search for a law-bound natural order’, that

the ‘law’ conception of natural order and explanation is a consequence of the doctrine of a hidden, austere, orderly, and voluntarist deity, which reveals neither its designs nor the hidden essences of things, but obliges its creatures, if they are smitten by the desire to know, to content themselves with the tabulation of mere regularities in the surface phenomena, which alone are available to their inspection.<sup>5</sup>

Again, it is important to note that religion and its supposed rival may be, in their origins, intimately intertwined.

But that was in the past. What about the present? It seems to do no great harm nowadays to detach God, gods and religion from philosophy, science or society as a whole. Nor indeed from morality. We can exchange brickbats concerning whether the religious or the irreligious, or whether this religion or that other religion, have a better view on such questions as gay marriage, abortion and feminism. We might believe

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 12f.

<sup>5</sup> The first quotation is from ‘Positivism against Hegelianism’, in GELLNER 1985, 37. The second is from ‘What is structuralism?’, in *ibid.* 131. In both passages Gellner invokes the authority of John R. MILTON (1981).

that religion is a waste of time, time that could be better spent on reading works of philosophy and science or, more likely, on shopping sprees or iPad-browsing. But I prefer to focus on another aspect of human beings that seems to me intrinsically connected with religion—our ability to transcend our personal and parochial interests and to ascend to something like an objective view of the world. I have already mentioned Durkheim's view that religion knits together scattered individuals into a cohesive people. That in itself involves transcendence of the personal, such that some individuals are willing to sacrifice their private interests for their country. However, that may not exceed the capacities of herd animals. It gives rise to wars, of course, or at least makes them possible, and religion, even a shared religion, has sometimes been used to whet a people's appetite for a particular war. Such use of religion during the First World War was satirised by J. C. Squire:

God heard the embattled nations sing and shout  
 'Gott strafe England!' and 'God save the King!'  
 God this, God that, and God the other thing -  
 'Good God!' said God, 'I've got my work cut out!'

There is, however, another strand in religion, a heightening of our viewpoint and a broadening of our sympathies, so that they extend even to the enemy. This is discernible even in ancient Greek literature, which is itself in large measure a legacy of Greek religion. In Homer's *Iliad* the conflict between the Greeks and the Trojans is surveyed by the gods. Different gods support different sides in the war and Zeus, the king of the gods, lets them do so. But Zeus himself is more even-handed. In the final book of the poem he makes Achilles release the corpse of the Trojan Hector to receive an honourable burial. Sympathy for the enemy is also found in Greek plays, notably Aeschylus' *Persians* and Euripides' *Trojan Women*. Officially, though of course not always unofficially, Christianity extends our sympathy to all human beings. Christ urged his followers to spread his message to all human beings and to do so by preaching, not by force.

This capacity of ours to ascend to higher viewpoints, a capacity shared—as far as we know—by no other species, is surely an important factor in our ability not only to extend the range of our moral sympathies, but in our ability to conceive of an objective world extending far beyond our local environment. Looking at the world from the viewpoint of all humans gives us the conception of a world that we share with

them, an intersubjective world. If we go further and look at the world from the point of view of various other species as well as ourselves, we acquire an even richer multifaceted conception of the world, a world that can be perceived not only in the way we perceive it, but displays itself in different ways to different species. If we proceed to the very top, to what we might suppose to be God's viewpoint, we can conceive of a world bereft of life and ask such questions as when and how it originated. The American philosopher Donald Davidson proposed the thesis of 'triangulation', arguing that linguistic communication is necessary for having propositional thoughts, that propositional thought requires a concept of objective truth, and that this in turn requires interaction not only with objects but with others of one's kind.<sup>6</sup> It is tempting to suggest that our truth-seeking communication with each other involves more than three factors—two people and an object—, that it requires quadrangulation rather than merely triangulation. There is in addition God, surveying our situation, in our imagination if not in reality. This is excessively fanciful, however. Even if our capacity for rational reflection originated in religion, this does not entail the truth of religion, or of any particular religion, nor need it imply that if religion fades away human beings would relapse into an animal condition, concerned only with their immediate surroundings and little more than monkeys with mobiles. We can only pray that they would not.



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## APPENDIX



*Michael Inwood and Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood in Corfu*

Χριστιάνας Σουρβίνου

## Ποιήματα

(1962-1965)

Εκδίδει

η Αθηνά Καβουλάκη

Τον Φεβρουάριο του 1962 η Χριστιάννα Σουρβίνου γίνεται 17 ετών. Τελειώνει τη χρονιά αυτή το σχολείο και το ίδιο καλοκαίρι (του '62) δίνει εξετάσεις και πετυχαίνει στη Φιλοσοφική Σχολή Αθηνών. Αποφοιτά το 1966 και ξεκινά αμέσως μεταπτυχιακές σπουδές και έρευνα.

Τα χρόνια 1962-1965 φαίνεται πως ήταν περίοδος έντονης ψυχοκοινωνικής και πνευματικής διαμόρφωσης για τη Χριστιάννα. Η ίδια αναστοχάζεται γεγονότα και ιχνηλατεί ποιητικά την πορεία της, καταγράφοντας τα ίχνη σε ένα πολυτελές δερματόδετο λεύκωμα.<sup>1</sup>

Έχουν περάσει 55 χρόνια από την πρώτη καταγραφή και η 'ασφάλεια' που παρέχει η πάροδος δύο ολόκληρων γενεών μάς επιτρέπει μια αν-ίχνευση – *in memoriam*.

Τα ποιήματα εκδίδονται μαζί με τα σημειώματα που η ίδια η Σουρβίνου συχνά συμπλήρωνε (πλάι ή κάτω από τα ποιήματα). Σε μερικές περιπτώσεις τυπώνονται και τα σχέδια (ή οι φωτογραφίες) που συχνά συμπληρώνουν την καταγραφή. Στη στίξη και την ορθογραφία έχουν γίνει ελάχιστες επεμβάσεις. (Οι παρατηρήσεις οι δικές μας, όπου κρίνονται απολύτως απαραίτητες, εμφανίζονται στις υποσημειώσεις.)

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<sup>1</sup> Βρέθηκε στα κατάλοιπά της. Βλ., στον παρόντα τόμο, Εισαγωγή, σ. 2.

Christiane Sourvinou

*Poems*

(1962-1965)

edited by Athena Kavoulaki

*In the Introduction to this volume I announced that the Appendix would contain Christiane's early poetry collection compiled between 1962 and 1965 and found in her unpublished remains. The quality of her youthful poetic exercises and the temporal distance between our times and the poems' original creation fully justify their publication.<sup>2</sup> The first poem of the collection coincides with Christiane's seventeenth birthday (February 1962), while the rest of the poems trace the critical trajectory of her student years at the University of Athens.<sup>3</sup> The poems appear here in their original chronological order and with the least possible interventions as regards punctuation and orthography. All the annotations that she frequently added below or alongside her poems are here reproduced, while I indicate (usually in footnotes in Modern Greek) but do not include the points where she might have added a drawing or a photo related to her subject. I have made an exception for the first of her drawings and the last of her photos, which are also included herein, in this first edition of her Ποιήματα.*

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<sup>2</sup> See 'Introduction', 2-4 and 14-15 for some interpretative comments on the poems and further details on the collection.

<sup>3</sup> She graduated in 1966; see further 'Introduction', 3-4.

## ‘ποιήματα χριστιάνα ποιήματα’<sup>4</sup>

### Έφηβεία

Τύλιξαν τά κορμιά τους  
μέσα σέ νήματα σκοταδιού  
οί φίλοι  
καί χάθηκαν  
κι' ἐγώ απόμεινα στή ρίζα τῆς νύχτας  
μόνη  
ἕνα μεγάλο δάκρυ χωρίς πρόσωπο  
γιά νά κυλήσει.

Φεβρουάριος 62



*Drawing for the first poem of Christiane's poetry collection*

<sup>4</sup> Από την πρώτη σελίδα του λευκώματος.

### Ἵπολειμματικό

Μαζέψαμε στίς χοῦφτες μας  
 τή σκόρπια στάχτη τῶν γκρεμισμένων βωμῶν  
 καί τήν ἀπλώσαμε στά κεφάλια μας.  
 Ντύσαμε μέ τή σάρκα μας  
 τίς ἀρχαῖες θελήσεις τῶν θεῶν,  
 φορέσαμε τή θυσία μας στεφάνι,  
 καί προχωρήσαμε.

.....  
 Δέκιος Μούς! ... Δέκιος Μούς! .....

.....  
 Ἡ Μοῖρα μας  
 μᾶς περιμένει σκαρφαλωμένη στά ὑψώματα.

Ἰούλιος 62

Ἵπόλειμμα προϊστορικής θρησκείας εἶναι ἡ αὐτοθυσία τοῦ Δέκιου Μούς,  
 γιά νά ἐκπληρωθῇ ὁ χρησμός καί νά νικήσουν οἱ Ρωμαῖοι τοὺς Γαλάτες.

Στή μάχη τοῦ Σεντίνου τό 295 π.Χ.

(Ὅταν ἦταν νεαρός ἀξιωματικός εἶχε σώσει κάποιον ὕπατο – δέν θυ-  
 μάμαι ποιόν οὔτε ἀπό ποιούς – καταλαμβάνοντας ἔγκαιρα κάτι ὑψώματα  
 μέ δική του πρωτοβουλία.)

Ἐπίγραμμα (στόν Κωνσταντῖνο Παλαιολόγο)

Σάν ἔρθῃ ἡ ὥρα  
νά πῆ ὁ μεγαδοῦκας  
καταστοχασάμενος  
ἑκείνου ἐστί, κύριε,  
ἀλίμονο Κωνσταντῖνε!

Δεκέμβρης 62

Ἀπόσπασμα ἀπό τίς σημειώσεις Βυζαντινῆς Φιλολογίας  
Τετάρτη 12.12.62 κ. Τωμαδάκης

Ἵταν ὁ Μωάμεθ ρώτησε τόν μεγαδοῦκα Λουκά Νοταῶ  
ἄν τό κεφάλι πού τοῦ φέρανε ἦταν πραγματικά τοῦ Παλαιολόγου,  
ἐκεῖνος ἀφοῦ τό κοίταξε ὥρα πολλή (ἑκατοστοχασάμενος) εἶπαι ἡ λέξι πού  
χρησιμοποιεῖ ὁ ἱστορικός τῆς Ἀλώσεως Δούκας) εἶπε: ἑκείνου ἐστί, κύριε.  
Καί μέ τό ἑκείνου ἐννοοῦσε τόν Μωάμεθ.

### Sermo amatorius

Ζύγισα στή χούφτα μου τόν ἥλιο, τήν ἀγάπη μου...  
 Κυνήγησα τίς σκιές τῆς ἐφηβείας μας πού διάβηκε...  
 Θά θρυμματίσω τά ὄστρακα πού ντύθηκα χιτῶνες μου,  
 καί τά ξερά φύλλα  
 πού μοῦ φόρεσαν τά δάση τῶν καλοκαιριῶν μου  
 θά τά κάψω.  
 Γιά ν' ἀπομείνω γυμνή στίς βροχές τῶν θελήσεών σου  
 – γυναῖκα –  
 καί νά δεχτῶ ἀπό σένα τό δρόσιμα τῆς ζωῆς.  
 Οἱ χιλιετηρικές κραυγές χτυποῦν τήν πόρτα μας,  
 καί μάς κινοῦν καλεστικά τά χέρια  
 οἱ ἐποχές  
 ὅπου σκαλίζαμε τή φωτιά τοῦ Γένους  
 κι' ἀδειάζαμε τίς φλέβες μας θυσία στό ἱερό ξύλο.  
 Ἄφησε τή γαλήνη τῆς παλάμης σου  
 νά γλυστρήσῃ ὡς τή μυστηριακή ματαιότητα τῶν μαλλιῶν μου...  
 Ἦρθε ὁ καιρός τῶν ἐλαφιῶν.  
 Τό σάλπισμα τοῦ κήρυκα πλησιάζει.  
 Τό θέλησα  
 νά γυμνωθῶ ἀπ' τά ἐφτά μου ὄστρακα.  
 Τό θέλησα!  
 Ἔστω κι' ἂν θᾶναι  
 μόνο  
 γιά νά ματωθῶ – γυμνή – ἀπό τούς κάκτους τῆς σιωπῆς σου.

### Τό τραγοῦδι τοῦ μοναχικοῦ ἀγοριοῦ

Τό φεγγάρι  
 σκόρπισε δάση ἀπό ἀσημένια ροδοπέταλα στά σκοτεινόχρωμα μαλλιά  
 καί τό παιδί  
 μέ τά ὀράματα τῶν ζαρκαδιῶν στά μάτια  
 εἶπε –  
 Ἀπόψε  
 δέν θά κεντήσω τήν ἀνεμόδαρτη προσευχή  
 γιά τούς ἀγρούς τῆς λύπης πού δέν θερίστηκαν.  
 Δέν θά τραγουδήσω  
 γιά τ' ἀγόρια μέ τήν καρδιά τοῦ ἐλαφιοῦ  
 καί γιά τὰ λευκώλενα κορίτσια  
 γιά τὰ μηνύματα πού δέν λήφθηκαν...  
 Ἀπόψε τὰ ὄνειρα μπῆκαν ἀπό τήν πύλη τοῦ Ἁγίου Ρωμανοῦ...  
 Τό ξέρατε  
 πώς θά ἐγερθοῦν ἡ βασίλισσα τοῦ Νότου κι' οἱ ἄνδρες τῆς Νινευί;  
 Κι' ἔπειτα ἐμεῖς  
 – ἐμεῖς οἱ κέδροι –  
 θ' ἀνάψουμε ὀρθοί τίς νεκρικές πυρές.  
 Ἀλύγιστοι – σάν τίς σφαγές μέ τὰ ἔπαθλα τῶν βράχων.  
 Ὁ ἥλιος σκορπίζει πάντα ἀνεμῶνες  
 ὁμορφος σάν τ' ἀνάγλυφα τοῦ Ράμόζε [Art of the Ancient Near East, p.143]  
 κι' ὁ οὐρανός σπέρνει πάντα χαμόγελα  
 στά κατώφλια τῶν κοριτσιῶν.  
 Κρατᾶμε στά στήθια  
 τόν ἔρωτα τοῦ Ἀτίλα, τίς ἀπατηλές ὑποσχέσεις τοῦ Ἐδέκωνα. [Βλ. Πρίσκο εἰς  
 Ἑλάτε,  
 Historici Graeci Minores,  
 Bibliotheca Teubneriana]  
 ἐλάτε, ὁ Ταλθύβιος, ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ Ἑλικάονας,  
 καί τὰ κορίτσια μέ τὰ ὄνειρα στίς χουφτες,  
 ἐλάτε νά θηρεύσουμε ἀργυρότοξα ἐνύπνια  
 στούς ἄνδρους τόπους μέ τὰ σμαράγδια.  
 Στά ματόκλαδά μας τρεῖς στάλες βροχῆς,  
 στά μαλλιά μας στεφάνια ἀπό ἐλπίδες.  
 Εἶπε  
 καί σῶπασε κάτω ἀπό τίς ἀγριοσυκιές  
 τό παιδί  
 μέ τά ὀράματα τῶν ζαρκαδιῶν στά μάτια.

### Ὡδή στό Καλοκαίρι

Θερίστηκαν κι' οί στερνές μέρες τῆς Ἄνοιξης.  
 Τό Καλοκαίρι καταχώρησε στάχυα καί βότσαλα  
 στά τετράδια τῶν ἄσπρων ἀνεμόμυλων.  
 Τά φύκια κλέψανε τίς ἀνεμῶνες τῶν ψαριῶν,  
 κι' ὁ οὐρανός γονιμοποίησε τίς παπαροῦνες  
 καί γεννήθηκαν τά χρώματα.

.....  
 Καλοκαίρια!

Καυτή λευκότητα τοῦ μεσημεριοῦ, πνεύμονες ἀπό φῶς!  
 Κοῦπες χρυσάφι καί χλαμύδες ἀπό ἥλιο...  
 Θά γεμίσω τοὺς πόρους μου μέ γέλια ἀνθρώπων  
 καί θά λούσω μέσα τό πρόσωπό μου.  
 Θά καθρεφτιστώ σέ τρεῖς χιλιάδες λίμνες  
 καί θ' ἀποχαιρετήσω τίς μοναξιές πού ἀπόθεσα διάδημα στό μέτωπο.  
 Λευκά περιστέρια θά κουρνιασούν στίς χοῦφτες μου,  
 λυμένο χρυσάφι θά χυθῆ στά μαλλιά μου·  
 θά μαζέψω κοχύλια νά δωρήσω στά δέντρα,  
 ἄμμο νά στολίσω τόν ἄνεμο.  
 Ἡ καυτή ἀνάσα τοῦ νότου  
 θά χανώση τά κορμιά πού στάζουν κύματα.  
 Τά κορμιά  
 πού παραδόθηκαν στό μεθύσι κίνησης δαιμονιακῆς  
 θά ξυπνήσουν κάτω ἀπ' τίς σαϊτιές τοῦ ἡλίου  
 (κάτω ἀπ' τό βίαιο χάδι τῆς θάλασσας – ἀνατρίχιασμα)  
 Καυτοί πόθοι – περίπατοι ἀπό ἄνεμο...  
 Καλοκαίρια!

12 Ἰουνίου 63

Στίς 12 Ἰουνίου τελείωσα τίς ἐξετάσεις  
 στό Πανεπιστήμιο. Τελευταῖο μάθημα ἦταν Βυζαντινή  
 Ἱστορία. Τήν προηγούμενη μέρα ἔπεσε ὁ Καραμανλῆς.

## Παιχνίδι

(τέννις ἢ πίγκ-πόγκ)

Τώρα πού μᾶς κούρασε τό Καλοκαίρι  
 θά περιφρονήσουμε τά κοχύλια  
 καί θά εἰρωνευτοῦμε τίς ἄσπρες ἀχιβάδες πού ποθήσαμε.  
 Τώρα πού βαρεθήκαμε τή χαύνωση πού ἀρωμάτισε τό Αἶγαίο  
 θ' ἀλλάξουμε πέλαγο.  
 Ἀπόψε πού μᾶς τύφλωσε τό κενό  
 καί θρηνήσαμε,  
 κι' ἐπιστρέψαμε,  
 ἀπόψε πού πονέσαμε γιά τή Μοναξιά,  
 ἀπόψε πού γυρίσαμε στή Μοναξιά,  
 τί θά κάνουμε;  
 Ποῦ θά πορευτοῦμε  
 τώρα πού ἀπομείναμε γυμνοί ἀπό θέληση  
 γυμνοί ἀπό πόθο  
 τώρα πού ψηλαφήσαμε τόν πόθο  
 στίς πτυχές τοῦ κυριακάτικου πρωῖνοῦ.  
 Ποῦ γυρίζαμε τήν Ἄνοιξη  
 καί δέν προλάβαμε νά γευτοῦμε  
 τήν ἀφή τῶν μαγιάτικων τριαντάφυλλων, τήν ὄσμή τοῦ ἥλιου;  
 Ἦ μήπως τήν γευτήκαμε καί τό λησιμονήσαμε;  
 Θερίσαμε πικρές μαργαρίτες  
 γιά νά χρωματίσουμε τίς λύπες μας,  
 ἀλλά ξεχάσαμε τί χρώματα ἔπρεπε νά χρησιμοποιήσουμε.  
 Καί τώρα πού θά πορευτοῦμε  
 ἐσύ κι' ἐγώ, θλίψη μου;

## Σ' ένα αγόρι πού θά φύγη

Όταν θά ξαναγεννηθοῦν οἱ βροχές  
 θά παίξουμε  
 καί θά σέ κερδίσει ἡ θάλασσα.  
 Ἡ θάλασσα  
 κι' ἡ καπνιά τῶν φουγάρων  
 κι' ἡ ἀκαθόριστη ἔκταση τῆς ὀμίχλης  
 πού κένταγε τόν ἐρχομό σου  
 πού μελέταγε τόν ἐρχομό σου  
 ἕνα καλοκαίρι ἄδειο ἀπό ἥλιο.  
 Όταν θά ξαναγεννηθοῦν οἱ βροχές  
 θά θυμηθῆς  
 τὰ βαρειά ἐνδαιτήματα τοῦ Βορρά  
 γεμᾶτα σύννεφα  
 χωρίς οὐρανό  
 γεμᾶτα θλίψη  
 χωρίς οὐρανό  
 καί θά σέ κερδίσει ἡ φυγή.  
 Σ' ἐξαπάτησε ὁ ἥλιος καί τὰ χρώματα  
 ἡ ζέστη καί τὰ χρώματα  
 καί ξέχασες.  
 Ὅμως μάθαμε καλά  
 πώς ὅταν θά ξαναγεννηθοῦν οἱ βροχές θά σέ κερδίσουν.  
 Ἀλλά δέν ἔχει καμμιά σημασία  
 ἀφοῦ δέν μοῦ πῆρες τήν ἀγάπη μου.  
 Παίξαμε ἕνα καλοκαίρι,  
 σεργιανίσαμε πόθους ἕνα καλοκαίρι,  
 τώρα, ἔχε γειά.

14 Ἰουλίου 1963<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Ακολουθεῖ σχέδιο πινακίδας πορείας με τὴν ἐνδειξη 'NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE'.

## Άπολογία

Στείλανε τίς κραυγές τους  
 μέσ' από τὰ μαγνητόφωνα τῆς δικῆς τους σιωπῆς  
 καί καρφώσανε τὴν ἐπίπληξη μέ μαῦρα στοιχεῖα στούς δρόμους.  
 Ὅσο γιά μᾶς...  
 (Ναί... θά μπορούσαμε ν' ἀπαντήσουμε...)  
 Θά μπορούσαμε νά τούς μιλήσουμε γιά τὰ μεγάλα μανιτάρια τοῦ σκοταδιοῦ,  
 καί γιά τούς ἀγρούς μέ τίς σκοτωμένες ἀνεμῶνες  
 – ὠραῖα πού μᾶς νανούριζαν τὰ μοιρολόγια! –  
 Ν' ἀναπολήσουμε τίς σκουπισμένες ἀπό ὄνειρα κάμαρες  
 πού φιλοξένησαν τίς παιδικές μας ἡλικίες...  
 Τούς τρόμους ἀβέβαιων γυρισμῶν...  
 Ἦ, θά μπορούσαμε νά ἐκθέσουμε  
 πῶς  
 ἀφοῦ διανύσαμε τὴν ἀπόσταση ἀνάμεσα σ' ὅλες τίς ἀποχρώσεις τῶν πυράκανθων,  
 κοιτάξαμε τὰ κορμιά μας  
 πού εἶχανε τοξεύσει οἱ ἀλγεινές σφαῖρες δεκαοχτώ κυνηγῶν  
 κοιτάξαμε τὰ μάτια μας  
 πού δεκαοχτώ χρόνια ἰχνηλάτησαν τὰ βήματα  
 τοῦ Τρίτου ἀγγελιαφόρου πού θά στείλουν οἱ πεθαμένοι.  
 Κι' εἶδαμε τίς ἀγωνίες νά κOURνιαζοῦν ἀκόμα στούς οὐρανοὺς μας.  
 Τότε μπλέξαμε τὰ δάχτυλά μας στά σκοτεινά μαλλιά τοῦ ἀνέμου,  
 κρεμάσαμε στίς πόρτες μας στεφάνια ἀπό χλόη,  
 καί γευτήκαμε χωρὶς τύψη τό ἄγριο μέλι τῆς κουκουναριάς,  
 ἐμεῖς, ὠργισμένες μαριονέττες τοῦ Μεγάλου Μηδέν.  
 Θά μπορούσαμε νά ποῦμε...  
 Ἄλλά δέν εἶπαμε τίποτα.  
 Σηκώσαμε τούς ὄμους καί φύγαμε.  
 Ἴσως γιατί  
 ἄν μιλούσαμε  
 θά ψευδόμαστε  
 ἀφοῦ ξέρουμε καλά  
 πῶς ξεχάσαμε ν' ἀγαπήσουμε τόν ἥλιο  
 καί πῶς τίποτα δέν ἔχει πιά γιά μᾶς σημασία.

## Σπουδή για τή Γαλήνη σέ αποσπασματική μορφή

(Άχιλλειο)

### I

Τό παλιό άσπροκίτρινο ανάκτορο – βαρύ σάν τή θλίψη πού στέγασε...

### II

| Κανείς δέν διάβηκε τά σύνορα τής προσδοκίας |  
 | του δάσους πού ήταν ώραίο σάν ύπνος. |  
 Ήρθες έδῶ  
 ακολουθώντας τά ίχνη τής σιωπής  
 νά σπείρης τή Γαλήνη στίς κουρασμένες χουφτες σου.  
 Τή θέρισες.  
 Κι' άποϋ έξόρισες τή Μοναξιά  
 άπόμεινες, όλομόνος, Έσύ – καί τό πρόσωπό σου πού ανακάλυψες,  
 οί μνήμες  
 πέρα άπ' τά όρια τής ψηλής θεωρίας τών κυπαρισσιών,  
 χάνονται, νοσταλγικοί άχνοι από μακρινές φιλίες.  
 Γιατί έδῶ γύριζες στην περιοχή τής ήμέρας  
 Μέ τό μέτωπο γυμνό από σκέψεις,  
 ξεχνώντας τά πικρά κύπελλα πού στράγγιζες  
 μιάν Άνοιξη άδεια από τριαντάφυλλα.  
 Γιατί έδῶ ή σκιαγραφία τών νουφάρων  
 σήμανε τό τέρμα τών κόσμων τής Έπικρίσεως.

### III

Άχνές φιγοϋρες του δειλινοϋ  
 Καντές έμπειρίες γεμάτες ήλιο...  
 Πόθησες τή γαλάζια παρουσία  
 πού ξάπλωσε στό χαμηλότερο θεωρείο του δάσους.  
 Καί τή νεμήθηκες τρυφερά  
 λησμονώντας τήν ήδονή του πάθους πού λάτρεψες.  
 Σπάνιες όσμές λουλουδιών  
 κουβαλοϋν τή μνήμη από τίς κορυφογραμμές πού πένθησες –  
 τά παιδικά σου χρόνια.

## IV

Όταν σταλάξη ή Νύχτα στους άγρους τούς σπαρμένους μ' αγάλματα,  
 από τούς ήλιους του σκοταδιού (σχέδιο με ένδειξη 'προβολέας')  
 αναδύονται παράξενες προτομές δέντρων με φωτεινούς άνθους.

Ένα ξανθό κορίτσι

άποκρυπτογράφησε τή γραμμική γραφή τής Γαλήνης  
 κι είδε τίς πεταλούδες του Καλοκαιριού  
 που ανάπνευσαν πληρότητα.

Ένα χαμογελαστό κορίτσι

ζήλεψε τήν αρχαϊκή διάταξη των κλαδιών του δέντρου  
 που περιφρόνησε τ' όνομά του.

Κομμάτια από έντονο φώς...

Έξερεύνησες τήν παράξενη ζωή των κήπων

τήν ντυμένη με ύπνους και παραμύθια

και τον τρόμο τής Λευκής Κυρίας.

Οί ύακινθοι σου δώρησαν τίς παραλλαγές ενός χαμόγελου  
 ενώ συναυλίες από χρώματα

έγκωμιάζαν τά παράταιρα ζευγαρώματα των κισσών.

Γεύτηκες τίς άγνωστες αναθυμιάσεις που μεταμορφώσανε  
 τό όρατό σε αίσθηση

τήν αίσθηση σε εϋδαιμονία

μέχρι που προσκύνησες τό ανέκφραστο πρόσωπο τής Γαλήνης.

.....

Ό αίμάτινος δίσκος που πόθησε νά εξαφανιστῆ,

τά σύννεφα που θάψαμε,

οί έλεγείες των τζιτζικιών – υπόσχεση θανάτου.

3 Αύγούστου 63<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Στο λεύκωμα κάτω από την ημερομηνία υπάρχει μικρή ασπρόμαυρη φωτογραφία του Αχιλλείου, της ιστορικής βασιλικής έπαυλης στην Κέρκυρα.

## Χρονικό

Ἡ πρώτη μέρα τῆς ἐκδίκησης  
 εἶχε τό πρόσωπο τῆς ἄγριας κοπέλλας  
 μέ τά θανατερά μάτια  
 πού κούρνιαζε στίς ἀσπρισμένες στοές παρωχημένων χρόνων.  
 Οἱ ὥρες διακόσμησαν τίς σφιχτές παγωμένες της πλάκες  
 μέ χαώδεις συνειρμούς  
 ὥσπου φανερώθηκε ἡ μυστηριακή ἐμπειρία μιᾶς παρθένας λέξης.  
 Ἡ δευτέρα μέρα ἦταν ὀδυνηρή,  
 γυμνή  
 χωρίς στοές καί μακρινές κοπέλλες, καί καυτή  
 θυμᾶμαι.  
 Ἡ Ἐκδίκηση.  
 Ἡ θέληση πού γύρευε μορφή  
 γιά νά δυνηθοῦμε νά ξαναρχίσουμε  
 τό παιχνίδι μέ τό νερό πού ἔπαψε νά μᾶς ἀρέσει.

.....

Τήν τρίτη μέρα,  
 σκυμμένη πάνω ἀπ' τήν ἱερή Ζέλεια,  
 συνέλεγα ἕνα δεμάτι ὄνειρα.  
 Κι' εἶχα ἤδη ἀνασκάψει τή χθόνια ψυχή μου...  
 Τώρα πού ψηλαφήσαμε αὐτόν τόν πόνο τοῦ κόσμου  
 Πού κυφορούσαμε χωρίς νά τό ξέρουμε,  
 Τί μποροῦν πιά νά μᾶς ἐνδιαφέρουν  
 ἐκδικήσεις  
 κι' ἄνθρωποι πού δέν γνώρισαν τόν ἄγριο χυμό τῆς παπαρούνας;

4 Ὀκτωβρίου 63

Πρωτάκουσα τή λέξη 'ἐκδίκηση', ὅταν ἤμουνα τριῶν χρόνων ἀπό μιᾶ κοπέλλα μέ μακριά ξέπλεκα μαλλιά καί παράξενα μισότρελλα μάτια. "Ἡ ἐκδίκηση εἶναι ἕνα πιάτο πού τρώγεται κρύο", εἶχε πῆ. Ἦταν Μεγάλη Παρασκευή, μετά τόν Ἐπιτάφιο τῶν Ἁγίων Θεοδώρων.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Στ' αριστερά της σημείωσης υπάρχει (στην πρωτότυπη, ιδιόχειρη καταγραφή) σκαρίφημα πινακίδας πορείας με την ένδειξη 'ΖΕΛΕΙΑ'. Στο πάνω μέρος της σελίδας, δεξιά, δίπλα από τον τίτλο υπάρχει σκαρίφημα πρόσοψης εκκλησίας (ημικύκλιο με σταυρό πάνω) και δίπλα η ένδειξη 'Μεγάλη Παρασκευή 1948'.

### Θέμα για μιά συναίσθηση

Οί ύγροί δρυμοί τῶν ξανθῶν θεῶν  
γέννησαν ἕνα ὁμορφο παιδί.  
Οί σκοτεινοί δρυμοί τῶν ρωμαλέων θεῶν  
ἀνάτρεφαν ἕνα ξανθό παιδί πολλούς χειμῶνες.  
Τῶν τυναν στίς σκιές τῶν ἄσπονδων παγανισμῶν τους  
Χλαμύδες ἀπ' τη μυστική τους μουσική.  
Τό χτένιζαν στούς χρυσαφένιους παραλληλισμούς τῶν τύμβων,  
κι' ὅταν ἀπό τά ξέφωτα διάβηκαν οἱ εἴκοσι πεζοπόροι  
μοῦ τῶστειλαν.  
Ἔνα ζεστό καλοκαίρι, ἕνα βίαιο φθινόπωρο...  
Τά θερμά πέλαγα  
ἀρνήθηκαν τίς σπονδές τῶν ρόδων  
πού ἔκανε τό βόρειο παιδί στίς κορφές τῶν κυμάτων τους.  
Κι' αὐτό περιφρόνησε τίς γενιές τῶν ἀνθρώπων πού ἐχρηματίζοντο κατ' ὄναρ.  
Ἔπειτα ἀνταμώσαμε.  
.....  
Ἦταν ἐδῶ πού ἀγαπηθήκαμε.  
Στό δάσος μέ τούς μαρμαρένιους ἴσκιους τῆς βασίλισσας  
πού στοιχειώνουν στούς νυκτερινούς βυθούς τῶν καταγίδων.  
Στίς βραδυνές βραχοσπηλιές μέ τίς σκηνογραφίες τοῦ φεγγαριοῦ.  
Καί στά θαλασσινά νερά – νυκτιφαεῖς διατριβές τῶν σκοταδιῶν.  
Καί στίς ἀκρογιαλιές  
πού ἀγόραζαν κάθε πρωί τά φιλιὰ τοῦ ἡλίου καί τά δικά μας.  
Στόν οὐρανό, τά μάτια σου.  
(Σ' ὅλο τόν κόσμο ἀγαπηθήκαμε.)  
Ἔγραψες πάνω στίς πευκοβελόνες:  
“Τά μαλλιά σου κούρνιασαν στό μέτωπό σου  
σάν κουρασμένες φτεροῦγες μαύρων περιστεριῶν”.  
Ἔπειτα ἔφυγα.  
Πῆρα μαζί τή μουσική πού σμίλεψες γιά μένα τήν τελευταία νύχτα  
καί τήν εἰκόνα σου  
ὅπως γύρευες νά σημαδέψεις τίς στιγμές  
κι' ἔφυγα

### Δημοτικό γύμνασμα I

Στή ζώνη σου μαντήλι,  
σου πρόσφερα τά χείλη  
στήν ἐκκλησιά κοντά.

Γλυκό σά νιό σταφύλι  
τό στόμα σου, ἀσφοδεΐλι,  
μέ κέρασε φωτιά.

4 Νοεμβρίου 63

### Άκαριαία θύμηση

Σιγέβερτος καί Χιλπέριχος  
Οί ἀδελφοί  
ἐνεπλάκησαν εἰς πόλεμον  
κατά μῆνα Ἐλαφηβολιώνα  
χάριν πλασματικῶν προβληματισμῶν.  
Ἄ! Τί ἀνόσια πού στραγγαλίστηκαν  
οἱ ὄνειρικές ἐμπειρίες  
τῆς Γαλσβίνθης!... †

12 Δεκεμβρίου 63

† Τὸ 567. Τὴν ἐρωμένη τοῦ Χιλπέριχου  
τὴν ἔλεγον Φρεδεγόνδη.

## Ἐξομολόγηση σέ μιά Ἐποχή

ΛΟΓΟΣ  
(γιά κανέναν εἰδικά)

Μιά σπάνια παρουσία στους ἀγαπανθούς  
 κι' ἦρθαν οἱ μνήμες ἀπαλά,  
 κι' ἔγειραν πάνω στὸν κορμό τῆς νύχτας.  
 Καφτό κερί στά δάχτυλα  
 καθώς μελετούσαμε τὰ ὀνόματά μας,  
 καφτό κερί στά δάχτυλα  
 καθώς ἰχνογραφοῦσαμε τίς μορφές μας  
 μέ βενζίνη κι' ἀστέρια στὴν ἄσφαλτο.  
 Καί τώρα;  
 Ἀδειάσανε οἱ χοῦφτες μου ἀπὸ ἄνεμο,  
 καί ποιός θά μ' ἀλαφρώση  
 ἀπὸ τ' ἀπομεινάρια τῶν βαθιῶν βλεμμάτων,  
 ἀπὸ τίς παγωμένες ὀσμές τοῦ σκοταδιοῦ;  
 Ἔλα καί πάρε με!..  
 Πάρε τὰ μαλλιά μου,  
 καί τὰ χέρια μου πού σκλήρυναν ἀπὸ τὴν ἀναμονή,  
 πάρε τὰ μάτια μου  
 πού ματώσανε κατοπτεύοντας τὸν ὀρίζοντα,  
 κι' ἄς φύγουμε.  
 Τί κούραση!..  
 Κάθε φορά  
 πού οἱ ἄνθρωποι βγαίνουν στίς πόρτες  
 καί χτυποῦν τὰ τύμπανα τῶν χελιδονιῶν,  
 κάθε φορά  
 πού μέ σεξουαλικό ὄργασμό καί χυμούς  
 γεννοῦν οἱ λιγνοὶ κορμοὶ ἐγγόνια μπουμπουκιῶν,  
 τί κούραση!..  
 Ὅμως σήμερα στάθηκα κι' ἀκούμπησα γιὰ πάντα τὴν ὀδύνη μου στους ἄμους  
 μιᾶς γαζέλλας.

## Ὡδή στην Ἄνοιξη

## ΑΝΤΙΛΟΓΟΣ

Πόσο χαρήκαμε  
 πού πήραν τέλος οί γιορτινές βαττολογίες τῶν παιδιῶν στά πεζοδρόμια!  
 Τώρα  
 μ' ἓνα φύλλο χλόης στό στόμα  
 μ' ἀποικίες ἀπό ἀγρανθούς στίς χουφτες  
 ταξιδεύει ἡ Ἄνοιξη πάνω στίς ὄχθες τῶν λουλουδιῶν·  
 χαρίζοντάς της ἓνα περιδέραιο ἀπό γαλάζιες πεταλοῦδες  
 ὁ Ἀπρίλης  
 κυριεύει τήν ἀγάπη της  
 σύμφωνα μέ τήν οἰωνοσκοπία μιᾶς ἄσπρης μαργαρίτας.  
 Πατημένες ἀνεμῶνες  
 καί ψίθυροι μέσα ἀπό τά χόρτα  
 καθώς ἡ γῆ ἀνασαίνει λαχανιάζοντας  
 ζεστή ἡδονή  
 κι' οἱ χωματόσβωλοι ἀπαγγέλλουν μυστικά  
 τά γονιμικά τους ξόρκια...  
 Ζεματιστά πέλματα κοριτσιῶν  
 ξεδιψοῦν μέ τούς χυμούς τῶν ἀγριολούλουδων...

Δίχτυα μαλλιά στούς τοίχους τῶν ὀνείρων μας  
 δίχτυα μαλλιά στά ὄνειρα τῶν παρθένων μας  
 στά στήθια τῶν παρθένων μας τά παλληκάρια.

23 Μαρτίου 64

## Σελίδα ημερολογίου I

Τό φθινόπωρο εἶν' ἕνα κορίτσι  
μέ ὑγρά μάτια  
μέ μαλλιά χρυσοκάστανα  
σάν τὰ πεσμένα φύλλα  
στίς νοτισμένες ἀλέες τῶν δειλινῶν  
σάν τὰ λυπημένα ἀπογεύματα  
τῶν μοναχῶν παιδιῶν...  
Τό φθινόπωρο εἶν' ἕνα κορίτσι  
πού κουβαλεῖ στήν καρδιά του βροχές  
πού τριγυρνάει στους ἄδειους κήπους  
ἀναζητῶντας μέσα στά κυκλάμινα  
τίς αἰχμηρές στιγμές πού χάθηκαν  
ξεχασμένες στά ρεῖθρα τοῦ χειμῶνα.

1 Ἀπριλίου 64

Μ' ἀρέσουνε τά κυκλάμινα. Ὅταν ἤμουνα μικρή στήν Κέρκυρα  
πηγαίναμε μέ τή μητέρα μου μακρινούς περιπάτους στήν ἐξοχή  
τ' ἀπογεύματα γιά νά μαζέψουμε κυκλάμινα.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Στο χειρόγραφο ακολουθεῖ μικρό σκαρίφημα κυκλαμίδος χωρίς ἀνθη με το σχόλιο: «Εδῶ εἶναι κυκλάμινα, ἀλλά δέν φαίνονται. Τά κυκλάμινα εἶναι πάντα κρυμμένα».

“Ένα δάκρυ για τήν πεθαμένη χώρα 

Ἐπλεξε στά μαλλιά της πασχαλιές καί γλυσίνες  
Κι’ ἔσπειρε στά χέρια της πετροχελίδονα.

Ἐκεῖνοι

Εἶχαν σταθῆ καί τήν κοίταζαν ἐπίμονα  
μέ τά χαλκεοθώρακα μάτια τους  
καρφωμένα στερρά στίς παγωμένες μάσκες.  
Τότε πήρε νά τούς μιλήση γιά τή χώρα τῆς Σιωπῆς.  
“Ὅταν πέρασα τούς δρόμους μέ τή μαύρη λάσπη”  
τούς εἶπε

“τά σπίτια μέ τά γυμνά παιδιά –”

Πάλι σταμάτησε.

Αὐτοί οἱ ἄνθρωποι...

Ποιό χάος ἄραγε νά ἐλάφυσσε [εἶναι σπάνια ὀμηρική λέξη πού σημαίνει ‘ἐξαφάνισε’]  
τήν ἐπίχριση τοῦ ἄχρονου κόσμου Ἄλλά εἶναι πολύ ωραία λέξη.]

πάνω στήν Ἄνοιξη τήν πλοῦσια ἀπό ξένα ὄνειρα;

Κρίμα!

Ξεράθηκε πολύ παράλογα ἡ τρυφερή χλόη  
Ξεράθηκε πολύ παράλογα τό χορτάρι μέ τους χυμούς  
πού ἀνάτρεφε μέ στοργή  
ὁ Ἀπρίλης, τό ἀγιάζι κι’ οἱ χρυσές προσμονές τῶν ματιῶν τους.

Ὅμως μαθεύτηκε

πώς ὁ Ἀπρίλης

πού ἔπλεκε τά φωτεινά του δάχτυλα ἀνάμεσα στά μαλλιά της  
κι’ ἔπαιζε ἐκεῖ μέ τά τραγούδια του,  
πέθανε.

Πέθαναν καί τά ποτάμια, καί τά δέντρα,

ἔτσι μαθεύτηκε.

Φτερούγισαν καί τά πουλιά πού εἶχανε συνορέψει τούς ροδόκηπους.

“Αὐτοί οἱ ἄνθρωποι...

μά γιατί δέν ἀκοῦνε;

Γιατί δέν καῖνε τίς μάσκες τους

γιά νά φορέσουνε στεφάνια καί κοθόρνους  
νά θρηνήσουμε μαζί

γιά τίς πεθαμένες πραγματεῖες τῶν ἀγριόκρινων,  
 γιά τήν πεθαμένη χώρα πού περικύκλωσε τίς φλέβες τοῦ κόσμου;”  
 Εἶπε  
 κι’ ἐκεῖνοι συνέχισαν νά τήν κοιτάζουν  
 ἀσάλευτοι μέσα στά στατικά τους ἐπίπεδα.  
 Στό τέλος κατάλαβε  
 πώς ἦταν τυφλοί.  
 Κι’ εἶδε τίς ψηλές κάμαρες  
 πού εἶχαν πλημμυρίσει ἀπό ἄδειες μορφές μέ νεκρά μάτια.  
 Καί τότε  
 σκάλισε τόν σπαραγμό της σ’ ἓνα ροδοπέταλο  
 καί τόν χάρισε στόν ἥλιο.

4 Μαΐου 64

Ἦταν ἓνα δάκρυ πολύ  ἐγκεφαλικό

<sup>9</sup>Τά φιλιὰ πού δέν δώσαμε  
 Τά λόγια πού δέν εἶπαμε  
 Τά κρατοῦν οἱ σφένδαμοι τοῦ μεγάλου δρόμου  
 καί πρέπει νά τοὺς ξεριζώσουμε  
 γιά νά μᾶς τά δώσουν ξανά.  
 Περήφανο παιδί,  
 ἔφερερ μαζί τήν καρδιά σου;

Βιέννη – 13 Ἰουλίου 64

der Ahorn = σφένδαμος

<sup>9</sup> Δεν υπάρχει τίτλος στην πρωτότυπη καταγραφή.

### Τῆς ξενητειᾶς

Μέ δέρμα ξεραμένο ἀπό χυμούς  
 μέ τήν ποδιά γεμάτη βοῦρλα κι' ἀγριοφράουλες  
 ξέχασα τή μπαλλάντα  
 πού ἦταν νά κρεμάσω  
 στίς καλαμιές τῆς χώρας μέ τούς ἀσίγγανους.  
 Μάνα μου  
 Πόσο βαθειά μέ σαΐτεψεν ὁ πόνος τοῦ ἡλίου,  
 Μάνα μου  
 Οἱ δρόμοι οἱ ξένοι εἶναι σκληροί,  
 καί οἱ ἐκκλησιές ἀλλιώτικες,  
 βαρειά λυγίζονται τά σπίτια  
 στίς ματιές τῶν πρωτογιῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ.  
 Λουχτούκιασαν οἱ λυγερές κι' οἱ στρατολάτες  
 στίς καπνισμένες γέφυρες.  
 [Κί' ἐγώ θά πρέπει νά συλλέξω μοναχή  
 τούς κρόκους τῆς Σιωπῆς...]  
 Κράτα στά χέρια τό αἷμα μου  
 Μάνα-βροχή μου!

Βιέννη – 9 Αὐγούστου 64

Λουχτουκιάζω εἶναι λέξη τῶν δημοτικῶν τραγου-  
 διῶν καί θά πῆ κλαίω.  
 Στρατολάτης θά πῆ ὀδοιπόρος.

### Οὐ καταισχυνῶ ὄπλα τὰ ἱερά

Ἐμεῖς  
 πού σημαιοστολίσαμε εἴκοσι χρόνια μεσοπολέμου  
 ἐμεῖς  
 πού ρίξαμε τ' ἀναθέματα μεταμφιεσμένα σέ τραγούδια καί μαργαρίτες  
 στούς γάμους τοῦ πατέρα μας,  
 ἐμεῖς τόπαμε  
 ἓνα βράδυ πού τὰ μάτια μας δακρῦζανε  
 πληγωμένα ἀπό τούς καπνοὺς καφενεύων  
 Οὐ καταισχυνῶ ὄπλα τὰ ἱερά.  
 Δέν θά τὰ ντροπιάσω τὰ ἱερά μας ὄπλα,  
 δέν θά τὰ ντροπιάσω,  
 θεά μεγάλη, προστάτιδα ἐρωμένη τοῦ γιοῦ σου καί τῶν ἐφήβων.  
 Ἐνα στερνό ποθοκέρασμα,  
 μιὰ στερνὴ περίπτωση,  
 καί θά πάρω μαζί μου, στό χοροστάσι τῶν ἐκστατικῶν χορῶν τοῦ Διονύσου,  
 θά πάρω μαζί μου  
 τὴ γεύση τοῦ κορμιοῦ σου, τὴν ὄσμη τοῦ κορμιοῦ σου,  
 ἐγὼ ὁ *α κι ρευ,\* α τα να πο τι νι ja,\**  
 ἐγὼ, ἀγόρι καί κορίτσι.  
 Θά φύγουμε.  
 Ὅχι ἐπειδὴ λατρέψαμε τὰ χρώματα στὰ χέρια μας, ἐμεῖς πού μισήσαμε  
 τὰ χέρια τῶν πολέμων.  
 Ὅχι πὼς στεγνώσαμε στὴν ἄμμο ἰδανικά.  
 Εἶναι πού ἀφήσαμε νά βουλιάξουν ἐκεῖνα πού τὰ καράβια δέν μᾶς δώρησαν.  
 Καί τώρα πᾶμε γιὰ νά πολεμήσουμε  
 ὑπὲρ βωμῶν καί ἐστιῶν τῶν σκοτεινῶν μαλλιῶν μας.  
*α τα να πο τι νι ja,* ἐσύ κι' ἐγὼ εἴμαστ' ἓνα.  
 Καμμία ἄρση (πικρά πού χορεύει τό shake, ὁ Meister Eckhart)  
 χωρὶς θεῖο γνόφο,  
 χωρὶς τίποτα,  
 γυμνοί, ἀδιάφοροι,

\* Ἀχιλλεύς, Ἀθηνᾶ πότνια, στή μυκηναϊκὴ (γλῶσσα τῆς Linear B)

κερδίσαμε στό Έθνικό Λαχείο τοῦ 1945 τόν Θεό μας.  
Καί τώρα θ' ἀγωνιστοῦμε,  
καυτοί, ζεματιστοί, στά βλέμματα τῆς θάλασσας,  
καί θά σκοτωθοῦμε.  
Ὁ σῶζων ἑαυτὸν σωθήτω.  
Ποιός τῶπε; Καί γιατί; Οἱ κλέφτες τῶν αἰώνων...  
Ἐπιτέλους ἄς ξεκινήσουμε!...  
Οὐ καταισχνῶ ὄπλα τὰ ἱερά.  
Καί στό κάτω-κάτω, γιατί ὄχι;

1 Σεπτεμβρίου 64

Γιά τούς έντοιχισμένους νεκρούς τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ 1054  
πού θάφτηκε ἀπ' τό ἐργοστάσιο ἀλουμινίου

Κανείς ποτέ δέν θά σκεφτότανε  
ν' ἀναφέρη ξανά τ' ὄνομά μας  
στούς πετρωμένους γιαλούς τῶν ζωντανῶν  
ἄν δέν τύχαινε τότε νά πεθάνουμε  
στίς μαῦρες θημωνιές τῆς ἀρρώστιας μέ τά πλακόστρωτα  
πού σκότωσε τά παρθένα χελιδόνια καί τά γαρούφαλλα  
καί τίς ἀμαρτωλές ἐπιθυμίες τῶν ροδόκρινων.  
Γιατί μᾶς θάψανε στούς τοίχους τῆς ἐκκλησιᾶς;  
Ποτέ δέν μάθαμε.  
Κι' οὔτε πώς ἐλπίζαμε  
νά ξαναξεδιψάσουμε στίς ἀκακίες πού στάζουνε ἀπό τίς κρήνες τοῦ ἥλιου.  
Κι' ὅμως  
μιά μέρα  
ἦρθαν τά φρούτα τῶν μελοκάκτων,  
τά χέρια τῶν ζωντανῶν  
πού τυφλά ἀπ' τόν ἄγριο πόθο  
κάνουν τώρα ἔρωτα μέ τίς πέτρες μέσ' τούς ἀρκουδόβατους.  
Γιατί,  
γιατί, τόση θλίψη, τόση πίκρα, μαζεμένη γιά μᾶς...  
Ἀλλά ποιός ἀκούει σήμερα  
τίς διαμαρτυρίες  
πεθαμένων τοῦ 1054;  
Ἴσως ἄν εἶχαμε ὑποστήριξη ἀπ' τόν Μονομάχο...  
Τί ἀπόγιν' ἡ Μοῖρα μας δέν ξέρουμε...  
Ξετυλίχτηκε τό κουβάρι τῆς κίτρινης ζωῆς μέχρι τά στερνά του στάχνα.  
Πάντως  
εἶναι γεγονός  
ὅτι ποτέ κανείς δέν θά σκεφτότανε  
ν' ἀναφέρη ξανά τ' ὄνομά μας, πέρα  
στούς πετρωμένους γιαλούς τῶν ζωντανῶν...

### Τό τραγούδι για τή φίλη μου

(ήταν για τήν Λ.Χ.)

Τά ὄστρακα τοῦ χειμῶνα, φίλη μου, ξαγρύπνησαν  
 στίς ὥρες τῶν χοροστασιῶν  
 παραμονεύοντας για νά μᾶς δοῦν ἀκόμα μιά φορά νά πορευόμαστε,  
 χέρι μέ τό χέρι,  
 ὥρα μέ τήν ὥρα,  
 ἐπίμονες σάν ἄσπρα παραπτώματα τῶν φλοίσβων,  
 καθώς πηγαίναμε νά σβήσουμε τίς μαργαρένιες πίπες τῆς συννεφοφυλλωσιάς  
 πού μᾶς ἀνάβανε στ' ἀντικρυστά βουνά  
 νεραϊδολυγερά παιδιά  
 τσακίζοντας χοντρά φεγγαροβότσαλα  
 για νά μᾶς περιπαίξουν.  
 Τά ὄστρακα τοῦ χειμῶνα δήλωσαν πώς θά λυγίζαμε  
 χωρίς σταλιά ροδόσταμο στίς χουφτες μας  
 χωρίς κλωνί βασιλικό στό στόμα  
 για νά δελεάσουμε τούς ἔρωδιούς.  
 Κι' ἦρθανε τά κοχύλια τοῦ καλοκαιριοῦ,  
 γεννήθηκαν οἱ ἀχιβάδες τῶν θαλασσινῶν σπιτιῶν,  
 μά ἐμεῖς χορεύαμε ξυπόλητες,  
 ἔχοντας ρεῖκια φυτεμένα στίς μασχάλες μας,  
 στά ξεροπόταμα καί στά λιοστάσια.  
 Γιατί κρατῶντας χέρι-χέρι τά πετροχελίδονα  
 νικήσαμε τά λεκιασμένα ξόανα τῆς Κυριακῆς.  
 Στέκουμε τώρα στό κατώφλι τῆς ἀστρομπασιάς  
 πλημμυρισμένες καμπανέλλες καί πυράκανθους  
 για νά στολίσουμε τίς χουφτες τοῦ χειμῶνα.

19 Σεπτεμβρίου 64

## Σελίδα ημερολογίου II

(για τόν Θ.)

Άρκετά περιπαίξαμε  
 σέ προσευχές νυκτερινές  
 τ' άστέρια και τούς λύκους  
 μέ τά αίνιγματα τής αγάπης πού τάχα δέν μās δόθηκε.  
 Τί δηλαδή κι' άν μās είχε δοθή; Μήπως αυτό ζητούσαμε;  
 [Άς είμαστε για μία φορά ειλικρινείς:]  
 Κάτω από τά κεντημένα ροδόδεντρα,  
 παίζοντας μέ τίς γλαδιόλες και τά φύλλα τής ροδακινιάς,  
 ά, πόσο κοροϊδέψαμε αυτά τά λυγερά περιστερᾶτα άγόρια  
 πού πιστεύουν πώς πονέσαμε  
 από τά κοφτερά νιοβλαστημένα άγκάθια πού μās ρίξανε!..  
 Πόσο γελάσαμε,  
 μαζί μέ ψευτρες καρδερίνες και χρυσαετούς!..  
 Και σάν πετροβολούσαμε μ' άλησμονάνθια τά παράθυρα τών άγοριών,  
 τί γιορτή,  
 τί γιορτή πού κάναμε πίσω από τίς άσβεστωμένες κρήνες τά μεσημέρια!..  
 Μά οί φίλες μας οί φουντουκιές,  
 – πού ανάβανε κάθε πρωί κεριά  
 σ' όλόκληρη τή διαδρομή τής Άνοιξης  
 και θυσιάζανε άλογα ψηλόλαιμα  
 για νά έξορκίσουνε τούς λύκους για τή νίκη μας –  
 οί φίλες μας οί φουντουκιές θά μās ρωτήσουνε  
 γιατί δεχτήκαμε νά τίς γεμίσουμε καυτή ντροπή  
 όταν μέ τόση άλμύρα και τραγουδιστές φωνές  
 ύποκρινόμαστε πώς ήττηθήκαμε.  
 Και θά παραδεχτοῦμε τή δειλία μας:  
 Κάτω από τά κεντημένα ροδόδεντρα  
 παίζοντας μέ τίς γλαδιόλες και τά φύλλα τής ροδακινιάς  
 βιτσίζαμε μέ μανία τίς καρδιές μας νά ματώσουνε  
 για νά σκεπαστή μέ μία στρώση από τό αίμα τους  
 τό μυρωδάτο κενό  
 πού έστρώσανε γλυκά-γλυκά στρωσίδι μας  
 οί μελισσοφάγοι και τ' άσπρα καλοκαίρια.

21 Σεπτεμβρίου 64

### Δημοτικό γύμνασμα II

Τό παλληκάρι κι' ή λυγερή

Λεβέντικα χόρευε στό πανηγύρι  
Ψηλό παλληκάρι μέ μιά κοπελλιά  
Τόν έρωτα πίνανε σ' ήλιου ποτήρι  
Καί ρόδα φυτρώνανε στή γυροβολιά.

Τά μάτια του λάμπανε σάν τό ζαφείρι,  
Δυό κλώνους δυόσμο μέσ' τά μαλλιά,  
Δρασκέλισε νύχτα τό παραθύρι,  
Τήν έντυσε νύφη μέ δέκα φιλιά.

22 Σεπτεμβρίου 64

### Έπίγραμμα γιά δύο έρωτευμένα παιδιά

Τῆς χάρισε τό κορμί της  
– κι' ένα ζαρκάδι –  
του χάρισε τ' όνομά του  
– κι' ένα τριαντάφυλλο –  
κι' αγαπηθήκανε.

23 Σεπτεμβρίου 64<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Στο χειρόγραφο ακολουθεί σχέδιο που αποτυπώνει (αφαιρετικά) ήλιο και ποτήρι.

## Τό τραγούδι του ἔκπτωτου ἐποχικοῦ βασιλέα

Ἀειγεννήτα, Ἐρίφυλλε, [Τὸν ἐποχικό βασιλέα – πού ἐνσάρκωνε  
 Τίλφωσσιε, Νυμφηγέτα, [ἐπίθετα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνα] τὸ 'πνεῦμα τοῦ χρόνου'  
 ἐσύ, ἀπὸ τὸ ὁποῖο ἐξαρτιόταν ἡ εὐφορία – στά πανάρχαια χρόνια  
 πού κατέβηκες, τὸν σκότωναν ὅταν τελείωνε ἡ βασιλεία του καὶ ἐκλεγόταν  
 πού κατοίκησες ἄλλος στὴ θέση του. Ἀργότερα ὁ φόνος ἦταν συμβολικός καὶ  
 τίς σφιχτές σάρκες οἱ ἐποχικοὶ βασιλιάδες ἐπιζοῦσαν τοῦ λειτουργήματός τους.  
 καὶ τίς ξανθές φλέβες Μερικοὶ θρησκευολόγοι πιστεύουν πὼς ὅλη ἡ μυθολογία γύρω  
 τῆς ζωῆς μου, ἀπ' τὴ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνα προέρχεται ἀπὸ τὴ διαδικασία τῆς  
 ἐσύ φυλετικῆς μύησης τῶν ἐφήβων καὶ τῆς ἐκλογῆς ἐποχικοῦ βασιλέα.]  
 πού δέχτηκες νά περιοριστῆς  
 στίς πληγωμένες κορυφογραμμές τῶν ἐνδυμάτων μου,  
 μάζεψε τώρα  
 τὰ μυστικά μου δάκρυα  
 πού στοιχειώνουν ντροπερά  
 τὰ πρησμένα βλέφαρα  
 καὶ κάνε τα δρόσο  
 στό σγουρό σου κεφάλι,  
 κάνε τα πουλιά  
 στό λαιμό τοῦ ἄσπρου φεγγαριοῦ σου,  
 τώρα  
 πού πρέπει νά ξεσκίσω τίς ἡλικίες πού ντύθηκα,  
 τώρα  
 πού τὸ ἀπόθεμα νεροῦ γιὰ τίς φοράδες μου  
 σώθηκε,  
 τώρα  
 πού βρῦα πλέουν στό μονοπάτι πού ἤθελα νά σεργιανίσω.  
 Πόση θλίψη  
 ὅταν τελειώση ὁ πρῶτος ρόλος σου,  
 πόση πίκρα  
 ὅταν γλυστράει ὁ φλοῖσβος τοῦ καλοκαιριοῦ  
 μέ τὴ ζωὴ σου  
 ἀνάμεσα στά ροδοδάχτυλα.

Ἄλλος τώρα φόρεσε τήν ἐρημιά μου  
 καί τά φιδοτόμαρα.  
 Ὅμως γιατί  
 ἀφοῦ ἀκόμα τά λιγνά κορίτσια  
 ἐρωτεύονται τριαντάφυλλα καί μαργαριτάρια  
 στά γεφυράκια τῶν μικρῶν ἀνέμων,  
 γιατί  
 ἀφοῦ ὁ οὐρανός  
 ἀκόμα ρίχνει φυλαχτά στά παράθυρα τῶν λιμανιῶν  
 καί κρύβει μάγια στά καϊκια πού φορτώσαμε βαμμένα παλιοσίδερα,  
 ἀφοῦ ἀκόμα τ' ἀγόρια  
 σπέρνουν πόθους στά πικρά λιβάδια μέ τίς ἀγριομέλισσες;  
 Γιατί,  
 Ἀπόλλωνα,  
 μέγιστε κοῦρε, [ἐπίκληση τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνα]  
 γιατί;

24.9.64

Στό κατῶφλι μιᾶς καινούριας ἡλικίας  
**Τὸ τραγούδι τῆς ἀγωνίας γιὰ τὸ χειμῶνα πού ἔρχεται**  
 (γιὰ ὅλα αὐτὰ πού ἀκόμα δέν ἔχουμε ζήσει  
 γιὰ ὅσα θὰ προσδιορίσουν τὴν ἐλευθερία μας)

Ἡ κοπέλλα μέ τὰ παγωμένα μαλλιά  
 ἢ κοπέλλα μέ τίς δακρυσιμένες χουφτες  
 περπατοῦσε στό ὑγρασιασμένο περιγιάλι τοῦ Ὀκτώβρη  
 καί σιγανορωτοῦσε τόν πεθαμένο ταξιδευτή  
 πού κουρνιασμένος ἀνάμεσα στή χλόη  
 τῆς κουνούσε τὸ στερνό του μαντήλι,  
 ἀκόμα λεκιασμένο ἀπό τ' ἀχνάρια τῶν πιό κρυφῶν ἐρώτων τους:  
 “Ἦλιε μου τρισήλιε μου, πεθάνανε τὰ παραμύθια.  
 Ἦλιε μου τρισήλιε μου,  
 τίς θάψαμε τίς καυτές ὥρες τοῦ πελάγου καί τῶν κοχυλιῶν,  
 σκουπίσαμε τ' ἄχυρα καί τὸ σανό  
 ἀπό τὸ σανιδένιο πάτωμα τῶν ἀστεριῶν μας.  
 Ἐκόψαμε τὰ λιόφυλλα  
 καί τὰ πανιά τῆς βάρκας πού μᾶς σεργιανοῦσε  
 μέχρι τὰ νησιά τῶν ἄσπρων περιστεριῶν.  
 Τώρα ἀνοιζανε πάλι τ' ἀμπαρωμένα παράθυρα τῶν καιρῶν,  
 ξανακρεμάστηκαν στὰ μπαλκόνια τῶν λυπημένων στρατηγῶν  
 τὰ φευγαλέα πρόσωπα τῆς ὀμίχλης,  
 κι' ἔσταξε πάλι ἡ φωτιά στάλα-στάλα  
 στὰ πῆλινα σταμνιά τῆς βροχῆς  
 στή φρικτὴ μονομαχία τῆς λεωφόρου  
 καί γέμισαν οἱ εἴσοδοι τῶν κήπων καί τὰ φεγγαρόφωτα  
 μέ τὰ λιγνά παιδιὰ πού υἰοθετήθηκαν ἀπ' τὸ Βοριά.  
 Οἱ χεῖμαρροι  
 μᾶς κουβαλοῦν σποραδικὰ φτερουγίσματα  
 ἀπό τὰ πικραμένα πουλιά πού μαρτυρήσανε τοὺς ὄρκους τοῦ χειμῶνα.  
 Ἦλιε μου τρισήλιε μου,  
 θὰ ντυθῶ καινούρια ζωή.  
 Ποιές λυγερές δορκάδες  
 πρόκειται νὰ κλέψουνε τίς λύπες ὅπου θὰ μέ κατοικήσουνε,  
 καί σέ ποιά μυστικά γλαρολημέρια  
 πρέπει νὰ θαφτοῦν  
 οἱ χαρές πού θὰ ξημερωθοῦν στὰ βλέφαρά μου;”

Τό Χρονικό γιά τήν Ἑλλάδα καί τήν Εὐρώπη τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου  
πού τελειώνει

[Ἀσκησιή σέ στυλ Andre Breton: συναρμολογημένο ἀπό τίτλους ἐφημερίδων ποίημα]

Στήν πορεία  
τοῦ ἰλίγγου  
κατατίθεται  
ἡ πρώτη βόμβα  
γιά τήν ἄγρια τρομοκρατία  
τῆς κοινῆς ἡσυχίας  
ἐφ' ὅσον  
κορμός δένδρου κατεπλάκωσε  
τό πτώμα  
τοῦ Βουλγαροκτόνου.  
Διακόπτεται τό ταξίδι  
ἀποκλείεται ὁ ἀνασχηματισμός  
τῆς ποιότητος  
τῶν νέων.  
Ριζική ἐγγύηση ἀνεξαρτησίας,  
ἡ βύθιση τοῦ σκάφους  
σέ παραλιακές ζώνες.  
Ὁ φραγμός  
δέν εἶναι ὑπεύθυνος.  
Πλέον  
ἄν

ἡ ὥρα,  
ἐλεύθερη ἀπό σήμερα  
πέρασε τή νύχτα  
ἐκ παραδρομῆς  
στό σαλόνι τῆς Νεραίδας.  
Τό λυκόφως  
εἶναι θῦμα συνωμοσίας.  
Τώρα  
πού  
ἐβραβεύθη  
ὁ κίνδυνος  
καί  
ἡ βυζαντινὴ τέχνη,  
τώρα  
πού  
τό ἀόρατο ἔγινε ὁρατό,  
οἱ δημοκράτες  
καί  
οἱ ἀγῶνες  
θά χρειασθοῦν.

Τί ἔγραφε τό γαλάζιο χαρτί πού βρέθηκε ἀνάμεσα στά πράγματα  
 ἑνός ἀγοριοῦ σκοτωμένου στὸν πόλεμο τῆς Κύπρου:

Τὰ πέταλα τῆς τριανταφυλλιᾶς  
 θά τὰ ὑφάνουνε μέ φεγγαραχτίδες  
 καί θά τὰ φτιάσουμε πουκάμισο γιά νά τό φορέσης.  
 Γιατί φαρμακωμένη ἦρθε ἡ ἄνοιξη  
 καί ὁ ἥλιος τοῦ καλοκαιριοῦ πικρός,  
 κι' οἱ πόρτες μας ἐρήμωσαν, καί χορταριάσανε οἱ μεγάλες κάμαρες.  
 Εἶναι καιρός νά φύγουνε τ' ἀγόρια.  
 Θά φύγης.  
 Παιδί πού κυλιόσουνα στά τριαντάφυλλα καί τίς μαργαρίτες,  
 ἀγόρι ὠραῖο πού πατοῦσες μέ βιά τίς κοπέλλες ἀνάμεσα στά τραγούδια  
 κρατῶντας πάντα  
 τό πιό μακρυνό ἀστέρι γιά προσκέφαλο στίς λύπες σου,  
 λυπημένο παιδί, μοναχό παιδί, θά σκοτωθῆς.  
 Ἀπλώνεις τά χέρια σου  
 καί γεμίζουνε τά περιβόλια δροσερά μπουμπούκια  
 κι' ἔπειτα τ' ἀκούρευτα κορίτσια σκύβουνε καί τά μαζεύουν  
 γιά νά χαράξουνε ὀνόματα γιά τήν Ἄνοιξη  
 πάνω στὸν ὕπνο τους πού θά σοῦ προσφέρουνε γιά δῶρο  
 τήν ὦρα πού θά φεύγης.  
 Ἀλλά πῶς θά ζήσουνε οἱ κοπέλλες χωρὶς τά παλληκάρια;  
 Μᾶς κοροϊδέψανε οἱ χρησιμοί,  
 καί τώρα τί θά γίνης;  
 Ἔσεῖς, ἐσεῖς θά φύγετε;  
 (Ξέχασες τή χρυσῆ σου ταμπακιέρα)  
 Ἐβγήκανε παιδιά τρελλά καί σεργιανοῦν τά βράδυα  
 [Σ' αὐτό τό σημεῖο σταματᾶει ἀπότομα τό χειρόγραφο. Πιό κάτω ἔχει  
 προστεθεῖ βιαστικά στό περιθώριο μέ ἄλλα γράμματα, κάπως ἀδέξια:]  
 Φωτιά κερνοῦσε στή φωτιά, μά ἔπεσε κι' ἐσκοτώθη,  
 Τά χεῖλια του αἶμα ἐγέμισαν, τό αἶμα του μπαροῦτι.  
 Σημείωση: Στό μέρος ὅπου βρέθηκε τό σῶμα του τό χῶμα ἦταν ἄγριο  
 καί ξερό, χωρὶς καθόλου λουλούδια ἢ χορτάρια. Στίς τσέπες του  
 βρέθηκαν ἕνα πακέτο τσιγάρα Kent μισοάδειο καί δύο-τρία  
 φύλλα ἐλιάς.

### Διάλογος πάνω σ' ὄσους ὄνειρεύονται

λόγος

“Σχιζοειδία είναι ἡ ἀπώλεια τῆς ζωϊκῆς ἐπαφῆς μέ τήν πραγματικότητα”. Τό πρόβλημα ὁμως εἶναι ἄν αὐτή ἡ πραγματικότητα ἔχει ἀναμφισβήτητη ἀντικειμενική ἀξία ἢ ἄν, ὅπως λέει ὁ Οὐναμοῦνο, “πραγματικός κόσμος εἶναι τό ὄνειρο πού ὄνειρευόμαστε ὅλοι” (Καταχλιά, σελ. 88 τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐκδόσεως). Ὅπωςδήποτε δέν πρέπει νά παραγνωρίζουμε τήν ὕπαρξη π.χ. τῶν ὑπέρυθρων ἀκτίνων. Γιατί λοιπόν νά ρίχνουμε στή ντροπή τή μυστική φανταστική ζωή μας, ἀφοῦ δέν ξέρουμε πόσο πραγματική εἶναι αὐτή ἡ πραγματικότητα μέ τήν ὁποία “ὀφείλουμε” νά ἔχουμε ζωϊκή ἐπαφή;

[Σελίδα ἡμερολογίου περασμένης χρονιάς] (γιά τόν Γ.)

(Ἔρα πρώτη)

Αὐτά πού ἡ μέρα δέν μοῦ χάρισε  
μοῦ τά δωρίζει ἡ νύχτα.

Ἀποτυπώματα, φωνές, πού ὁ ἥλιος τά ξεμάκρυνε <— εἰκόνα  
μαζί μέ τά τσακάλια περσινῶν καλοκαιριῶν  
ἔρχονται καί κουρνιαζοῦνε,

ῶρες πού νυχτοπερπατοῦν οἱ μάγισσες,  
στά γιορτερά τριανταφυλλαγκάθια τῶν ὄνείρων μου.

Ἐκεῖ σέ ξαναντάμωσα.

Ἦσουν γλυκός καί τρυφερός  
σάν ἔρωτας μικροῦ παιδιοῦ.

Καί μ' ἀγαποῦσες,

κι' ἀνατρίχιαζα πού μ' ἄγγιζες,

ὅπως ὅταν χαϊδεύει ὁ ἄνεμος τά χιονισμένα πόδια τῶν καιρῶν.

(Ἔρα δεύτερη)

Μά τά ροδόγλυκα παιδιά ἀντρώθηκαν

κι' ἔλιωσε ὁ ἥλιος τούς κρυστάλλους ἀπ' τά πόδια μας  
καί ξημέρωσε.

Κι' ἔριξα πέτρες στίς μουριές

καί κατεβῆκαν δυόσμοι,

κατέβηκαν ἀμάραντοι μέσ' τά ξερά μου χέρια.

Κι' ἔριξα πάχνη στήν καρδιά

κι' ἦρθα καί σοῦπα 'γειά σου'.

## ἀντίλογος

In spite of all that non est dubitandum daß immer  $v = v_0 e^{-\lambda t}$ . Ed è questo qui comte à la fin. { ἰ ☹ ☐ } είναι περιττό νά σέ ρωτήσω τί θά γίνουμε. Γιατί δέν θά τό ξέρης, ἀκόμα κι' ἄν ὑπάρχης. Τό μόνο σίγουρο πιά εἶναι πώς ἔχεις παντρευτῆ ἐδῶ καί μήνες μ' ἕναν Βιετκόγκ.

Ἰούνιος 65

( ἰ ☹ ☐ : Δοφεја: Μυκηναϊκή θεά τῶν πινακίδων γραμμικῆς Β.

Ἔχω κάνει μιὰ ἐργασία γιά τήν Δοφεја. Δέν συμφωνῶ μέ τόν καθηγητή Adrados (ἐν *Minos* V, σ. 53-57) ὅτι ἡ ἰ ☹ ☐ μεταγλωττίζεται Δορπεία καί παράγεται ἀπό τό δρέπω. Νομίζω πώς εἶναι Δοσπεία, ἀρχαιότερος τύπος τοῦ Δέσποινα καί σημαίνει τήν μία ἀπό τίς δύο Μητέρες θεές τῆς Μυκηναϊκῆς Πύλου, τίς “Ἄνασσεσ”. Ἡ πινακίδα πού ἀναφέρει τήν ἰ ☹ ☐ εἶναι ἡ Py Au607.)

### Documenta από τό ημερολόγιο ενός καλοκαιριού

Βράχος πέτρα στήν άξινα  
 Πέτρα πώρος στους κασμάδες.  
 Σκέτο πωρί! Σκέτο πωρί!  
 Ήλιος χώματα στά μάτια

Καίει ό ιδρώτας. Καίει τό αίμα.

Ό Νίκος κεντούσε μία μακρυνή άγάπη στήν άξινα του.  
 Ό Μήτσος έπλεκε βασιλικό στά μαλλιά  
 Κι' ένα πικρό τραγουδι στήν άναπνοή.  
 Καί τά μεσημέρια ό Σταύρος μάς χάριζε τά λερωμένα άδέλφια του  
 Πού ήταν οί χουφτες τους γεμάτες φραγκοστάφυλα  
 Καί κλεμμένα καρπούζια.

Ό τάφος πού σκάβαμε ήταν θαλαμωτός, πρώιμος Ύστεροελλαδικός ΙΙ.  
 Τά κτερίσματα ήταν φτωχά, γιατί ή περιοχή δέν γνώρισε ευμάρεια παρά  
 στήν Ύστεροελλαδική ΙΙΙβ έποχή. Βρήκαμε άγγεία χειροποίητα, από τά  
 όποια μόνον δύο ή τρία γραπτά, αιχμές βελών από ξανθό πυρίτη και  
 όρεία κρύσταλλο, και μερικά σφονδύλια. Τών κρανίων όμως ό αριθμός  
 ήταν άσυνήθιστα μεγάλος. Τόσο πού ό Σουηδός καθηγητής μιλούσε για  
 οικογενειακό τάφο.

Πέρα από μάς ό ήλιος κι' ό δρόμος.  
 Ό δρόμος για τά χωράφια, κι' ένας ευκάλυπτος.

Στήν πραγματικότητα οί ευκάλυπτοι ήτανε πολλοί, μάλιστα πάρα  
 πολλοί, και οί ρίζες τους μάς έμποδίζανε στό σκάψιμο – έπρεπε να  
 χάνουμε ώρα να τίς κόψουμε. Χώρια πού όπως άπλωνότανε, είχανε κάνει  
 ζημιές σ' άρκετά άγγεία. Βέβαια ό ένας δίνει πιό ζωντανή τήν αίσθηση  
 του κενού, όπως κινείται μοναδικός μέσα στό χώρο προσδιορίζοντάς  
 τον ως τόν όρίζοντα. Έτούτη ή αίσθηση όμως δέν έχει καμμία θέση τό  
 φετινό καλοκαίρι.

Ξεσκισμένα σπλάχνα κουβαλοῦν στὸν παλμό τους τὴ μοῖρα μας.  
[Συστάδες εὐκαλύπτων μέσα στὶς συκιές, πέρα ἀπὸ μᾶς, ὡς τὸν ὀρίζοντα]

Χτυποῦνται, ζαλίζονται, πέφτουνε  
Τὰ παιδιά πού κρατοῦν στή φωνή τους τὸ αἷμα μας.

Κι' οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ κράζουνε πληρωμένα τσογλάνια.

— Ποιανοῦ εἶναι μάνα τὰ μαλλιά πού σέρνουν ματωμένα  
Κι' ἀπάνω τους κοπρίζουνε οἱ ξένοι στρατολάτες;  
— Τῆς ἐρημιᾶς, τῆς σκοτεινιάς, τῶν πιὸ ἀκριβῶν παιδιῶν μου.  
Πού ὅλοι οἱ καρποὶ μου ὠρίμασαν κι' ἐκεῖνα ξεψυχᾶνε.  
Πᾶρτε παιδιά μου τζάνερα, τρυγῆστε γιοὶ σταφύλια,  
Βουτῆξτε μέσ' στή θάλασσα νά μάσετε χαλίκια.

Μὰ ἐκεῖνοι γυρίζανε στοὺς δρόμους μέ τὰ στήθια λευκά, χωρὶς τὴν  
ἀλμύρα τοῦ καλοκαιριοῦ, μέ τὰ μάτια γεμᾶτα δάκρυα – δάκρυα ὄχι ἀπὸ  
φόβο ἢ δειλιασμα...

Κι' αὐτὰ τὰ δάκρυα τῶν παλληκαριῶν φυλάξανε τὰ μικρὰ παιδιά στά  
χρυσὰ τους μαντήλια γιὰ ν'ἄχουνε νά πιοῦν τὴν ὥρα πού θάναι νά  
παντρευτοῦν.

Κι' οἱ Ἄλλοι ἀπαντᾶνε:

Εἶναι teenager. Πίνει tam-tam.  
Τὸ ὄνειρο κάθε νέου εἶναι ἓνα NSU spider.  
Τὰ κορίτσια τους τᾶχουν κυκλώσει μαλάματα  
Τὶς δικές μας κοπέλλες τίς πήρανε κλάμματα.

Κλάμματα ὄχι ἀπὸ φόβο ἢ δειλιασμα, μὰ ἀπὸ περηφάνεια – περηφάνεια  
μεγάλη γιὰ τ' ἀγόρια τους, αὐτουνούς πού ἀγαπᾶνε  
(πού ράψανε τὰ μάτια τους μέ πυρωμένο νῆμα  
κι' ὄρκο στὸν ἥλιο ἐκάμανε τίς μοῖρες νά διαβοῦν  
καὶ πέρα ἀπὸ τὸ ριζικό νά φτιάσουν ἓναν κόσμο.

Μόλο πού ξέρανε – τούς τὸ λέγανε κι' ὅλοι συνέχεια, κι' οἱ μανάδες  
τους προπάντων – πὼς οἱ Ἄλλοι ἔχουνε μαζὶ τους τούς ξένους γιὰ νά  
τούς βοηθήσουνε. Καὶ πού ξέρανε πὼς οἱ Ξένοι στό τέλος πάντα νικᾶνε,  
γιατί ἔχουνε ὄπλα πολλὰ καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀστεῖρευτα.)

ἀγόρια μέ ὀράματα... ἀγόρια μέ τά θάματα...  
 Τραγουδήστε, τραγουδήστε βροχές τῆς Ἰνδοκίνας...  
 “Ὁ Νίκος εἶχε μιά μακρινή ἀγάπη κεντημένη στήν ἀξίνα του.  
 Στίς ἀξίνες βράχος πέτρα.  
 Πέτρα πῶρος στούς κασμάδες.  
 Σκέτο πωρί. Σκέτο πωρί.”

Σέ μιά στιγμή, ὅπως πάλευε ὁ Σταῦρος νά ξεχώση κάτι χάντρες ἀμέ-  
 θυστου πού σχηματίζανε περιδέριο γύρω ἀπό ἕνα κρανίο – κι’ ἦταν  
 αὐτό τό πρῶτο πολύτιμο εὔρημα τοῦ ταφικοῦ συγκροτήματος – τοῦ  
 ξέφυγε τό χέρι κι’ ἔσπασε τό κρανίο στά δύο. Τότε, γιά νά μή φωνάζη  
 ὁ Σουηδός καθηγητής, τῶκανε μέ τό φτυάρι σιπαράλια καί πῆγε καί  
 τό πέταξε σ’ ἕνα ἀμπέλι. Γυρίζοντας εἶδε τόν ἀδελφό του ἀπό μακριά:  
 “Ἐρχεται ὁ Ἀλέξης μέ σῦκα” εἶπε. “Εἶναι μεσημέρι.”  
 (Ὁ ἀδελφός τοῦ Σταύρου, πρόσχημα γιά ἕνα ὄνομα:)  
 Καί σκέφτηκα πώς τόν γιό μου θά τόν λένε Ἀλέξη.

Ἀρχές Σεπτεμβρίου 65

(Στο πρωτότυπο ακολουθεῖ σκαρίφημα κάτοψης του τάφου με ενσωματωμένη την κάτωθι σημείωση:

Κεφαλοβρύσου τάφος 6

Πρώμος ΥΕΙ. Ἄμεση μετάβαση ἀπό τούς ΜΕ λακκοειδεῖς μέ κτερίσματα  
 (ὅπως π.χ. ὁ πλαϊνός, ὁ Κεφαλοβρ. Τάφος 1). Δύο λάκκοι καί τρεῖς κόγχες.  
 Εἰκοσιπέντε κρανία. Σκάφτηκε τόν Αὐγουστο τοῦ 65.)

Σεπτέμβριος 1965



*Excavations at Kefalovrisi under the watchful  
 eye of Spyridon Marinatos. (Photo from  
 Sourvinou-Inwood's archive)*

## GENERAL INDEX



## General Index

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of a part of the restored fresco from the summer  
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