

## A LYRE ON THE GROUND

*To Prof. Dr. Heinz Heinen*

Among Attic red-figured vases from the Hermitage collection is a stemmed plate by the Dish Painter<sup>1</sup> dated to 470–460 BC. The painting in the interior (fig. 1a) represents a bare-footed short-haired girl wearing a short high-girdled chiton and a diadem or a leaved fillet. In a dance that resembles running she approaches a lyre lying on the ground and looks backwards. A ribbon is attached to the instrument; over the lyre there is an inscription in purple, all the letters of which are clearly visible: ΧΟΡΦΕΛΕΣ.

The content of this image has not been much discussed. The most detailed examination is that of Anna Peredolskaya in her Hermitage catalogue of red-figured Attic vases.<sup>2</sup> Peredolskaya argues that the musical instrument<sup>3</sup> decorated with a ribbon points rather to a cult dance with an accompaniment than to running. The glance of the girl is directed backwards, which makes it probable that she is being followed by someone; possibly, she is leading a chorus of young girls. The same explanation is implied by the inscription, which states clearly that the image deals with a chorus performance—though the translation given by Peredolskaya (‘идущая во главе хора’—‘leading a chorus’) is inadequate.<sup>4</sup> The girl’s headgear which she calls “a golden diadem” points to a festive garment, according to Peredolskaya “a traditional garment of a young dancer”.

Peredolskaya points out that the reason for placing the lyre on the ground is obscure. In 1961, together with Xenia Gorbunova, she attempted

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<sup>1</sup> Acc. no. ΓΡ-2007 (former Б-177; St. 1619; Waldhauer 823; Peredolskaya, *KAV* 149, pl. 103, 1; 177, 3; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 787, 5; *M&M* 20; *BA* 209696).

<sup>2</sup> Peredolskaya, *KAV* 132.

<sup>3</sup> Erroneously called a cithara, though it is evidently a chelys-lyre: see e. g. M. Maas, J. M. Snyder, *Stringed instruments of Ancient Greece* (New Haven–London 1989) ch. 2, 3.

<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately the Hermitage catalogues of the last century are not free from errors in ancient Greek. In an attempt to motivate her translation Peredolskaya adduced the word χοροῦλης as a parallel. As a result of misunderstanding χοροῦλης occurs as if inscribed at the plate ΓΡ-2007 in a catalogue of exhibition *M&M* 20, though such an inscription, if really placed at the image of the Dish painter, would have been as puzzling as, say, a picture of a boy with a lyre labeled “a flute-girl”.

an explanation:<sup>5</sup> the lyre was described as having its strings torn, and the girl as looking surprised—probably before the accident she was heading a chorus of young girls, accompanying the ritual dance with her instrument. But since the torn strings are not mentioned in the catalogue of 1967, the scholar must have later rejected this version. In fact, all the five strings are depicted taut, though three lines are carelessly not brought to an end.

Ludolf Stefani<sup>6</sup> has not much to say on the subject of the image. He only acknowledges it to be a dance, and not running. Indeed, the lyre makes us consider the girl as a dancer and not as an athlete. Besides, her bent arms turn out to be a regular dancing posture, as can be proved by several parallels.<sup>7</sup> And even if we interpreted her movement as simple fast running, and thus herself as a musician who is late for a performance, that would not spare us the difficulties: why is the lyre not kept in her hands, but thrown aside?

Stefani<sup>8</sup> believes that the lyre was added to symbolize the music, which accompanied the girl's dance. A red-figured pelike by the Trophy Painter from the middle of the fifth century BC<sup>9</sup> serves as a parallel: a small figure of Eros flying over two women making music can indeed indicate a love song being performed<sup>10</sup> (though Erotes are anyway habitués of women's chambers in Classical vase-painting). But by showing just a lyre it is hardly possible to indicate any concrete characteristics of the melody; and a general indication of the music sounding (something like a newly invented symbol ) seems superfluous, for an unaccompanied dance would be hard to imagine in Greek culture.

It was Stefani<sup>11</sup> who proposed the reading of the inscription (fig. 1b): ΧΟΡ<O>ΦΕΛΕΣ, i. e. χορωφελής, 'useful for the chorus'. There is no literary evidence for this word, but it is formed after a model of other compounds meaning 'useful for something or someone'.<sup>12</sup> Besides,

<sup>5</sup> K. C. Горбунова, A. A. Передольская, *Мастера греческих расписных ваз* [K. S. Gorbunova, A. A. Peredolskaya, *Greek Vase-Painters*] (Leningrad 1961) 66.

<sup>6</sup> *OAK za 1865 zod* (St Petersburg 1866) 63–64.

<sup>7</sup> Parallels are adduced by G. Richter, "A Stemmed Plate and a Stele", *MDAI Ath.* 71 (1956) 141. For more examples see: crater Lecce 572 (below n. 25); skyphos Vienna 570 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 661, 93; *BA* 207752; *CVA Österreich* 1, *Wien* 1, 32, pl. 40, 1–2), the Painter of the Yale lekythos, 475–425 BC; white ground lekythos New York, MM 41.162.245 (*BA* 21634; M. C. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the fifth century BC. A study in cultural receptivity* [Cambridge 1997] fig. 92), ca. 470 BC.

<sup>8</sup> *OAK za 1868 zod* (St Petersburg 1870) 95 n. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Acc. no. 240 (St. 1676; Waldhauer 732; Peredolskaya *KAV* 187, pl. 129, 1–2; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 857, 1; *M&M* 23; *BA* 212472).

<sup>10</sup> *OAK za 1868 zod* (n. 8) 93.

<sup>11</sup> *OAK za 1865 zod* (n. 6) 64.

<sup>12</sup> Such as βιωφελής, ψυχωφελής, κοινοφελής, ιδιωφελής, δημοφελής (the later is explained by Hesychius, s. v.: δῆμιον ὠφελῶν).

Aristophanes in *Lys.* 1319 mentions κρότος χορωφελέτας, ‘the noise which is a helper to the chorus’ (that is, clasp hands).

Stefani also indicated that the same inscription, ΧΟΡΦΕΛΕΣ (again without O), occurred once more (fig. 2a–b), on a red-figured Nolan amphora by the Painter of Leningrad 702 from the Hermitage collection, attributed to the third quarter of the fifth century BC.<sup>13</sup> In spite of various dates, shapes and artists, one can note a certain similarity of the subjects. On one side of the amphora a mantled youth with a taenia on his head steps to the right, looking backwards and stretching out his right hand to the left; in his left hand there is a chelys-lyre with eight strings decorated with a ribbon. The inscription is under the lyre. On the other side (fig. 2c) a youth, also wearing a mantle and a taenia, strides to the right stretching forward his right hand. As on the stemmed plate, purple is used, in particular for the ribbon on the lyre and the inscription.

John Beazley interpreted the first youth as Tithonos, who is indeed often depicted as a schoolboy with a lyre. But such an understanding leads the great scholar to consider the inscription “enigmatic” and to leave it without an explanation. Meanwhile, the identification of Tithonos by his attributes only is problematic, all the more that the figure of Eos pursuing him is absent.<sup>14</sup> Looking backwards is a pattern quite common for profile views of moving figures in vase-painting,<sup>15</sup> and it usually implies that someone follows the represented figure—but in this case it seems to be not Eos, but the second youth depicted on the reverse.<sup>16</sup> The inscription makes us think that they are both members of a chorus. A κύκλιος χορός can hardly be depicted *in corpore*, still less on small plates or Nolan amphoras, and it is seldom represented by numerous performers in vase-painting;<sup>17</sup> sometimes we are likely to find it indicated by one or two

<sup>13</sup> Acc. no. ΓΡ-2023 (former Б-193; St. 1457; Waldhauer 706; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1193, 3; *BA* 215788).

<sup>14</sup> A. Kossatz-Deissmann, “Tithonos”, *LIMC* VIII, 1 (1997) 34–36.

<sup>15</sup> See e. g. Peredolskaya, *KAV* no. 3. 11. 20. 28. 32. 41. 50. 55. 58. 91. 92. 108. 109. 113. 145. 168. 181. 194. 197 etc.

<sup>16</sup> I must admit that on the other amphorae of the Painter of Leningrad 702 the subject connection between the two sides is either lacking or not evident, see *ARV*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> See H. Frohning, *Dithyrambos und Vasenmalerei in Athen* (Würzburg 1971) 27–28 for two images of a dithyrambic chorus in performance (450–400 BC): on a bell-crater Copenhagen NM 13817 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1145, 35; 1703; *BA* 215175; K. Friis Johansen, *Eine Dithyrambos-Aufführung* [Copenhagen 1959] 20, pl. 1–6; *CVA Danemark* 8, *Copenhagen* 8, 267–268, pl. 347–349; A. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens* [Oxford 1968] fig. 15; *ARFVcl* fig. 174), the Kleophon Painter, and on a cup New York, MM 27.74 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 407, 18; *BA* 204417), the Briseis Painter.

figures only.<sup>18</sup> This would confirm the assumption of Peredolskaya that the girl on the stemmed plate is also looking back at other chorus dancers.

ΧΟΡΦΕΛΕΣ without O repeated twice makes improbable an accidental omission of the letter the second time. It is hardly possible that both inscriptions are by the same hand and thus represent someone's personal notion of orthography, for the vase-paintings are attributed to different artists and dated to different decades. It seems equally incredible to think of an odd syncope of a long ω by the confluence of o with ω beginning the second root of the compound.<sup>19</sup> Most probably the second painter copied the writing of the first: it is well known that not all the representatives of the Athenian potters' quarter were literate.<sup>20</sup> Despite publications of Stefani and Beazley, the mysterious word is still not taken into account in classical studies.<sup>21</sup>

Chelys-lyres are often represented in vase-painting among the objects hanging on the wall in the background. This is a realistic detail indicating a location, such as a school or a banqueting hall, and in the same time a way to show that the scene is taking place indoors.<sup>22</sup> The same must be the meaning of a lyre placed on a piece of furniture, such as a chest, which probably contains book-rolls.<sup>23</sup> Some *additional* symbolic meaning

<sup>18</sup> See Frohning (n. 17) 20–23: a bell-crater Agrigento 1583 (BA 2053; Froning, *op. cit.*, pl. 7, 1; E. Csapo, “The Context of Choregic Dedications”, in: O. Taplin, R. Wyles [eds.], *The Pronomos Vase and its Context* [Oxford 2010] App. B, no. 15), the Marlay Painter, 430–420 BC (youth playing pipes, dancing figure in chitoniskos), and a bell-crater Copenhagen Chr. VIII 939 (BA 9559; *CVA Danemark 4, Copenhagen 4*, pl. 147; Froning, *op. cit.*, pl. 6, 2; *LIMC VI* [1992], pl. 585, Nike 335; Csapo, *op. cit.*, App. B, no. 22), ca. 420 BC (two youths, one with lyre, at a tripod, with Nike, a priest and an attendant).

<sup>19</sup> Ch. A. Lobeck, *Pathologiae Graeci sermonis elementa I* (Regimontii Borussorum 1853, repr. Hildesheim 1966) 303–304, adduces examples of syncope of a short o, in particular in compounds after ρ: Χέρνησος and ἐναρφόρος. Still, as regards the syncope of the long ω (*ibid.*, 333–335), he finds the only, and a disputable, case: σφέ instead of σφωέ.

<sup>20</sup> J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (London 1974, <sup>2</sup>1991) 200–201; *id.*, *Athenian Red Figure Vases: The Archaic Period* (London 1975, repr. 1997) 213; B. A. Sparkes, *Greek Pottery. An Introduction* (Manchester–New York 1991) 112 and n. 46.

<sup>21</sup> For example, it is absent from LSJ and is not mentioned in the well-known work: L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions* (Berlin–New York 1980–1994).

<sup>22</sup> See e. g. P. Girard, *L'éducation athénienne au Ve et IVe siècle avant J.-C.* (Paris 1889) 104–108; Maas, Snyder (n. 3) 88.

<sup>23</sup> R/f cup, Erlangen 290 (*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 1259, 7; BA 217077; A. Queyrel, “Les Muses à l'école: images de quelques vases du peintre de Calliope”, *Antike Kunst* 31 [1988] pl. 20, 2), the Calliope Painter, ca. 430 BC; for interpretation as a school scene see Queyrel, *op. cit.*, 99.

of the objects in field cannot be excluded,<sup>24</sup> but to my mind it would occur to no Greek spectator to interpret an instrument hanging on the wall as producing sounds. There are many dancing scenes, in which the accompanying instrument is depicted actually played by some character, and some of them include other instruments hanging in field.<sup>25</sup> There are also images of a lyre being put on a stool<sup>26</sup> or taken down from a wall.<sup>27</sup>

If a scene is taking place outdoors, we sometimes find lyres on the ground at the characters' feet. This must be an equivalent to the objects hanging on the walls in indoor scenes, with one obvious difference: while indoors we can be dealing with a permanent location of an instrument, outdoors it must be brought with an intention to use it for a certain purpose.

A lyre on the ground occurs in a number of many-figured mythological scenes, next to the characters to whom it is a suitable attribute: it is obviously placed at hand to be picked up at a due time, and is not sounding.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> E. g. Maas and Snyder (n. 3) 140–141 indicate that frequently in vase-paintings after 450 BC the phorminx (cradle cithara) is not played, but is hanging on the wall in the background, and suppose that it can be just an attribute of the Muses and thus the symbol of the Muses' favour.

<sup>25</sup> E. g. r/f column-crater Lecce 572 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 564, 21; *CVA Italia* 4, Lecce 1, III.I.C.4, pl. [154–155] 3, 1–3; 4, 1; *BA* 206449), the Pig Painter, 500–450 BC: cradle-cithara suspended, aulos sounding. R/f pelike Munich 2363 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 853, 1; 1574; *CVA Deutschland* 6, München 2, 16. pl. [272, 274] 76, 1–2; 78, 1. 4–5; *BA* 212445), name-vase of the Painter of Munich 2363, 475–425 BC: Eros dancing, chelys-lyre suspended, cradle-cithara sounding. R/f pelike Athens, NM 1187 (*BA* 43744; *GRBS* 31 [1990] 160 pl. 8B), ca. 410 BC: chelys-lyre suspended, aulos sounding.

<sup>26</sup> Chous Athens, Nat. Mus. 1230 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 782, 12; G. van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria* [Leiden 1951] p. 63 no. 27, fig. 157; *BA* 209622), the Akestorides Painter, ca. 460 BC.

<sup>27</sup> Boeotian chous New York, MM 49.11.2 (van Hoorn [n. 26] p. 164 no. 766, fig. 155), 420–400 BC.

<sup>28</sup> R/f neck-amphora Boston, MFA 03.821 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1186, 29; *BA* 215718; *LIMC* V [1990] pl. 309, Hippodameia I 1), the Kadmos Painter, ca. 400 BC: Hippodameia (“ἸΠΠΙΟΔΑΜΗ”), an exemplary bride, with her attendants at leisure in a garden. R/f calyx-crater, once Paris, market (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1165, 74; *BA* 215426; *LIMC* VI [1992], Marsyas I 23), the Painter of Munich 2335, the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC: Apollo and Marsyas (aulos sounding). R/f calyx-crater, Erlangen 302 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1418, 3; W. Grünhagen, *Archäologisches Institut der Universität Erlangen: Antike Originalarbeiten des Kunstsammlungs des Instituts* [Nürnberg 1948] 44, pl. 14; *BA* 260002), the Erbach Painter, ca. 400 BC: Apollo and Marsyas (? an old satyr) holding an aulos pipe in each hand. R/f bell-crater, Madrid 11074 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1185, 17; *BA* 215705; *LIMC* III [1886], pl. 386, Dionysos 598 = *LIMC* VI [1992], Nike 223), the Kadmos Painter, 390–380 BC: Dionysos with his retinue and a Nike (aulos played by a satyr).

The context of several images on choes is more ambiguous.<sup>29</sup> Five of them are very close to each other:<sup>30</sup> two (fig. 3–4) depict a youth<sup>31</sup> and three (fig. 5–7) a satyr<sup>32</sup> approaching a lyre, which lies on the ground. While in two cases the character's dancing is very probable and in two other not excluded, the satyr on Piraeus 580 is bending down to reach for the lyre, which shows clearly that its actual use is yet to come. A more detailed scene<sup>33</sup> (fig. 8) shows, beside a lyre, one dancing and one probably singing figure (this is the only case with the dancer moving away from the lyre, which is leaning against a stone).

The only conventional meaning one could think of is that a lyre on the ground should help to distinguish dancing from running: it is significant that modern decoration descriptions often hesitate to indicate the figures'

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<sup>29</sup> Since wine-jugs of this form are a distinctive feature of the Anthesteria, the scenes depicted on them are likely to relate to this festival, but we cannot rule out other possibilities. See T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London 1972) 164; N. Robertson, "Athen's Festival of the New Wine", *HSCPh* 95 (1993) 198; R. F. Hamilton, *Choes and Anthesteria: Athenian Iconography and Ritual* (Ann Arbor 1992) 64–69.

<sup>30</sup> These choes belong to the series with the same manner of decoration, which is a cheap substitute of red-figure: red paint is applied directly over the black glaze, without incision and secondary colors, so the images are not very durable and not too discrete and intelligible. The homogeneity of the series makes probable an attribution to the same workshop (if not to the same hand) dated approximately to the second and the third quarters of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. BC: J. R. Green, "A Series of Added Red-figure Choes", *Arch. Anz.* 85 (1970) 475–487. This means that the implied reason, why the lyre is on the ground, will have been the same for all these vases. Lack of inner marking for details caused a preference for single figures, moving in a lively manner with the limbs widely spread, and for open-shaped lyres, which provide a clear silhouette: van Hoorn [n. 26] 54; Green, *op. cit.*, 480.

<sup>31</sup> Oxford 1945.45 (BA 23907; *Ashmolean Museum. Select Exhibition of Sir John and Lady Beazley's Gifts, 1912–1966* (Oxford 1967) pl. 46. 311; Green [n. 30] cat. no. 2).—Utrecht, University ARCH-23 (van Hoorn [n. 26] p. 190, no. 974, fig. 428; Green [n. 30] cat. no. 8).

<sup>32</sup> Vienna, University 509 (*CVA Deutschland* 5, Wien 1, pl. [216] 22, 13; van Hoorn [n. 26] p. 192 no. 991, fig. 429; Green [n. 30] cat. no. 6, fig. 4), ca. 430 BC.—Gela 73 (O. Benndorf, *Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder* [Berlin 1883] 69, pl. 36, 3; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* [Darmstadt 1932, Nachdr. 1956] 247; van Hoorn [n. 26] p. 186, no. 952; Green [n. 30] cat. no. 27, fig. 12; *CVA Italia* 56, *Gela* 4, 29, pl. [2510] 45, 6. 9; BA 2395), manner of the Haimon Painter, ca. 430 BC.—Piraeus, Archaeolog. Mus. 580 (BA 1340; Green [n. 30] cat. no. 17, fig. 7a–c).

<sup>33</sup> Once New York, market (van Hoorn [n. 26] p. 177, no. 886, fig. 174; *Sotheby-Parke-Bernet, New York, sale catalogue 7.12.2005*, 41, lot 42, right; BA 15816), ca. 425 BC.

movements.<sup>34</sup> If a dancing posture is not enough characteristic (or the painter's skill is lacking) and if there is not enough space to represent a musician who accompanies the dance, it could perhaps make sense to depict only a lyre.<sup>35</sup>

Still other explanations can be proposed. Let us make the stemmed plate representing the dancing girl our starting point, even though I am not sure that interpreting a lyre on this vase-painting can be applied to the rest of the images.

First, I do not think that the girl is entertaining at a symposion, rehearsing or seeking clients for it.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, in many cases dancing girls in vase-paintings are obviously hetaerae (as suggested by occasional presence of their mistress with a narthex and of male customers with purses).<sup>37</sup> But there is also a category of dance "of less obvious meaning"<sup>38</sup> performed probably in a religious context.

It should be noted that I do not exclude the participation of professional female entertainers in public religious ceremonies. For instance, if music-making was required at an all-female festival, probably professional musicians and dancers from women musical schools were engaged, such as Habrotonon, who, when still a virgin, played for the girls at the Tauropolia (Men. *Epitrep.* 477–479). In this sense, the girl could as well (but not necessarily) be a pupil of a "hetaerae school". But I argue that in

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<sup>34</sup> The posture of the youth on Utrecht ARCH-23 is very close to that of the satyr on Vienna 509, but cf.: Utrecht ARCH-23 "boy approaching lyre" (van Hoorn) / Vienna 509 "tanzender Satyr" (CVA); "silen approaches lyre" (van Hoorn). The movement of the youth on Oxford 1945.45 and of the satyr on Gela 73 is nearly the same, but cf.: Gela 73 "silen running excitedly" (van Hoorn); "un satirello che corre a gambe levate e a braccia alzate" (CVA) [cf. "Ein bekränzter Satyr stösst in übermüthiger Laune, weit ausspringend, mit dem Fuss eine Leier bei Seite" (Benndorf)] / Oxford 1945.45 "youth running or dancing" (BA). See also below n. 53.

<sup>35</sup> Compare a late geometrical Laconian pyxis fr., Athens, Nat. Mus. 234 (J. Boardman, *Early Greek Vase Painting* [London 1998] fig. 131), 750–690 BC, with two phorminges (and a scorpion) inserted in the empty space between dancing figures.

<sup>36</sup> Webster (n. 29) 125 enumerates this dish among the images of solo performers at a symposion.

<sup>37</sup> For images of dancing girls see J. D. Beazley, "Narthex", *AJA* 37 (1933) 400–403; L. B. Lawler, *The Dance in Ancient Greece* (London 1964) 127–138; M. Robertson, "A Muffled Dancer and Others", in: A. Cambitoglou (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Arthur Dale Trendall* (Sydney 1979) 132 n. 12; L. Burn, *The Meidias Painter* (Oxford 1987) 84–86; Webster (n. 29) 124–125; Maas, Snyder (n. 3) 141–142; J. H. Oakley, *The Phiale Painter*, *Kerameus* 8 (Mainz 1990) 37–39; Miller (n. 7) 181 and n. 186; Sh. D. Bundrick, *Music and Image in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 2005) 89–90.

<sup>38</sup> Maas, Snyder (n. 3) 14. For examples, see below.

any case her performance takes place at a cult ceremony, and besides at one not restricted to the hetaerae.<sup>39</sup>

The festal attire of the girl on the plate Hermitage ΓΡ-2007 is appropriate both for a feast and for a cult performance. In particular, there are many parallels for wearing head-bands with leaves thrust into them by the participants of state festivals.<sup>40</sup> Active dance may have required a shortened garment,<sup>41</sup> even when connected with a cult sphere.<sup>42</sup> Short

<sup>39</sup> A professional festival of hetaerae is likely to be the Aphrodisia: Deubner (n. 32) 216. Besides hetaerae played a prominent part at the Haloa: Deubner (n. 32) 62; 67, pl. 4.1. Cf. E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica. An Archaeological Commentary* (Wisconsin 1983) 35–37: “It was a women’s festival and must have been celebrated in earlier times by married women as the Thesmophoria were. But from the fourth century BC onwards it was mainly a festival of the *hetairai*”. –Robertson (n. 37) 131; id., *The Art of Vase Painting in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 1992) 206–207, followed by Burn (n. 37) 85–86, argues for ritual connotations of the Boston phiale representing hetaerae who practice their dance: Boston, MFA 97.371 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1023, 146; *BA* 214328; *ARFVcl* fig. 128; Bundrick [n. 37] 89–90, fig. 56), name-vase of the Phiale Painter, 475–425 BC. But see *contra* A. Schäfer, *Unterhaltung beim griechischen Symposion* (Mainz 1997) 78; Bundrick, *op. cit.*, 90 and 217 n. 189.

<sup>40</sup> Miller (n. 7) 181 and n. 187 (on the Hermitage vase). Frohning (n. 18) 20–23, pl. 6.1; 6.2; 7.1, interprets figures with a similar head-dress as performers of a dithyramb. G. van Hoorn (n. 26) 34, with n. 135 and 136, notes that the head-dress with spikes rising from it is worn by different characters involved in festive activities depicted on choes, for example by torch-racers.

<sup>41</sup> On some vases that could serve as parallels the dancing figure can be either a girl or a youth: (1) chous New York, market (n. 33, fig. 8; see below p. 71); (2) chous Paris, Louvre CA21 (fig. 13: *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1335, 33; *BA* 217494; van Hoorn [n. 26] p. 168 no. 822, fig. 244), the Nikias Painter, ca. 410 BC – apparently dancing at the Anthesteria (Miller [n. 7] 181); (3) stemmed plate bought and published by G. Richter: Rome, Richter Coll. (Richter [n. 7], Beilage 74–75; *ARV* 1305, 1; Miller [n. 7] fig. 108), Class of Naples 2618, 430–425 BC. – The last vase is likely to indicate a dancer and not a runner, even in spite of a goal post (*meta*) depicted, for one foot is drawn in the tree-quarter view, indicating that the figure is about to turn; in this case the *meta* implies that the dancing is taking place outdoors, in a palaestra, at a dancing contest (Richter [n. 7] 141). It belongs, in its turn, to a group of four stemmed plates (Dresden 361: A. Furtwängler, “Erwerbungen der Antikensammlungen in Deutschland. Dresden”, *Arch. Anz.* [1895] 225–226, fig. 25; Naples 2618 and 2626: Richter, *ibid.*, Beilage 76, 77), probably produced in the same workshop, the other showing: a naked youth, his hand stretched out and his back to the goal post; a youth in the same posture, but without a *meta*; and a youth playing a lyre. The whole series may be connected to a single subject, most probably school competitions. In this case the dancer is rather a youth, and the context is different from that of the two Hermitage vases with the ΧΟΡΦΕΛΕΣ-inscription.

<sup>42</sup> The most famous example is the dance in *καλαθίσκοι*, basket-like head-dress, associated with the ‘basket dance’ in certain rituals of Demeter (Eustath. 1627, 46–50) and of Artemis in Lydia (Strab. 13, 5, p. 626) and often identified, in turn, with the dance performed by Laconian maidens at a festival of Artemis Karyatis (Paus. 3, 10,

hair, too, seems not to be an unequivocal sign of low social status. It is true that in the fifth century ladies on vase-paintings normally have long hair, whereas short-haired women are mostly slaves.<sup>43</sup> But we find a considerable number of long-haired hetaerae,<sup>44</sup> and probably some examples of short-haired ladies.<sup>45</sup> Besides, a lyre on the ground, as we have seen, is an indication of an outdoor event, which argues as well against a performance of a hetaera.<sup>46</sup>

Still the decisive argument against the convivial context of the girl's dance is of course the inscription that connects it with a chorus. There is no evidence for a chorus as a means of entertainment at a drinking party or for hetaerae formed in a chorus in Athens. On the contrary, choral performance seems an important civic activity sanctioned by the polis,<sup>47</sup> which could probably take place only at state public festivals and at some private ceremonies intended to gain the favour of the gods, such as weddings, children's school festivals, or celebrating a victory in a contest.

It seems that in Classical Athens a performance of a chorus of young girls is only thinkable on a religious occasion.<sup>48</sup>

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7). See Stephani, *OAK za 1865 zod* (n. 6) 63–64; P. Wolters, “Karyatiden”, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F. 6 (1895) 42–43; A. B. Cook, *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion* III, 2 (1940) 990–1012; H. Metzger, “Lébès gamikos à figures rouges du Musée National d’Athènes”, *BCH* 66–67 (1942–1943) 234–239; F. Brommer, “Antike Tänze”, *Arch. Anz.* 1989, 485–486. – Besides, for dancing girls in short tunics see Hamilton (below n. 50) 453 cat. no. 30: cult of Artemis; lebes Athens, Nat. Mus. 1256 (below n. 61): wedding.

<sup>43</sup> H. Groß, “Haartracht, Haarschmuck”, *KIP* (1967) 897; N. Himmelmann, “Archäologisches zum Problem der griechischen Sklaverei”, *AbhMainz* 13 (1971) 16 n. 1. There is also literary evidence that short hair was worn by slaves: Arph. *Av.* 911; Olympiodor. *In Plat. Alcib.* 148–149.

<sup>44</sup> A study of hetaerae hairstyles shows that we cannot conclude with certainty on female social status judging on long and short hair: I. Peschel, *Die Hetäre bei Symposium und Komos in der attisch-rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei des 6–4 Jahrh. v. Chr.* (Frankfurt a. M. 1987) 358–359. S. Lewis, *The Athenian Woman. An Iconographical Handbook* (London–New York 2002) 105–106, points out that a hetaera was not expected to look like a slave, and the owner would hardly crop a girl's hair if she was to earn money in this way.

<sup>45</sup> V. Liventhal, “What Goes On among the Women? The Setting of Some Attic Vase Paintings of the Fifth Century B.C.”, *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 14 (1985) 41 with n. 22.

<sup>46</sup> Burn (n. 37) 84 n. 6: “Brothel scenes are usually distinctively *inside* the house, as indicated by columns, couches, doors, or objects hanging on the walls”.

<sup>47</sup> Hence an idea of its educational effect exaggerated by Plato: *Leg.* 2, 654 a–b. 664 b–d. 666 d. 672 e.

<sup>48</sup> See Burn (n. 37) 84–85.

It is acknowledged<sup>49</sup> that on the whole Athenian women did not play a prominent part at most of the state religious festivals, and those, at which they did, were often nocturnal, exclusively female, secret, so no wonder that they are seldom depicted in the visual arts. Our evidence on maiden choruses in Athens is rather scanty, but one can suppose that occasions were more numerous than those we are aware of. The poet coming to new-found Nephelokokkygia offers partheneia among other poetic productions that apparently no decent polis can do without (Arph. *Av.* 919)—this implies that they were a usual matter in Athens as well.<sup>50</sup>

Concrete known or supposed cases of Athenian women dancing and singing for religious occasions are:

- 1) worshipping Athena;<sup>51</sup>
- 2) a ceremony dedicated to Erechtheus;<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> E. g., J. Neils, “Adonia to Thesmophoria: Women and Athenian Festivals”, in: N. Kaltsas, A. Shapiro (eds.), *Worshipping Women. Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens. Catalogue* (Athens–New York 2008) 243–244.

<sup>50</sup> R. Hamilton, “Alkman and the Athenian Arkteia”, *Hesperia* 58 (1989): 4, 471 argues that our sources were not interested in girls’ rituals just because they were too commonplace to offer anything unique and specific: “The traditional dances by girls were so widespread that they can appear in essentially the same form in a 7<sup>th</sup>-century Spartan poem or on a 5<sup>th</sup>-century Attic vase, and they were so ordinary as to go without remark in the extant sources”.

<sup>51</sup> (1) Eur. *Heraclid.* 777–783; see A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum* (Leipzig 1898) 105–106; Deubner (n. 32) 24; C. Calame, *Les chœurs de jeunes filles en Grèce archaïque* (Roma 1977) 151; 235–236 on singing a paean during a παννυχίς at the Panathenaia.—(2) B/f lekythos New York, MM 31.11.10 (*ABV* 154, 57; 688; *BA* 310485; D. von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World. Vase-Painting in the Sixth-century B.C. Athens* [New York–London 1985] 185–187, cat. no. 48), the Amasis Painter, 560–530 BC, with eight female dancers on the shoulder, is interpreted as a representation of weaving and bringing the peplos to Athena: S. Karousou, *The Amasis Painter* (Oxford 1966) 44; J. Neils, “Pride, Pomp, and Circumstance: The Iconography of Procession”, in: ead. (ed.), *Worshipping Athena* (Madison 1996) 186 (still other interpretations connect it with a wedding: see M. H. Delavaud-Roux, *Les dances pacifiques in Greece antique* [Aix-en-Provence 1994] 95–96 no. 32).—(3) The participation of dancing girls at a New Year sacrifice can be inferred from an inscription dating from 196–217 AD: J. H. Oliver, “Iulia Domna as Athena Polias”, in: *Athenian Studies Presented to W. S. Ferguson*, HSCPh Suppl. 1 (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1940) 521–530; J. et L. Robert, *Bull. ép.* 1946–1947, no. 101. L. 32–34: (?) χορεύειν τῆν ἑορτήν. Probably the honours for Iulia Domna were included into a more ancient rite dedicated to Athena Polias: Deubner (n. 32) 236–237.

<sup>52</sup> Eur. *Erechtheus* (P. Sorb. 2328 col. VI, 77–79 and VII, 80): C. Austin, “De nouveaux fragments de l’Erechthée d’Euripide”, *Recherches de papyrologie* IV (Paris 1967) 11–67; *TrGF* F 370: Athena prescribes the girls to form choruses annually in honour of Erechtheus and his daughters. N. Robertson, “The Origins of the Panathenaia”, *RhM* 128 (1985) 235. 237. 254, connects these rites with the Scira.

- 3) the Arkteia in Brauron, Piraeus and Mounichia;<sup>53</sup>
- 4) a *παννυχίς* at the Tauropolia in Halai;<sup>54</sup>
- 5) a certain Dionysian festival,<sup>55</sup> sometimes identified with the Lenaia,<sup>56</sup> known from the representations on vases;<sup>57</sup>
- 6) worshipping Aphrodite;<sup>58</sup>
- 7) the Adonia;<sup>59</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Numerous votive krateriskoi found in Attic sanctuaries of Artemis show girls of various ages, nude and wearing short or long garments, in the act of processing, racing and dancing (it is worth noting that these activities are not always easily distinguishable): for dancing, see Hamilton (n. 50) 450–453 cat. no. 8. 10. 11. 12. 13. 16. 21. 22. 23. 26. 27. 30. Of the other shapes, see b/f dish or pyxis fr. Brauron 350213 (L. Ghali-Kahil, “Quelques vases du sanctuaire d’Artémis à Brauron”, in: *Neue Ausgrabungen in Griechenland*, AntK Beiheft 1 [Basel 1963] p. 6 no. 3, pl. 1, 4; BA 350213), the Burgon Groupe, ca. 560 BC; r/f pyxis lid fr. Brauron (Ghali-Kahil, *op. cit.*, p. 24 no. 50, pl. 13, 6; P. Truitt, “Attic White-Ground Pyxis and Phiale, ca. 450 B.C.”, *Boston Museum Bulletin* vol. 67, no. 348 [1969] 90 fig. 23; BA 276053), the Painter of London B 12, 450–425 BC.

<sup>54</sup> Men. *Epitrep.* 477–478: Ταυροπολίοις· παισὶν γὰρ ἔψαλλον κόραις, / αὐτὴ θ’ [ὄμοδ’ σὺ]νέπαιζεν. Deubner (n. 32) 208: “Die Mädchen ehrten die Gottheit mit Musik und Reigentanz”. Yet in this case the girls’ music-making was not rehearsed, since Habrotonon met Pamphile for the first time there.

<sup>55</sup> Bundrick (n. 37) 157–158; Neils (n. 49) 247; S. Chryssoulaki, “The Participation of Women in the Worship and Festivals of Dionysos”, *Worshipping Women* (n. 49) 267–275.

<sup>56</sup> A. Frickenhaus. *Lenäenvasen*, Programm zum Winkelmannsfeste der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin 72 (Berlin 1912). M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* I (Munich 1955) 587–588, proposed the Anthesteria.

<sup>57</sup> See below n. 67. Besides see r/f cup Florence 3950 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 914, 142; *CVA Italia* 30, *Firenze* 3, III.I.18, III.I.19, pl. (1373) 109, 3; BA 211080), the Painter of Bologna 417, ca. 450 BC.—Many images of dancing maenads are supposed to depict Athenian women imitating maenads, but they perform an improvised ecstatic dance, intended to enable personal contact with a deity (Chryssoulaki [n. 55] 274), which cannot be classified as a chorus dance.

<sup>58</sup> Squat lekythos Paris, Louvre MNB2110 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1314, 14; *LIMC* II [1984] pl. 134, Aphrodite 1360; Burn [n. 37] cat. M16, pl. 16 a–c; BA 220506), the Meidias Painter, 420–400 BC—Aphrodite with Eros and women dancing; for interpretation as a pannychis at a sanctuary of Aphrodite see Burn (n. 37) 29. 30. 86. Lekythos Paris, Louvre CA1890 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1326, 68; Burn [n. 37] cat. MM 108, pl. 51 c; BA 220623): two women in short tunics, one with castanets, dance to the accompaniment of a piping Eros; “Festival of Aphrodite?” (Burn). Cf. squat lekythos New York, MM 1924.97.35 (BA 42131; *LIMC* III [1986] pl. 648, Eros 692; A. Lezzi-Hafter, *Der Eretria-Maler, Werke und Wegfahrten*, Kerameus 6 [Mainz 1988] cat. no. 244, pl. 159 c–d), the Painter of Athens 1729, 425–420 BC—a girl dancing to the tympanon played by Eros before an altar. Cf. also the next note.—According to R. Rosenzweig, *Worshipping Aphrodite. Art and Cult in Classical Athens* (Ann Arbor 2004) 77, “brides and hetairai worshipped Aphrodite in a similar manner”. But see above n. 39.

<sup>59</sup> R/f kotyle Athens, New Akropolis Museum 1960-NAK222 (*Worshipping Women* [n. 49] cat. no. 121), ca. 350 BC. R/f squat lekythos Berlin, Antikensammlung 3248

8) worshipping Demeter;<sup>60</sup>

9) wedding ceremonies<sup>61</sup> (it can be doubted to what extent the wedding dances were rehearsed, for in most cases they were probably performed by the family and friends).

(*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1482, 5; 1695; *ARFVcl* fig. 405; *BA* 230497), the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. R/f hydria London, Br. Mus. E241 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1482, 1; *CVA Great Britain* 8, *British Museum* 6, III.I.C, p. 8, pl. [371. 372] 96, 4; 97, 4; *LIMC* I [1981], Adonis 48b, pl. 170; *Worshipping Women* [n. 49] 246 fig. 3; Rosenzweig [n. 58] fig. 47; *BA* 230493), the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BC. Ch. M. Edwards, “Aphrodite at a Ladder”, *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 67–68, argues that Berlin 3248 and London E241 relate to the cult of Aphrodite Ourania and not Adonis. – Neils (n. 49) 245: “the festival never attained the status of a state cult”. Isolated ecstatic dance is more probable here than a chorus performance.

<sup>60</sup> Plut. *Sol.* 8, 4–5: to imitate Athenian women worshipping Demeter, young soldiers must παίζειν καὶ χορεύειν. Arph. *Thesm.* 947–1000: it is emphasized in the text that the dance performed by the chorus is a ritual one (ἄπερ νόμος ἐνθάδε ταῖσι γυναιξίν etc.). B/f Siana cup London, Br. Mus. 1906.12-15.1 (*ABV* 90, 7; *CVA Great Britain* 2, *British Museum* 2, III He p. 4, pl. (68) 10.6A–B; *LIMC* IV, Demeter 417, pl. 595; *BA* 300834), the Burgon Group, 560–550 BC. See B. Ashmole, “Kalligeneia and Hieros Arotos”, *JHS* 66 (1946) 8–10 with pl. 2–3; Simon (n. 58) 20–21; J. B. Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess, Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece* (Princeton–Oxford 2007) pl. 10; p. 66 with fig. 3.2; M. Tiverios, “Women of Athens in the Worship of Demeter: Iconographic Evidence from Archaic and Classical Time”, *Worshipping Women* (n. 49) 128–129 with fig. 4a.

<sup>61</sup> B/f lekythos New York, MM 56.11.1 (n. 66). R/f lebes Mykonos 970 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 261, 19; Ch. Dugas, *Exploration archéologique de Delos. XXI. Les vases attiques à figures rouges* (Paris 1952) 9–11, no. 12, pl. 7; *LIMC* II, Apollon 947, pl. 265; A. Kauffmann-Samaras, “Paroles et musique du mariage en Grèce. Sources écrites et images peintes”, in: *Silence et fureur. La femme et le mariage en Grèce. Les antiquités grecques du Musée Calvet, Avignon* [Paris 1996] 444; Bundryck [n. 37] 179–183, fig. 103; *BA* 202973), the Syriskos Painter, 470–450 BC (still interpreted as Apollo and the Muses or the Deliades by Beazley). R/f nuptial lebes stand Athens, Nat. Mus. 12894 (*BA* 9025012; Metzger [n. 42] 228–247, pl. XIII; *Worshipping Women* [n. 49] cat. no. 146), 370–360 BC (Metzger thinks it to be a ritual dance of Athenian hetaerae in honour of Aphrodite). R/f chous fr. Tübingen 1219 (C. Watzinger, *Griechische Vasen in Tübingen* [Reutlingen 1924] E 174, pl. 38; L. Séchan, *La danse grecque antique* [Paris 1930] 218 and pl. XII, 1; K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen* [Berlin–Leipzig 1934] no. 331, pl. 21; van Hoorn [n. 26] p. 189 no. 966; *CVA Deutschland* 52, *Tübingen* 4, pl. [2555] 38; *LIMC* IV [1988] pl. 302, Hélène 65; Kauffmann-Samaras, *op. cit.*, 444 n. 58; *BA* 11634), the Helen Painter, ca. 380 BC (still depicting dancing girls in kalathiskoi at the wedding of Menelaos may intend to lend a Laconian colour to the scene: E. Böhr, *CVA* p. 87; according to Metzger, *op. cit.*, 237, it is a cult dance worshipping Helen as a goddess). R/f nuptial lebes Athens, Nat. Mus. 1256 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1506, 1; *BA* 230921; *Worshipping Women* [n. 49] cat. no. 145), name vase of the Painter of Athens 1256, ca. 340–320 BC. R/f loutrophoros fr. St Petersburg Γπ 1881.168 (Schefold, *op. cit.*, no. 284, pl. 50; Kauffmann-Samaras, *op. cit.*, 444 n. 58; *BA* 21460), the Painter of the Wedding Procession, 340–330 BC. Cf. Eur. *Tro.* 325–340 (cf. *IA* 1036–1037): there are no references to Athens, but Euripides will have reflected the rites familiar to himself and his audience.

Besides, there is evidence of vase-paintings representing maidens' choruses, which do not allow a definition of the occasion.<sup>62</sup>

So I believe that here we have an episode during a cult performance of a girl chorus. I would call what is being performed, a partheneion.

Since the girl moves towards the lyre, she is probably going to pick it up. Compare the χορωφελής youth *holding* a lyre: the Painter of Leningrad 702 who copied the inscription ΧΟΡΦΕΛΕΣ will have thought of his subject and his character as similar to that of the Dish painter. But the girl is moving in a dance—therefore the dance has begun; still the lyre does not sound yet. How can we explain this?

There is some evidence that the choruses, and especially partheneia, were accompanied both by stringed and by wind-instruments. Already in

<sup>62</sup> (1) B/f pyxis fr. Hamburg 1917.223 (*ABV* 90; *CVA Deutschland* 41, *Hamburg* 1, pp. 64–65, pl. [2013] 47, 5; *BA* 300836), the Burgon Groupe, ca. 550 BC.

(2) B/f lip cup, Tarquinia, Nat. Mus. RC 4194 (*CVA Italia* 26, *Tarquinia* 2, III.H, p. 3, pl. [1170] 21, 5. 6; *LIMC* VI [1992], Nereides 264, pl. 490; *BA* 397), 575–525 BC (interpreted as Nereids by J. D. Beazley, “Little-Master Cups”, *JHS* 52 [1932] 178).

(3) R/f calyx-crater Rome, Villa Giulia 909 (A. Furtwängler, K. Reichhold [eds.], *Griechische Vasenmalerei. Auswahl hervorragender Vasen*. Serie I. Text [München 1904] 80–81; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 618, 1; *CVA Italia* 2, *Mus. Naz. di Villa Giulia* 2, p. 12, pl. [60–61] 21–22; *BA* 207149; *ARFVcl* fig. 21), the Villa Giulia Painter, 460–450 BC.

(4) R/f astragalos-vase London, Br. Mus. E804 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 765, 20; *CVA Great Britain* 5, *British Museum* 4, III.Ic, p. 3, pl. [219, 220] 26, 1; 27, 1; *ARFVcl* fig. 105; M. Robertson, *The Art of Vase-painting in Classical Athens* [Cambridge 1992] 188–190, fig. 199–202; *BA* 209477), the Sotades Painter, 500–450 BC.

(5) White-ground phiale Boston, MFA 65.908 (Truitt [n. 53] 83–92; P. W. Lehmann, D. Spittle, *Samothrace. Excavations conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University*. 5. *The Temenos* [Princeton 1982] pl. 208; Connelly [n. 60] pl. 1; p. 29–31, fig. 2.1; Lewis [n. 44] 50 fig. 1.31; *BA* 4826), the Painter of London D 12, ca. 450 BC. P. Truitt connects it with the cult of Artemis.

(6) White-ground pyxis lid, once Basel, Art Market (Attische schwarzfigurige Vasen, Münzen und Medaillen A. G., Basel, Sonderliste G [November 1964] no. 49; Truitt, *op. cit.*, p. 90 fig. 22; *BA* 352012), workshop of the Haimon Painter, 525–475 BC.

(7) B/f pyxis lid Athens, Nat. Mus. 14909 (A. Dessenne, “Pyxis à figures noires du Musée National d’Athènes”, *Revue archéologique sér.* 6, 36 [1950] 40–76; Lehmann, Spittle, *op. cit.*, pl. 209; *BA* 2660), ca. 440 BC.

(8–10) See below n. 66. 67. 70.

Women surrounding a Nike on the exterior of the cup in Palermo, inside of which there is a Nike and a youth with a lyre (Palermo 5514 [*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 918, 3; E. Paribeni et al., *La Collezione Casuccini, Ceramica Attica, Ceramica Etrusca, Ceramica Falisca* [Rome 1996] 76–78, fig. 49; *BA* 211156], the Painter of Bologna 417, 475–425 BC), are interpreted by Webster (n. 29) 169 as “a successful women’s chorus for which the youth played the lyre”, but they are rather the Muses: see Queyrel (n. 23).

Alcman<sup>63</sup> the chorus mentions both a citharist and an aulete, though it is not possible to conclude from the fragments, if they accompany the same song and whether they play together or in turn.<sup>64</sup>

A Protoattic hydria fragment depicts a chain of nine girls headed by an aulete and a citharist.<sup>65</sup>

A frieze on the shoulders of a lekythos by the Amasis Painter<sup>66</sup> shows nine girls in a circle chain dance, separated in threes by the handle of the vessel and by figures of sitting musicians, one playing an aulos and the other a chelys-lyre.

Stamnoi from the mid-fifth cent. BC (fig. 9a–b)<sup>67</sup> represent a row of girls processing or dancing in a stately manner, four on each side of the vessel. Thyrsos and cups in their hands indicate a Dionysian rite. It is likely that here we have historical devotees of the god and not mythical companions of Dionysos, judging by the civilized and orderly mood of the scenes: the girls are calm and concentrated rather than ecstatic, they are imitating and not experiencing the ritual.<sup>68</sup> (Cf. Diod. Sic. 4, 3, 3: at the Dionysian feasts, whereas married women drive frenzy imitating maenads, the girls are supposed only to carry thyrsos and to exclaim “εὐῶ”).<sup>69</sup> The girls play both an aulos and a barbiton, either on the same or on different sides of the stamnoi.

<sup>63</sup> ὄσσαι δὲ παῖδες ἀμέων / ἐντί, τὸν κιθαριστᾶν / αἰνέοντι (fr. 38 Page = 20 Diehl = 66 Bergk); ἀμὴν δ’ ὑπαυλησεῖ μέλος (fr. 37b Page = 21 Diehl = 78 Bergk).

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 10, 38–39: παντᾶ δὲ χοροὶ παρθένων / λυρᾶν τε βοαὶ καναχαί τ’ ἀυλῶν δονέονται (by the Hyperboreans).

<sup>65</sup> Berlin, Antikensammlung A 1 (*CVA Deutschland 2, Berlin 1*, p. 9–10, pl. 1, 1–2; BA 1001701), 700–650 BC.

<sup>66</sup> B/f lekythos New York, MM 56.11.1 (BA 350478; Maas, Snyder [n. 3] 51 fig. 15 b; von Bothmer [n. 51] 182–184, cat. no. 47; Buxton [n. 37] 181 fig. 105), the Amasis Painter, 560–530 BC. The scene is interpreted as a wedding dance by Lawler (n. 37) 116–117; Kauffmann-Samaras (n. 61) 444; M. H. Delavaud-Roux (n. 51) 91; Buxton, *op. cit.*, 182.

<sup>67</sup> St. Petersburg, Hermitage GP-4517 (former B-1588; St. 1714; Waldhauer 806; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 620, 32; Peredolskaya *KAV* 182, pl. 122, 3–4; 123; *M&M* 22; BA 207186), the Villa Giulia Painter, ca. 460 BC. New York, MM 06.1021.178 (*ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1077, 1; 1682; *Worshipping Women* [n. 49] cat. no. 129; BA 214482), the Menelaos Painter, ca. 450 BC.

<sup>68</sup> Горбунова, Передольская (n. 5) 79–81; Peredolskaya, *KAV* 160; Chryssoulaki (n. 55) 273; V. Sapiranidi, *Worshipping Women* (n. 49) 282.

<sup>69</sup> διὸ καὶ παρὰ πολλαῖς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων διὰ τριῶν ἐτῶν βακχεῖα τε γυναικῶν ἀθροίζεσθαι, καὶ ταῖς παρθένους νόμιμον εἶναι θυρσοφορεῖν καὶ συνενθουσιάζειν εὐαζούσαις καὶ τιμώσαις τὸν θεόν· τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας κατὰ συστήματα θουσιάζειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ βακχεύειν καὶ καθόλου τὴν παρουσίαν ὑμνεῖν τοῦ Διονύσου, μιμουμένας τὰς ἱστορουμένας τὸ παλαιὸν παρεδρεῦειν τῷ θεῷ μαινάδας.

On an Attic lekanis lid from the Hermitage (fig. 10)<sup>70</sup> five girls (each inscribed *καλή*) are dancing by an altar. Near the altar there are two musicians: the sitting auletris and the standing cithara-player; both are represented playing.

One can compare relief fragments from Samothrace, dating from ca. 340 BC, but carved in an archaizing manner, probably in order to underline the venerable antiquity of the represented rite:<sup>71</sup> three pieces depict female musicians among the rows of dancing girls, one playing a cithara, another an aulos and the third a tympanon.<sup>72</sup>

C. Calame notes that images of a chorus accompanied by both an aulete and a citharist are rare, and this combination occurs only in maidens' choruses and only in a processional context.<sup>73</sup>

There is also evidence of stringed and wind-instruments playing in turn. An Attic hydria by Polygnotos from Naples<sup>74</sup> seems, on the face of it, to have nothing in common with a partheneion: most probably, this is the training of dancers and acrobats entertaining at feasts (cf. Xen. *Symp.* 2, 1–2). Except an observing youth, all the figures are female: a sword-dancer with an auletris; an acrobat on a table; a girl dancing a pyrrhiche while another is playing krotala; finally, two girls, each with their own accompanist, are dancing in kalathiskoi. One of them (fig. 11) has taken a spectacular posture, appropriate for the end of a dance or for a short pause between its parts of different nature: she is kneeling slightly and stretching out her right hand. Her accompanist is holding the folded auloi in the left hand and a phorminx in the right. Probably she puts down the auloi and takes the phorminx, though it also may be that she holds the phorminx out to the dancer. For the most part of other representations of the dance

<sup>70</sup> Acc. no. Π.1867–68.969 (*OAK za 1869 zод: Атлас* [СПб. 1870] pl. IV, no. 14 [a drawing]; *M&M* 27; *BA* 16209), 440–430 BC.

<sup>71</sup> Lehmann, Spittle (n. 62 [5]) 221. 244. 253.

<sup>72</sup> Samothrace 49.1043 A–B (Lehmann, Spittle [n. 62] p. 173–178 cat. no. F(S)1, fig. 147 and p. 256 fig. 210): cithara. Paris, Louvre MA698 (Lehmann, Spittle, *ibid.* p. 183–185 cat. no. F(S)10, fig. 157): tympanon. Paris, Louvre MA699 (Lehmann, Spittle, *ibid.* p. 185–187 cat. no. F(S)11, fig. 158): aulos.

<sup>73</sup> Calame (n. 51) 131–132; for examples he cites R. Crowhurst, *Representations of Performances of Choral Lyric on the Greek Monuments 800–350 B.C.* Diss., typescript (London 1963) [non vidi], who manages to adduce only four such cases.

<sup>74</sup> Naples 3232 (*Griechische Vasenmalerei. Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder*, hg. von A. Furtwängler, F. Hauser, C. Reichhold, nach deren Tode fortgeführt von E. Buschor, C. Watzinger, R. Zahn. Serie III. *Text* [München 1932] pl. 171; p. 319–324, fig. 151–154; *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 1032, 61; Schäfer [n. 39] 77; S. B. Matheson, *Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens* [Madison 1995] 23–25, pl. 14 A–D; S. Lewis [n. 44] 34 fig. 1.18; *BA* 213444), ca. 450 BC.

in kalathiskoi, there are good reasons to connect it with cult,<sup>75</sup> though there is at least one more evidently convivial image.<sup>76</sup> Even becoming secular instead of (or alongside with) sacral, this dance probably retained its typical features, including perhaps the nature of accompaniment: an aulos took turns with a stringed instrument.

According to J. A. Haldane, in cult practice a stringed instrument was often added to an aulos when dance and song were part of a ceremony. Though it could be insufficient for the heavier type of procession, it suited well the graceful advance of a dancing group to an altar. In particular, in partheneion, that is, maidens' dance-hymn, an aulos could accompany livelier, more boisterous type of dance, and a cithara would enter in those parts, where the song was the more important element.<sup>77</sup>

Besides we have evidence by Proklos cited by Photios:<sup>78</sup> a prosodion was sung while approaching the altar and was accompanied by an aulos, whereas the main hymn was sung while standing and to the cithara accompaniment. Haldane disputes the validity of such a generalization, giving some examples of singing the main hymn to the aulos accompaniment,<sup>79</sup> but it can hardly be doubted that the practice described by Proklos did take place at least sometimes.

Thus, I suppose that the Dish Painter could depict a transitional point of the performance of a maidens' chorus: one of the girls is finishing, together with her companions, a dance accompanied by an aulos and is hurrying to pick up the lyre which has been placed near at hand in advance, so that she did not need to make a pause before accompanying the second part of the performance. It is hard to say, if she is going to continue her dance, though the possibility of combining dancing and playing a chelys-

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<sup>75</sup> See above, n. 42. Athenian r/foinochoe Moscow II 1b 987 (*CVA Russia* 6, *Moscow* 6, 39–40, pl. [279] 34, 1–3; *BA* 9008443), 375–350 BC: two girls in chitoniskoi and kalathiskoi at a tripod on column, two thuribles. According to K. V. Müller, *Der Polos: die griechische Götterkrone*. Diss. (Berlin 1915) 20, a polos, of which a kalathiskos is a variety, is a gods' crown, which could be worn by mortals only for cult occasions.

<sup>76</sup> Lucanian r/f bell-crater St. Petersburg, Hermitage B-1667 (St. 1778; Waldhauer 781; Cook [n. 42] 1000 f., fig. 811; *CVA Russia* 8, *St Petersburg* 1, 1, 22–23, pl. (392, 393) 26, 1; 27, 1–2; *BA* 9018452), the Creusa Painter, 400–380 BC: a reclining youth and a female kalathiskos dancer at a kottabos stand. Besides see N. M. Contoléon, “Monuments a décoration gravée du Musée de Chios. I. Stèle des danseuses”, *BCH* 71/72 (1947/48) 281–285.

<sup>77</sup> J. A. Haldane, “Musical Instruments in Greek Worship”, *Greece and Rome* 13 (1966): 1, 100. 102. 104.

<sup>78</sup> Phot. *Bibl.*, Cod. 239 Bekker, 320 a 18–20: ἐν τῷ προσιέναι ἦδετο [sc. τὸ προσόδιον] πρὸς αὐλόν· ὁ δὲ κυρίως ὕμνος πρὸς κιθάραν ἦδετο ἐστῶτων.

<sup>79</sup> Haldane (n. 77) 102.

lyre (or a barbiton, still not a cithara) is attested: dancing Apollo in Homeric Hymn 3, 201 sqq.; Theseus in Callimach. *Hymn.* 4, 312–313; young Sophocles celebrating the victory at Salamine in Athen. 1, 20 e–f and *Vit. Soph.* 3; representations in vase-painting.<sup>80</sup> There are also no grounds to decide if she is the leader of a chorus, either in both or only in the second part of the performance.

I admit that an epithet χορωφελής can signify nothing more than a compliment to the characters represented, such as καλή repeated several times on a lekanis lid Π.1867–68.969 from the Hermitage (fig. 10). Still we should weigh another possibility. The meaning of the adjective ΧΟΡΦΕΛΕΣ is not restrictive: it suits both men and women, both the singing and dancing members of a chorus and the musicians accompanying them, and even musical instruments. Such a designation is hardly an invention of vase-painters. However its absence in all the other sources proves that the word χορωφελής did not become a generally accepted term in Greece. Perhaps in Athens in the fifth century BC this word was mainly applied to the members of a chorus who combined dancing and playing an instrument. The same meaning suits Aristophanes (*Lys.* 1319, 411 BC: κρότον δ' ἄμᾶ ποίη χορωφελήτων): the Spartan calls on his women compatriots, who are glorifying their gods with a hymn and a dance, to clasp hands, which is partly the dance itself and partly its sound accompaniment. A substantive is preferred to an adjective either because of a modification of a known term in a poetic text,<sup>81</sup> or because χορωφελήτης was currently used alongside with χορωφελής.

Let us now return to the other images depicting a lyre on the ground.

As for isolated figures of youths on added red-figure choes, it is possible to treat them in the same vein, as chorus-members going to pick up the lyre. But we need not invent a complicated explanation for them, because a lyre is a typical attribute of a schoolboy in vase-painting,<sup>82</sup> and a youth could take it wherever he went. The setting of Utrecht ARCH-23 (fig. 4) is a palaestra, as is indicated by a sponge, a strigil and an aryballos. School competitions, including ἀγῶνες μουσικοί, probably did take place in

<sup>80</sup> E. g., b/f neck-amphora Paris Louvre E861 (*CVA France* 1, *Louvre* 1, III H d 6, pl. [36] 6; 12; Maas, Snyder [n. 3] 51, fig. 15c; BA 350214), the Omaha Painter, 600–550 BC; lebes stand Athens 12894 (n. 61); cyathos St Petersburg, Hermitage B-4507 (Peredolskaya, *KAV* no. 11 pl. 8, 3), the Painter of Berlin 2268, ca. 515–510 BC.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 12, 23 κεφαλᾶν πολλᾶν νόμον instead of νόμον πολυκέφαλον: Н. А. Алмазова, “К характеристике инструментального нома” (N. Almazova, “Instrumental Nomos: Some Considerations”), *Hyperboreus* 7 (2001) 80–90.

<sup>82</sup> Maas, Snyder (n. 3) 87–89.

a palaestra,<sup>83</sup> but it is also probable that the character has just finished his exercises and goes now to take his lyre placed aside.<sup>84</sup> Merry-making at the Anthesteria provided enough occasions for music and dancing,<sup>85</sup> so the subject of Oxford 1945.45 (fig. 3) can be a chorus dance (note the glance of the youth directed backwards), but as well just an improvised outburst of joy: an unaccompanied dance, the hasty snatching of a lyre, and even running or racing, while the lyre is temporarily put aside.

As for the images of satyrs, also in this case general musicality of satyrs and in particular their connection with lyres<sup>86</sup> is enough for interpreting these scenes, whereas dancing is one of their most important occupations.<sup>87</sup> On the other hand, striking likeness between the images of the boys and of the satyrs suggests that mythical creatures could be substituted for human beings in typical Anthesteria scenes. Indeed we find some cases where Erotes and satyrs<sup>88</sup> evidently take the place of boys. (The same likeness, as well as lack of evidence for public dramatic performances at the Anthesteria in the fifth century,<sup>89</sup> prevents me from taking these images as illustrating a satyr play, dedicated for instance to the invention of a lyre.<sup>90</sup>)

The scene on a chous from New York Market (fig. 8) may be a rehearsed performance, judging by the garments of both the dancer<sup>91</sup> and the singer.<sup>92</sup> It is tempting to suppose that the lyre is prepared for the second part of the chorus dance here. But we must acknowledge that the aulete is missing, though space would have been enough for depicting

<sup>83</sup> See above n. 41.

<sup>84</sup> Perhaps he is about to take part in a revel at the Anthesteria, cf. similar figures beside a still-life of aryballos, sponge and strigil: van Hoorn (n. 26) p. 167, no. 810, fig. 427 (youth holding mantle and lyre, interpreted as a komast by van Hoorn); p. 153, no. 707, fig. 110 (wreathed youth with a barbiton and a chous tied to it), see van Hoorn p. 32–33.

<sup>85</sup> See van Hoorn (n. 26) 36–39 and fig. 18. 96. 99. 109. 110. 154. 155–163. 171. 172. 180. 184. 186. 187. 195. 196. 200. 243. 244. 502.

<sup>86</sup> Maas, Snyder (n. 3) 38; 82 (cf. 56: cithara).

<sup>87</sup> B. Seidensticker, “Dance in Satyr Play”, in: O. Taplin, R. Wyles (eds.), *The Pronomos Vase and its Context* (Oxford 2010) 213.

<sup>88</sup> Van Hoorn (n. 26) fig. 364. 367. 369. 372. 426 (Erotes); fig. 1. 2. 210. 211. 310. 365. 404. 430. 431 (satyrs). See also Deubner (n. 32) 245–247.

<sup>89</sup> Pickard-Cambridge (n. 17) 15–16.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Deubner (n. 32) 247: on the chous Gela 73 “scheint ein Satyr erstaunt über den Fund einer Leier”.

<sup>91</sup> Compare the embroidered garments of the dancers: above n. 41 (3) and below n. 93. On dancers wearing an ependytes, see Miller (n. 7) 181.

<sup>92</sup> E. g. the singer is always draped at the aulodic contests, see N. Almazova, “On the Meaning of ἀὐλωδία, ἀὐλωδός”, *Hyperboreus* 14 (2008): 2, fig. 1–24.

him, and so the singing seems unaccompanied. There are no safe grounds to understand the two figures as a reduced image of singing and dancing semichoruses: compare the detailed scenes on the choes from London and Paris (fig. 12–13),<sup>93</sup> with single dancers surrounded by spectators, including even a slave with a bag. Several other scenes on choes depict dancing at the Anthesteria, some of them more likely a komos dance,<sup>94</sup> while two others (see n. 93) produce the same impression of a prepared performance, due to the hair-dress and the patterned clothes of the dancers. Yet, as regards the accompaniment, both representations are somewhat puzzling: on London E531 we have two lyres instead of one, but, it seems, neither of the youths is actually playing it, and on Paris CA21 there is no accompaniment at all. These images can be interpreted as school or domestic musical performances and contests appropriate for a children festival.<sup>95</sup> Dancing and singing without an instrumental accompaniment is unusual, but we can think of an indulgence making the task easier for schoolchildren.<sup>96</sup> Probably some of the two characters on a chous from New York Market is going to demonstrate his skill in lyre-playing later.

The examined images show that the intended purpose of depicting a lyre on the ground need not be always the same: we may deal with any case generally known from iconography of a chelys-lyre. But an explanation is always possible, which does not suggest that the instrument played by no one is implied to signify music accompanying the scene. In the Classical period, the symbolic meaning of a lyre, if any, seems still inseparable from its actual use.

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<sup>93</sup> London, Br. Mus. E531 (van Hoorn [n. 26] p. 143 no. 635, fig. 18; *BA* 15891), ca. 420–410 BC. Paris, Louvre CA21 (above n. 41).

<sup>94</sup> Van Hoorn (n. 26) p. 106 no. 337, fig. 171; p. 159 no. 754, fig. 172. The dancers are naked; the accompanying instrument is a lyre.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. H. Rühfel, *Kinderleben im klassischen Athen. Bilder auf klassischen Vasen* (Mainz 1984) 197 n. 173: “Private Wettstreite, die die Griechen sehr liebten, werden von innen auch an diesem Tag durchgeführt worden sein”.

<sup>96</sup> Compare a scene of school competitions on a pyxis Vienna IV 1870 (*ABV* 671; *BA* 306451; Almazova [n. 92] fig. 6), ca. 520 BC: unlike the common practice, singing and lyre accompaniment are distributed between two youths.

## Abbreviations:

|                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| ARV <sup>2</sup>  | J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> (Oxford 1963)  |
| ARFVcl            | J. Boardman, <i>Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Classical Period</i> (London 1989, repr. 2001)   |
| BA                | <i>Beazley Archive Databases</i> ( <a href="http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/databases/pottery.htm">http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/databases/pottery.htm</a> )  |
| M&M               | <i>Музы и маски. Театр и музыка в античности. Античный мир на петербургской сцене. Каталог выставки [Musés and Masks. Theatre and Music in Antiquity. Catalogue of Exhibition]</i> (St Petersburg 2005) |
| OAK               | <i>Отчет Императорской археологической комиссии (Compte-rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique)</i>   |
| Peredolskaya, KAV | <i>Краснофигурные аттические вазы в Эрмитаже. Каталог. [Red-figure Attic Vases from the Hermitage. Catalogue]</i> Сост. А. А. Передольская (Leningrad 1967)   |
| St.               | L. Stephani, <i>Die Vasensammlung der Kaiserlichen Ermitage</i> (St Petersburg 1869)  |
| Waldhauer         | О. Вальдгауэр, <i>Императорский Эрмитаж. Краткое описание собрания античных расписных ваз [Antique Painted Vases in the Hermitage: A Short Description]</i> (St Petersburg 1914)                        |

На аттической чаше без ручек (470–460 г. до н. э., см. прим. 1) танцующая девушка приближается к лежащей на земле лире. Надпись ХОРФЕΛΕΣ над лирой Л. Стефани интерпретирует как χορ<ω>φελής. То же слово (опять без О) встречается на амфоре (450–425 г. до н. э., см. прим. 13) с изображением юноши с лирой в руке. Надпись “полезный/-ая хору” позволяет заключить, что в обоих случаях перед нами участники хорового выступления. Хор девушек в Афинах, как представляется, мог выступать только в религиозной церемонии (в статье собраны известные случаи участия в аттических культах танцующих и музицирующих женщин).

Лира на земле в сценах под открытым небом (см. прим. 28; 31–33) служит эквивалентом лире, висящей на стене. Инструмент, на котором никто не играет, не мыслился как издающий звуки. Т. обр., в сцене на чаше, хотя танец уже начался, лира еще не зазвучала.

Ряд литературных (Alcman. fr. 37b, 38 Page; Pind. *Pyth.* 10, 38–39; Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 239 Bekker, 320a 18–20) и иконографических (см. прим. 65–67, 70, 72, 74) свидетельств показывают, что хорам, и в частности девичьим, аккомпанировали как духовые, так и струнные инструменты – возможно, чередуясь. Можно предположить, что на чаше изображен переходный момент: заканчивая танец в сопровождении авла, одна из девушек торопится взять заранее положенную поблизости лиру, чтобы аккомпанировать на ней второй части выступления.

Для нескольких хусов с изображением лиры на земле подле бегущих и/или танцующих фигур интерпретация, связанная с выступлением хора, не исключена, но в ней нет необходимости: лира—обычный атрибут юношей и сатиров, чем бы они ни занимались, и скорее всего перед нами непосредственные проявления праздничного веселья или сцены школьных состязаний. Лиру на земле в вазовой живописи нельзя объяснить одинаково во всех случаях. Однако всегда возможна интерпретация, не предполагающая, что инструмент звучит. Если для лиры в искусстве классической эпохи и можно постулировать какое-либо “символическое” значение, оно еще неотделимо от ее реального применения.

On an Attic stemmed plate a dancing girl approaches a chelys-lyre that lies on the ground, whereas the inscription ΧΟΡΦΕΛΕΣ indicates a chorus performance. In Classical Athens, a maidens' chorus seems only thinkable on religious occasions (the paper lists known cases of Athenian women dancing and singing at the cult ceremonies).

Lyres lying on the ground (in outdoor scenes), as well as instruments hanging on the wall, cannot be interpreted as producing sounds. Therefore in the image under consideration, although the dance has already begun, the lyre does not sound yet—and this needs an explanation. There is evidence that the choruses were accompanied both by stringed and wind-instruments, sometimes in turns. Therefore I suggest that the girl is finishing a dance while being accompanied by an aulos and is hurrying to pick up the lyre to accompany the second part of the performance.

For a number of choes with a lyre on the ground and dancing or running figures nearby the same interpretation is possible, but it is not necessary, since we can interpret them as simple merry-making or as school competitions. The intended purpose of depicting a lyre on the ground may be various, but an explanation, which does not suggest that an instrument played by no one implies the music that accompanies the scene, is always possible. In the Classical period, symbolic meaning of a lyre is still inseparable from its actual use.